CHAPTER 32

Anxieties and Ideologies of the Interwar Years, 1918–1939

An Age Of Anxiety

Anxieties abounded in the interwar years, as long-held standards of behavior, art, and science seemed to disappear. This famous "surrealist" painting, *The Treachery of Images,* proclaims in French that "This is not a pipe"—making the point that perceptions of "reality" can be deceiving. It is, after all, a *painting*, not a pipe (see page 817).

In December 1918, Woodrow Wilson was greeted in Paris by seas of flags and flowers, and then warmly cheered by enormous crowds as he rode through town in an open carriage. Earlier that year, declaring his objectives in the Great War, the American president had listed Fourteen Points (page 809) that he thought should be the basis for a peace settlement. They included such idealistic goals as open peace talks, freedom of the seas, free trade, arms control, and **national self-determination**—the right of each nationality to freely decide its own political status. In November, Germany had agreed to a war-ending armistice based on his Fourteen Points. Now, as he arrived for the Paris Peace Conference that would shape the postwar world, Wilson was the man of the hour, a prophet whose idealism fed people's hopes for an enduring peace fair to victor and vanquished alike. The hopes and dreams of a war-weary world rested on his shoulders.

Soon, however, world events dampened these hopes and dreams. At the peace conference, beginning in January 1919, Allied leaders, bent on punishing defeated foes, resisted Wilson's idealism. Britain and France sought to weaken Germany by imposing huge reparations payments. The Italians demanded lands secretly promised them when they joined the war, and then went home enraged when Wilson and others rejected their demands. In April, in Amritsar, India, troops under British command shot hundreds of anti-British protesters, dimming hopes for self-determination in Europe's Asian colonies. In May, Chinese students in Beijing, angered that the conference permitted Japan to take over German claims in China, began a mass movement heralding the rise of Chinese nationalism and communism. In June, outside Paris, at the palace of Versailles, subdued German delegates signed a harsh treaty imposed by the conference, while flags across Germany flew at half mast to mark the nation's resentment. In September, back in Washington, exhausted by futile efforts to promote the Versailles Treaty to his own country, Wilson suffered a paralyzing stroke.

Animosities enduring from the war—and from the peace imposed at Paris—would contribute two decades later to a Second World War. In the interwar era (1919–1939), nations East and West were torn by cultural and social changes, the global economy was rocked by depression, and radical new ideologies reshaped Europe, Africa, and Asia. So unsettling was this era that later observers called it the Age of Anxiety.

Western Society and Culture in an Age of Anxiety

The Great War devastated Europe, physically and emotionally. The lands where it was fought, strewn with mines and scarred by trenches, would take decades to recover, while the loss in human potential caused by its countless casualties was incalculable. Prewar faith in progress, driven by new technologies, died in the trenches as new technologies helped produce inhuman slaughter. As hope and idealism gave way to fatalism and

cynicism, challenging new ideas, combined with social and cultural changes, added to the anxieties of the interwar years.

The Rise of Relativism and Relativity

Especially unsettling was a growing attitude of **relativism**, the view that truth and morality vary from one person, group, or situation to another. People in the West had long presumed that absolute standards of truth and morality existed, and that human reason, aided by divine revelation, could distinguish fact from falsehood and good from evil. But by the 1920s, with faith in Western ideals shaken by the war, many were coming to feel that all certainties had vanished. Much as "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," what was true for one person might be false for another, and what was wrong in some cultures or conditions might be acceptable in others.

Relative thinking challenges traditional morality

To some extent, nineteenth-century ideologies (Chapter 27) had laid the foundations for twentieth-century relativism. Marxism, for example, held that human society was based on class struggle, and that violent rebellion was not a moral evil but a necessary part of that struggle. Indeed, to many Marxists and followers of other ideologies, a statement's truth or an action's morality depended on whether or not it advanced their cause. Social Darwinists, who applied Darwin's notion of "survival of the fittest" to human societies, also saw struggle as essential, but they, unlike Marxists, claimed that the strong must naturally prey on the weak. Truth and morality were superseded by the struggle for survival, which justified almost any action advancing one's nation or race. Even imperialism and the Great War, both of which involved mass carnage, were seen by Social Darwinists as components of this natural struggle.

Freud asserts that behaviors are induced by unconscious drives

In the twentieth century, new understandings of human psychology further challenged conventional attitudes about truth and morality. Austrian psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (*FROID*), disputing the idea that human behavior is based on rational decisions, held that people are driven by unconscious instincts and impulses that conflict with the conscious mind. Freud's ideas—including his focus on human drives for sexual pleasure, his rejection of religious scruples, and his concept of a death wish that clashes with self-preservation instincts—suggested that, since human behaviors are induced by unconscious urges, there can be no absolute moral standards.

Einstein asserts that measurements of time and space are relative

Another form of relative thinking revolutionized physics, whose laws had seemed so constant since the time of Isaac Newton. In 1905 and 1916 Albert Einstein, a German scientist of Jewish descent, published his theories of **relativity**, asserting that measurements of time, space, and motion vary with the perspectives of observers (see "Einstein on Relativity"). To explain his concepts, Einstein used illustrations based on moving trains. If a man drops a stone from a moving train, for example, he will see the stone fall in a straight line (ignoring wind resistance), but an observer on the ground will see the stone fall in a curve. Similarly, if a bird flies by in a straight line, the man on the train will see it flying with a different speed and direction than observed by the person on the ground. The stone's path and the bird's speed and direction are thus relative to the location and movement of the two observers.

Albert Einstein.

In his famous formula $E=mc^2$ (energy equals mass times the speed of light squared), Einstein proposed that matter could be converted into energy, asserting that each atom of matter contains enormous energy in its nucleus. By the 1940s, scientists would split

Document 32.1 Einstein on Relativity

In 1905 and 1916 Albert Einstein published his special and general theories of relativity, revolutionizing science by asserting that measurements of time, space, and motion are relative to the location and movements of observers. In the excerpts below, he uses examples based on moving trains to help demonstrate his theories.

It is not clear what is to be understood . . . by "position" and "space." I stand at the window of a railway carriage which is travelling uniformly, and drop a stone on the embankment, without throwing it. Then, disregarding the influence of the air resistance, I see the stone descend in a straight line. A pedestrian who observes the misdeed from the footpath notices that the stone falls to earth in a parabolic curve. I now ask: Do the "positions" traversed by the stone lie "in reality" on a straight line or on a parabola? . . . With the aid of this example it is clearly seen that there is no such thing as an independently existing trajectory . . . , but only a trajectory relative to a particular body of reference . . .

. . . In order to attain the greatest possible clearness, let us return to our example of the railway carriage supposed to be travelling uniformly . . . Let us imagine a raven flying through the air in such a manner that its motion, as observed from the embankment, is uniform and in a straight line. If we were to observe the flying raven from the moving railway carriage, we should find that the motion of the raven would be one of different velocity and direction, but that it would still be uniform and in a straight line . . .

SOURCE: Albert Einstein, *Relativity: The Special and General Theory* (1920) III. "Space and Time in Classical Mechanics" (http://www.bartleby.com/173.3); V. "The Principle of Relativity (In the Restricted Sense)" (http://www.bartleby.com/173.5).

the atoms of radioactive elements, such as uranium and plutonium, to release their nuclear energy and develop atomic bombs (Chapter 33). In showcasing science's vast creative and destructive powers, scientists helped to further blur distinctions between good and bad.

Einstein asserts that matter can be converted into energy

All these new ideas added to the age's uncertainties. If truth and morality varied according to one's situation and psychology, if time and space varied according to one's perspective, and if even solid-looking matter was made up of energy particles, how could humans ever trust their judgments? Human judgments, after all, had led to the Great War.

Technology and Popular Culture

Meanwhile, as new ideas transformed people's perspectives, new technologies transformed their everyday lives. In the 1920s, especially in the West, the growing use of radios, phonographs, movies, telephones, electric appliances, and automobiles gave rise to whole new forms of popular culture. Radios, for example, enabled sports fans to follow their favorite teams, feeding a growing frenzy for spectator sports. Radios and phonograph records helped millions enjoy new forms of popular music, including blues and jazz. And millions went to movies each week—especially after 1927, when films with sound, pioneered by an immensely popular American movie called *The Jazz Singer*, began replacing silent films.

New technologies transform Western popular culture

Telephones, refrigerators, and washing machines made life easier for many; but the most influential new mass-market product was the automobile. To make production more efficient, American auto maker Henry Ford used the **assembly line**, making vehicles by

conveying them in a continuous flow through a series of work stations that each performed a single function. This system enabled Ford to mass-produce millions of inexpensive cars, known as Model Ts, at prices affordable to ordinary people, including his own well-paid workers.

Mass-produced cars and trucks foster regional and global connections

As other manufacturers, following Ford's lead, used assembly lines to package foods and make appliances, mass-produced goods and vehicles transformed Western societies. Roads were paved and expanded to accommodate cars and trucks, and dotted with gasoline stations, supplying fuel from oil-rich regions such as Texas, the Dutch East Indies, and the Persian Gulf. Rural residents drove cars to town to shop or attend movies, while city people used cars for weekend drives to the countryside or beach. Farmers plowed fields with motorized tractors, while townsfolk ate produce brought daily by motor trucks. Nations were knit together by new technologies, as autos reduced distances and expanded regional contacts, while radio programs, newscasts, movies, and sports reached millions, helping to foster a sense of national culture.

Cars on Daytona Beach, Florida in the 1920s.

New technologies also were used to build political support. Radio transmitted "fireside chats" by British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, as well as fiery speeches by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and Germany's Adolf Hitler. In the 1920s, movies such as *Battleship Potemkin*, by Soviet film pioneer Sergei Eisenstein, rallied support for communism by exalting Russia's revolutionary past; in the 1930s, films such as *Triumph of the Will*, by German female filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, showcased mass glorification of Hitler.

Changes in the Role of Women

Expanding roles for women affect fashions and social conduct

Riefenstahl's filmmaking career was but one example of the new roles played by women in the postwar West. Following the Great War, women in Britain, Germany, Poland, Russia, and America received voting rights, partly in response to decades of activism promoting women's suffrage and partly in recognition of the work done by women who took jobs in industry when the men were off at war. Although most women gave up these jobs after the war, some stayed on to pursue careers in industry and business formerly closed to women, while those returning to the home often did so with a new assertiveness based on their wartime work experience.

Changing women's roles were also reflected in new fashions and behaviors. Freeing themselves from confining corsets that accentuated breasts and hips, some young women became "flappers," sporting short hair, short skirts, and straight-fit styles emphasizing boyish figures. Liberated by automobiles from parental supervision, single young women and men went on dates to movies and dances, smoked cigarettes in public, and in cars engaged in sexual conduct their parents surely would have frowned on.

Measuring women's shorter swimsuits in the 1920s.

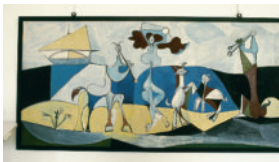
Architecture, Art, and Literature

New trends and technologies also affected architecture, art, and literature. By the early twentieth century, growing use of cranes, elevators, structural steel, and reinforced concrete helped architects design larger and taller buildings than before. Devising new styles based on simplicity and function, architects such as Germany's Walter Gropius and his

Bauhaus (*BOUW-house*) school created elegant but practical structures in cities from America to India. Cities became assortments of cubic structures, from large block-shaped buildings to soaring urban skyscrapers.

Global connections and urban realities impact architecture and art

New art forms were likewise inspired by new urban realities and by global connections forged in the imperial age. Before the Great War some European artists, influenced by Japanese art that disregarded perspective and realism, experimented with impressionism, depicting impressions made on the painter by scenes from nature and modern urban life. Inspired by cubic urban structures and by African art forms, Spanish-French painter Pablo Picasso created **cubism**, an artistic style using geometric shapes to produce bold images. After the war German artist Otto Dix used ghastly images to capture war's nightmare and postwar social decadence, while Picasso and others embraced **surrealism**—art that sought to challenge perceptions (see page 812) or to portray Freud's unconscious world of drives, fantasies, and dreams. As artists depicted subjective impressions instead of objective reality, artistic standards, like moral norms and scientific measurements, were revolutionized by relativism.



A cubist painting by Pablo Picasso.

New literary methods also violated traditional standards. In his novel *Ulysses* (1922), for example, Ireland's James Joyce used a stream of consciousness technique, later adopted by others, to depict the free and ungrammatical flow of a character's inner thoughts and impressions. And American poet e. e. cummings shunned such conventions as rhyme, meter, and capitalization.

Other writers and poets reflected the age's anxieties. In a two-volume work, *The Decline of the West* (1918 and 1922), German educator Oswald Spengler claimed that Western Civilization, having undergone cycles of growth and development like other great cultures before it, was now in decline and decay. In the 1929 novel *All Quiet on the Western Front*, German author Erich Maria Remarque depicted the ordeals of a group of young men who joined the German army in the Great War expecting to find honor and glory but instead finding only death, degradation, mutilation, and madness. In *The Waste Land* (1922), British-American poet T. S. Eliot provided bleak, grotesque images of desolation, death, and despair. And in *The Second Coming* (1921), Irish poet W. B. Yeats cogently captured the era's pervasive pessimism:

Literature and poetry reflect new techniques and global anxieties

> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.

Democracy, Depression, and Dictatorship

Yeats's pessimism proved prophetic. In the interwar years, efforts to achieve an enduring peace proved elusive. Hopes gave way to resentments, prosperity gave way to depression, and democracies gave way to dictatorships—often driven by men and ideologies full of passionate intensity.

The Versailles Settlement

In 1919 the victorious powers—led by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and French Premier Georges Clemenceau (*klā-mahn-SŌ*)—dominated the Paris Peace Conference cited at the start of this chapter. Excluded from the conference were the defeated powers, Germany and its allies, as well as the new Soviet Russia. The result was a settlement devised and imposed by the victors.

Great War victors impose harsh treaties on the vanquished

Although the victors imposed a treaty on each defeated country (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Ottoman Turkey), the centerpiece of the postwar settlement was the Treaty of Versailles with Germany. A compromise between Wilson, who had promised a just peace, and his allies, who sought retribution for their suffering and reward for their hard-won triumph, it formally blamed the Germans for the war and forced them to pay huge reparations for war damage. Germany also had to reduce its army to 100 thousand men, surrender land to Belgium, France, and Poland, demilitarize its Rhineland region bordering Belgium and France, and give up all its overseas colonies. When the treaty was signed on June 28, 1919, exactly five years after the shots at Sarajevo that triggered the Great War, the starved, exhausted Germans bitterly resented the harsh pact forced upon them.

Treaties form League of Nations, but U.S. fails to join

At Wilson's insistence, the treaties also created the **League of Nations**, an international organization designed to maintain peace by cooperation among its members, intended eventually to include most of the world's nations. It opened in 1920 but was weakened by the absence of Wilson's own country. The U.S. Senate, wary of foreign commitments, rejected Wilson's dream by failing to ratify the Versailles Treaty. The world's richest nation thus was not a member of the League.

Britain and France manage former German and Ottoman possessions

Former German colonies and Ottoman provinces became **League of Nations mandates**, lands entrusted to victorious nations such as Britain, France, or Japan, allegedly to help prepare the people for self-rule. This formula allowed the victors to take over the possessions of the vanquished, including Arab lands in the Middle East, while paying lip service to Wilson's notion of national self-determination.

Democracy and Dictatorship in Eastern Europe

Arab delegates at the Paris Peace Conference.

Meanwhile, following the collapse of the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian empires during the Great War, numerous new nations emerged in Eastern Europe, formed by nationality groups long subject to these realms. The former Russian regions of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became independent states. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was replaced by the smaller nations of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, the last of which united the former empire's southernmost domains with its initial war enemy, Serbia. A new Poland, made up of lands from each of the three old empires, was linked to the Baltic Sea by a "Polish Corridor" that divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Prewar Romania doubled its size with territories taken from Russia and Austria-Hungary (Map 32.1).

The rise of these new nations at first appeared a triumph for democracy. All had democratic institutions, including elected parliaments and written constitutions defining people's rights. Even Hungary, after a short-lived communist regime in 1919, became a constitutional monarchy, as did Yugoslavia. But all had serious problems that soon subverted democracy.

FOUNDATION MAP 32.1 Europe and the Middle East in the 1920s and 1930s

In the wake of the Great War, numerous new nations and dependencies emerged in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Notice, from the prewar boundaries that are superimposed on this postwar map, that most of the new nations and dependences were carved out of the territories of the old German, Austrian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires, all of which had ceased to exist due to war and revolution. Why were most of these new nations and dependencies plagued by political, social, and economic anxieties?

One major problem was the existence of dissatisfied ethnic minorities. Eastern Europe's nationalities were so intermingled that most of the new nations—although based on the ideals of national self-determination—included many people who differed in language and loyalty from the majority. Poland and Czechoslovakia, for example, each contained many Germans, who often felt more loyal to Germany than to the county where they lived.

Ethnic unrest and unemployment unsettle new democracies

Another problem was unemployment, especially among former soldiers, some of whom formed bands of angry outcasts. With few skills other than fighting, they roamed the streets assaulting passers-by and staging periodic protests.

Fear of communism aids the rise of dictatorships

The biggest problem, however, was fear of communism. Living in the shadow of Soviet Russia, a huge realm that sought to promote communist revolutions in other countries, most of the new nations soon deemed democracy too weak to combat the Soviet challenge. Fearful of Soviet power, and of communist inroads among their own working classes, they restricted democratic rights and cracked down on dissent. By the early 1930s, all the new nations except Finland and Czechoslovakia were ruled by **dictators**, leaders who wielded total control, dominated weak elected institutions, and used the army and police to suppress dissent.

Fascism in Italy

Democracy's biggest setback in the 1920s came not in Eastern Europe but in Italy, a parliamentary monarchy and victor in the Great War. Many Italians felt betrayed by Allied leaders, who had secretly promised Italy some lands ruled by Austria when Italy joined the war, but failed at Versailles to fully honor this promise, on the grounds that secret agreements violated Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Anger at Allied "betrayal" and economic crises unsettle postwar Italy

Compounding Italian resentment was a postwar economic crisis. High unemployment, especially among war veterans, led to widespread working-class unrest, and Italian communists exploited this unrest to promote crippling strikes. When Italy's parliamentary democracy proved unable to control the situation, many Italians supported a new movement pledging to combat communism and restore order.

Mussolini and his Fascists exploit crises to gain power

This movement's leader was a combative ex-journalist named Benito Mussolini. A former socialist, he had become a nationalist while serving as a corporal in the Great War. Irate at the Allied snub of Italy in 1919, he formed a "fighting band," or *fascio di combattimento* (*FAH-shō dē com-bat-ē-MEN-tō*), of former soldiers like himself committed to fighting communism and advancing Italian nationalism. The term *fascio*, a bundle of rods like the ones carried by ancient Roman officials as symbols of their power, gave the movement its name. **Fascism**, an ideology that promoted belligerent nationalism and repressive dictatorship, subjected individual rights to the goals of the nation and its leader.

Benito Mussolini.

Mussolini, a bald, burly, swaggering showman, sent his black-shirted fighting squads into the streets to beat up communists and socialists. These "Blackshirts" broke strikes and burned labor union headquarters, adding to the public crisis. In October 1922 Mussolini organized a "March on Rome" to intimidate the government. When King Victor Emanuel III, fearing civil war, refused to declare martial law so the army could fight the fascists, the prime minister and cabinet resigned. Anxious to restore order, the king then appointed Mussolini prime minister, confident that Italy's constitutional structure would keep him from gaining too much power.

The king was soon proven wrong. Granted emergency powers to restore order, Mussolini used them to enact a law giving two-thirds of the seats in parliament to the party getting the most votes in an election. In 1924 elections, rigged by fascist thugs who threatened to beat up anyone who voted against fascism, his party got the votes it needed to govern alone. By the late 1920s the fascists were the only party left.

Economic controls and popular diversions sustain Mussolini's dictatorship

Although he destroyed democracy, Mussolini was very popular. In place of political divisions he offered unity, efficiency, and popular programs. His "corporate state" divided the economy into 22 areas, each supervised by a "corporation" made up of business, labor, and government leaders, thus combining private ownership with economic controls. He boasted of making trains run on time—although travelers frequently found them as late as ever. He provided public spectacles, including fiery speeches during which he often stripped to the waist and thumped his barrel chest as the crowd chanted "Duce" (*DOO-chā*), Italian for "leader." In the 1930s, as the world was rocked by economic depression, his fascist methods were emulated elsewhere—most ominously, in Germany.

The Great Depression and Its Global Impact

By 1929, although suppressed in Italy and most of Eastern Europe, democracy remained strong in Western Europe and America. During the next decade, however, a disastrous economic depression threatened its survival even there.

The Great Depression of the 1930s was triggered by events in America, where an economic boom in the 1920s created an illusion of endless prosperity. Confident consumers bought autos, appliances, and other goods, frequently on credit. As businesses flourished, more and more people bought stocks, or shares in commercial enterprises. Often they did so "on margin," paying 10 percent of the stock's current price, borrowing the rest from their brokers, then selling the stock when prices rose, repaying their brokers and pocketing the profits. Everyone, it seemed, was making money.

All was well as long as prices rose. But in 1929, fears that stocks were overpriced led many investors to sell. The resulting decline in demand for stocks drove prices down, starting a chain reaction. As brokers lost money, they demanded full payment from their clients for stocks purchased on margin; to get the money, the clients had to sell stocks at a loss, further driving prices down. On October 24 ("Black Thursday") and October 29 ("Black Tuesday"), the bottom fell out of the New York Stock Exchange, with many stocks losing half their value.

Stock Market Crash shatters American prosperity

The 1929 Stock Market Crash shattered consumer confidence. Shaken Americans simply stopped buying, decreasing demand for goods, so manufacturers cut production and laid off many workers. Now without incomes, they could not buy goods, furthering the downward spiral. Banks were caught in the middle: ruined stock investors and laid-off workers could no longer make payments owed to banks for loans and mortgages, while cash-strapped depositors sought to withdraw all their money. Having loaned that money to others, from whom they could not collect, many banks were forced to close, robbing many people of their life savings.

Other banks survived by demanding full repayment of loans made to European firms that had borrowed heavily from U.S. banks to finance the Great War and postwar recovery. To come up with the money, these firms laid off workers, resulting in mass unemployment—especially in Germany, where U.S. loans had been used extensively to finance reparations payments to France required by the Versailles Treaty.

American actions globalize Great Depression

Further American actions globalized the Great Depression. In 1930, desperate to protect declining U.S. industries from foreign competition, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, placing huge duties on imports from other countries. Despite a signed appeal from a thousand American economists, warning that this measure would ruin the

Bread line during the Great Depression.

world economy, President Herbert Hoover signed it into law. Globally sold goods, such as beef from Argentina, coffee from Brazil and Indonesia, and sugar from Brazil and the Caribbean, thus lost their American markets, causing economic crises in these countries. Many regimes responded with their own **economic nationalism**, erecting tariff walls and trade barriers to protect their national industries and products from international competition. The result was bitter friction among nations and further devastation of the world economy.

The Great Depression thus became a global calamity. From 1929 to 1932, worldwide industrial production dropped by 38 percent. In industrial countries unemployment ranged from 20 percent to 33 percent. Thousands lost homes as banks foreclosed on mortgages unpaid by jobless workers. In the United States, able-bodied people in the prime of life waited in line for rations of bread or sold apples for nickels on street corners; others committed suicide, or abandoned their families to become wandering, rootless "hoboes."

Depression and farming crisis deepen global suffering

The suffering was worsened by a global agricultural crisis. Responding to food shortages in Europe during and after the Great War, North American farmers had expanded their output of wheat and other grains. But in the 1920s, as farming rebounded in Europe and agricultural advances brought higher crop yields, the resulting grain surplus caused prices to fall sharply. Then, in the 1930s, high rates of urban unemployment decreased demand for food, damaging agricultural economies and ruining farmers everywhere.

Depression undermines support for capitalism and democracy

Capitalism and democracy were shaken. Support for radical movements grew the world over, as desperate people opted to sacrifice freedom for economic stability. Even in places with long traditions of political and economic freedom, people increasingly looked to government for solutions.

The New Deal in the United States

In America, where the crisis began, President Hoover was ill-equipped to deal with the Depression. A staunch believer in free markets, he refused to support federal unemployment relief or direct intervention in the economy. Instead he sought vainly to restore consumer confidence by promising that prosperity was "just around the corner." As suffering mounted, he lost the 1932 election to Franklin D. Roosevelt, an engaging Wilsonian idealist who promised "a New Deal for the American people."

Surprising even supporters, Roosevelt proved a tireless activist whose infectious optimism and eloquence, enshrined in such memorable phrases as "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," made him one of America's most effective presidents. Using government programs to relieve misery, increase buying power, and promote economic recovery, he infused new hope into the nation and created a consensus on behalf of activist government.

Roosevelt uses government intervention to combat Depression

Roosevelt proposed and Congress enacted numerous ambitious measures. A huge public works program, launched to provide jobs for the unemployed, built or rebuilt schools, highways, bridges, and public buildings throughout the country. Subsidies to farmers helped them leave some fields unfarmed, reducing overproduction, which had undermined farm profits by driving prices down. Banks were regulated, deposits insured by the government, and buying stock on margin prohibited. A Civilian Conservation Corps sent jobless young men into rural areas to plant millions of trees and build hydroelectric dams on rivers such as the Tennessee and Columbia. Most enduring of all was

the Social Security system, through which the government provided pensions for the aging and later also the disabled.

The results of all this legislation were mixed. On one hand, Roosevelt's vigorous federal intervention may have saved American capitalism: the crisis was so severe that massive government spending was probably the only way to get money into circulation and reinvigorate industrial production. On the other hand, the New Deal did not end the Depression. Slow production gains were reversed by a 1937 recession. What ended unemployment in America was not the New Deal but World War II, which put millions to work producing war materials and serving in the armed forces.

The Civilian Conservation Corps at work, 1937.

But the impact of Roosevelt's activism outweighed its failures. Vastly expanding the federal bureaucracy, his policies provided a new vision of democratic governance, summarized eloquently by Roosevelt himself: "Better the occasional errors of a government that cares about its citizens than the constant omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference." The New Deal abolished child labor, set minimum wages and maximum work hours, and guaranteed workers the right to bargain collectively. Its measures and its methods, which mobilized the government in support of the common people, endured and affected American society long after the Great Depression was over.

Roosevelt was both loved and hated to a degree unmatched by other elected leaders. A wealthy man, he was reviled by the rich as a traitor to his class, while inspiring in ordinary people an affection so powerful it transcended politics. He styled himself "the champion of the forgotten man," and that description, endorsed by millions, gave him the moral authority to lead his nation through the Great Depression and Second World War.

Roosevelt's activism restores American hope

Democracy and Socialism in Western Europe

Unlike America, which before the Depression was averse to government activism and supremely self-confident, Western Europe had a history of social legislation (Chapter 27) and deep insecurities flowing from the Great War. Western European voters were thus more open than Americans to socialistic experiments.

Britain's new Labour Party, which had socialist ideals and labor union roots, twice won elections in the 1920s under Ramsay MacDonald, illegitimate son of a poor Scottish woman, who became Britain's first socialist prime minister. Assuming that role for a second time in 1929, MacDonald like Hoover had to deal with the Great Depression. In 1931, as the crisis worsened, MacDonald formed at the king's request a coalition government of Labourites, Conservatives, and Liberals, abandoning radical socialism and splitting his own party. The new coalition adopted economic nationalism and cut spending on social programs, but these steps did not end the Depression. In 1935 the British turned to Stanley Baldwin, whose calm manner reassured them, but the economy did not recover until Neville Chamberlain, who replaced Baldwin as prime minister in 1937, increased defense spending and introduced a military draft.

France in the interwar years, obsessed with recovery from the Great War and fearful of German resurgence, was beset by short-lived governments averaging less than a year. When depression hit in the early 1930s, fascist groups formed across the country, declaring democracy too weak to deal with the crisis, while scandals undermined the government's moral legitimacy.

Western Europeans try various methods to restore prosperity

In response came the Popular Front, a coalition of leftist parties that won the 1936 elections under Socialist Leon Blum. Elated workers launched a series of strikes that forced the new government to grant 12 percent wage increases, paid vacations, and a 40-hour workweek. But these progressive measures backfired, reducing production and scaring investors into withdrawing money from France's economy. The ensuing economic downturn undermined the Popular Front, and in 1937 Blum was voted out by the National Assembly. A series of weak coalition governments followed, leaving France ill equipped to meet the challenge of a resurgent Germany.

In Norway and Sweden, depression brought less misery than elsewhere. Popularly elected socialist governments provided "cradle to grave" health and welfare benefits, supported by high taxes. Scandinavian socialism thus presented a viable democratic alternative to dictatorial communism, practiced in Soviet Russia.

Communism in Russia

When Bolshevik communists seized power in Russia in 1917, their aim was to spark an international revolution against world capitalism. When no such upheaval occurred, however, they slowly transformed Marxist internationalism into Soviet nationalism: rather than working toward a worldwide workers' rebellion, they focused on strengthening Soviet Russia as a socialist fatherland, combining communism's global goals with Russia's national agenda.

Civil war, won by communists, devastates Russia

THE RISE OF SOVIET NATIONALISM. The first step toward Soviet nationalism came in March 1918 when, ignoring pleas from his own party to launch an international communist crusade, Soviet leader V. I. Lenin withdrew Russia from the Great War through the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany. This action, designed to give the Soviets time to consolidate control in Russia, instead set off a Russian civil war. In it a new "Red Army," capably created from scratch by Soviet War Commissar Leon Trotsky, fought the "White" armies, a coalition of anticommunist Russians. The Allied Powers, hoping to get Russia back into the war against Germany, also sent troops to aid the Whites. But the various White armies were unable to coordinate their attacks, and Allied interest in Russia waned once the Great War ended. By early 1921, the Reds had emerged victorious.

Soviet poster from 1920s: "Bridge to a bright future."

But the Reds had little to celebrate. After the Great War and Russian civil war, Russia was totally ravaged. Since 1913, its industrial production had dropped 80 percent, and agricultural output had been cut in half. Millions had perished from combat, disease, and starvation, capped by catastrophic famine in 1921.

Ever the realist, Soviet leader Lenin that year took another step back from global communist revolution, instituting a New Economic Policy (NEP) that used capitalist techniques to strengthen his communist nation. Although the Soviet state kept control of foreign trade and major industries, which it had nationalized, NEP allowed smaller businesses (which made up most of the economy) to operate as private enterprises. Instead of seizing grain from peasants, as it did during the civil war, the regime imposed a tax in kind—a fixed percentage of the harvest payable in grain. Peasants could sell what was left on the open market, giving them a potent (yet capitalistic) incentive to produce. Communist Russia also opened trade with capitalist countries such as Britain and Germany, acting like a traditional nation-state rather than a revolutionary regime. In 1922,

Lenin implements New Economic Policy to rebuild Russia

as if to mark this transition, a new constitution formally created a federal state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or the Soviet Union.

Lenin's illness and death set off a Soviet power struggle

That same year Lenin, only 52, suffered the first of several strokes that finally took his life in 1924. As he became increasingly incapacitated, many saw War Commissar Leon Trotsky, Lenin's most capable colleague, as the likely new Soviet leader. But other communists, annoyed by Trotsky's arrogance and fearful that he might use his control of the Red Army to become a military dictator, formed a coalition against him. The coalition came to be dominated by Joseph V. Djugashvili (*joo-GAHSH-vē-lē*), General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, who called himself the "Man of Steel": Stalin.

Joseph Stalin.

Stalin was a crude but effective organizer, good at getting things done. As general secretary, he set the party's agenda, ran its daily affairs, and appointed its local managers. While others grappled with major issues, he dealt with organizational affairs, quietly amassing power by staffing the party structure with his supporters. He also positioned himself as Lenin's heir by creating a cult to the late leader, marked by a marble mausoleum in Moscow and by the renaming of Petrograd (formerly Saint Petersburg) as Leningrad.

In 1925, after it defeated Trotsky and deposed him as War Commissar, the anti-Trotsky coalition crumbled. Afraid that Stalin was gaining too much power, his former allies turned against him. But they were too late: with his control of the party, Stalin deftly ousted his adversaries, and by 1928 he had become the Soviet dictator.

Stalin's victory in power struggle is a triumph for Soviet nationalism

Stalin's rise to dictatorship marked the triumph of Soviet nationalism. His defeated foes, as Marxist internationalists, saw the NEP as a tactical retreat and were eager to resume the quest for world revolution. But Stalin, as a Soviet nationalist, insisted on **socialism in one country**, a program that focused on strengthening the USSR, while requiring communists everywhere to put off world revolution and support the Soviet state.

Fearing capitalist powers, Stalin opts to industrialize rapidly

After defeating his rivals, however, Stalin grew impatient with the NEP. At first it had been successful, restoring production to prewar levels by the mid-1920s, but by 1928 economic progress had slowed. Fearful that the capitalist powers would soon move to crush his country, with its weak industrial base, Stalin decided that the USSR could not survive without rapid industrial growth.

Stalin also decided that, to support this growth, he needed control of the Soviet grain harvest. Under the NEP, like farmers in the West, Soviet peasants found that an oversupply of grain drove prices down. So rather than selling their grain at a loss, the peasants had begun to hoard it, hoping to push prices back up. These actions infuriated Stalin, who badly needed grain to feed urban factory workers and to sell abroad for machines to build his industrial base.

STALIN'S REVOLUTION. Stalin's response was the "Stalin Revolution," a mass campaign to reorganize farming and rapidly expand industry. It began in 1928 with the First Five Year Plan, an economic blueprint that set ambitious targets and timetables for Soviet industrial and agricultural output. On paper it looked like a rational approach, but in practice it produced a frenzied and forcible mobilization of the entire society.

Collectivization of farming causes catastrophic civil war and famine

The agricultural reform, called collectivization, created a monstrous catastrophe. To gain control of the grain, Stalin forced peasants onto **collective farms**, multi-family farms supposedly owned by their members but actually run by the state, which took all the grain it needed to support industrialization. When farmers fought collectivization, realizing

it would cost them control of the harvest, Stalin's regime called them "enemies of the people" and sent troops with machine guns to destroy them. As civil war swept Soviet Ukraine in the early 1930s, millions of resisters were shot or sent to prison camps in Siberia, where they were made to mine that region's resources under inhuman conditions. As the state's need for grain increased, moreover, it took most of the harvest, leaving farmers less than they needed for survival. The resulting forced famine killed five to ten million people.

Appalled by such atrocities, even loyal communists began to see Stalin as a murderous monster. Fearful that they might plot against him, in the mid-1930s the Soviet dictator turned his repression against the party itself. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, known by its Russian initials NKVD, arrested numerous communists and charged them with fabricated crimes, such as collaborating with enemy countries or supporting Trotsky, whom Stalin had driven into foreign exile in 1929. During the **Great Purges**, Stalin's systematic efforts to eliminate opponents in 1936–1938, dozens of party and military officials were placed on trial, forced to make false confessions, and summarily shot. Millions of other people were arrested and shipped to Siberia. Finally, in 1940, a Stalin henchman, using an ice axe, murdered Trotsky in Mexico.

Stalin's industrialization and terror regiment Soviet society

By this time, Stalin had managed to both industrialize the USSR and terrorize its people into submission. Through superhuman sacrifices by Soviet workers, combined with machinery purchased abroad using grain taken from the farmers, the Soviet Union had become an industrial giant. But Soviet society scarcely resembled the "worker's paradise" envisioned by early socialists. Workers and peasants, in whose name the revolution was made, now lived in fear of the Stalin regime, working long hours in dismal factories and on collective farms under oppressive state control. To make their nation an industrial power they paid a terrible price.

Industrial power prepares Soviets to resist foreign attack

To Stalin, however, there had been no choice: in order to survive, the Soviet Union had to overcome its backwardness as quickly as possible. In a 1931 speech, responding to requests that he slow the pace of industrialization, he used Russian nationalism and fear of foreigners to justify his frantic approach:

> No, comrades . . . , the pace must not be slackened . . . To slacken the pace would mean to lag behind; and those who lag behind are beaten . . . Old Russia . . . was ceaselessly beaten for her backwardness . . . She was beaten because to beat her was profitable and went unpunished . . . We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us.

The Soviet dictator was paranoid, obsessed with real and imagined foes, but his speech proved prophetic. Ten years later, in 1941, his newly industrialized nation would face his ultimate fear: a massive invasion by a resurgent Germany.

Giant Soviet steel mill of the 1930s.

National Socialism in Germany

Germany's path to dictatorship, like Russia's, was marked by economic woes, fears and resentments of foreigners, and a desire to strengthen the nation against outside interference. After more than a decade of democracy, in the 1930s Germany came under the

control of a nationalist, racist, and militarist movement known as National Socialism, supporters of which were called **Nazis**.

THE FAILURE OF GERMAN DEMOCRACY. German democracy, initiated in the wake of the Great War, faced obstacles from the outset. One was an overabundance of political parties, making it hard for any to win a majority of seats in the Reichstag (*RĪKS-tahk*), Germany's elected assembly. Governing cabinets thus were usually multi-party coalitions, and the chancellors who headed these cabinets often found it hard to keep their coalitions together. Another was the fact that many Germans detested the Weimar (*VĪ-mar*) Republic (named for the city where its constitution was drafted in 1919) for accepting the hated Versailles Treaty and the crippling reparations payments.

War reparations and multiple parties weaken German democracy

By 1923, unwilling to further offend the German people by raising taxes to fund the reparations, the cash-starved Weimar government simply stopped making payments. When France responded by occupying Germany's industrial Ruhr Valley, German workers struck in protest; France in turn closed off the region, preventing delivery of food and goods to the striking workers. The government, forced by public opinion to pay the strikers unemployment benefits, printed vast amounts of paper money, resulting in horrific inflation. By August, a loaf of bread cost millions of times what it had earlier that year, and workers were paid with bales of worthless bills. Millions of Germans thus lost their life savings.

German woman fuels stove with worthless money during inflation crisis.

During this crisis, an obscure rabble-rouser made his first bid for power. Adolf Hitler, an embittered young Austrian who had fought bravely in the German army during the Great War, had since become leader of the **National Socialist German Workers' Party**, a fringe group later called the Nazis. A spellbinding speaker, he trumpeted the myth that "undefeated" Germany had been "stabbed in the back" by traitors who accepted the peace terms, and he urged Germans to rearm and avenge the humiliation of Versailles. In November 1923 he launched a *putsch* (attempted power grab) in a Munich beer hall, firing a shot into the ceiling to signal the start of his rebellion.

Hitler and Nazis try to grab power during inflation crisis

But German democracy survived the 1923 crisis. The "Beer Hall Putsch" was quickly crushed and Hitler was jailed for a year, while the Reichstag found a strong leader in Gustav Stresemann (*SHTRĀ-zuh-mahn*). A pragmatic nationalist, Stresemann raised taxes, cut government spending, revalued the currency, and negotiated long-term low-interest loans from the United States (which could not collect war debts from its allies unless Germany paid them reparations). The inflation ended, payments resumed, and France withdrew from the Ruhr. In 1925 Stresemann negotiated the Locarno Treaties with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, agreeing that Germans would not use force to change the 1918 borders, and in 1926 he brought Germany into the League of Nations. By the time he died in 1929, Germany seemed stable and prosperous, and Hitler's Nazis had faded into insignificance.

Then came the Great Depression. As struggling American banks called in their loans, the German economy collapsed. Millions of Germans, frightened and unemployed, began voting for extremist parties. Hitler's promises to rearm Germany, renounce Versailles, and expel the Jews, whom he blamed for Germany's suffering, struck a responsive chord—as did German Communist Party promises of a full-employment workers' state. By 1932 the Nazis and Communists were two of the Reichstag's largest parties. In January 1933,

Great Depression strengthens support for communism and Nazism

when German capitalists and nationalists, terrified of a communist takeover, opted to support the Nazis as a lesser evil, Hitler was appointed chancellor, heading a coalition of Nazis and small right-wing parties.

Hitler becomes chancellor and destroys German democracy

HITLER AND THE THIRD REICH. Having come to power by democratic means, Hitler quickly destroyed German democracy. In February 1933, when the Reichstag building burned down, he obtained emergency powers to deal with the crisis. Accusing communists of setting the fire (although some evidence pointed to the Nazis), Hitler got the Reichstag to ban the Communist Party. Then he proceeded to dissolve the other parties one by one. By July Germany was a one-party state, which Hitler called the Third Reich (Third Empire).

The Nazis then regimented the rest of German society. Labor unions were dissolved into the Reich Labor Front, an organization of labor and management delegates dominated by Nazi agents. Protestant leaders were intimidated by Hitler's popularity, while the Vatican, fearing Nazi oppression of German Catholics, made a pact with Hitler ensuring the Church's rights in Germany if it avoided politics. Youth groups were absorbed into the Hitler Youth (for boys aged 9–18) and League of German Girls. A Ministry of Propaganda, headed by Josef Goebbels (*GEH'r-bulz*), took control of newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and film studios. Within months the Nazis controlled almost every aspect of German life.

Hitler promotes nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism

Although the Third Reich was a dictatorship, with strict controls and concentration camps to confine dissenters, Hitler was popular with Germans. He united them as one, with himself as their *Führer* (leader). He restored their national pride, lost after the Great War, declaring them a "**Master Race**" descended from ancient Aryans and destined to dominate "subhuman Slavic races" by conquering **Lebensraum** (*LĀ-behnz-raowm*)—living space for Germany's growing population—in Poland and the USSR (see "Excerpts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*").

Synagogue being burned during *Kristallnacht*.

Hitler exploited people's fears by promoting anti-Semitism, anti-Jewish hostility long present in Christian Europe. But his attacks were racial, not religious: he vilified Jews as an impure race that must not be allowed to pollute the German Master Race through intermarriage or illicit sex. Nazi laws deprived Jews of German citizenship and forbade Jews under penalty of death from having sexual relations with "pure" Germans. On *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass), November 9–10, 1938, Nazis instigated anti-Jewish riots, burning synagogues across Germany, destroying thousands of Jewish-owned shops, and killing nearly one hundred Jews. Mass Jewish emigration, prompted by such actions and promoted by Nazis seeking to make Germany *Judenrein* (free of Jews), reduced its Jewish population from 560 thousand in 1933 to under 300 thousand in 1939.

Hitler borrows to build Germany, based on future war

Hitler, meanwhile, restored German prosperity, putting jobless men to work building tons of military equipment and great highways (*Autobahnen*) on which to transport it. He urged women to leave the work force, to free up jobs for men and enlarge the Master Race by having Aryan babies. He financed his costly projects with ten-year government bonds, vowing to repay them by plundering nations later conquered by Germany. His plans were thus based on a new European war to restore German dominance and reverse the shameful verdict of Versailles. That conflict, later called World War II, would not be long in coming.

Document 32.2 Excerpts from Hitler's Mein Kampf

In Mein Kampf (My Struggle), which he composed in prison after the failed "Beer Hall Putsch" of 1923, Adolf Hitler set forth his racist ideology, describing "Aryans" as a "superior" race that was meant to subjugate others, and identifying Jews as the "enemy of mankind." He called on Germans to expand eastward to conquer land in Russia, denouncing its "Bolshevism" and "Jewish rule."

. . . Nature's restricted form of propagation and increase is an almost rigid basic law . . .

The stronger must dominate and not blend with the weaker . . . Only the born weakling can view this as cruel . . .

The fox is always a fox, the goose a goose, the tiger a tiger . . . [Y]ou will never find a fox who . . . might, for example, show humanitarian tendencies toward geese, as similarly there is no cat with a friendly inclination toward mice . . .

No more than Nature desires the mating of weaker with stronger individuals, even less does she desire the blending of a higher with a lower race . . .

Historical experience . . . shows with terrifying clarity that in every mingling of Aryan blood with that of lower peoples the result was the end of the cultured people . . .

[I]t is no accident that the first cultures arose in places where the Aryan, in his encounters with lower peoples, subjugated them and bent them to his will . . .

As long as he ruthlessly upheld the master attitude, not only did he really remain master, but also the preserver and increaser of culture . . .

. . . The great leaders of Jewry are confident that . . . the Jews will devour the other nations of the earth . . .

[T]he Jew knows very well that he can undermine the existence of European nations by a process of racial bastardization . . .

And again the National Socialist movement has the mightiest task to fulfill.

It must open the eyes of the people . . . and it must remind them again and again of the true enemy of our present-day world . . . It must call eternal wrath upon the head of the foul enemy of mankind as the real originator of our sufferings.

It must make certain that . . . the mortal enemy is recognized and that the fight against him becomes a gleaming symbol . . . to show other nations the way to the salvation of an embattled Aryan humanity . . .

Only an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence . . .

[W]e National Socialists must . . . secure for the German people the land and soil to which they are entitled on this earth . . .

And so we . . . stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the east . . .

If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia and her vassal border states. Here Fate itself seems desirous of giving us a sign. By handing Russia to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian nation of that intelligentsia which . . . guaranteed its existence as a state . . . For centuries Russia drew nourishment from this Germanic nucleus . . . Today it . . . has been replaced by the Jew. Impossible as it is for the Russian by himself to shake off the yoke of the Jew . . ., it is equally impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire forever. He himself is no element of organization, but a ferment of decomposition . . . And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state . . .

SOURCE: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, translated by Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971) 284–286, 295–296, 638–640, 643, 652, 654–655.

New Varieties of Nationalism in Africa and Asia

While Stalin blended nationalism with communism, and Hitler combined nationalism with racism, Africans and Asians adapted the notion of national self-determination to fit their own conditions and cultures. As a result, in the interwar years, new forms of nationalism arose across Africa and Asia.

Nationalism and Anticolonialism in Africa

African nationalism arises in resistance to colonial rule

The Great War and Versailles settlement aided African nationalism, which was rooted in **anticolonialism**, or resistance to colonial rule. Taught by their European rulers to use European weapons against other Europeans, and exposed to Wilsonian ideals of national self-determination, Africans concluded they could use these weapons and ideals to fight European rule. Since the Europeans were still better armed, however, Africans found open revolt futile—especially after the French slaughtered the Baya people, who rebelled in 1928–1931 against forced railway labor in French Equatorial Africa (Map 32.2). Interwar African nationalism thus aimed for eventual rather than immediate independence.

African workers and farmers strike against Europeans

Some African workers and farmers, seeking better working conditions or higher prices for their crops, went on strike against European employers. Strikes in British-held regions in the Gold Coast and the Northern Rhodesian copper belt achieved only modest gains, but in the 1930s Gold Coast cocoa farmers forced a significant price increase by withholding their produce from the markets. Nationalists led these protests, learning from them the prospects and limitations of collective action.

In the Belgian Congo, nationalism grew out of religion. Simon Kimbangu (*kim-BAHN-goo*) founded his own church in 1921 and proclaimed himself prophet. He taught that God would deliver the Congo peoples from Belgian bondage, and that in the meantime they need not pay taxes. The exasperated Belgians threw him in prison (where he died in 1951), but his church included future nationalist leaders such as Joseph Kasa Vubu (*kah-sah-VOO-boo*), who became the first president of independent Congo in 1960.

Africans devise religious and cultural forms of nationalism

African and non-African intellectuals developed other forms of nationalism. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey of Jamaica founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, advocating "Africa for the Africans" and the end of European rule. Garvey was based in New York, and he never visited Africa, but his movement inspired several young Africans who led the anticolonial struggle after 1945. A culture-based alternative was offered by the Négritude movement, an association of French-speaking writers in West Africa and the Caribbean who celebrated African cultural traditions and their differences from European cultures. One such scholar, Léopold Senghor (*SONG-or*), became the first president of independent Senegal in 1960.

Marcus Garvey.

In South Africa the **African National Congress** (ANC), founded in 1912 by educated black professionals to combat white racial repression, made little headway in the interwar years. Later, however, as anticolonialism swept Africa after World War II, ANC became the continent's strongest nationalist organization.

Secular and Islamic Nationalism in the Middle East

By destroying the Ottoman Empire, which dissolved in defeat in 1918, the Great War helped foster several forms of nationalism in the Middle East. Turkey, the empire's main successor state, adopted a Western-style secular nationalism, promoting loyalty to nation above religion, while others in the region sought to merge nationalism with Islamic, and often anti-Western, ideals.

Mustafa Kemal fosters modernization and secular nationalism in Turkey

In a 1919–1923 revolt, Turkish nationalists led by war hero Mustafa Kemal defeated and expelled the Ottoman sultan, who at Allied insistence had given up most of the realm's non-Turkish regions, and created a Republic of Turkey in the region that was left (Map 32.3). As president and virtual dictator until he died in 1938, Kemal moved to

Map 32.2 Africa in the 1920s and 1930s

Although nationalist liberation movements arose and spread among Africans during the interwar years, most of Africa remained under European colonial rule. Note that France, Britain, and South Africa governed Germany's former colonies as League of Nations mandates, that Egypt gained independence but remained under strong British influence, and that Ethiopia lost independence when it was invaded and occupied by Italy in 1935–1936. How did the Great War help to promote African nationalist movements? Why did these movements have limited success during the interwar years?

Map 32.3 The Middle East in the 1920s and 1930s

The interwar era brought major changes to the Middle East. Observe that after the Ottoman Empire's collapse some of its former lands became French and British mandates, others eventually became part of Saudi Arabia, and what was left became the Republic of Turkey, with a new capital at Ankara. Note also that in 1930 the old capital, Constantinople, was formally renamed Istanbul (a name that Turks had long used for the city); that Egypt, occupied by Britain since 1882, became an independent monarchy in 1922; and that Persia, ruled by Reza Shah Pahlavi from 1925 to 1941, was renamed Iran in 1935. How did tensions between secular and Islamic nationalism affect the Middle East in the interwar era?

modernize industry and westernize Turkish society, convinced that failure to do so had caused the Ottoman collapse. Determined to reduce Islam's role, and to have his people identify themselves as Turks more than as Muslims, he replaced Islamic schools with secular ones, Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, and Islamic law (Shar`ia) with Western-style legal codes. He abolished the sultanate and caliphate, took the name Atatürk ("father of Turks"), and made Turkey a modern secular nationalistic state.

Kemal Atatürk promotes shift from Arabic to Latin script.

Hoping to hasten economic development by doubling the talent pool, Kemal expanded opportunities for women, who between 1900 and 1920 had gained access to secondary education and factory jobs. Building on these foundations, his reforms banned polygyny, granted gender-neutral access to divorce, gave women the right to vote, and guaranteed their rights to education and employment.

Reza Shah Pahlavi tries to modernize and secularize Iran

Kemal's secular policies sent shock waves across the Middle East. In Persia Reza Shah Pahlavi (*PAH-luh-vē*), a military man who took power and reigned as shah (king) from 1925 to 1941, sought to imitate Kemal's reforms. He built railways and industries, reformed the legal system, and renamed his country Iran (after the ancient Aryans who had settled there). He even sought to end the seclusion and veiling of women, but stiff opposition from the country's powerful Shi'ite Muslim clerics limited his success.

Other Muslims embrace Islamic and anti-Western nationalism

Elsewhere other Muslims, deeply offended by such secularism, responded with forms of nationalism tied to Islamic identity. In Egypt, which became an independent monarchy in 1922, the Society of Muslim Brothers, a militant Islamic nationalist group devoted to resisting secularism, emerged in 1928. In formerly Ottoman Syria and Palestine, nationalism took a pro-Islamic anti-Western tone against France and Britain, which during the war had promised independence to Arabs in these regions but then ruled them as League of Nations mandates. France further upset Muslims by carving from its Syrian mandate an area called Lebanon with a large Christian population, hoping to form a Christian-dominated nation. Britain likewise angered Muslims by letting many Jews settle in its Palestine mandate, based on a wartime promise to help Jews form a national homeland there. Although Britain and France withdrew in the 1940s, their actions inflamed hatreds and resentments that plague the region to the present day.

French and British mandates create problems in Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq

In Iraq, made up of three former Ottoman provinces where Britain had a League of Nations mandate, the British tried to create a Muslim nation. After forming a monarchy in 1921 under King Faisal (*FĪ-sul*), son of Hussein ibn Ali, Sherif of Mecca, who had led the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in the Great War, Britain recognized Iraqi independence in 1932. But Iraq's contentious religious and ethnic groups, including Shi'ite Muslim Arabs, Sunni Muslim Arabs, and Kurds, complicated efforts to achieve any sense of national unity.

Ibn Saud uses Wahhabism and royal marriages to unite Arabia

More successful were the efforts in Arabia of Abdul Aziz ibn Saud (*sah-OOD*), leader of a strict Muslim sect called Wahhabism (Chapter 22), who in the 1920s defeated other Arabs and in 1932 formed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. To create a Saudi national identity in a desert land dominated by Arab tribes, he imposed Wahhabism as the national form of Islam. He also forged links with each tribe by marrying more than 240 women, divorcing most of them after two weeks and sending them back to their tribes pregnant and laden with gifts. Ibn Saud was prolific—by 2000 the House of Saud had more than 6,700 princes—but his gifts were modest, usually an ornately woven robe and a couple of goats, since his wealth was at first quite limited.

Vast oil findings assure future Saudi Arabian wealth

Then Charles Crane, founder of the Crane Plumbing Company in the United States, sent an engineer to Arabia to search for the world's most precious liquid: water. After 18 months, he reported to Crane that Arabia is a limestone shelf with no underground water; then he resigned and went to work for Standard Oil of California. The engineer had found not water but oil, which was on its way to replacing coal as the world's main fuel. By 1950 Saudi oil reserves were known to be the richest on earth, and Saudi Arabia was on its way to becoming one of earth's richest nations.

Nationalism and Nonviolence in India

Indian nationalism grew out of British imperial rule, which united the diverse subcontinent and created a British-educated Indian elite influenced by Western notions of nationalism and democracy. In 1885, members of this elite had formed the Indian National Congress, a nationalist body advocating self-rule for India (Chapter 29). After Indian troops fought for Britain in the Great War, Woodrow Wilson's call for national self-determination raised hopes that the Allies would grant India self-government as a matter of both gratitude and principle.

Amritsar massacre leaves India on brink of anti-British rebellion

But the British were loath to let their lucrative colony go. They increased the role of Indians in its governance but imposed laws making Indians accused of anti-British activity liable to imprisonment without trial, sparking demonstrations across India. In April 1919 in Amritsar (Map 32.4), a British commander ordered Indian soldiers under his command to fire repeatedly on demonstrators, killing almost four hundred and wounding more than a thousand. The Amritsar Massacre shattered hopes for peaceful transition to Indian self-rule and left India on the brink of rebellion.

Gandhi with spinning wheel.

At this point an unusual leader emerged. Son of a prosperous Hindu merchant, Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948) had studied law in England and practiced it in South Africa. There, evicted from a "whites only" train car and barred from "whites only" hotels, he identified with South Africa's oppressed racial minorities. In time he developed **satyagraha** (*sut-YAH-gruh-huh*), or "truth force," a nonviolent way to combat oppression by refusing to cooperate with oppressors (see "Gandhi on Nonviolent Resistance"). Returning to India, he promoted this concept as a rising leader of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhi leads nonviolent resistance against British rule

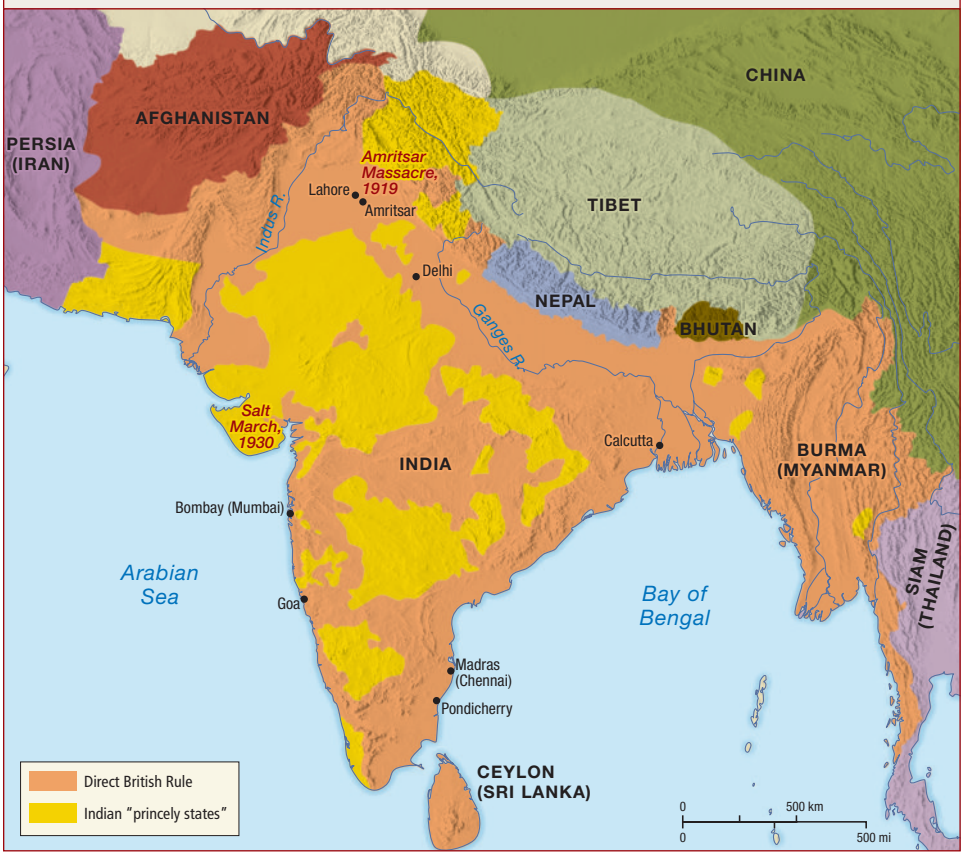
In 1920, following the Amritsar Massacre, Gandhi led a national boycott, urging Indians not to buy British products, pay British taxes, or participate in British institutions. In 1922, when some of his followers defied him and turned to violence, Gandhi was arrested for inciting insurrection. Distressed, after two years in jail he withdrew from politics to work among the poor. But in 1930, outraged by British imposition of a heavy tax on salt, he re-emerged to lead a mass nonviolent resistance campaign. Since most Indians, unlike Westerners, still lacked refrigeration, they needed salt to preserve their food, so he urged them to get their own salt from seawater. Under his leadership some 50 thousand Indians staged a sensational Salt March, walking two hundred miles to the seaside salt flats, where they peacefully endured brutal beatings ordered by British officials.

1935 Constitution gives India a degree of self-rule

When reports of these beatings prompted an international outcry, British authorities, seeing that their use of force was futile, negotiated with Gandhi. The resulting Government of India Act, passed by Britain's parliament in 1935, gave India a constitution calling for an elected two-house national legislature. It was not full independence—the British still controlled the government's executive branch—but it was a major step toward self-rule.

Map 32.4 India Between the Wars, 1919–1939

British domination of India continued in the interwar years. Note that Britain ruled much of India directly, but other parts indirectly through treaties with rulers of Indian "princely states." Note also that, in the wake of the 1919 Amritsar Massacre, Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent resistance campaigns, including the 1930 Salt March, compelled Britain to grant India a measure of self-rule by the late 1930s. Why did many Indian Muslims resist the idea of a united and independent India?



One key factor in Gandhi's success was his conversion of Indian nationalism from an aim of the elite into a movement of the masses, who affectionately called him Mahatma ("great-soul"). Sparsely dressed in hand-woven cloth he spun on a small spinning wheel, he identified with the outcastes and poor, inspiring in them dignity and pride. Another factor was his clever exploitation of Britain's self-interest. Realizing that imperial rule relied on Indian cooperation, he promoted noncooperation, seeking to convince the British that continuing their control would be more trouble and expense than letting go. A third factor was his aptitude for public relations and seizing the moral high ground. Reports of Indian nonviolence in the face of brutal beatings by imperial troops helped win sympathy in Britain for Indian self-rule.

Gandhi's mass appeal and moral standing undermine British rule

Document 32.3 Gandhi on Nonviolent Resistance

In his efforts to lead India to independence from British rule, Mohandas K. Gandhi adopted an approach, very much in contrast with Hitler's, that opposed oppression with nonviolent resistance, portraying it as the ultimate in strength and courage, while scorning violence and retaliation as forms cowardice and weakness.

. . . I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment . . .

Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will . . . We in India may in a moment realize that one hundred thousand Englishmen need not frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would, therefore, mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us . . .

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the . . . saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For *satyagraha* and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering . . .

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire . . .

Non-violence is not a cover for cowardice, but it is the supreme virtue of the brave. Exercise of non-violence requires far greater bravery than that of swordsmanship. Cowardice is wholly inconsistent with non-violence. Non-violence . . . is a conscious deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance. But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate, and helpless submission. Forgiveness is higher still. Vengeance too is weakness. The desire for vengeance comes out of fear of harm, imaginary or real. A dog barks and bites when he fears. A man who fears no one on earth would consider it too troublesome even to summon up anger against one who is vainly trying to injure him . . .

Non-resistance is restraint voluntarily undertaken for the good of society. It is, therefore, an intensively active, purifying, inward force. It is often antagonistic to the material good of the non-resister . . . It is rooted in internal strength, never weakness . . .

SOURCE: Mohandas K. Gandhi, "The Gita and Satyagraha," in *Gandhi: Selected Writings*, selected and introduced by Ronald Ducan (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) 48–49, 55.

Muslim League, fearing Hindu rule, leads separatist movement

Gandhi's success, however, was incomplete, for he failed to fully calm the fears of India's Muslim minority. The 1937 elections held under the new constitution gave the Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress most of the legislative seats. Concerned that Indian independence would result in oppression of Muslims by the Hindu majority, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of an association called the Muslim League, turned it into a separatist movement. But violent clashes between Hindus and Muslims then strengthened British imperialists, who portrayed these clashes as proof that India was not ready for self-rule. Indian independence was delayed until 1947.

Nationalism and Communism in China

China, too, was profoundly affected by nationalist reaction against foreign intervention, by ideas adapted from the West, and by internal divisions. But China's divisions were based not on religion, as in India and the Middle East, but on ideology, as nationalists and communists fought over China's future.

The Rise of Nationalist China. The father of Chinese nationalism was Sun Yixian (*SUN Ē-shē-AHN*), also called Sun Yatsen, a Western-educated Chinese doctor who had emerged in the early 1900s as a leader of the revolution against the imperial regime. When that regime fell in 1912, however, realizing that he lacked military support, Sun stepped aside in favor of former general Yuan Shikai, who became president of a new Chinese Republic (Chapter 29). Sun then formed the Guomindang (*GWŌ-MIN-DONG*), or "National People's Party," a nationalist and democratic political organization that proceeded to win a majority of the seats in 1913 parliamentary elections.

Sun Yixian forms the Guomindang as Chinese Nationalist Party

But Yuan Shikai, a military man with imperial ambitions, soon outlawed the Guomindang, closed down the parliament, and schemed to make himself emperor. He was thwarted, however, by rebellion in the South, and humiliated when Japan used the Great War to seize the Shandong peninsula, a key coastal region in northeast China earlier leased by Germany.

Yuan Shikai bans Guomindang and bids to become emperor

When Yuan died suddenly in 1916, China dissolved into chaos. Although his regime still functioned in Beijing under his former aides, in the provinces his governors and generals emerged as regional warlords, collecting taxes and commanding armies that fought each other and pillaged the land. China's "Warlord Era" lasted from 1916 to 1928.

Regional warlords rule China after Yuan Shikai's death

Meanwhile Sun, having fled abroad in 1913, returned to China in 1917 to rebuild the Guomindang. The Russian Revolution, occurring that same year, provided inspiration and support. Lenin's equating of imperialism with capitalism, and Soviet pledges to back Asian independence movements, found ready reception in China—especially after May 4, 1919, when news reached Beijing that the Paris Peace Conference had ignored China's pleas and Wilson's principles to let Japan keep control of the Shandong peninsula. The resulting **May Fourth Protests**, a series of anti-Western demonstrations that spread quickly across China, laid the groundwork for nationalist revolution.

Allied snub and May Fourth protests fuel Chinese nationalist fervor

Communism was also gaining in appeal. In Shanghai in 1921, Chinese Marxists founded the Chinese Communist Party, aiming to secure with Soviet support a socialist future for China. In 1924, at Soviet urging, the Chinese Communist Party joined the Guomindang, linking communism with nationalism against capitalism and imperialism in a common effort to liberate China from the warlords and the West. Aided by Soviet agents, Sun reshaped the Guomindang as a Soviet-style revolutionary party with activist groups, or cells, in major cities. He also published an influential work, *The Three Principles of the People*, calling for nationalism, democracy, and "people's livelihood," often equated with socialism.

Chinese communists and nationalists combine in effort to unite China

After Sun's death in 1925, however, power in the Guomindang passed to its military wing, led by Sun's disciple Jiang Jieshi (*jē-AHNG jē-EH-SHUR*), also called Chiang Kaishek (*jē-ANHG KĪ-SHEK*). Sun had tapped Jiang, who had studied Red Army methods in Moscow, to form a Guomindang army that could conquer the warlords. In 1926, having trained a large force, Jiang set out on a "Great Northern Expedition," moving north from his party's southern base to unite China under Guomindang rule (Map 32.5). He was supported in this effort by nationalists and communists alike.

After Sun dies, Jiang Jieshi and the army dominate Guomindang

Map 32.5 Nationalist China and Expansionist Japan, 1926–1937

The interwar years were marked by turmoil in China. Note that during the Great Northern Expedition (1926–1928), which Chinese Nationalists launched to unify China, they allied with warlords and foreign capitalists and started to attack China's communists, who eventually survived by fleeing to Yan'an on the fabled Long March (1934–1935). Why and how did Japan use China's weakness to create a Japanese puppet state in Manchuria?

Jiang turns against communists and massacres them in Shanghai

On their way north, however, in 1927, Jiang and his troops visited Shanghai. Long a center of Western capitalist commerce, this port city teemed with poorly paid dock and factory workers, living in squalor and working long hours in unsafe conditions. Communists from Shanghai and elsewhere organized these workers, raised their national awareness, and persuaded them to take over the city to welcome Jiang as a liberator. But Jiang, in collusion with the capitalists, instead stunned the city by using his army to massacre Shanghai communists.

Jiang had reasons for staging this **Shanghai Massacre**. He was concerned that the communists, whose numbers were growing, might soon dominate his movement. He was alarmed by recently discovered evidence that the Soviets planned to use his revolution to bring China under communist control. He was impressed by the power and wealth of Western capitalists, whose help he could use in rebuilding China. And he was shaped by his background: as a soldier, like Yuan Shikai, he believed in using force against potential foes.

Jiang "unites" China by cutting deals with warlords and West

Jiang resumed the Great Northern Expedition, but his allies and aims had changed. He sided with Western capitalists, married a wealthy American-educated woman in 1927, and later became a Christian. Rather than attacking warlords, he cut deals with them, letting them maintain regional rule if they recognized his regime. By 1928, it seemed, Jiang was master of China, president of a Nationalist regime with its capital at Nanjing.

Despite its parliamentary institutions and Western ties, however, "Nationalist China" was a one-party state with limited strength. Jiang's power came from his army, his ties with the warlords, and appointment of his cronies as key officials to run China's economy. While Jiang focused on his military, these "bureaucratic capitalists" worked to modernize and industrialize China, while also gaining great wealth for themselves.

Jiang has little influence over Chinese peasant masses

Nationalists Versus Communists. Jiang's dominion in China was far from complete. He controlled the cities and army, the standard centers of strength. But the masses of people neither lived in cities nor served in the army. Most were peasants who lived in villages with their extended families, tilling the soil as they had for ages. Shattered by the slaughter at Shanghai, the remnants of China's communists turned to these peasants to form the foundations of a new revolution, under the influence of a gifted young Marxist named Mao Zedong (*MAOW zuh-DŌNG*).

Mao Zedong advocates peasant socialist revolution

Raised among peasants and inspired by both Sun and Lenin, Mao had become a communist, but he had trouble relating to urban factory workers. In his native province, however, he saw peasants organize themselves to combat landlords and warlords. Rejecting the orthodox Marxist view that revolution must arise with the urban proletariat, in 1927 he published a radical report claiming that peasants could lead China to socialism. Unlike Jiang, who allied with the rich and strong, Mao looked to the poor and weak to help him transform society. But like Jiang, Mao felt the future must be shaped by force. "A revolution is not a dinner party," he wrote. "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

Communists flee on "Long March" from Jiang's attacks

During the next four years, Mao and his comrades worked to mobilize peasants in south central China, forming a small "Chinese Soviet Republic" with its own institutions and army. But Jiang then sought to crush this movement with a series of military attacks. In October 1934, facing imminent defeat, Mao and about 100 thousand supporters decided to escape. With the Nationalist army in full pursuit, they fled on foot across mountains, plains, and rivers to the wilds of the West and North, fighting constant battles in a

six thousand–mile retreat, later hallowed in communist legend as the **Long March** (Map 32.5). A year later, about 20 thousand communist survivors reached the relative safety of the remote northwest.

Mao and communists rebuild in remote Yan'an

There, protected by the region's rocks, hills, gullies, and isolation, Mao rebuilt his movement. Based in the town of Yan'an, he promoted socialism among the region's rural people, operating clinics, shops, and schools in caves to shield them from Nationalist attacks. His programs eventually won him broad support among China's peasants, vastly increasing his following. Meanwhile, in 1936, Jiang was forced by one of his warlords to negotiate a truce with the communists, so China could deal with a growing foreign threat: the military expansionism of imperial Japan.

Nationalism and Militarism in Japan

More than any other Asian nation, Japan had imitated the West in focusing on industry and military might. By defeating Russia in 1905, Japan had also emerged as Asia's dominant power. But the island nation, for all its ambitions, did not have the fuel and raw materials to sustain an industrial economy and modern military. Japan thus sought to extend its sway over nearby Asian regions rich in resources.

One such region was Korea, occupied by Japan in the Russo-Japanese War and formally annexed in 1910. Mixing modernization with repression, Japan built roads, factories, hospitals, and schools, but also exploited Korea's resources and undermined its culture, forcing Koreans to speak Japanese and take Japanese names.

Japan expands into Korea and Shandong to gain resources

The Great War gave Japan new opportunities for growth. Using as a pretext its 1902 alliance with England, Japan declared war on Germany in 1914 and then seized China's Shandong peninsula, an iron-rich region the Germans had leased, as well as a number of German-held Pacific islands. Japan also profited commercially from the war, selling materials and supplies to the European Allies. In 1919 the Allies rewarded Japan, recognizing its rights in Shandong and giving it League of Nations mandates to govern the islands it had taken.

Industry and democracy grow in Japan in 1920s

Despite a postwar recession and a 1923 Tokyo earthquake that took 130 thousand lives, in the 1920s Japan experienced real economic growth. Japanese *zaibatsu*—private industrial empires, such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi, that made and sold products ranging from textiles to steamships—emerged among the world's largest commercial conglomerates. By the 1930s, owing to urban industrial expansion, almost half Japan's people lived in cities, up from only 12 percent in the 1890s. And many adopted a new urban culture, ignoring old Shinto and Buddhist values while embracing such modern amusements as movies, magazines, and sports.

Japanese youths in samurai dress reflect rising militarism.

In these years Japan also became more democratic. In 1925 the vote was extended to all men over 25, quadrupling the electorate, but still excluding women, who would not get voting rights until two decades later. New social legislation lifted restrictions on labor unions, limited work hours, and initiated a national health insurance program. By 1926, at the accession of Emperor Hirohito (1926–1989), Japan seemed to be evolving into a stable capitalist democracy.

But looming on the horizon were several threatening clouds. One was a growing population, which rose from 40 million in the 1890s to 70 million in the 1930s, deepening demand for resources and space—thus adding to expansionist pressures. Another was

the growth of foreign trade, which made Japan wealthy but also dependent on markets in the West.

Need for resources and space fuels Japanese militarism

Most ominous was the rise of **militarism**, an exaltation of the armed forces that promoted military might as central to the nation's character. Enthused by Japan's victory over Russia and success in the Great War, many Japanese revered their military, expecting it to secure land and resources while stressing traditional samurai values of courage, honor, loyalty, and toughness. Furthermore, since the constitution gave the civilian government little control over the armed forces, military leaders could often act unhindered on their own.

Depression, Western tariffs, and crop failure devastate Japan

Adding to these anxieties was the Great Depression, which devastated Japan. In the early 1930s, as Western nations imposed import quotas and tariffs, Japanese exports steeply declined, greatly reducing profits and wages and causing mass unemployment. In 1931, moreover, disastrous crop failure brought starvation to the countryside. As civilian leaders proved unable to ease their distress, many in Japan looked to the military for solutions.

Japanese army creates puppet state in Manchuria

And the military looked to Manchuria, where Japan had based troops since the war with Russia. A huge Chinese province rich in coal and iron, it had ample land to provide food and space for Japan's growing population. In September 1931, some Japanese officers conspired to blow up a Japanese-owned railway in Manchuria and blame the act on Chinese terrorists. Citing a need to defend Japan's interests, the Japanese army then attacked Chinese forces and proceeded to conquer Manchuria, creating there in 1932 a Japanese puppet state called Manzhouguo (*man-JOO-gwō*).

Military leaders come to rule Japan in 1930s

The "Manchuria Incident" was disastrous for Japanese democracy. The civilian government, unable to restrain the military, resigned in futility at the end of 1931. A new prime minister, vainly seeking to restrain the armed forces, was murdered by a militarist the next May. Concluding that only the military could control its own, the emperor then made an admiral prime minister, ending civilian rule. Soon the new government started suppressing left-wing political parties and eventually all opposition.

Japan exits the League and signs pact with Nazi Germany

The Manchuria Incident was also a blow to world peace. In 1933, when the League of Nations censured Japan for aggression in Manchuria, the Japanese withdrew from the League and grew more aggressive. In 1936 they signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, an agreement to collaborate with Nazi Germany against international communism. The next year, as Japan began a new arms buildup, its forces in Manchuria triggered a war with China. This was later merged with conflicts in Europe into a Second World War.

Chapter Review

Putting It in Perspective

During the two decades that followed the Great War, Woodrow Wilson's dream of national self-determination turned into a nationalistic nightmare. The Versailles settlement, a compromise between Wilsonian ideals and Allied retributions, frustrated the hopes of both winners and losers, while cultural changes and new ideologies heightened global anxieties. In the 1920s, faced with economic and political instability, Italy and most of Eastern Europe turned from democracy to dictatorship. In the 1930s, shaken by the Great Depression, America and Western Europe retreated into economic nationalism, depriving other nations of Western markets and globalizing the crisis. Russia and Germany both became brutal dictatorships, Stalin's based on Soviet nationalism and Hitler's on nationalistic racism.

Meanwhile, anti-Western anxieties and nationalistic ideologies fueled anticolonialism in Africa, secular and Islamic nationalism in the Middle East, nonviolent

resistance in India, conflicts between nationalists and communists in China, and expansive militarism in Japan. By the late 1930s, it was clear that the Great War had not been "the war to end all wars," as Wilson and others had hoped. Instead it had only been the First World War, soon to be surpassed in brutality and breadth by a second global conflict.

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ASK YOURSELF

1. Why did the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 fail to provide a just and lasting peace? Why did the Treaty of Versailles cause so much disappointment and resentment?
2. Why was there so much turmoil in Western culture in the interwar years? Why did so many new democracies fail to survive?
3. Why and how did the U.S. Stock Market Crash of 1929 result in a global depression? What impact did the depression have on political changes in America, Western Europe, Germany, and Japan?
4. How did Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler gain power? What methods and concepts did each use to control and strengthen his country?
5. What were the origins, ideals, and accomplishments of the nationalist movements emerging between the wars in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia? How and why did these nationalist movements differ from one another?

GOING FURTHER

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Key Dates and Developments

1918–1921	Reds prevail in Russian Civil War
1919	Paris Peace Conference formulates Treaty of Versailles
1919	Amritsar Massacre kills hundreds in India
1919	May Fourth Protests fuel nationalism in China
1919–1923	Kemal overthrows Ottoman sultan, creates Republic of Turkey
1920	U.S. Senate fails to ratify Versailles Treaty
1921	Lenin initiates New Economic Policy
1922	Mussolini takes power in Italy
1923	Inflation crisis rocks Germany
1923	Tokyo Earthquake kills 130,000
1925	Reza Shah Pahlavi becomes ruler of Persia
1925	Locarno Treaties stabilize Central Europe
1927	Jiang Jieshi massacres Chinese communists in Shanghai
1928	Stalin launches First Five Year Plan
1929	U.S. Stock Market Crash triggers Great Depression
1930	Smoot-Hawley Tariff globalizes Great Depression
1930	Gandhi organizes Salt March in India
1930–1933	Civil war and forced famine kill millions in Soviet Ukraine
1931	Japanese army conquers Manchuria
1932	Ibn Saud forms Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
1932	Iraq granted independence under King Faisal
1933	Hitler comes to power in Germany
1934–1935	Mao leads Long March in China
1935	Persia is renamed Iran
1935	Britain grants India limited constitution
1936	Germany and Japan sign Anti-Comintern Pact
1936–1938	Stalin conducts Great Purges in Russia