

**WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: WRITE A STRONG LAST SENTENCE**

The final sentence of an essay can have the most impact on a reader. Your last sentence should be compelling and solidify the points made in the body paragraphs. Summarize the contentions and restate the position from your introduction in order to firmly establish your stance. The closing sentence often resembles the thesis statement.

1. Choose the sentence that best concludes an essay about the causes of World War I.
  - a. Several factors contributed to the Great War, including patriotism, expansionism, and military allies.
  - b. The unwavering nationalism, strong alliances, and dominating imperialistic attitudes led to World War I.
2. Choose the sentence that best concludes an essay about the effects of the war on international relations.
  - a. Germany's financial and political penalizations, the false hope of colonized peoples and the contradicting interests of nations generated the state of international relationships after World War I.
  - b. In addition to nominal peace conferences, some countries felt excluded from such meetings which led to increased tension between nations.

## 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 on her battlefields? You ask in amazement what she has 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, *Nationalism*, written in 1917

History has underestimated the effects of World War I, or the Great War as it was called at the time. Perhaps because of World War II's unspeakable genocides, as well as its general carnage and destruction, much of the devastation of World War I has been forgotten.

The years following World War I brought economic depressions and hope to people around the world. From the perspective of Western Europe and the United States, the overall mood of the 20-year period was pessimistic. Colonized peoples, however, viewed a weakened Europe as an opportunity to fight for independence. As Tagore describes in the opening passage, Western Europe was beginning to implode. The troubles of the era moved many in the West to adopt radical philosophies, such as fascism and Nazism. Western countries grappled with new political landscapes and troubled economies. In the meantime, the colonized lands of the world were giving birth to nationalist movements and solidifying national identities. The interwar era, though short, brought with it daring new intellectual and artistic movements that reflected the confusion and chaos of the time.

### The Great Depression

World War I brought anxiety to the nations that suffered through it. Even the victorious Allied nations experienced troubles following the war. They had lost millions of their citizens, both soldiers and civilians, and had spent an excessive amount of money on the international conflict. The defeated Central Powers, particularly Germany and the newly dismembered Austria-Hungary, suffered even greater losses. The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to pay billions of dollars in reparations to the war's victors. Germany could not meet these payments, so the government printed more paper money in the 1920s.

This action caused *inflation*, a general rise in prices, which in turn caused the value of German money to decrease. To add to the sluggish post-war economy, France and Britain had difficulty repaying the money the United States had loaned them during the war, 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's, "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 that dwarfed those of the 1930s.

**Depression Elsewhere** The Great Depression that began in the United States spread to Western Europe and also powerfully affected nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, whose economies continued to be dominated by the Western powers. International trade experienced a downturn, as nations imposed strict tariffs, or taxes on imports, in an effort to protect domestic industries from foreign competition and to save jobs. By 1932, more than 30 million people worldwide were out of work.

In contrast, Japan dug itself out of the Depression much more rapidly than most other nations. Japan devalued its currency, which means that the government lowered the value of its money in relation to foreign currencies. Thus, Japanese-made products became less expensive than imports from places such as Britain. Japan's overseas expansionism also increased Japan's need for military goods, thus stimulating the economy.

## Rise of Right-Wing Governments

Political upheavals characterized the interwar years. While the U.S. government became more liberal, governments in most countries moved to the political right out of a desire for stability and fear of uncertainty. In this environment, a new political system known as *fascism* flourished. Fascist regimes suppressed other political parties, protests, and independent trade unions. They used extreme 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 "fascis," 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 to achieve world domination. 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 was also 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. Because the Weimar Republic, a liberal democracy, was perceived by many Germans to be weak, many people looked to right-wing political parties to solve their problems.

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 1943, 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 metals 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 VIII 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 had hoped that Woodrow Wilson would apply his philosophy of 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 their dismay, the Paris Peace Conference did not produce any of the desired results. Self-determination apparently applied 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. He served for 15 years.

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 concerning women, including public education for both boys and girls, the abolition of polygyny, and suffrage for 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 and 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 they 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 neocolonialism of the United States. *Neocolonialism* refers to actions taken by one government to indirectly control another country.

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 in fact a way to assert U.S. predominance in the Western Hemisphere. Less than 100 years 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 became chaotic or 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. 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

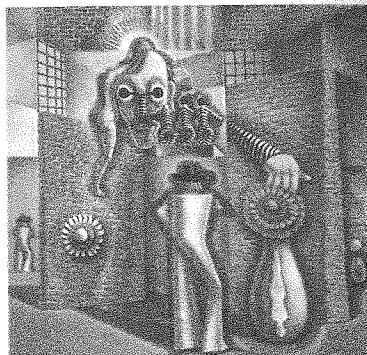
complained of U.S. influence and the dependent ties their governments had with the United States.

Resistance to U.S. imperialism came in many forms. *Augusto Sandino* of Nicaragua, for example, waged a guerrilla war (warfare by a small group of combatants using stealth and surprise rather than direct confrontation). Sandino was killed by a Nicaraguan general in 1934. Considered a hero and martyr by Nicaraguan revolutionaries, they called themselves *Sandinistas* in his memory.

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
<b>Relativity</b>	<p><b>1905</b> Albert Einstein introduces the Special Theory of Relativity, which described the relationship between matter and energy in an equation (<math>E = mc^2</math>).</p> <p><b>1914</b> 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.
<b>Psychology</b>	<p><b>1905</b> Sigmund Freud theorizes that the mind has unconscious as well as conscious aspects.</p> <p><b>1912</b> Carl Jung develops analytical psychology based on universally shared unconscious ideas called archetypes.</p> <p><b>1923</b> 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.
<b>Astronomy</b>	<p><b>1912</b> Vesto Slipher measures the Doppler shift of spiral nebula, showing that they are moving away from Earth.</p> <p><b>1922</b> Alexander Friedmann theorizes that the universe is expanding.</p> <p><b>1927</b> Georges Lemaitre develops the Big Bang Theory.</p> <p><b>1928</b> Edwin Hubble shows that the universe is expanding.</p>	New research and theories revolutionized the understanding of the structure and workings of the universe.
<b>Quantum Mechanics</b>	<p><b>1918</b> Max Planck wins the Nobel Prize for his discovery of discrete packets of light he named "quanta."</p> <p><b>1922</b> 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, Spain, and became dictatorships. Scholars often explain the rise of totalitarianism from their own discipline's viewpoint.

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.

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.

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.

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, the key developments in creating a democracy were the rise of a middle class, and some action to break the power of the old landed aristocracy. Countries that failed to do these things were at greater risk of becoming 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

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Question 1 refers to the tables below.

Dates of the Great Depression		
Country	Depression Began	Recovery Began
France	mid-1930	mid-1932
Germany	early 1928	mid-1932
Italy	mid-1929	early 1933
Japan	early 1930	mid-1932
United Kingdom	early 1930	late 1932
United States	mid-1929	mid-1933

Decline in Industrial Production During the Great Depression	
Country	Decline
France	31%
Germany	42%
Italy	33%
Japan	9%
United Kingdom	16%
United States	47%

- Based on these tables, the Great Depression was
  - shorter but more severe in Japan than in most of Europe
  - longer in the United Kingdom than in the United States
  - longer and more severe in Germany than in France
  - most severe in countries where World War I battles had been fought
- Fascist regimes emerged in Europe as a response to the Great Depression because they
  - promised stability for their citizens
  - believed in land reform
  - allowed free elections and a democratic government
  - allied themselves with communism

Question 3 refers to the excerpt 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

- Which Nazi policy is supported by the ideas expressed in the excerpt?
  - Opposition to communism
  - Conquest of neighboring countries
  - Suppression of political dissent
  - Discrimination against Jews
- Which of the following was a major contributor to the Spanish Civil War that began in 1936?
  - Hostility of the Spanish Republic to Communist countries
  - Catholic Church hostility toward the Popular Front
  - Support of the Spanish Army for land reform
  - Propaganda used by surrealist painters
- Siding with the Allied powers during World War II allowed Brazil to
  - move from an agrarian to an industrialized economy
  - adopt a dictatorship as a new form of government
  - appear to be more liberal than it really was
  - gain more financial support from the Soviet Union
- After China's hopes of freedom from the unequal treaties with Western powers were dashed in the Treaty of Versailles, the May Fourth Movement
  - marked the re-emergence of the Chinese Imperial government
  - expressed the nationalist feelings of Chinese urban residents
  - resulted in a Chinese alliance with the United States
  - allowed a strong democratic government to emerge in China

7. The Long March refers to
  - (A) the Nationalist Party's rise to ascendancy in China
  - (B) Chiang Kai-shek's assault on the Communist stronghold in Shanghai
  - (C) the emigration of Chinese people to Russia
  - (D) the movement of Chinese Communists from Jiangxi province
8. What led Chinese thinkers to consider a Marxist solution to China's problems after World War I?
  - (A) The rise of fascism in Italy and Spain
  - (B) The breakup of the Ottoman Empire into separate countries
  - (C) The ties between Russian Communists and Chinese revolutionary factions
  - (D) The example of Japanese modernization by learning from Western countries
9. Which statement most accurately describes Mustafa Kemal as a leader in Turkey?
  - (A) He continued to support Islamic influences in government.
  - (B) He wholeheartedly embraced the principles of fascism.
  - (C) He instituted some reforms but ruled as a dictator.
  - (D) He worked to establish a Communist government.
10. Although Latin American nations gained political independence in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century they were dominated economically by
  - (A) Great Britain
  - (B) the United States
  - (C) the U.S.S.R.
  - (D) Spain

### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE-OVER-TIME ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: You are to answer the following question. You should spend 5 minutes organizing or outlining your essay. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with appropriate historical evidence.
- Addresses all parts of the question.
- Uses world historical context to show continuities and changes over time.
- Analyzes the process of continuity and change over time.

1. Analyze continuities and change in Russian politics and economics from the Bolshevik Revolution through Stalin's rule.

### Questions for Additional Practice

2. Analyze continuities and change in politics during the 1920s and 1930s in Germany.
3. Analyze continuities and change in India's relationship with Britain from 1900 through 1939.

### COMPARATIVE ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: You are to answer the following question. You should spend 5 minutes organizing or outlining your essay. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with appropriate historical evidence.
- Addresses all parts of the question.
- Makes direct, relevant comparisons.
- Analyzes relevant reasons for similarities and differences.

1. Analyze similarities and differences in the revolutions that began between 1910 and 1920 in TWO of these nations:
  - China
  - Mexico
  - Russia

### Questions for Additional Practice

2. Analyze similarities and differences in the ways TWO of the following nations dealt with economic challenges that arose between 1920 and 1939:
  - Soviet Union
  - Japan
  - United States
3. Analyze the similarities and differences between nineteenth-century European imperialism and twentieth-century American neocolonialism.

**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.

**WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: USE VERB TENSES CAREFULLY**

Verb tenses are especially important in historical writing, where the past is often contrasted with the present, and various periods of time are referenced. *Identify the verb or verb phrase in the wrong tense in the following sentences:*

1. By the 1930s, the Depression that had began in the United States powerfully affected nations in Latin American, Africa, and Asia.
2. In the wake of political upheavals that occur in the interwar years, radical new philosophies commenced.
3. The Olympic Games had constituted propaganda for Germany in light of the poor press it was receiving in many countries in the thirties.
4. While dueling sides in Spain battled over who would govern the nation, the Spanish Civil War becomes globally significant.
5. In the century's first two decades, rebellions erupt in Mexico, China, and Russia.