

The Interwar Years, 1919–1939

Has not this truth already come home to you now, when this cruel war has driven its claws into the vitals of Europe? when her hoard of wealth is bursting into smoke and her humanity is shattered into bits on her battlefields? You ask in amazement what has she done to deserve this? The answer is that the West has been systematically petrifying her moral nature in order to lay a solid foundation for her gigantic abstractions of efficiency.

—Rabindranath Tagore, Indian poet, *Nationalism*, 1917

From today's perspective, the effects of World War I can look small compared to the even greater destruction caused by World War II. However, they were massive. As Tagore suggested, many Western Europeans felt bewildered. The

war undermined faith in reason and progress, and a global economic collapse undermined faith in market-based economics. As unemployment, hunger, and homelessness increased, people turned to their governments for help. Governments had long been essential to capitalism—building roads, providing schools, and regulating trade—but across the world in the 1930s, government intervention in the economy increased. The United States became more liberal, countries such as Germany, Italy, and Japan turned radically to the right.

In contrast to the pessimism in Europe and the United States, colonized peoples felt hope. They realized that a weakened Europe gave them an opportunity to win independence. As nationalist movements matured, demands for an end to colonialism increased.

In the context of the chaos of the 1920s and 1930s, daring new ideas emerged among intellectuals and artists. New understandings of the nature of the universe, of the human mind, and of art continue to shape the world today.

The Great Depression

World War I brought anxiety to the people that suffered through it. The Allied nations, though victorious, had lost millions of citizens, both soldiers and civilians, and had spent tremendous amounts of money on the international conflict. The defeated Central Powers, particularly Germany and the countries that emerged from the breakup of Austria-Hungary, suffered even greater losses. The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to pay billions of dollars in reparations to the war's victors. War-ravaged Germany could not make these

payments, so its government printed more paper money in the 1920s. This action caused *inflation*, a general rise in prices. That meant that the value of German money decreased. To add to the sluggish postwar economy, France and Britain had difficulty repaying wartime loans from the United States, partly because Germany was having trouble paying reparations to them. In addition, the Soviet government refused to pay Russia's prerevolutionary debts.

Global Downturn Although the 1920s brought modest economic gains for most of Europe, the subsequent *Great Depression* ended the tentative stability. Agricultural overproduction and the United States' stock market crash in 1929 were two major causes of the global economic downturn. American investors who had been putting money into German banks removed it when the American stock market crashed. In addition to its skyrocketing inflation, Germany then had to grapple with bank failures. Germany thus suffered more than any other Western nation during the Great Depression. The economies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America suffered because they were dependent upon the imperial nations that were experiencing this enormous economic downturn. Japan also suffered during the Depression because its economy depended upon foreign trade. With the economic decline in the rest of the world, Japan's exports were cut in half between 1929 and 1931.

Keynesian Ideas The Great Depression inspired new insights into economics. British economist *John Maynard Keynes* rejected the *laissez-faire* ideal. He concluded that intentional government action could improve the economy. During a depression, he said, governments should use *deficit spending* (spending more than the government takes in) to stimulate economic activity. By cutting taxes and increasing spending, government would spur economic growth. People would return to work, and the depression would end.

The Global Economy, 1929 to 1938		
Year	Total Global Production	Total Global Trade
1929	100	100
1930	86	89
1931	77	81
1932	70	74
1933	79	76
1934	95	79
1935	98	82
1936	110	86
1937	120	98
1938	111	89

Source: Adapted from data in Barry Eichengreen and Douglas Irwin, "The Protectionist Temptation: Lessons from the Great Depression for Today." *voxeu.org*. March 17, 2009.

In this chart, the levels of production and trade for 1929 are represented by 100. The other numbers reflect changes from the 1929 level.

New Deal The administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used Keynes's ideas to address the Great Depression in the United States. Roosevelt and his backers created a group of policies and programs known collectively as the *New Deal*. Its goal was to bring the country relief, recovery, and reform: *relief* for citizens who were suffering, including the poor, the unemployed, farmers, minorities, and women; *recovery* to bring the nation out of the Depression, in part through government spending; and *reform* to change government policies in the hopes of avoiding such disasters in the future.

By 1937, unemployment was declining and production was rising. Keynesian economics seemed to be working. However, Roosevelt feared that government deficits were growing too large, so he reversed course. Unemployment began to grow again. The Great Depression finally ended after the United States entered World War II in 1941 and ran up deficits for military spending that dwarfed those of the New Deal programs.

Impact on Trade The Great Depression was a global event. Though it started in the industrialized countries of the United States and Europe, it spread to Latin America, Africa, and Asia. By 1932, more than 30 million people worldwide were out of work. People everywhere turned to their government for help. As unemployment increased, international trade declined, a decline made worse as nations then imposed strict tariffs, or taxes on imports, in an effort to protect the domestic jobs they still had.

In contrast to most countries, Japan dug itself out of the Depression relatively rapidly. Japan devalued its currency, which meant that the government lowered the value of its money in relation to foreign currencies. Thus Japanese-made products became less expensive than imports. Japan's overseas expansionism also increased Japan's need for military goods, thus stimulating the economy.

Rise of Right-Wing Governments

In some countries, the turn to the right was radical. A new political system known as *fascism* arose that appealed to extreme nationalism, glorified the military and armed struggle, and blamed problems on ethnic minorities. Fascist regimes suppressed other political parties, protests, and independent trade unions. They justified violence to achieve their goals and were strongly anti-Communist.

Rise of Fascism in Italy Benito Mussolini coined the term *fascism*, which comes from the term "fasces," a bundle of sticks tied around an axe, an ancient Roman symbol for punishment. This violent symbol helped characterize Italy's Fascist government, which glorified militarism and brute force.

The Italian Fascist state was based on a concept known as *corporatism*, a theory based on the notion that the sectors of the economy—the employers, the trade unions, and state officials—are seen as separate organs of the same body. Each sector, or organ, was supposedly free to organize itself as it wished as long as it supported the whole. In practice, the Fascist state imposed its will

upon all sectors of society, creating a *totalitarian state*—a state in which all aspects of society are controlled by the government.

Mussolini Takes Control Even though Italy had been considered one of the major powers at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference—along with Britain, France, and the United States—Italy received very little territory from the Treaty of Versailles. This failure to gain from the war caused discontent in Italy. Amid the general bitterness of the 1920s, Mussolini and his allies managed to take control of the parliament. Mussolini became a dictator, repressing any possible opposition to his rule. Militaristic propaganda infiltrated every part of the Fascist government. For example, school children were taught constantly about the glory of their nation and their fearless leader, “Il Duce.”

Part of Mussolini’s fascist philosophy was the need for his nation to conquer what he considered to be an inferior nation. During the imperialist “Scramble for Africa” in the nineteenth century, Italy seized *Libya* and colonized *Somaliland*, modern-day Somalia. However, the army was pushed back by Abyssinia, modern-day Ethiopia, in the 1890s. Under Mussolini in 1935, Italy crossed the border from Somaliland to Abyssinia, defying a mandate from the League of Nations. This time, the Italian army overpowered Abyssinia’s while the global community did little to stop the conquest. In 1936, Mussolini and Germany’s Adolf Hitler formed an alliance they hoped would dominate Europe. With the security of this alliance, Italy invaded and seized Albania in 1939.

Rise of Nazism Germany’s defeat in 1918 brought an end to the kaiser’s monarchical rule. The democratically elected *Weimar Republic* took its place. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the new German government not only had to pay billions in war reparations, but it also was not allowed to have an army. The Weimar Republic, appearing weak to the demoralized German people, became especially unpopular during the Great Depression.

The rolls of the unemployed swelled due to the weak German economy. Large numbers of young men, including many World War I veterans, found themselves with few job prospects. Such an environment fostered alienation and bitterness. Many Germans perceived their democratic government, the Weimar Republic, to be too weak to solve the country’s problems, so they looked to right-wing political parties that promised strong action.

The National Socialist German Worker’s Party, or the *Nazis*, came to power legally after the party did well in the 1932 parliamentary elections. In early 1933, the president of Germany, Paul von Hindenburg, invited Adolf Hitler to form a government as chancellor, which he did. Hindenburg died in 1934, giving Hitler the opening he needed to declare himself president. Through manipulation, the Nazi Party instilled fear and panic in the German people, making them believe that they were in a state of emergency. For example, the Nazis staged a burning of the *Reichstag*, the German parliament building, and blamed radical extremists for the act. Using domestic security as justification, Hitler outlawed all other political parties and all forms of resistance to his rule.

Hitler openly promoted ultra-nationalism and *scientific racism*, a pseudo-intellectual movement that claimed that certain races were genetically superior

to others. He also advanced an extreme form of *anti-Semitism*, or hostility toward Jews. His filled his speeches with accusations against German Jews, whom Hitler claimed were responsible for the nation's domestic problems. Nazi propaganda emphasized a need for a "pure" German nation of "Aryans," purged of "outsiders"—not only Jews, but also Slavs, Communists, gypsies, and gay men and women. Hitler suggested that the only way for Germany to live up to its potential was to eliminate the corrupting influence of these groups, and particularly the Jews.

Nuremberg Laws Hitler's anti-Jewish campaign began with laws designed to disenfranchise and discriminate against them. The *Nuremberg Laws*, passed in 1935, forbade marriage between Jews and Gentiles (people who are not Jewish), stripped Jews of their citizenship, and unleashed a series of subsequent decrees that effectively pushed Jews to the margins of German society. German Jews, many of whom were successful in their careers and felt very assimilated into German society, were shocked by the way they were being treated. Some Eastern European nations, such as Romania and Bulgaria, also passed discriminatory laws against their Jewish citizens.

Olympic Games In 1936, in the midst of its campaign against the Jews, the German government hosted the summer *Olympic Games* in Berlin. These games used the global interest in sports to promote national and social aspirations. Spain and the Soviet Union boycotted the games in protest against the Nazi regime. Many Americans and key Jewish organizations opposed U.S. participation, but the United States eventually sent a team to Berlin. One of the African-American athletes who participated was Jesse Owens, who won four gold medals in the long jump and the sprint. Germany allowed only people it considered "Aryans" to compete on its teams.

The 1936 Olympics was the first modern games to have a torch relay from Olympia, Greece. It was also the first to be televised live, although limited to certain sites in Berlin. The Olympic Games constituted a propaganda victory for Germany in light of the poor press it was receiving in many countries in the 1930s. Two years after the games, the government released the documentary film *Olympia*, by Leni Riefenstahl. Using artful camera angles and editing, the film glorified the events of 1936 in Berlin.

Kristallnacht Hitler's propaganda and the Nuremberg Laws successfully created an atmosphere of hostility, hatred, and distrust within Germany. This tension erupted one night in early November 1938. *Kristallnacht*, the "Night of the Broken Glass," produced anti-Jewish riots that ostensibly occurred in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a Jewish teenager. Although it appeared to be a spontaneous burst of outrage on the part of the German citizenry, Nazi leaders, in fact, engineered the entire operation. The riots resulted in the deaths of more than 90 German Jews, and the destruction of nearly every synagogue in Germany and some 7,000 Jewish shops. More than 30,000 Jews were dragged from their homes, arrested, and sent to concentration camps. Most of these prisoners were eventually released on orders to leave Germany, an option not given to later prisoners in concentration camps.

Hitler's campaign to rid Germany of Jews predated his aggressive land grabs in Europe. Declaring that the German people needed more *lebensraum* (living room) in Europe, Hitler did not try to hide his ambition to conquer the entire continent. His lust for land eventually brought the international community to the brink of war.

Fascism and Civil War in Spain After the economic decline in the early 1930s, two opposing ideologies, or systems of ideas, battled for control of Spain. The *Spanish Civil War* that resulted soon took on global significance as a struggle between the forces of democracy and the forces of fascism.

The *Spanish Republic* was formed in 1931 after King Alfonso XIII abdicated. In 1936, the Spanish people elected the *Popular Front*, a coalition of left-wing parties, to lead the government. A key aspect of the Front's platform was *land reform*, a prospect that energized the nation's peasants as well as its radicals. Conservative forces in Spain, such as the Catholic Church and high-ranking members of the military, were violently opposed to the changes that the Popular Front promised. In July of the same year, a military uprising against the Popular Front was conducted by Spanish troops stationed in Morocco. This action marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, which soon spread to Spain itself. General *Francisco Franco* led the insurgents, who called themselves *Nationalists*. On the other side were the *Loyalists*, the defenders of the newly elected Republic of Spain.

Foreign Involvement Although the nations of Europe had signed a nonintervention agreement, Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy, and Antonio Salazar of Portugal contributed armaments to the Nationalists. Civilian volunteers from the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States, and France contributed their efforts to the Loyalists. Many historians believe that without the help of Germany, Italy, and Portugal, the Nationalist side would not likely have prevailed against the Republic of Spain.

Guernica The foreign involvement in Spain's struggle also escalated the violence of the war. One massacre in particular garnered international attention. The German and Italian bombing of the town of *Guernica*, located in northern Spain's *Basque region*, was one of the first times in history an aerial bombing targeted civilians. Many historians believe that the bombing of Guernica was a military exercise for Germany's air force, the *Luftwaffe*.

The tragedy of Guernica was immortalized in Pablo Picasso's painting of that name, commissioned by the Republic of Spain and completed in 1938. Although somewhat abstract, the painting brilliantly depicts the horrific violence of modern warfare and is recognized as one of the most significant works of twentieth-century art.

Franco's Victory The Spanish Civil War itself lasted from 1936 until 1939, when Franco's forces finally defeated the Loyalist army. Franco ruled Spain as a dictator until his death in 1975. Spain did not officially enter World War II (1939–1945), but the government did offer some assistance to the Axis powers, comprised of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Rise of a Repressive Regime in Brazil As in Europe, parts of Latin America also became more conservative. During the interwar years, Brazil was considered Latin America's "sleeping giant" because of its slow shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The economy of the nation was dominated by large landowners, a fact that frustrated members of the urban middle class. Compounding their frustration was the workers' suffering caused by the Great Depression. Discontent led to a bloodless 1930 coup (illegal seizure of power), which installed Getulio Vargas as president.

Vargas's pro-industrial policies won him support from Brazil's bourgeoisie, or middle class. This economic liberalism led the urban middle classes to believe that their new leader was interested in establishing a democracy in Brazil. However, his actions paralleled those of Italy's corporate state under Mussolini. While Brazil's industrial sector grew at a rapid pace, Vargas began to strip away individual political freedoms. His "Estado Novo" program decreed government censorship of the press, abolition of political parties, imprisonment of political opponents, and hypernationalism, a belief in the superiority of one's nation over all others and the singleminded promotion of national interests. While these policies were similar to those of European fascists, the Brazilian government did not praise or rely upon violence to achieve and maintain control.

Moreover, even though Brazil had close economic ties with the United States and Germany in the late 1930s, Brazil finally sided with the Allies in World War II. This political alignment against the Axis powers made Brazil look less like a dictatorship and more liberal than it actually was. World War II prompted the people of Brazil to push for a more democratic nation later. They came to see the contradiction between fighting against fascism and repression abroad and maintaining a dictatorship at home.

Political Revolutions

In the century's first two decades, rebellions erupted against long-standing authoritarian governments in Mexico, China, and Russia. Revolutionaries unseated the ruling governments in each country, instituting their own political philosophies and practices. The revolutions influenced subsequent events in the Soviet Union, Mexico, and China in the interwar years.

Continuing Revolution in Russia As you read in Chapter 25, Russian revolutionaries unseated the royal Romanov dynasty in the spring of 1917. In the fall of that year, the Bolsheviks seized power and set up a Communist government led by Vladimir Lenin. The Communists believed that workers eventually should own the means of production and that collective ownership would lead to collective prosperity and a just society. Toward that long-term goal, the Soviet government abolished private trade, distributed peasants' crops to feed urban workers, and took over ownership of the country's factories and heavy industries.

Although Lenin and the Bolshevik Party had promised “peace, land, and bread” during World War I, they instead presided over a populace that faced starvation during the widespread *Russian Civil War* (1918–1921). Hundreds of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, and others revolted against the Soviet government’s actions. Urban factory workers and sailors went on strike, and peasants began to hoard their food stocks. Industrial and agricultural production dropped sharply.

By 1921, Lenin realized that the Soviet economy was near complete collapse. Thus, he instituted a temporary retreat from Communist economic policies. Under his *New Economic Plan (NEP)*, he reintroduced private trade, allowing farmers to sell their products on a small scale. Although the government permitted some economic liberties, it maintained strict political control. The NEP enjoyed modest successes, but it came to an end when Lenin died in 1924.

Joseph Stalin Several years after Lenin’s death, Joseph Stalin took control of the *Politburo*, the Communist Party’s central organization, setting himself up as a dictator. He remained in power for almost 30 years. Once in power, Stalin abandoned Lenin’s NEP and instituted the first *Five-Year Plan*, which attempted to transform the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (also called the *U.S.S.R.* or Soviet Union) into an industrial power. He wanted his largely agricultural nation to “catch up” to the industrial nations of the West. At the same time, Stalin *collectivized* agriculture, a process in which farmland was taken from private owners and given to collectives to manage. In theory, a collective, or *Kolkhoz*, was a group of peasants who freely joined together to farm a certain portion of land. In practice, however, peasants were forced by the state to work on a specific collective and were expected to follow detailed plans and to reach specific goals set by the government. This elimination of private land ownership and the forced redistribution of land, livestock, and tools enraged farmers. Each year, the government seized food to send to the cities. The farmers retaliated against collectivization by burning crops and killing livestock. Many moved to the cities for a better life. It seemed to them that Stalin cared more about urban workers than rural farmers.

A series of five-year plans had mixed results. The collectivization of agriculture was a huge failure. Millions of peasants starved to death, especially in the Ukraine. Heavy industry, however, grew tremendously in the 1930s. Although consumer goods were in short supply, there were plenty of factory jobs available, and the cost of living was low.

Stalin’s brutal regime is widely condemned today. He punished his political opponents by executing them or sentencing them to life terms in labor camps, where many died. In addition, his agricultural policies led to the deaths of many millions of Soviet citizens. Because Stalin kept tight control of the press, details of his atrocities went largely unreported. Nonetheless, in the 1930s, an economically depressed world viewed the U.S.S.R. with a mix of horror and wonder. The U.S.S.R. was rapidly industrializing and increasing its military power. It presented a challenge to countries with capitalist economies

whose people were experiencing high levels of unemployment. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting the U.S.S.R. with the ideology of Marxism. See page 432.)

In the 1920s, there was a period of experimentation in Russian literature and the visual arts. Ilya Ilf and Evgeny Petrov wrote the humorous novel *The Twelve Chairs*, while Aleksander Blok wrote lyrical poems. Sergei Eisenstein made wonderful silent films about events in Russia, such as *Battleship Potemkin*, about the mutiny of a Russian crew against their officers of the Tsarist regime, while Kazimir Malevich made interesting abstract paintings. Then in the 1930s, the Soviet government began promoting *socialist realism*. Paintings and films had to be done in a realistic manner with an uplifting moral that showed the advantages of socialism. An early example of socialist realism in Soviet literature was the novel *Cement*, by Fyodor Gladkov, about life working in a cement factory.

The Mexican Revolution Mexico entered the twentieth century as an independent nation firmly under the control of a dictator, *Porfirio Diaz*. He had allowed much of the country's resources to come under the control of foreign investors, particularly those from the United States. Additionally, Mexican peasants held almost no land; 97 percent of the land was controlled by the wealthiest one percent of the population. When Diaz jailed Francisco Madero, the opposition candidate for president in 1910, revolution broke out with insurrections in northern Mexico. Madero escaped and set up revolutionary offices in El Paso. Then, in 1911, Madero's troops, under the command of Francisco "Pancho" Villa defeated Mexican troops, sending Diaz into exile. Madero was elected president later in 1911. A series of leaders and governments followed this initial victory for the Revolution.

One revolutionary leader, *Emiliano Zapata*, gave voice to the injustice peasants felt toward the unfair distribution of land and wealth. Zapata began the actual process of redistributing land to impoverished peasants.

While the goals of land redistribution, universal suffrage, and public education were not soon realized, they were written into the Mexican constitution in 1917. In the 1930s, efforts at land reform were more successful under *Lazaro Cardenas*. His regime also nationalized the oil industry in Mexico in 1938, angering foreign investors. Despite these reforms, the interwar period did not see dramatic changes in Mexico's social hierarchy.

Upheaval in China Following the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, China did not have a stable government until 1949. The intervening years brought tremendous upheaval and division to the nation. Dr. Sun Yat-sen became the leader of the Chinese Republic in 1912, but the central government was weak, as much of China was controlled by war lords, each in control of a specific region. The regional power structure was a holdover from the Qing Dynasty, which relied on regional armies instead of a national army. The regional armies lacked standardization, rendering control by a central government nearly impossible.

Urban intellectuals and college students in China had high hopes for the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. They expected that their country would finally win independence from Western European control. Instead, the Big Four decided to give much of China's European-controlled territory to Japan, which had given a great deal of economic aid to the Allies during the war. When news of the treaty reached China, the cities revolted. Though college students and elite youth led the May Fourth Movement, all classes in urban areas participated in the protests.

Communists and Nationalist Two main groups jockeyed for power in the wake of the protests: Communists and nationalists. The *Chinese Communist Party (CCP)*, led by Mao Zedong (or Mao Tse-tung), the son of a prosperous peasant who was inspired by the Communist revolution in Russia. Instead of energizing the working classes of Chinese cities, however, Mao believed that China's Communist revolution could be based on the revolt of peasants, who made up the vast majority of China's population. The Chinese Nationalist Party, or *Kuomintang*, was led by Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen was devoted to full independence and allied with Mao's forces to free China from foreign domination and to overthrow the war lords.

Following Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek took control of the Nationalist Party. Chiang Kai-shek's was a conservative and had deep-seated distrust of Communism. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek's forces attacked and nearly annihilated Mao's forces, initiating the Chinese Civil War.

The Long March Mao and remnants of the Chinese Communist Party retreated into China's interior, and for several years they trained in hiding. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek's forces again attacked Mao's army stationed in the rural areas of Jiangxi. After the attack, Mao's forces began what is now known as the *Long March*. This trek, which covered about 6,000 miles and took an entire year, traversed some of the world's most treacherous mountains, deepest marshes, and driest deserts. Of the 80,000 or more who began the walk, only 10,000 remained to assemble in 1935 in northern China. Although the Chinese Communist Party did not immediately gain control of the country afterward, the Long March brought popularity for the party and admiration from many Chinese, who were in awe of Mao and his army's tremendous stamina.

Communists and Nationalists Join Forces Meanwhile, the Nationalist Kuomintang continued to rule much of China during the 1930s. Chiang Kai-shek, however, was out of touch with the diverse needs of the Chinese people. He advocated Confucianism at a time when the old traditions were no longer in vogue. When criticism from opponents threatened his power, he suppressed free speech. Corruption was rampant in the Nationalist government as well. These factors alienated Chinese urban intellectuals. To make matters worse, Japan's expansionism into China in the 1930s severely weakened the country, particularly in northeast China. In 1935, the Nationalists and Communists suspended their civil war to unite against Japan. In 1945, with the defeat of the Japanese at the end of World War II, the Communists and Nationalist once again resumed their fight for control of China.

Growth of Nationalism in Southwest Asia, South Asia, and Africa

Widespread Anticolonial Sentiment At the end of World War I, revolutionary sentiments stirred in the European colonies. Many anticolonial activists pinned their hopes for independence on the results of the Paris Peace Conference. They hoped Woodrow Wilson could persuade the other leaders to grant self-determination to the colonies. They also expected to be rewarded for their wartime contributions. Young men from all over Africa and South Asia had battled courageously in several theaters of war.

To the activists' dismay, the Paris Peace Conference did not produce any of the desired results. European powers granted self-determination only to white countries in Eastern Europe. Southwest Asian lands that had been a part of the Ottoman Empire came under the control of France and Britain in the League of Nations mandate system. Former German colonies in Africa had the same fate. German territories and spheres of influence in East Asia and the Pacific were transferred to various victorious nations of World War I. India and nearly every nation in Africa continued to be controlled by a European nation.

Self-Determination in Turkey The Ottoman Empire's forces crumbled during World War I, and victorious Allied forces immediately sent troops to occupy Anatolia. Although the sultan of the Ottoman Empire remained on his throne, he had little power, serving as a mere puppet for British forces that hoped to control the lands of the former empire. During the war, the *Turkish National Movement* organized an army to fight for the self-determination of the Turkish people. Led by Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish Nationalists defeated British and other forces in 1921. The Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, with Kemal, known as the "father of the Turks," installed as the first president.

Kemal's policies focused on reforming Turkey to make it more like the Western democracies. He was determined to create a secular nation, as opposed to one with strong Islamic influences. He implemented several reforms: establishing public education for boys and girls, abolishing polygyny, and expanding suffrage to include women. As a symbolic gesture, he mainly wore Western suits and hats, and encouraged his countrymen to do the same. In spite of his progressive reforms, he ruled like a dictator for 15 years. He did not give up power until he died in 1938.

Independence Movements in India The setback presented by the Paris Conference inspired anticolonial activists to redouble their efforts. In South Asia, the Indian National Congress was formed in the late nineteenth century to air grievances against the colonial government. By the end of the Great War in 1918, it had become the strongest voice for independence.

One event in particular, a massacre at *Amritsar*, radicalized many within the congress, convincing them that Indians could not continue living under British rule. In the spring of 1919, a group of Indian nationalists gathered in a public garden in Amritsar, Punjab, to protest the arrest of two freedom fighters.

The protest took place during a popular Sikh festival, which had attracted thousands of villagers to Amritsar, a city considered holy to followers of Sikhism. Although the throngs were peaceful, the British colonial government had recently made such public gatherings illegal. The armed colonial forces fired dozens of shots into the unarmed crowd, killing more than three hundred people and wounding thousands more. This massacre was a turning point in the Indian nationalist movement. It convinced even moderate members of the Indian National Congress that independence from Britain was the only way forward.

Gandhi By the 1920s, *Mohandas Gandhi* had brought the congress's cause to the Indian masses and caught the attention of the world. His *satyagraha*, or “devotion-to-truth,” *movement* embarked on a campaign of *civil disobedience* that encouraged Indians to break unjust laws and serve jail time. These actions, he believed, would stir the consciousness of the empire and the international community, and expose the inherent injustice of the British imperial system.

Gandhi, who came to be known by Indians as Mahatma, or “the great soul,” led a boycott against British goods. Gandhi wore Indian homespun cotton rather than suits manufactured in Britain made from Indian fabrics but sold back to Indians at inflated prices. Wearing homespun was a symbolic and practical form of protest against Britain's cotton trade in India.

One of Gandhi's first campaigns became known as the *Salt March*. British authorities had made it illegal for Indians to produce their own sea salt. The commodity was easy to make in the tropical country, but Britain wanted a monopoly on salt. In 1930, Gandhi led thousands of Indians to the Arabian Sea and simply picked up a few grains of salt, in defiance of Britain's unjust edict.

Two-State Solution Introduced While anticolonial sentiment was building, leaders of the independence movement disagreed about how India should define its national identity. Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a member of the Muslim minority in the largely Hindu Indian National Congress, originally favored Muslim-Hindu unity but later proposed a two-state plan for South Asian independence. He was concerned that Muslim interests would not be well represented in an independent India. His proposal for a separate Muslim state, *Pakistan*, made several leaders, including Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, who eventually became India's first prime minister, very anxious about India's future. Although independence did not come for India until after World War II, the interwar years were critical times for the anticolonial movement. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting twentieth-century tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India with its earlier religious history. See pages 206–207.)

Independence Movements in Africa As in South Asia, people all over Africa were disappointed that their colony did not receive independence after World War I. Independence movements grew out of the disappointment. Activism in Africa began with European-educated intellectuals—the middle and upper classes in Africa sent their children to schools in Europe. It was in Europe that African intellectuals were able to see the discrimination taking place in their homelands. Most members of the educated elite worked for the colonial government, if they were not self-employed attorneys or doctors.

New forms of nationalism emerged among this elite. For example, the *Negritude Movement*, which took place primarily in French West Africa, emphasized pride in “blackness” and the rejection of French colonial authority. Leopold Senghor of Senegal wrote poems about the beauty and uniqueness of African culture and is now regarded as one of the twentieth century’s most distinguished French writers. During the 1920s and 1930s, American intellectuals such as W.E.B. DuBois, Richard Wright, and Langston Hughes wrote movingly about the multiple meanings of “blackness” in the world. What many now refer to as “black pride” of the 1960s had its roots in the Negritude Movement.

Neocolonialism in Latin America

Most Latin American countries had won their independence from European rulers in the nineteenth century. However, they were not free from the influence of the United States. *Neocolonialism* refers to actions taken by one government to indirectly control another country.

U.S. Intervention As the United States expanded its empire, specific policies emerged to justify its interventionist actions in Latin America. First, the Monroe Doctrine, formulated in 1823, stated that European countries should no longer interfere with the affairs of America countries. This may have seemed to be a doctrine of defiance by a young nation aimed at its former colonizer, but it was also a way to assert U.S. dominance in the Western Hemisphere.

Less than a century later, in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt expanded the Monroe Doctrine when he stated that the United States could intervene in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors if these countries showed that they could not govern themselves. His rationale was that U.S. intervention in a Latin American country would prevent intervention by European powers.

In 1912, President William Howard Taft proclaimed a new form of diplomacy with Latin America, which was derisively dubbed *Dollar Diplomacy*. His philosophy advocated investing U.S. money, rather than U.S. bullets, in Latin America. After all, he argued, the region was rich in natural resources, such as bananas, oil, and copper. Taft felt it was better that U.S. companies exploit this wealth before European companies were able to. In fact, over five short years, U.S. investments in the region increased by more than \$2 billion. Dubbed *Yankee imperialism*, this economic exploitation fueled the criticism that the United States really wanted its own colonies in Latin America.

Even though the United States claimed to have only economic ties to Latin America, its military became involved in the region whenever economic interests were threatened. U.S. Marines were stationed in several nations, including Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Shifting Policy In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the *Good Neighbor Policy*, which renounced armed U.S. intervention in Latin America. The next year, the United States withdrew troops from Haiti and Nicaragua. This policy came to an end after World War II when fears of Communist influence led the United States back to its interventionist tendencies. Even during the period of the Good Neighbor Policy, many Latin Americans

complained of U.S. influence and the dependent ties their governments had with the United States.

Opposition to Intervention Latin Americans resisted U.S. imperialism in many ways. In Nicaragua, *Augusto Sandino* waged a guerrilla war (warfare by a small group of combatants using stealth and surprise rather than direct confrontation) until he was killed by a Nicaraguan general in 1934. Considered a hero by many Nicaraguans, later rebels called themselves *Sandinistas*.

Diego Rivera, a Mexican painter of the 1920s and 1930s, expressed opposition to Yankee imperialism through his art, which he believed should be created and displayed for the people. He suffused his colorful murals with Marxist ideals and Mexican folk aesthetics, making him popular with socialists in Mexico and around the world. The same commitment to socialism made his art extremely controversial among the economic elites of Mexico and the United States.

Cultural and Intellectual Movements

World War I and its aftermath inspired a flurry of new and provocative movements in art, thought, and science. The modern era had brought about democratic revolutions, but it also glorified militarism, imperialism, and nationalism, culminating in the carnage of World War I. To many observers, these ideals did not justify the millions of lives lost. Out of the chaos, new fields opened up, such as psychology and quantum mechanics. New approaches to literature and the visual arts emerged as well.



Source: Benjamin F. Berlin, 1939, Gift of Herman and Regina Cherry, LACMA

In the early twentieth century, artists explored new ways to see the world. Cubism (left) combined different perspectives into one painting. Surrealism (above) combined realistic and fantastical images.

Source: Thinkstock

Art *Surrealist artists* such as Salvador Dali of Spain and Frida Kahlo of Mexico incorporated images from dreams in their paintings. Placing these images in unexpected settings brought a strange and otherworldly quality to their work. Kahlo's work conveys her naked emotion unapologetically and without explanation. For example, she placed violent imagery in her self-portraits to convey the suffering she experienced in a tragic accident.

Literature In literature, Virginia Woolf of England and James Joyce of Ireland popularized the stream-of-consciousness technique in which a character's inner thoughts are presented without filter or structure. These writers strove to represent a more complex and psychologically realistic character than had been achieved before in fiction.

Science The period also witnessed major *paradigm shifts* in several fields of science. A paradigm is a set of assumptions or models that form the basis of thought in a field. When those assumptions are overturned, the resulting shift reveals new areas of research and inspires a creative surge in the field.

Area	Paradigm	Impact
Relativity	<p>1905 Albert Einstein introduces the Special Theory of Relativity, which described the relationship between matter and energy in an equation ($E = mc^2$).</p> <p>1914 Einstein proposes the General Theory of Relativity, which explained gravity as a result of the properties of space and time.</p>	Relativity created new branches in physics and revolutionized astronomy.
Psychology	<p>1905 Sigmund Freud theorizes that the mind has unconscious as well as conscious aspects.</p> <p>1912 Carl Jung develops analytical psychology based on universally shared unconscious ideas called archetypes.</p> <p>1923 Freud develops a three-part model of the psyche consisting of id, ego, and superego.</p>	Psychology provided new approaches to understanding human behavior and to treat mental illnesses.
Astronomy	<p>1912 Vesto Slipher measures the Doppler shift of spiral nebula, showing that they are moving away from Earth.</p> <p>1922 Alexander Friedmann theorizes that the universe is expanding.</p> <p>1927 Georges Lemaitre develops the Big Bang Theory.</p> <p>1928 Edwin Hubble shows that the universe is expanding.</p>	New research and theories revolutionized the understanding of the structure and workings of the universe.
Quantum Mechanics	<p>1918 Max Planck wins the Nobel Prize for his discovery of discrete packets of light he named "quanta."</p> <p>1922 Niels Bohr is awarded the Nobel Prize for his work on the structure of atoms.</p>	New understandings challenged basic notions of reality and probability on the atomic level.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED TOTALITARIANISM?

Scholars disagree about why so many totalitarian states, states with complete control over every aspect of public and private life, emerged in the twentieth century. While many countries moved toward democracy, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Spain became dictatorships. Scholars often explain the rise of totalitarianism from their own discipline's viewpoint.

An Economist's View An Austrian economist, Friedrich Hayek, argued that totalitarianism had developed gradually and was based on decisions about economic policy. In his 1944 book, *The Road to Serfdom*, Hayek concluded that totalitarianism grew in Western democracies because they had “progressively abandoned that freedom in economic affairs without which personal and political freedom has never existed in the past.” He viewed socialism and fascism as two sides of the same coin, since centralized government planning and state power characterized both.

Political Scientists' View In contrast, the American political scientists Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski focused on political and ethnic issues, not economic ones. They contended that the totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union had their origins in the upheaval brought about by World War I. The forces of nationalism unleashed by the war, combined with the need to respond politically to the global depression that followed World War I created fertile ground for strong, nationalistic rulers who could rise to political power and address ethnic conflict.

A Historian's View American historian and journalist William Shirer identified the origins of Nazism in Germany's distant and distinctive past. He concluded that Germanic nationalism, authoritarianism, and militarism dated back to the Middle Ages. “The course of German history . . .,” he wrote, “made blind obedience to temporal rulers the highest virtue of Germanic man, and put a premium on servility.” No other country developed the same sort of Nazism because no country had Germany's past.

A Sociologist's View Like a historian, American sociologist Barrington Moore looked to the past to explain totalitarianism. However, rather than focus on what made each country unique, he searched for patterns in the social structures of groups of countries. In his book *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966), Moore analyzed why Great Britain, France, and the United States evolved into democracies, while Japan, China, Russia, and Germany evolved into dictatorships. For Moore, two vital steps in creating a democracy were developing a middle class and breaking the power of the landed aristocracy. Countries that failed to do these things were more likely to become dictatorships.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

ECONOMICS

inflation
John Maynard Keynes
deficit spending
Great Depression
New Deal
Recovery
Reform
Relief
New Economic Plan
(NEP)
Five-Year Plan
Dollar Diplomacy

STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Benito Mussolini
Adolf Hitler
Paul von Hindenburg
Francisco Franco
Antonio Salazar
Getulio Vargas
Joseph Stalin
Porfirio Diaz
Emiliano Zapata
Pancho Villa
Lazaro Cardenas
Mao Tse-tung
Sun Yat-sen
Mustafa Kemal
Mohandas Gandhi
Muhammad Ali Jinnah
Jawaharlal Nehru
Howard Taft
Augusto Sandino

STATE-BUILDING: STATES, MOVEMENTS, AND ALLIANCES

Libya
Somaliland
Weimar Republic
Nazis
Spanish Republic
Popular Front
Nationalists
Loyalists
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics (U.S.S.R.)
Chinese Communist
Party (CCP)
Kuomintang
Turkish National
Movement
satyagraha movement
Pakistan
Sandinistas

STATE-BUILDING

fascism
corporatism
Reichstag
lebensraum
Spanish Civil War
land reform
Guernica
Basque region
Luftwaffe
Politburo
Amritsar
civil disobedience
Salt March
Neocolonialism
Good Neighbor Policy

CULTURE

scientific racism
Olympic Games
Jesse Owens
Leni Riefenstahl
Pablo Picasso
socialist realism
Negritude Movement
Leopold Senghor
W.E.B. DuBois
Richard Wright
Langston Hughes
Diego Rivera
Surrealist artists
paradigm shifts

SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Nuremberg Laws
Kristallnacht

ENVIRONMENT

Long March

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the table below.

Dates of the Great Depression			
Country	Depression Began	Recovery Began	Decline in Industrial Production During the Great Depression
United States	Mid-1929	Mid-1933	47%
Germany	Early 1928	Mid-1932	42%
Italy	Mid-1929	Early 1933	33%
France	Mid-1930	Mid-1932	31%
United Kingdom	Early 1930	Late 1932	16%
Japan	Early 1930	Mid-1932	9%

- 1.1 Based on the countries in this table, the decline in industrial production during the Great Depression was relatively more severe in countries
- (A) that had industrialized more recently
 - (B) that had large overseas colonial empires
 - (C) where the Great Depression began earlier
 - (D) where World War I battles had been fought
- 1.2 One reason that explains the relative length of the Great Depression in Japan was that
- (A) the government devalued its currency
 - (B) industries adopted economic practices used by the U.S.S.R.
 - (C) the country returned to an agriculture-based economy
 - (D) employees worked longer hours for lower pay than did others in Asia
- 1.3 Which is the most important reason to explain why Germany suffered so severely from the Great Depression?
- (A) the refusal of the Soviets to repay their war debt to Germany
 - (B) the use of deficit spending to try to help the German economy
 - (C) the billions of dollars in war reparations that Germany owed
 - (D) the printing of less paper money in Germany, causing deflation

Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the passage below.

“All great cultures of the past perished only because the originally creative race died out from blood poisoning. The ultimate cause of such a decline was their forgetting that all culture depends on men and not conversely; hence that to preserve a certain culture the man who creates it must be preserved. . . . If we were to divide mankind into three groups, the founders of culture, the bearers of culture, the destroyers of culture, only the Aryan could be considered as the representative of the first group.”

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

- 2.1** Which policy did Nazi leaders try to justify most directly with the ideas expressed in the excerpt?
- (A) opposition to communism
 - (B) nonaggression pacts with neighboring countries
 - (C) suppression of political dissent
 - (D) discrimination against Jews
- 2.2** Which group of people would most strongly agree with the ideas in the excerpt?
- (A) opponents of Social Darwinism
 - (B) opponents of anti-Semitism
 - (C) supporters of Socialist realism
 - (D) supporters of scientific racism
- 2.3** Historian William Shirer would later explain that support of ideas such as those in the excerpt during the 1920s and 1930s was a result of Germany’s history of
- (A) alliances with Soviet Communism
 - (B) nationalism and authoritarianism
 - (C) armed revolt and civil disobedience
 - (D) rebellion against authoritarian rulers

Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the passages below.

“One reason *Guernica* [by Pablo Picasso] is considered a treasure in terms of art history is that it seemed to provide a bridge between what were considered by some to be antithetical poles: the idea of making an effective political statement and an effective artistic statement at the same time. And this is certainly one of the achievements of the *Guernica* project, that it was a third space between those two antithetical poles.”

Patricia Failing, art historian, pbs.org

“Diego Rivera . . . created popular political murals throughout Mexico that often included attacks on the ruling class, the church and capitalism. . . . Rivera believed that painting murals on the walls of public buildings made art accessible to the everyday man. His murals focused on telling stories that dealt with Mexican society and referenced the revolution of 1910. It featured large forms, bright colors and recurring images of farmers, laborers, popular Mexican figures and depictions of earth.”

“Diego Rivera’s Murals,” pbs.org

- 3.1** Which individual would be most sympathetic to the works of both Picasso and Rivera?
- (A) Chiang Kai-shek
 - (B) Adolf Hitler
 - (C) W.E.B. DuBois
 - (D) Francisco Franco
- 3.2** Which statement most accurately describes a similarity between Picasso and Rivera?
- (A) Both men wanted their art to influence public opinion.
 - (B) Both men supported conservative political movements.
 - (C) Both men resisted efforts by others to use their art for political purposes.
 - (D) Both men opposed the efforts to address economic inequality.

Question 1 refers to the passages below.

“Take up the White Man’s burden,
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives’ need;
To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.”

Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” 1899

“The African has resisted, and persisted . . . But what the partial occupation of his soil by the white man has failed to do; what the mapping out of European political ‘spheres of influence’ has failed to do; what the maxim [a type of gun] and the rifle, the slave gang, labor in the bowels of the earth and the lash, have failed to do; what imported measles, smallpox, and syphilis have failed to do; what even the oversea[s] slave trade failed to do, the power of modern capitalistic exploitation, assisted by modern engines of destruction, may yet succeed in accomplishing.

For from the evils of the latter, scientifically applied and enforced, there is no escape for the African . . . It kills not the body merely, but the soul. . . . It wrecks his polity, uproots him from the land, invades his family life, destroys his natural pursuits and occupations, claims his whole time, enslaves him in his own home.”

Edward D. Morel, “The Black Man’s Burden,” 1920

1. Answer parts A, B, and C.
 - A. Identify and explain ONE difference in the viewpoints of the authors of these passages.
 - B. Identify ONE historical figure from Asia or Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century who would agree Morel’s view of capitalism and explain why.
 - C. Identify ONE European leader in the first half of the twentieth century who would disagree with Morel’s statement and explain why.
2. Answer parts A and B.
 - A. Identify and explain ONE similarity and ONE difference in the political or economic policies of Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin.
 - B. Identify and explain ONE difference between how Lenin and Mao viewed the workers who made up the proletariat class.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE ARGUMENTATION IN A PARAGRAPH

A historical argument states a thesis and then supports it with evidence that is relevant to the thesis. If a thesis states that World War I promoted the rise of fascism, then information about the results of the war and about the rise of fascism is more relevant than information about particular battles of World War I. *Each item below gives the first sentence of a paragraph. For each, choose the second sentence that would best continue to build a paragraph that states an argument.*

1. Historians have underestimated the effects of World War I.
 - a. The death toll of World War I makes it one of the worst conflicts in history.
 - b. World War I started with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand.
2. What was bad for Western Europe and the United States was good for colonized peoples in the interwar years.
 - a. Although the interwar era was short, it spawned fascinating new artistic trends.
 - b. While Western Europe and the United States were rebuilding their devastated economies, colonized lands were building powerful nationalist movements.
3. Governments should take an active role in stimulating their nation's economies, including the use of deficit spending.
 - a. Deficit spending pays off because it enables people to find jobs, which increases consumer spending.
 - b. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used economist John Maynard Keynes's ideas in attacking the Great Depression.
4. In important ways, Kemal Ataturk of Turkey was similar to Peter the Great of Russia.
 - a. Though they lived two centuries apart, they recognized the need to reform a stagnant society.
 - b. Ataturk fought for self-determination for the Turks, while Peter the Great led a country that had been independent since the days of Ivan the Great.

WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: CONSIDER CONNOTATION

An essential part of the meaning of a word can be its connotation, the emotion that goes along with it. Taken together, the words in each phrase and sentence often convey a judgment as well as objective information. Consider a small group of people who use violence and the threat of violence to achieve a goal. Supporters of the group might call them “freedom fighters.” Fighting for freedom sounds very positive. Opponents of the group might call them “terrorists,” a word with strongly negative meanings.

When writing an essay, be aware of the emotional impact of the words you select. Choose words that convey your precise meaning accurately. *In each pair of sentences, select the one that describes the topic more positively.*

1. Indian National Congress
 - a. The Indian National Congress advocated secession.
 - b. The Indian National Congress supported self-determination.
2. Japan and Manchuria
 - a. Japan’s expansion into Manchuria began in the early 1930s.
 - b. Japan’s imperialism into Manchuria began in the early 1930s.
3. Regional Leaders in China
 - a. Mao and Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance against China’s traditional regional leaders.
 - b. Mao and Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance against China’s regional warlords.
4. Policies of Getulio Vargas
 - a. Like many fascists, Vargas followed policies that were pro-industry.
 - b. Like many fascists, Vargas followed policies that were anti-labor.
5. Banks in the Great Depression
 - a. During the Great Depression, thousands of banks failed.
 - b. During the Great Depression, thousands of banks closed.
6. Government Spending in the 1930s
 - a. Under Franklin Roosevelt, the government borrowed money to stimulate recovery.
 - b. Under Franklin Roosevelt, the government used deficit spending that increased the national debt.