

Global Crisis, 1910–1939

When the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War on October 29, 1914, nearly three months after the major European powers had taken up arms, a European-based conflict became an even more global one on the ground. Although there were minor skirmishes in East Asia and East Africa, the Ottoman decision spread the conflict across the Middle East. Moreover, the soldiers involved in these clashes were the most international of the war. Every ethnicity and religion of South Asia joined with the British forces who fought alongside Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, while the French deployed North African, Senegalese, and Sudanese soldiers. These Triple Entente armies slammed up against Turkish, Arab, Kurdish, Caucasian and (early on) some Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army alongside their German and Austrian comrades who composed the Central Powers. The Ottoman front pitched global, multilingual, and multicolored armies at each other for control of land passages and sea-lanes that connected east and west—and also, crucially, for access to precious oil reserves that would help determine the outcome of the world's first industrial war.



GLOBAL STORYLINE

WORLD WAR I AND THE GROWTH OF MASS SOCIETIES

- The Great War (World War I) engulfs the globe, exhausts Europe, and promotes production and consumption on a mass scale.
- The victors' peace imposed on Germany produces resentment and economic instability, while Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations struggles to keep the peace.
- European countries' efforts to rebuild their economies after the Great War by cutting expenses and returning to the gold standard cause the Great Depression, whose severe repercussions reverberate globally.
- Three strikingly different visions for building a better world compete: liberal democracy, authoritarianism, and anticolonialism.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- The Great War p. 785
- Mass Society, Culture, Production, and Consumption p. 795
- Mass Politics: Competing Visions for Building Modern States p. 798
- Conclusion p. 816

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- What were the causes of World War I, and how did the war disrupt societies around the world?
- In what ways did the development of modern, mass societies cause the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression? How were they affected by it?
- What were the ideologies of liberal democracy, authoritarianism, and anticolonialism? How were they alike, and how were they different? How successful was each during this period?
- In what ways did access to consumer goods and other aspects of mass society influence political conflict in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?

Before You Read

This Chapter

The stakes were high for all sides. The Ottomans threw in their lot with the Central Powers to maintain their empire and to reclaim lost territories. The British, French, and Russians sought nothing less than the demolition of the Ottoman Empire. The British and French became even more determined to achieve this goal when Russia dropped out of the war in 1917. Russia wanted access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles. The British had their eyes on Palestine and Iraq, leaving Syria to the French. The Germans, hemmed in on the west and east, yearned to extend their sphere of influence across the Middle East.

This fight to the death over the fate of empires and the future of the Middle East also revealed a new face of war. It would not just be a contest between armies. A struggle over survival wrapped civilians into the carnage. Indeed, civilians and their lands became the prime targets. Hitherto, wars over social survival had largely been confined to colonial and frontier conflicts—like the dispossession of native people and the famous concentration camps in Cuba, South Africa, and Namibia (see Chapter 18). But 1914 not only yielded the first global war but also made extermination of entire peoples a new, permanent, practice of war. This practice hit minorities especially hard. The most notorious example involved the treatment of ethnic Armenians (who were Christians) in the Middle East. In a frenzy of paranoia about enemies within their empire, Ottoman authorities systematically expelled and exterminated up to 1.5 million Armenian civilians. Starvation camps, death marches, and mass executions became part of the conduct of war at the dawn of the twentieth century.

Raging from August 1914 to November 1918, World War I shook the foundations of the European-centered world. The tremors were material and moral. This was the first modern war,



Armenian Genocide. Armenian civilians being escorted by Ottoman troops to a mass prison in Mesopotamia in April 1915. As the war ground to a stalemate, Talat Pasha, the minister of the navy, became the dictator of Syria and suspected Christians of colluding with Ottoman enemies. He became known as “the Blood Shedder” for his cruelty to unarmed civilians.

and its impact was thoroughly global. It sowed disillusionment at home and with European rule in far-flung colonies. It kindled challenges for elites grappling with competing visions for building a dynamic, modern society amid ongoing international rivalries. In the end, it set the stage for the imposition of the European world order built up over the course of the nineteenth century. The 1930s was first of all defined by an economic calamity. The British economist John Maynard Keynes called this calamity a “Great Slump” in 1930, and it subsequently became known as the Great Depression. It also ushered in political and social crises that fanned the embers of ethnic hatreds and imperial rivalries of the First World War.

This chapter deals with that war and its global impact. First, because the war was fought among European powers with sprawling empires, resources from all over the world were brought to bear. In the advanced countries, the war prompted production and consumption on a mass scale. Wartime leaders also used new media such as radio and film to promote national loyalties and to discredit enemies—and thereby helped spread mass culture. Wartime practices of mobilization offered a new political model as well. Second, the terms of the peace settlement and the absence of international leadership unbalanced the global economy and laid the groundwork for the Great Depression. Third, political turmoil surrounding the war inflamed disputes over how to manage new mass societies and build a better world. To this end, increasingly different visions arose: liberal democracy, authoritarianism, and anticommunism. These ideologies competed for preeminence in the decades leading up to World War II as powerful countries pressed their preferred visions on other societies.

THE GREAT WAR

Few events were more decisive in drawing men and women worldwide into national and international politics than the **Great War**, as it was known before 1939. For over four years, millions of soldiers from Europe, its dominions, and its colonies killed and mangled one another. Such carnage damaged European claims to civilized superiority and encouraged colonial subjects to break from imperial masters. Among Europeans, too, the war’s effects shook the hierarchies of prewar society. Above all, the war made clear how much the power of the state now depended on the support of the people.

The war’s causes were complex. Underlying European versions were great-power rivalries, which pitted a rising Germany and a coalition of hidden Austria-Hungary against Britain, France, and Russia. Through most of the nineteenth century, Britain had been the pre-eminent power. By century’s end, however, Germany’s industrial output had surpassed Britain’s, and Germany had begun building a navy. For the British, who controlled the world’s seas, the German navy was an affront; for the French, still seething from their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 (see Chapter 17), German military buildup seemed a mortal threat. For the Germans, it was a logical step in their expanding ambitions. British hawkishness, wielding their might in the international financial system, wanted to destroy German power. German hawks felt surrounded—by the French to the west, the Russians to the east—and argued for launching war before Russia grew too strong militarily. Germany joined Austria-Hungary to form the **Central Powers** (later adding the Ottoman Empire), and Britain allied itself with France and Russia in the Triple Entente (called the **Allied Powers** later, after Italy joined).

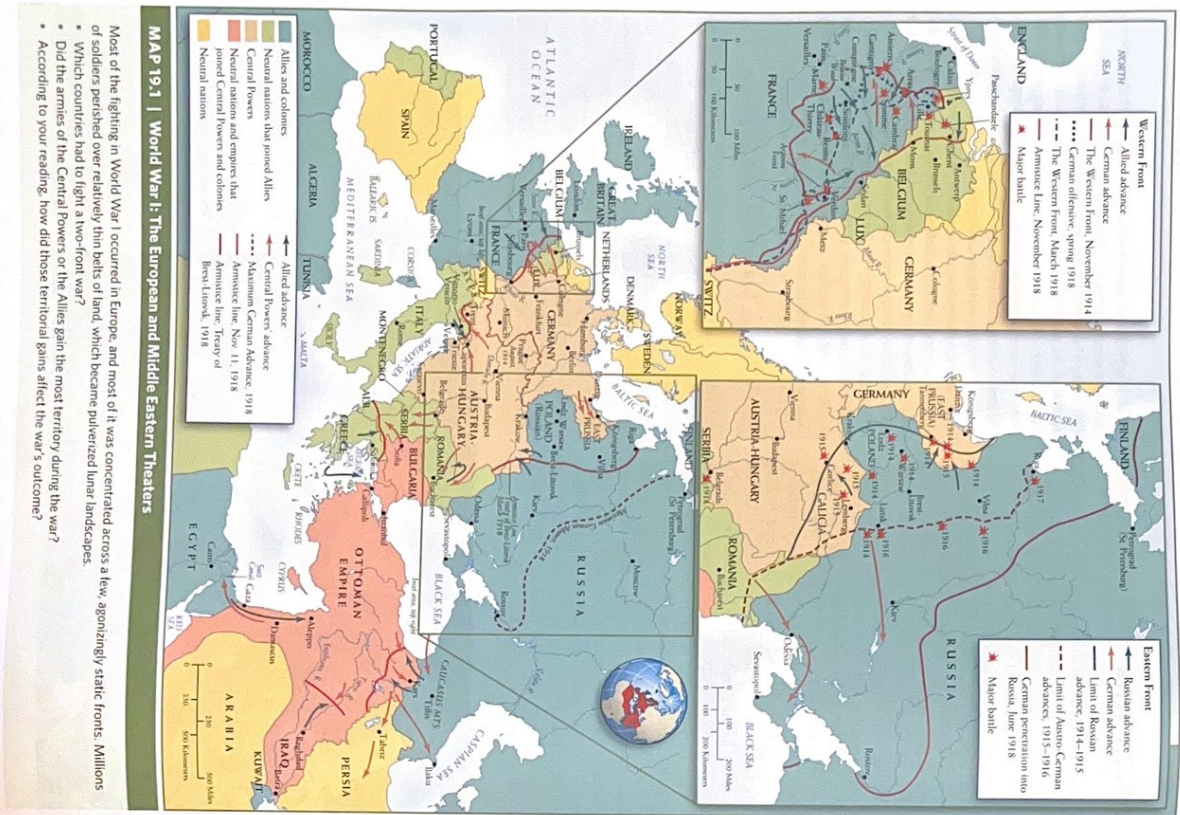


Trenches in World War I. The antiquated war of mobility turned out to be an illusion. Instead, armies dug trenches and filled them with foot soldiers and machine guns. To advance entailed walking into a hail of machine-gun fire. Life in the trenches meant cold, dampness, rats, disease, and boredom.

Well armed and secretly pledged to defend their partners, the rivals were provided with a spark in June 1914, when the heir to the Habsburg throne was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Austrian-annexed Bosnia. The assassin, a teenage Bosnian Serb named Gavrilo Princip, hoped to trigger an independence movement that would unite South Slav territories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (see Chapter 18) with independent Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian emperor decided to take a firm stand, and the German kaiser backed him; the Russians declared support for the Serbs in an effort to uphold state prestige and stifle domestic political opposition. The British and French were determined to prevent Germany and Austria from taking advantage of a possible Ottoman collapse and were keen to realize their own ambitions at German expense in the colonial world. Unable to diffuse mounting tensions diplomatically, contestants braced for war.

Battle Fronts, Stalemate, and Carnage

At the outset, the belligerents expected the war to end quickly. But it soon became infamous for its duration and horrors. As casualties mounted, the war became more intractable, each side determined to slay it out for a final victory that never came. It began on July 29 with a massive Austrian bombardment of Serbian Belgrade, followed by the invasion of Austro-Hungarian troops who committed atrocities against civilians. The German offensive, a thrust through neutral Belgium into France, ran into French and Belgian resistance. German troops came close to Paris at the First Battle of the Marne in September 1914. (See Map 19.1.) A stalemate



MAP 19.1 | World War I: The European and Middle Eastern Theaters

Most of the fighting in World War I occurred in Europe, and most of it was concentrated across a few, agonizingly static fronts. Millions of soldiers perished over relatively thin belts of land, which became pulverized lunar landscapes.

- Which countries had to fight a two-front war?
- Did the armies of the Central Powers or the Allies gain the most territory during the war?
- According to your reading, how did those territorial gains affect the war's outcome?

erased. Instead of a quick war, vast land armies dug trenches along the Western Front—from the English Channel through Belgium and France to the Alps—installing barbed wire and setting up machine-gun posts.

The Germans had a scheme to tip the scales. It meant sabotaging the Western Front by stirring up their colonies and destabilizing borders; if they could inflame resistance, it might bring London, Paris, and Moscow to kneel. Berlin pressured the Ottomans to join—and urged the sultan to proclaim a jihad against the British, French, and Russians so the Muslim world inside those empires would rise up. The worldwide Muslim population at the time totaled 240 million, of whom 100 million lived under British colonial rule. Another 20 million resided in the French empire, and an additional 20 million lived under the Russian tsar's rule. In the end, the scheme did not work, but it helped spread the European conflict globally and turned the Middle East into a cauldron of war for the rest of the century.

It would be hard to exaggerate the terror and futility. Lord Kitchener—who had conquered Sudan in part by unleashing the machine gun on Sudanese warriors—had predicted to the British cabinet that the war in Europe “will not end until we have plunked our manpower to the last military man.” The fear of having to “go over the top” and into the withering fire and gas of “no man’s land” to attack the enemy’s entrenched position drove large numbers of soldiers insane. Between panic attacks and bombardment, soldierly life in the trenches combined boredom, dampness, vermin, and disease.

The war quickly ground to a gruesome standstill. Although neither the Allies nor the Central Powers could substantially advance, they refused to negotiate peace. At Ypres in 1915, the Germans tried to break the stalemate by introducing poison gas, but a countermove of equipping soldiers with gas masks nullified that advantage. In July 1916, the British launched an offensive along the Somme River in northeastern France. By November, when the futile attack halted, approximately 600,000 British and French and 500,000 Germans had perished. When the smoke lifted, the battle lines had hardly budged.

On the other side of Europe, Russian troops advanced into German East Prussia and Austria-Hungary along the Eastern Front. Although they defeated Austro-Hungarian troops in Galicia (between present-day Poland and Ukraine) and scored initial victories in eastern Germany, they suffered devastating reversals once the Germans threw in well-trained divisions that were better armed and better provisioned than the Russian troops.

Attempts to win by opening other fronts—in Turkey, the Middle East, and Africa—only added to the carnage. The sprawling Ottoman Empire balked British- and Russian-led forces in Egypt, Iraq, Arabia, and the Caucasus. In 1915–1916, Ottoman forces massacred or deported 1.5 million Armenians, accused of collaborating with the Russians. Some analysts regard these attacks as the world’s first genocide, the intentional elimination of a whole people.

If the Ottomans saw butchery as a last-ditch effort to save the empire, it also lured their enemies into dreams of taking over the

region. The British, French, and Russians drafted plans for dismembering the empire. Britain and France had long coveted Arab lands that remained under Ottoman control—what would later become Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. Russia craved control of the Turkish Straits, which would provide its grain-exporting ships with unimpeded access to the Mediterranean, as well as control of the borderlands of Armenia and Crimea. Germany also had designs on the Straits and Ottoman-controlled Arab lands. All sides appealed to nationalism in what was once a multicultural and multireligious empire. No one foresaw the consequences of the hastily drawn-up postwar borders and the drive to “tummy” the pluralistic communities of the region. (See Map 19.2.)

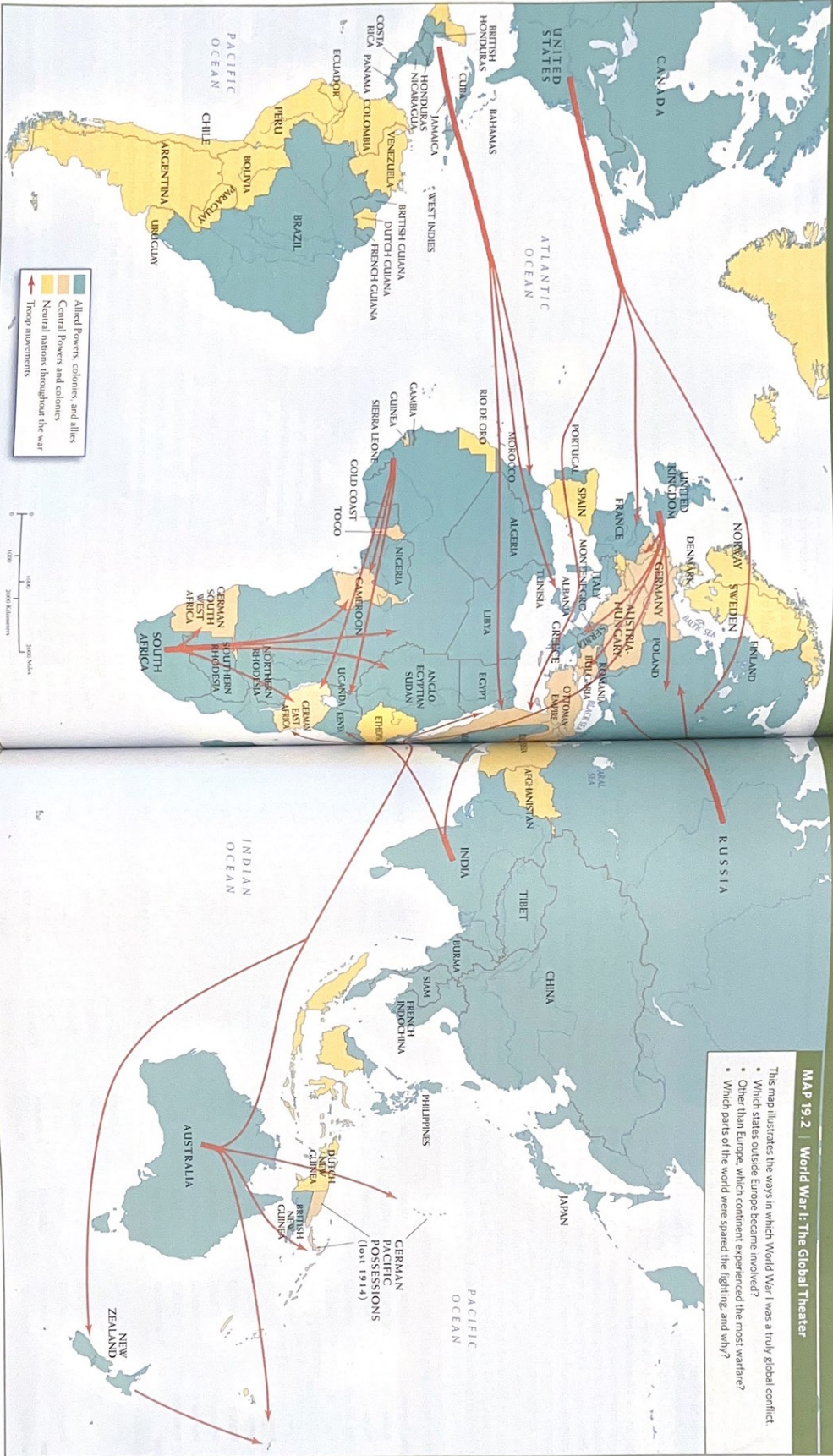
Legacies of Mobilization

A war of this scale, toll, and duration forced governments to call up more men than ever before. More than 70 million men worldwide fought in the war, including almost all of Europe’s young adult males. From 1914 to 1918, 13 million served in the German army; in Russia, some 15 million served. The British Empire mobilized nearly 9 million soldiers. In France, around 8 million served, nearly 80 percent of the fittest to forty-nine age-group.

More than half of the mobilized men died, were wounded or taken prisoner, or were reported missing in action. (See Analyzing Global Developments: Measuring Casualties in World War I.) Over four years, military deaths exceeded 9 million. Another 21 million soldiers were wounded. Vast numbers of survivors bore artificial limbs, had trouble breathing, or walked the streets with disfigured faces. Naval blockades and aerial bombardments had aggravated food shortages and left people susceptible to epidemics, like influenza. As demobilizing soldiers spread disease into their communities, influenza claimed perhaps 50 million people worldwide.

Mass mobilization changed expectations about the state. Civilian pressure forced many states to make promises they would have to fulfill after the war, such as welfare provisions, expanded suffrage, and pensions for widows and the wounded. Mass mobilization also undermined traditional gender boundaries. Tens of thousands of women served at or near the front as doctors, nurses, and technicians. Even more women mobilized on the “home front,” taking on previously male occupations—especially in munitions plants. But women could also turn against the state. Particularly in central Europe and Russia, the war’s demands for soldiers and supplies left farms untended and caused food shortages. Bread riots and peaceful protests by women trying to feed their children put states on notice that their citizens expected compensation for their sacrifices. Military demobilization, meanwhile, hit societies hard, especially working women, when soldiers hobbled home, women faced layoffs from their wartime jobs. Still, their wartime roles helped women win the vote in Denmark (1915), the former Russian Empire (1917), Britain (1918), Germany (1918), and the United States (1920). France held out until 1944.) Young, unmarried women went out

THE GLOBAL VIEW



MAP 19.2 | World War I: The Global Theater

This map illustrates the ways in which World War I was a truly global conflict.

- Which states outside Europe became involved?
- Other than Europe, which continent experienced the most warfare?
- Which parts of the world were spared the fighting, and why?

ANALYZING GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS

Measuring Casualties in World War I



You would think that tabulating historical data would be a fairly easy thing to do. At different points in this text, however, we have seen that it takes painstaking efforts on the part of historians and demographers first to figure out the best way to collect the data and then to accurately categorize and count them. Figuring out the number of Africans that left on enslaver ships and where they embarked and disembarked during the Atlantic slave trade is an obvious example of this kind of work. Historian Jay Wirtler and others have worked tirelessly for thirty years to come up with accurate death tolls for the soldiers and civilians in World War I. In a landmark book, *The Great War and the British People*, Wirtler used a range of archival sources from government agencies' data and mortality rate tables from major insurance companies to estimate and calculate the number of deaths among people in Britain and Ireland. While the paradoxical finding, demonstrated that death rates among civilians actually went down during that war in Britain and Ireland. He suggests that the best explanation for this development was the efforts of

the state to mobilize the civilian population and provide health insurance and, most important, to improve nutrition.

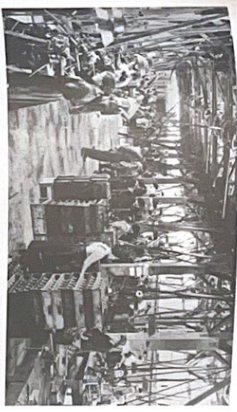
The table below builds on Wirtler's early efforts and shows the best estimates for the military death tolls across all the major participants in World War I.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- Based on data provided in the table, did the mobilization for the war have a greater impact on the Central Powers or the Allied Powers? Justify your answer.
- While the number of people mobilized was a factor of 1.5 greater for the Central Powers, why do you think their dead, wounded, and missing/POW rates were nearly twice as high as those of the Allied Powers?
- The United States played a major role in World War I, but why were its dead, wounded, and missing/POW rates so low compared with those of the other major combatants?

Country	Mobilized	Dead	Wounded	POW/Missing	Total	% Casualties
Russia	15,798,000	1,800,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,250,000	59
France	7,891,000	1,375,800	4,266,000	537,000	6,178,800	78
GB, incl. empire	8,904,467	908,371	2,098,212	191,652	3,190,235	36
Italy	5,615,000	578,000	947,000	600,000	2,125,000	38
United States	4,273,000	114,000	234,000	4,526	353,526	8
Japan	800,000	300	907	3	1,210	0
Romania	1,000,000	250,706	120,000	80,000	450,706	45
Serbia	750,000	278,000	133,148	15,958	427,106	57
Belgium	365,000	38,716	44,686	34,659	118,061	32
Greece	353,000	26,000	21,000	1,000	48,000	14
Portugal	100,000	7,222	13,751	12,318	33,291	33
Montenegro	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000	40
Total	45,899,467	5,380,115	12,380,704	3,984,116	22,194,935	46
Central Powers						
Germany	13,200,000	2,037,000	4,216,058	1,152,800	7,405,858	56
Austria-Hungary	9,000,000	1,100,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	6,920,000	77
Turkey	2,998,000	804,000	400,000	250,000	1,454,000	48
Bulgaria	400,000	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919	67
Total	25,598,000	4,028,500	8,388,448	3,629,829	16,046,777	63
Grand Total	71,497,467	9,408,615	21,219,152	7,613,945	38,241,712	53

Sources: John Horne (ed.), *A Companion to World War I* (Chichester, England: Blackwell, 2010); Spencer C. Tucker (ed.), *The European Powers in the First World War: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1996); J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).



Women's War Effort. With armies conscripting nearly every able-bodied man, women filled their places in factories, especially in those that manufactured war materials, such as the French plant pictured here in 1916.

in public unscouted, dressed as they saw fit, and maintained their own apartments, to the shock of cultural conservatives.

Because this was a war between empires, it became a global war to increase their forces, the British and the French conscripted colonial subjects: India provided 1 million soldiers, more than 1 million Africans fought in Africa and Europe for their colonial masters, and another 3 million transported war supplies. Even the sparsely populated British dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada dispatched over 1 million young men to fight for the empire. Colonial recruits were also put to work in factories. In France, the international labor force numbered over 250,000, including workers from China, Vietnam, Egypt, India, the West Indies, and South Africa. The fighting in Africa would pit German colonial armies against neighboring Allied colonial armies, with the heaviest fighting in Central and East Africa. The results were two-fold: over 100,000 African soldiers died in the fighting, and over 300,000 civilians died from war-related famine and disease. Despair and disillusionment at the prolonged, bloody war turned into revolt and revolution. In British-ruled Nyasaland, a mission-educated African, John Chilembwe, directed his compatriots to rouse British military demands and to stand up for "Africa for the Africans." Although the British suppressed the insurrection and executed the rebel leader, Chilembwe's death did not stop the growing desire to undo bonds to the imperial power.

The Russian Revolution

The war ravaged all empires, some it destroyed. The first to go was Nicholas II stepped down under pressure from his generals. They wanted to quash the mass unrest in St. Petersburg, which they believed, threatened the war effort along the Eastern Front. Some members of the suspended Russian parliament formed a "provisional government," at the same time, grassroots councils (soviets) sprang up in factories and urban ghettos. With the war removed, millions of peasants seized land, soldiers and sailors abandoned the front, and borderland non-Russian groups split from the crumbling empire.

Russia became free in a chaotic way. The unexpected Provisional Government had no local organs of rule, while the grassroots soviets had no levers of national power. As the despised tsarist police fell apart, so did public order. The tsar's downfall incited widespread hopes that the hated war would now end, but the Provisional Government would not abandon its allies Britain and France by signing a separate peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary. That was a fatal decision. Waves of infuriated rank-and-file soldiers, sailors, and workers deserted their posts.

Chaos led to decomposition and civil war. In October, left-wing socialists calling themselves **Bolsheviks**, who validated the peasants' land seizure and promised to end the war, seized power. Led by Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviks drew support among the radicalized members of the soviets. Arresting Provisional Government members, they claimed power in the name of the soviets. In December, Soviet Russia held the then-largest free election in world history: nearly 40 million men and women elected delegates to a constitutional convention, or constituent assembly, but the Bolsheviks disbanded the body after one day. In March 1918, as the Russian army further disintegrated, Soviet Russia at Lenin's insistence signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, acknowledging German victory on the Eastern Front and sacrificing vast territories to safeguard the socialist revolution. For additional protection, the Bolshevik leadership relocated the capital from St. Petersburg to Moscow, where they set about building a revolutionary dictatorship to combat tsarist defenders known as "White Russians."

The Fall of the Central Powers

On April 2, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. This occurred after German submarines sank several American merchant ships and after a secret telegram came to light in which German officials sought Mexican support by promising to help Mexico regain territories it had lost to the United States in 1848. The entry of U.S. troops tilted the balance of military power in Europe. The Allies turned the tide at the Second Battle of the Marne in July 1918 and pushed German soldiers back into Belgium. Starving and sick German troops then began to surrender en masse. Before long, Germany retreated on the edge of civil war as the Allied blockade caused starvation in the cities. Finally, German generals agreed to an armistice in November 1918. After Kaiser Wilhelm II fled into exile, the German Empire became a republic. The last Habsburg emperor also abdicated, and Austria-Hungary dissolved into several new states. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the war claimed a fourth dynasty among its casualties.

The Peace Settlement and the Impact of the War

Once the Axis alliance collapsed, the question became not how to end an endless war but how to create a durable peace. To decide the future of the modern world, the victors convened five peace



The Russian Revolution. Right: The July 1917 demonstrations in Petrograd were among the largest in the Russian Empire during that turbulent year of war and revolution. In this photo, rioters carry banners reading “Down with the Ministers-Capitalists” and “All Power to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasant Deputies.” Left: Vladimir Lenin died just six years and three months after the October 1917 revolution, but he lived on in his writings and in images, such as this painting by Pavel Kaznetsov. Artists and propagandists helped make Lenin a ubiquitous icon of the new Soviet order.



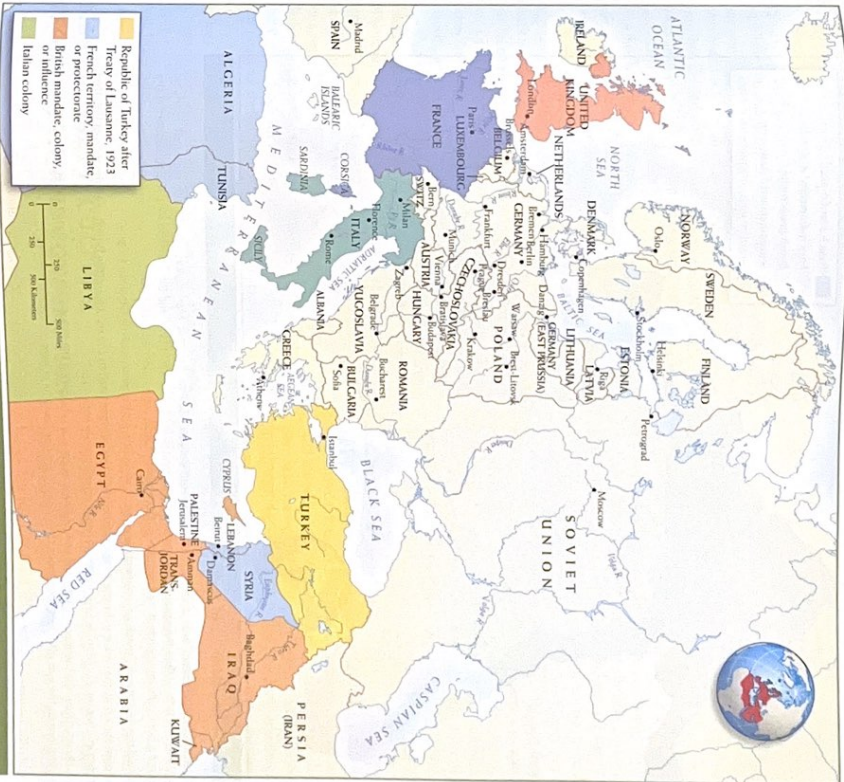
Broken Promises and Political Turmoil

A major challenge for world peace was how to reckon with seething resentments and nationalism. Home fronts suffered grim impoverishment as states failed the challenges of a total war their rulers had launched. Left-wing elements grew stronger even as they divided between moderate socialists and communists; the right underwent a radical and dangerous mutation toward fascism; and the center tried to accommodate itself to mass democracy. The polarization also unfolded on racial lines. Anti-Semitism spread everywhere. African American soldiers who returned from service in Europe walked into a storm of racial hatred and lynching. Violence became an enduring part of politics.

Part of the problem lay in the very foundation of a peace premised on free, self-determining, and democratic nations. President Wilson had intended his ideology, especially his Fourteen Points to apply principally to the ethnic minorities within the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires and to European peoples still under Ottoman rule. Self-determination was for European provinces of old dynamic empires, not necessarily for colonies overseas (or for many racial minorities at home). Moreover, applying the principle of self-determination was exceedingly difficult in practice. Suddenly, 60 million people in central and eastern Europe emerged as inhabitants of new nation-states. (See Map 19.3.) Many were unhappy, as perhaps 25 million now lived in states where they were ethnic

conferences, one for each of the Central Powers. Most important was the conference to negotiate peace with Germany, held in Versailles, France, in January 1919. Delegates drew many of their ideas from American president Woodrow Wilson’s “Fourteen Points,” a blueprint he had issued in 1918 to counter Germany’s occupation of eastern Europe. Wilson insisted that postwar borders be redrawn by following the principle of “self-determination of nations” and that an international **League of Nations** be established to negotiate future quarrels. Though the League earned a toothless reputation, it was nonetheless a milestone in the creation of an idea of global cooperation.

In practice, bitterness overruled high-minded ideas. The French and Belgians, on whose territories so much of the devastation occurred, wanted recompense and revenge. The Versailles treaty held the Germans solely responsible for the war, demanded that Germany pay reparations for the damages it had inflicted, and compelled the Germans to return Alsace and Lorraine, taken by Germany after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 (see Chapter 17), to France. There was a frenzy over parts of the German Empire: The treaty redistributed German colonies in Africa among the British, French, Belgians, and South Africans. Nor was Germany the only target: Greek nationalists wanted to gouge Turkish lands. A hobbled Woodrow Wilson was dismayed. Then Americans rounded on him at home. When a League of Nations was established in 1920, the United States refused to join.



MAP 19.3 | Outcomes of World War I in Europe, North Africa, and Some of the Middle East

- The political map of Europe and the Middle East changed greatly after the peace treaty of 1919.
- Comparing this map with Map 19.1, which shows the European and Middle Eastern theaters of war, identify the European countries that came into existence after the war.
- What happened to the Ottoman Empire, and what powers gained control over many territories of the Ottoman state?
- What states emerged from the Austro-Hungarian Empire?



MAP 19.4 The Sykes-Picot Agreement

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret pact negotiated between British diplomat Mark Sykes and French diplomat Georges Picot in 1916. While the agreement reserved protectorates for the French in Syria and the British in Iraq, it also supported the creation of a politically independent Arab state or confederation of Arab states under an Arab chief.

- Why did the British and French governments want to divide up the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire?
- Compare the areas that were to be the Arab confederation, though dominated by the French and the British, with the map of ISIS that appears in Chapter 22 (Map 22.5). How similar are the territories in both maps?
- Why do you think that Arabs in particular and Muslims in general believe that this agreement was antithetical to their wishes and contributions to the war effort and continues to this day to provide powerful grievances against the west?

minorities and thus vulnerable to persecution in the tumultuous years after the armistice. Much of the ethnic conflict that had simmered beneath the surface of the old empires now broke into the open.

Beyond Europe, colonial peoples also seized upon the rhetoric of self-determination. But France's and Britain's imperial ambitions dashed these sentiments. After a long-drawn-out military campaign in 1919, the British suppressed a rebellion in Egypt, albeit only after promising Egyptian nationalists a limited form of autonomy. The Syrians, too, did not understand why they were less deserving of self-rule than the Czechoslovaks or Yugoslavs, but the French

put down a Syrian nationalist revolt. In India, similarly inspired by Wilsonian ideals, peaceful protesters gathered in a garden in the city of Amritsar in the Punjab. The British army moved down 370 men and women and wounded 2,000 (although Indian eyewitnesses claimed that the dead totaled more than 1,000). The brutally emboldened Indian critics—and shocked status-holders back home. In China, students offered by the minor status accorded to their country at Versailles launched a widespread protest in the name of Wilsonianism that solidified nationalist sentiment for this generation of students and later ones.

The bloodiest of all conflicts occurred in Iraq, where nearly 600,000 people—more than 20 percent of the population—rose up against British military efforts to force them into a colonial state. The rebellion's first stages were so successful that the Iraqis established an independent state in the Middle Euphrates region, one that brought together Sunni and Shiite leaders and Arab officers and soldiers who had formerly served with the Ottoman army but desired an independent Iraqi state. Ultimately, British forces totaling 73,000, of whom 63,000 were Indian soldiers, were needed to crush the rebellion.

A final set of broken promises triggered an Arab nationalist movement led by the emir of Mecca, Sharif Husayn. Believing that he had British military and political support to create an independent Arab state in Syria, parts of Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq, Sharif Husayn led a general Arab rebellion against the Ottoman Turks. He was taken aback when the Bolsheviks published secret peace agreements that had been negotiated between the British and the French during the war. One of these was the Sykes-Picot Agreement (signed by Mark Sykes on behalf of the British and François Georges-Picot for the French), which divided the Arab east between Britain and France. (See Map 19.4.) A second promise, for a homeland for the Jews in Palestine, also angered Arab nationalists: the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, took the form of a letter sent by the British foreign secretary, Arthur James Balfour, to Baron Rothschild, leader of the British Jewish community, and fulfilled a Zionist aspiration for a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. The declaration did acknowledge the rights of the local residents, stating that it was “clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.” Nonetheless, the declaration failed to reconcile competing claims, and it ultimately led, along with subsequent events, to the creation of the state of Israel and numerous Arab-Israeli wars.

MASS SOCIETY, CULTURE, PRODUCTION, AND CONSUMPTION

The war also contributed to another modern phenomenon: mass societies. Even before World War I mobilized entire societies to produce shells, uniforms, and rations, democratic regimes had begun to extend the right to vote. In many cases marking non-property holders and women eligible to cast ballots. Authoritarian regimes, meanwhile, had begun to mobilize the people via rallies and mass organizations. And new technologies, such as radio, were helping to create mass cultures that spanned geographical and class divides. The radio, coupled with mass-circulation tabloids featuring vivid snapshot photography, created the means to turn wider circles of listeners and readers into integrated communities—like nations. Mass consumer culture only compounded the challenge

of a peace that needed nations to cooperate rather than compete with one another. Ultimately, world peace collapsed under the weight of mass-culture-induced national rivalries.

Mass Culture

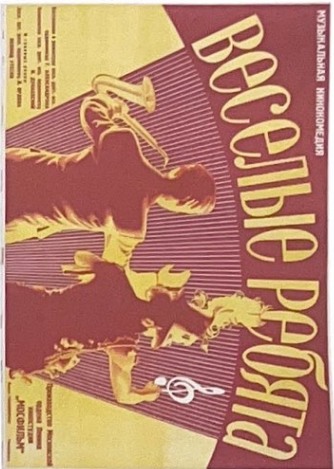
Indicative of the modern world were new forms of mass communication and entertainment. In seeking to mobilize populations for total war, leaders had disseminated propaganda as never before—through public lectures, theatrical productions, musical compositions, and (censored) newspapers. Indeed, the war's impact had politicized cultural activities while broadening the audience for nationally oriented information and entertainment.

Postwar mass culture was distinctive. First, it differed from elite culture (opera, classical music, paintings, literature) because it reflected the tastes of the working and middle classes, who now had more time and money to spend on entertainment. Second, mass culture relied on new technologies, like the cheap penny press (tabloid-style newspapers), photography, and, especially, film and radio, which could reach an entire nation's population and consolidate its sense of being a single nation-state.

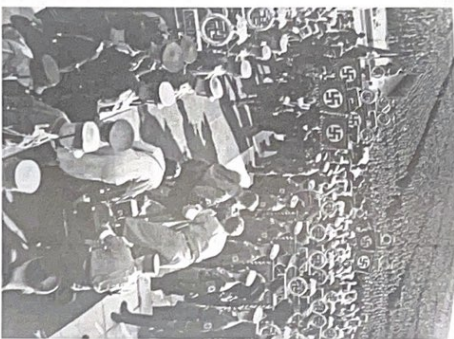
RADIO Radio entered its golden age after World War I. Invented in the 1890s, it made little impact until the 1920s, when powerful transmitters permitted stations to reach larger audiences—often with nationally produced programs. Radio also was a way to mobilize the masses, especially in authoritarian regimes. For example, the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini pioneered the radio address to the nation. Later, Soviet and Nazi propagandists used this format with great effect. In Japan, too, radio promoted the right-wing government's goals. But even dictatorships could not exert total control over mass culture. Although the Soviets regarded jazz as “bourgeois,” they could not prevent listeners from tuning in to foreign radio broadcasts or creating their own jazz bands.

FILM AND ADVERTISING Film, too, had profound effects. For traditionalists, Hollywood signified vulgarity and decadence because the silver screen prominently displayed modern sexual habits. But just like radio, film served political purposes. Here, again, antibureaucratic governments took the lead. Soviet film studios produced popular Hollywood-style musicals, such as *Jolly Fellows* (1934), with catchy songs sung by the whole country, alongside didactic pictures about socialist triumphs.

In market economies, radio and film became big businesses, and with expanded product advertising, they promoted other enterprises as well. Especially in the United States, advertising became a major industry, with radio commercials slipping national consumer tastes increasingly, too. American-produced entertainment, radio programs, and cinematic epics reached an international audience, and America and the world began to share mass-produced images and fantasies.



Mass Cultural Propaganda. Left: The movie poster for the Soviet propaganda film *Jolly Fellows* by Grigor Aleksandrov. Right: The shooting of *Triumph of the Will*, directed by Leni Riefenstahl, who made a series of films for the annual Nazi Party rallies in Nuremberg. This one, perhaps the greatest propaganda film ever, won gold medals in Venice in 1935 and at the World's Fair in 1937.



Mass Production and Mass Consumption

The same factors that promoted mass culture enhanced production and consumption on a mass scale. In fact, World War I paid perverse tribute to the power of industry, for machine technologies produced war materials with abundant and devastating effect.

Never before had armies had so much firepower at their disposal. Whereas in 1809 Napoleon's artillery had discharged 90,000 shells over two days during the largest battle waged in Europe to that point, by 1916 German guns were firing 100,000 rounds of shells per hour over the course of 12 hours in the Battle of Verdun. To sustain military production, millions of men and women worked in factories at home and in the colonies. Producing huge quantities of identical guns, gas masks, bandage rolls, and boots, these factories reflected the modern world's demands for greater volume, faster speed, reduced cost, and standardized output—key characteristics of mass production.

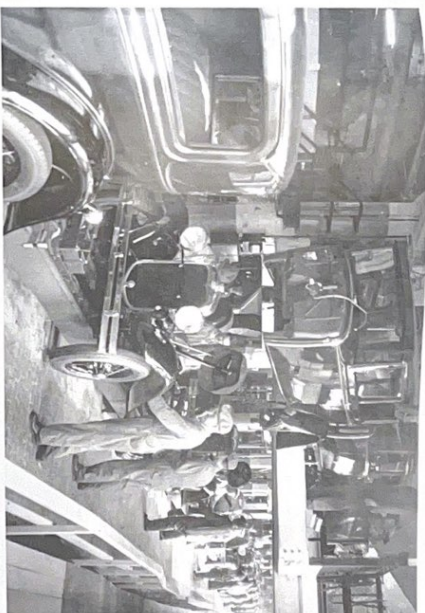
The war reshuffled the world's economic balance of power, further boosting the United States as an economic powerhouse. As its share of world industrial production climbed above one-third in 1929 (roughly equal to that of Britain, Germany, and Russia combined), people around the globe regarded the United States as a “working vision of modernity” in which not only production but also consumption boomed.

THE AUTOMOBILE ASSEMBLY LINE The most outstanding example of the relationship between mass production and mass consumption was the motor car, which symbolized American

ingenuity. Before World War I, the automobile had been a rich man's toy. Then came Henry Ford, who founded the Ford Motor Company in 1903. Five years later, he began production of the Model T, a car that at \$850 was within the reach of middle-class consumers. Soon popular demand outstripped supply. Seeking to make more cars faster and cheaper, Ford used mechanized conveyors to send the auto frame along a track, or assembly line, where each worker performed one simplified, repetitious task by standardizing the manufacturing process, subdividing work, and substituting machinery for manual labor. Ford's assembly line vastly expanded output while lowering costs.

By the 1920s, a finished car rolled off Ford's assembly line every 10 seconds. Although workers complained about becoming “cogs” in a dehumanized labor process, Ford's factory near Detroit employed 68,000 workers—making it the largest factory in the world. In addition, millions of cars required millions of tons of steel alloys as well as vast amounts of glass, rubber, textiles, and petroleum. Cars also needed roads and service stations. Altogether, nearly 4 million jobs related directly or indirectly to the automobile—an impressive total in a labor force of 45 million workers.

After World War I, automobile ownership became more common among Americans. By the 1920s, assembly-line production had dropped the Model T's price to \$290. Ford further expanded the market for cars by paying his own workers 55 per day—approximately twice the nation's average manufacturing wage. He understood that without mass consumption, increased middle-class purchasing power, and the public's appetite for goods, there could be no mass production. Whereas in 1920 Americans



Car Assembly Line. Mass production was made possible by the invention of the electric motor in the 1880s, and it involved three principles: the standardization of core aspects of products, the subdivision of work on assembly lines, and the replacement of manual labor by machinery as well as by reorganizing flow among shops. The greatest successes occurred in the auto plants of Henry Ford. With each worker along the line assigned a single task, millions of automobiles rolled off Ford assembly lines like the one shown in this 1930 photograph, and millions of Americans became owners of automobiles.

owned 8 million motor cars, a decade later they owned 23 million. The automobile's rapid spread seemed to demonstrate that mass production worked.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION The advent of mass societies and mass markets heightened the sense of instability and turmoil. Many worried that democracies were vulnerable to the whims of public opinion. Furthermore, economists worried about underlying market problems. Just as the peace treaties did not put an end to war, they could not wind the economic clock back to the prewar global prosperity. Instead, the world economy went through seismic ups and downs—and finally crashed dramatically in 1929, bringing a decade of misery, political polarization, and eventually nationalist-fueled war.

World War I had several lingering effects on the world economy. Primary producers of foodstuffs and fibers struggled to adjust to the new industrial age. In frontier areas like the North American West or in colonial plantation regions of West Africa, farmers began to overproduce their wheat and palm oil, driving down their prices by the late 1920s. These edges of the world market turned into weak links.

The war also led to runaway inflation. Conservative governments, desperate to restore stability, turned to austerity measures to place their countries back on a creaky gold standard. Some societies never fully recovered from the economic trauma of the first wave of mass unemployment caused by government policy.

Finally, the war left all belligerents burdened with massive public debts. France and Britain, once big lenders, became net

borrowers; they owed creditors a whopping \$8.5 billion in 1918. Germany, the crippled powerhouse at the center of Europe's economy, was stuck not only with its war debts but with the burden of indemnities. The Treaty of Versailles imposed reparations on Germany that totaled \$33 billion, of which it ultimately paid \$21 billion. The whole financial system became dependent on loans from the United States. Through the 1920s, American lenders recycled old loans while European debtors struggled to pay them off. This meant that if there was ever a crisis in the nerve center of New York, it would send ripples around the world.

The world market was interdependent, but it had no countervailing authorities to deal with a crisis. This made it fragile. Sure enough, when American authorities who worried about overheated markets at home raised the cost of money, the real debtors were pushed into insolvency. Western farmers could not pay the banks; the banks started to go belly up, and New York financiers started to call in their loans abroad.

This set off a spiral into the **Great Depression**. Bankers panicked, stock prices plummeted, debtors walked away from their loans, banks failed, and as big lending from New York slumped, countries went off the gold standard one by one, letting their currencies fall.

Financial turmoil undermined world trade. As governments abandoned the gold standard and devalued their currencies, their exports suddenly became cheaper and this set off a scramble for markets. Striving to protect workers and investors from the influx of cheap foreign goods, governments raised tariff barriers against imports in fit-for-fat protectionism. Although Woodrow Wilson



German Reparations. The Versailles peace treaty imposed heavy burdens on the German people. Stripped of colonial possessions, coal from the Saar region, and industries in other provinces, Germany still shouldered heavy "reparations" payments. When Germany fell into arrears, Belgian and French forces began to invade industrial pockets. This 1923 photo captures French troops moving into the manufacturing heartland of the Ruhr. In response, German coal and rail workers refused to work. The country plunged off a hyperinflationary cliff, stabilizing only after French withdrawal and a financial bailout. The economic cost and the memory of hurt pride led to lasting German grievances.

had dreamed of an American-led world order, the retreat of the United States from open markets caused worldwide damage. In the summer of 1930, Congress approved a major hike in import duties, named the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act after its sponsors, Senator Reed Smoot and Representative Willis C. Hawley. Country after country followed suit. Where possible, empires tried to create their own protectionist zones. The British Empire, once the bastion of free trade liberalism, retreated into a shell during a landmark summit in Ottawa at which it declared preferences for its own imperial products. Led by the world powers that had once buoyed international markets, nations and empires took shelter behind borders. World trade collapsed. Manufacturers cut back production, laid off millions of workers, and often went out of business. World prices for Argentine beef, Chilean nitrates, and Indonesian sugar all dropped sharply. Shrinking markets and drastic shortages of credit forced industries and farms worldwide into bankruptcy.

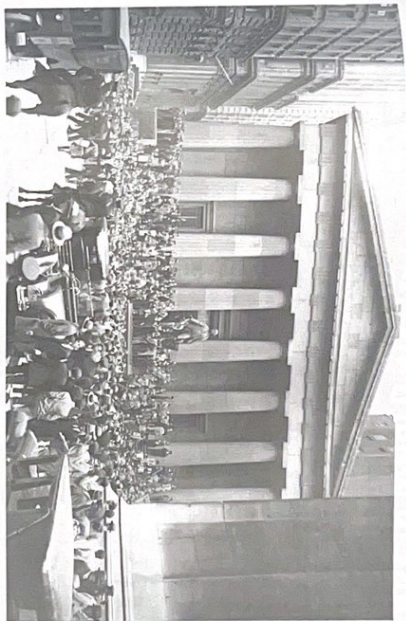
The Great Depression forced economists to rethink the core of laissez-faire liberalism (see Chapter 15), the idea that free markets regulate themselves and free trade leads to economic progress. By the late 1930s, the exuberant embrace of private mass production had added to a new conviction, state intervention to regulate the economy was critical to prevent disaster. In 1936, the British economist John Maynard Keynes published a landmark treatise, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. He argued that the market could not always adjust to its own failures and that sometimes the state had to stimulate it by increasing the money supply and creating jobs. Although the "Keynesian Revolution" took years to transform economic orthodoxy and to produce state policies designed to

enhance citizens' lives, otherwise known as the welfare state, many governments had doubts about whether capitalism could be saved. The Great Depression did more than any other event to challenge the belief that liberal democracy and capitalism were the best way to achieve political stability and economic progress.

MASS POLITICS: COMPETING VISIONS FOR BUILDING MODERN STATES

The turmoil of war and its aftermath upset class, gender, and colonial relations. On battlefronts and home fronts, workers, peasants, women, and colonial subjects had sacrificed and now expected to share in the fruits of peace as full-fledged citizens. Even in victorious nations, many lost confidence in traditional authorities who had caused the human wreckage. Then came the Depression, which did nothing to embolden the reputation of old elites.

No longer contained in genteel chambers, politics shifted to the street. Variants of socialism gained momentum of new adherents even to some extent in the individualism-obsessed United States, where many thought socialism would never take root. In the Soviet Union, Bolsheviks began to construct a society whose rules defied capitalist principles. Elsewhere, mass movements of paramilitaries sought to replace imperiled liberal democratic states, first in Italy, then in Germany and Spain. Liberal democratic empires, such as Britain and France, also faced challenges to square their rule over colonial



Stock Traders after the Crash. On October 29, 1929, "Black Thursday," the American stock market crashed. Here traders are pictured congregating in the financial district of New York City. As stock values plummeted, panic gripped Wall Street and soon spread across the nation. The market crash was followed by even more devastating bank runs as the Great Depression overtook the world.

subjects with their rhetoric of freedom. And a hybrid political order, mixing democratic and authoritarian institutions, emerged in Latin America. (See Current Trends in World History: "Population Movements: Filling Up the Empty Spaces and Spreading Capitalism.")

In the search for solutions to mass unemployment and alternatives to mass uncertainty, authoritarian models grew increasingly popular, especially as the communist Soviet Union, fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, dictatorial Portugal and Spain, and militaristic Japan projected images of national strength and pride. Outside Europe, liberal models could not cope with the scale and diversity of the new politics. By the late 1930s, the few remaining democracies appeared weak. Dictators seemed to be riding the wave of the future while colonists sought to go their own separate ways.

Liberal Democracy under Pressure

Fighting a total war had offered European states the opportunity to experiment with illiberal politics. Indeed, the war brought both the suspension of parliamentary rule and democratic rights and an effort by governments to manage industry and distribution of goods and wealth. States on both sides of the conflict jettisoned individuals who opposed the war. Governments regulated both production and, through rationing, consumption. Above all, the war revolutionized the size and scope of the state.

BRITISH AND FRENCH RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC CHANGES Britain and France retained their parliamentary systems, but even here, old-fashioned liberal democracy was on the run. Sicily ripped across the British Empire, and in the home

Britain gave independence to what became the Republic of Ireland in 1922. Britain's working-class Labour Party came to power twice between 1923 and 1931, but either alone or in coalition with Liberals and Conservatives, Labour could not lift the country out of its economic crisis.

Disorder was even more pronounced in France, which had lost 10 percent of its young men and had seen destruction in vast territory. In 1932–1933, six government coalitions came and went over just nineteen months. Against the threat of a rightist coup, a coalition of the moderate and radical left, including the French Communist Party, formed the Popular Front government (1936–1939). It introduced the right of collective bargaining, a 40-hour workweek, two-week paid vacations, and a minimum wage.

THE AMERICAN NEW DEAL In the United States, too, markets and liberalism faced questions. When the Great Depression shattered the nation's fortunes, pressure intensified to create a more secure political and economic system.

In contrast to postwar Europe, where labor parties and socialist movements surged, the 1920s saw a conservative tide engulf American politics in response to wartime government activism. The Republican Warren Harding won the presidency in 1920 with a resounding 60 percent of the popular vote. Four years later, Calvin Coolidge scored an even greater landslide, remarking that the "business of America is business" (and not government interference in free enterprise). Herbert Hoover's election in 1928 continued Republican presidential triumphs. During these years of conservative ascendancy, the United States restricted mass immigration and approved a constitutional amendment to prohibit "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors." Prohibition, as the ban on alcohol came to be

CURRENT TRENDS IN WORLD HISTORY

Population Movements: Filling Up the Empty Spaces and Spreading Capitalism

As we have seen in Chapters 12 and 13, the European discovery of the Americas resulted in a vast movement of peoples across the Atlantic Ocean from Europe and Africa into the Western Hemisphere. These population movements, among the largest in world history up to that point, pale when measured against the long-distance migrations that occurred in the hundred years between 1840 and 1940. During these years, 150 million individuals of European and Asian descent filled up the less populated parts of the world, moving from Europe, South Asia, and China into the Americas, Southeast Asia, and northern Asia in unprecedented numbers and spreading a capitalist mode of production wherever they moved. A great many of the migrants went as laborers in the factories and on the plains of the Americas and on the rubber, sugar, tea, and coffee plantations springing up in the Dutch East Indies and East and southern Africa. They were as essential to the expansion of the capitalist system in these regions as the 12 million

African captives transported to the Americas during the Atlantic slave trade were for the economic expansion of the Americas. Although the new watchword in economic relations was free labor, not all of the men and women who moved were in fact free workers. Indentured servitude—that is, agreeing to work for a certain number of years, usually between three and seven, in return for transportation to the region, food, housing, and clothing—was widely used with Chinese and Indian workers.

A good example of the movement and use of semi-coerced or indentured workers in less developed regions comes from East Africa. There the British and Germans were engaged in a furious political rivalry to extend their control over territories, and British officials believed that constructing a railway from the coast of East Africa at the port of Mombasa to Kisumu at Lake Victoria would enhance their territorial ambitions in East Africa. They also concluded that they would be unable to recruit a sufficient supply of African workers to

accomplish the task. Not surprisingly, they looked to the government of India to assist them in providing the necessary workforce.

The British government of India did more than help them. In all, it made available nearly 35,000 indentured South Asian workers on three-year contracts for the construction of what was known as the Uganda Railway, whose track, covering a distance of 582 miles, was completed in a mere five years, from 1896 to 1901. The work was arduous and the living conditions in the work camps were horrific, yet the British official overseeing the construction concluded that had it not been for this workforce, the project probably could not have been completed in less than twenty years. The building of the Uganda Railway is one of many examples in which we see significant numbers of people moving to new places and regions, sometimes by their own choosing and sometimes not, to play an important role in the expansion of the capitalist system and the rivalries between colonial powers.



The Uganda Railway. Indian workers cut rock for the Uganda Railway, built in 1896 to 1901, during the Scramble for Africa.

800

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- Why do you think that in some cases, like the building of the Uganda Railway, governments had to be involved in forcibly moving workers to where they were needed rather than letting market forces draw the workers to where work was available?
- What do you see as some of the similarities and differences between the treatment of enslaved Africans and the treatment of the forced or indentured servants during this period?

Explore Further

Mickoon, Adam. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Border* (2008)



Josephine Baker. The African American entertainer Josephine Baker unable to perform in America because of her race, was a sensation on the stage in Paris after World War I. Many of her shows evoked or even caricatured her African descent.

Mass Politics: Competing Visions for Building Modern States | 801

called, was a signature of the moral reaction against the uncertainties of modern life. The proponents of Prohibition, mostly native-born Protestants living in rural America looked upon alcohol consumption as an urban vice associated with immigrants in the cities.

Along with immigrants, nativists also targeted African Americans in the South. “Jim Crow” laws enforced social segregation, economic inequality, and political disenfranchisement. Millions of Black women and men quit the countryside and moved to northern cities such as New York and Chicago, seeking relief from the legal barriers to their opportunities and rights, but discrimination up north restricted their residences to urban ghettos. Still, within Black neighborhoods, most famously New York City’s Harlem, the New Negro movement, or Harlem Renaissance, showcased Black novelists, poets, painters, and musicians, many of whom used their art to protest racial subordination.

The Great Depression took its toll on free market liberalism. By the end of 1930, more than 4 million American workers had lost their jobs. As President Hoover insisted that citizens thrive and self-reliance, not government handouts, would restore prosperity, the economic situation worsened. By 1933, industrial production had dropped by a staggering 50 percent since 1929 as unemployment reached 25 percent. Hard times were even worse in the countryside, where farm income plummeted by two-thirds between 1929 and 1932.

In the 1932 presidential election, a Democratic, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, won by a landslide. He promptly launched what came to be called the **New Deal**, a set of programs and regulations that dramatically expanded the scope of the American national government and its role in the nation’s economic life. In his first 100 days in office, Roosevelt obtained legislation to provide relief for the jobless and to rebuild the shattered economy. Among his



“Jim Crow.” “Jim Crow” laws mandated the segregation of races in the American South, with African Americans forced to use separate, and usually unequal, facilities, including schools, hotels, and theaters, such as this one in Mississippi.

administration's experiments were the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to guarantee bank deposits up to \$5,000, the Securities and Exchange Commission to monitor the stock market, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to help states and local governments assist the needy. Subsequently, the Works Progress Administration put nearly 3 million people to work building roads, bridges, airports, and post offices. In addition, the Social Security Act inaugurated old-age pensions supported by the federal government. Never before had the U.S. federal government expended so much on social welfare programs or intervened so directly in the national economy. Nonetheless, Roosevelt refrained from substantially redistributing national income. Likewise, although his administration established public agencies to build dams and oversee the irrigation of arid lands and the electrification of rural districts, these were exceptions. Privately owned enterprises continued to dominate American society. Roosevelt's aim was not to destroy but to save capitalism. In this regard the New Deal succeeded, for it staved off authoritarian solutions to modern problems.

During the 1920s and 1930s, liberal democratic regimes respected elections and defended private property against challenges from labor movements and socialist critics. But they intervened in markets and regulated people's lives in ways that prewar governments would never have contemplated.

Authoritarianism and Mass Mobilization

Like the liberal systems they challenged, authoritarian regimes came in various stripes. Italy, Germany, and Japan saw the triumph of right-wing dictatorships. Although differing in important respects, all dedicated the left-wing dictatorship of the Soviet Union. And the Soviets had no liking for the fascists. Yet all the post-war dictatorships shared a visceral dislike of liberal democracy as weak and corrupt, unsuited to muscular nations. These regimes found their success in mobilizing the masses to create dynamic yet orderly societies. They also had charismatic leaders who personified the power and unity of the societies over which they ruled.

Although rejecting liberal democracy, post-World War I dictators insisted that they had their people's support. True, they treated their people as a mass conscript army that needed firm leadership to build new societies and guarantee well-being. But their demands, the leaders maintained, would yield robust economies, restore order, and renew pride. In addition, dictators gained support by enhancing public welfare programs. They also vowed to deliver prosperity, national pride, and technology without having to endure the class divisions, unemployment, urban-industrial squalor, or moral decay of liberal societies. For a time, many believed them.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALISM The most dramatic blow to liberal capitalism occurred in Russia, where the radical Bolshevik Party established a socialist regime. Fanning the spread of

revolution, Britain, France, Japan, and the United States sent arms to Russia to contain Bolshevism. But after executing Isar Nicholas II and his family, the Bolsheviks rallied support by defending the homeland against its invaders. They also mobilized people to fight and win a horrific civil war (1918–1921). The conflict pitted an array of fascists, social democrats, and independent peasant armies against the Bolshevik dictatorship and its supporters (including many soldiers, sailors, workers, and state functionaries).

In the all-out mobilization against those whom they labeled the Whites, or counterrevolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, calling themselves the Reds, began to rebuild state institutions. Their forced requisitions of grain from the peasantry caused a severe famine between 1921 and 1923 in which some 7 to 10 million people died from hunger and disease.

To revive a ravaged economy, the Bolsheviks grudgingly legalized private trade in the countryside while retaining state control over most industries. In 1924, with the country still recovering from civil war, the leader of the revolution, Lenin, died. No one had done more to shape the institutions of the revolutionary



Stalin. Joseph Stalin posing at the Allies' "Big Three" conference in Yalta on Soviet soil in February 1945. Much had changed since Stalin became leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1922.

regime, including creating expectations for a single ruler. After eliminating his rivals, **Joseph Stalin** (1878–1953) emerged as the new leader of the Communist Party and the country, which had become the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union.

Since socialism as a fully developed social and political order had never existed, no one was sure in the 1920s how the USSR would actually be built and work. Stalin resolved this dilemma by defining Soviet or revolutionary socialism in opposition to capitalism. Since many capitalist states had "bourgeois" parliaments, said to serve the interests of the rich, socialism would have soviets (councils) of worker and peasant deputies. Since capitalism had unregulated and unruly markets, socialism would have economic planning and full employment. And since capitalism relied on the "exploitation" of private ownership, socialism would outlaw private trade and private property. In short, socialism would eradicate capitalism and then invent socialist forms in housing, culture, values, dress, and even modes of reasoning.

War brought down the Romanov regime; why not use war to build a socialist one? Stalin launched class war, beginning in the heavily populated countryside. Rich peasants, derided as kulaks, were to be deported to remote areas. Villages had to fill quotas for deportation, often those selected were people who had slept with someone's wife rather than those who owned the most cows. Personal animosities, greed, and ambition spurred this class war. The remaining peasants were forced to combine their farms into larger units worked collectively and run by regime loyalists. Tens of thousands of urban activists seeking to build a new world led the forced drive to establish collective farms and to sell their grain and livestock at state-run collection points at depressed state prices. In protest, hundreds of thousands of peasants burned their crops, slaughtered their livestock, and destroyed their farm implements. The government responded by deporting protesters to remote areas. In the chaos of 1931–1933, a second famine claimed between 5 and 7 million lives.

When it came to industry, the regime rolled out Five-Year Plans to "catch and overtake" the leading capitalist countries. Millions of enthusiasts (as well as deported peasants) set about building a socialist urban utopia founded on advanced technology, most of it purchased from Depression-riddled capitalist countries. Tens of millions of people built thousands of factories, hospitals, and schools. Huge hydroelectric dams, automobile and tractor factories, and heavy-machine-building plants symbolized the promise of Soviet-style modernity. Many of these entailed colossal waste, but they wiped out unemployment. While the capitalist world remained mired in the Depression, Soviet socialism and its promises gained adherents around the world.

Soviet authorities also promoted socialism in the borderlands. In 1922, the USSR joined the independent states of Ukraine, Belarusia (Belarus), and the Transcaucasian Federation with Soviet Russia to form a single federal state. The USSR also soon acquired



Collectivized Agriculture. Soviet plans for the socialist village envisioned the formation of large collectives supplied with advanced machinery, thereby transforming peasant labor into an industrial process. The realities behind the images of smiling farmers—such as in this poster, exhorting "Give first priority to gathering the Soviet harvest"—were low productivity, enormous waste, and often broken-down machinery.

several new republics, some from central Asia, eventually there were fifteen (see Map 19.3), all of which secured their own state institutions—but under centralized rule from Moscow. In the 1930s, collectivization and mass arrests devalued the peasants and nomads as well as the officials of the republics, but industrialization and urbanization gave opportunities to new people and empowered new indigenous elites.

MASS TERROR AND STALIN'S DICTATORSHIP The Soviet political system became more despotic as the state expanded. Police power grew the most, partly from forcing peasants into collectives and organizing mass deportations. As the party's ranks swelled, ongoing loyalty verifications also led



Hitler. Adolf Hitler and his advisers mastered the staging of mass rallies. These rallies and marches projected an image of dynamism and collective will, which Hitler claimed to embody.

and the professions, forced them to sell their property, deprived them of citizenship, and forbade them to marry or have sex with Aryans. Hitler also encouraged the use of terror against Jews, destroying their businesses, homes, and marriages with non-Jews and frightening them into leaving Germany, with the ultimate aim of eliminating all traces of Jewish life and culture in Nazi-dominated central Europe.

Although some Germans opposed Hitler's liberal activism, the Nazis won popular support by reviving the economy and restoring national pride. In 1935, defying the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler announced a vigorous rearmament program. The state also financed public works, including reforestation, swamp drainage projects, and highway building that absorbed the unemployed; organized leisure, entertainment, travel, and vacations; and built public housing. Nazism mixed anti-Semitism with full employment and social welfare programs that privileged racially approved groups. (See Global Themes and Sources Primary Source 19.3.)

Seeing how liberal regimes retreated to their imperial blocs, Hitler nursed expansionist aspirations. Initially, Hitler called his state the Third Reich (the first being the Holy Roman Empire, or Reich, and the second the Reich created by Bismarck in 1871). He claimed that like the Holy Roman Empire, his empire would last 1,000 years. Hitler also harbored grand aspirations to impose racial purity and German power in Europe and perhaps beyond.

DICTATORSHIPS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

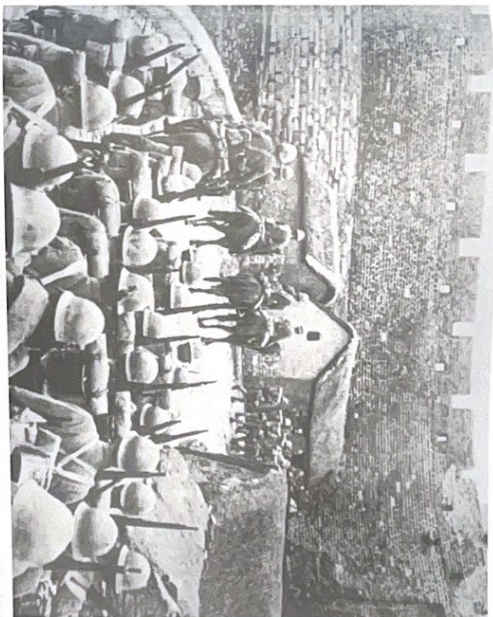
As authoritarian regimes spread across Europe, the military instituted dictatorships in Spain and Portugal. Their effort to seize power in Spain provoked a brutal civil war from 1936 to 1939, which left 250,000 dead.

The Spanish civil war was, from the start, an international war. When the Spanish republican government introduced reforms to break the hold of the church and landowners on the state, the military launched a coup and received weapons, advisers, and other backing from fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union supported the republic with weapons and advisers, and many volunteers fought in international brigades. Britain and France dithered, leading Stalin and many others to conclude that the democratic powers would not stand up to fascism. The leader of the military coup, Generalissimo Francisco Franco (who had risen to prominence as an army officer in the campaign to establish a Spanish protectorate over what became Spanish Morocco), gained the upper hand in the civil war thanks to foreign support, his brutal tactics, and his forging of a broad political coalition of the traditional and radical right.

MILITARIST JAPAN

Unlike authoritarian regimes in Europe, Japan's emerging right-wing movement did not suffer wounded power and pride during World War I. In fact, because wartime disruptions reduced European and American competition, Japan expanded production, exporting munitions, textiles, and consumer goods to Asian and western markets. During the war, the Japanese gross national product (GNP) grew 40 percent, and the country built the world's third-largest navy. After a devastating earthquake and fire in 1923, Tokyo was rebuilt with steel and reinforced concrete, symbolizing the new, modern Japan.

Initially, post-World War I Japan seemed headed down the liberal democratic road. Mass political parties and expanded suffrage in 1925 increased the electorate roughly fourfold. But along with democratization came repressive measures. Although the Meiji



Manchurian Incident. Taken from among the throng of Japanese troops, this September 1931 photograph documents the Japanese invasion of Manchuria after the bombing of the South Manchurian Railroad, later known as the Manchurian Incident.

Constitution remained in effect, a new Peace Preservation Law specified up to ten years' hard labor for any member of an organization advocating change in the political system or abolition of private property. The law served as a club against the mass leftist parties. Japan veered from the liberal democratic road after Emperor Hirohito came to power in 1926. Here, as in Germany, the Great Depression spurred the eventual shift to dictatorship. Japan's trade

with the outside world had more than tripled between 1913 and 1929, but after 1929 China and the United States imposed barriers on Japanese exports in preference for domestic products. These measures contributed to a 50 percent decline in Japanese exports, and unemployment surged. Such turmoil invited calls for stronger leadership, which military commanders were eager to provide. As in Germany, and like Japanese rulers dreamed of empire to defend the homeland against rivals.

It was in the Japanese Empire that militarism and expansionism received a boost. In 1931, a group of army officers arranged an expedition on the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railroad as a pretext for taking over Manchuria. In 1932, Japan added Manchuria to its Korean and Taiwanese colonies, proclaiming the puppet state of Manchukuo. (See Map 19.6.) Meanwhile, at home, "patriotic societies" waged a campaign of terror against uncooperative businessmen and critics of the military. (See Global Themes and Sources Primary Source 19.4.) By 1940, Hirohito and his closest advisers had merged all political parties into the Imperial Rule Association, ending even the semblance of democracy, and they advocated a form of racial purity. The Imperial Army divided Asian peoples into "master races," "friendly races," and "guest races," reserving a dominant position for the Japanese, "Yamato Race."

COMMON FEATURES OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Despite important differences, the major authoritarian regimes—the communist Soviet Union, fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and



Hirohito. A portrait of Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan in 1925, the year before he ascended the Japanese throne. Hirohito presided over Japan's war in Asia, beginning with the 1931 seizure of Manchuria and culminating in the 1945 surrender, but he remained emperor for another four decades. When he died in 1989, his wartime responsibility was still a difficult subject for many.



Hitler Youth. Like the communists in the Soviet Union, the Nazis organized and indoctrinated boys and girls in the hopes of making them strong supporters of the regime. Pictured here are members of the Hitler Youth, about 1939.

millionaires Japan—shared many traits. All rejected parliamentary rule and sought to revive their country's power through authoritarianism, violence, and a cult of the leader. (See Global Themes and Sources: Primary Source 19.1.)

All claimed that modern economies required state direction. Japan's government fostered huge business conglomerates; Italy's encouraged big business to form cartels. The German state also regarded the private sector as the vehicle of economic growth, but it expected entrepreneurs to support the Nazis' racial, antidemocratic, and expansionist aims. The most thorough economic coordination occurred in the Soviet Union, which adopted American-style mass production while eliminating private enterprise. Instead, the Soviet state owned and managed all the country's industry.

Another common feature involved using mass organizations for state purposes. The Soviet Union, Italy, and Germany had single mass parties; Japan had various rightist groups until the 1940 merger. All promoted dynamic youth movements, such as the Hitler Youth and the Union of German Girls, the Soviet Communist Youth League, and the Italian squads matching to the anthem "Giovinezza" (Youth). State-organized labor forces replaced independent labor unions.

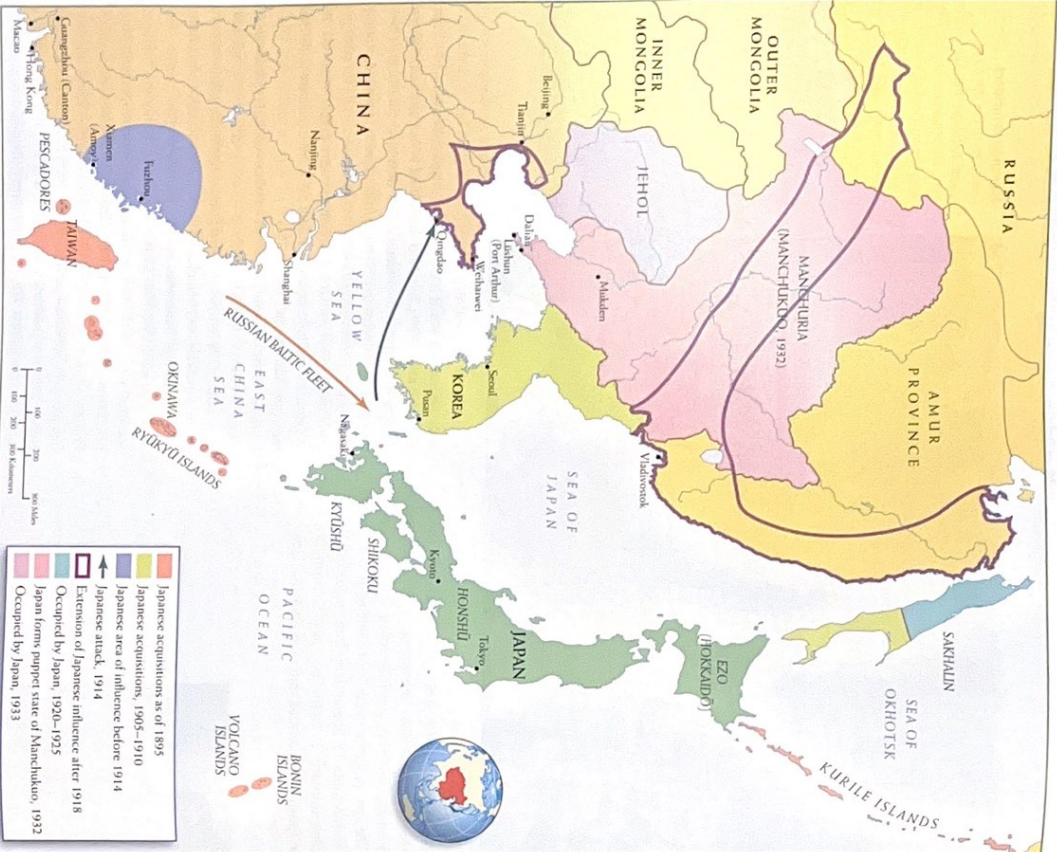
All these regimes, except the Soviet Union, were ambivalent about women in public roles. Even the Soviets, who claimed to support gender equality, eventually restricted abortion and rewarded mothers who had many children. Officials sought to honor new mothers as a way to repair the loss of so many young men during the Great War. Yet many more women were also entering professional careers, and some were becoming their family's primary wage

earners. In Italy, fascist authorities had to accept *la maschietta*—the new woman, or flapper, who wore short skirts, bobbed her hair, smoked cigarettes, and engaged in free sex. In Japan, the *moggi* or *modogiriya* ("modern girl") phenomenon provoked considerable negative comment, but authorities could not suppress it.

Finally, all the dictatorships used violence and terror as tools for remaking the sociopolitical order. The Italians and the Japanese openly arrested political opponents, particularly in their colonies. However, it was the Nazis and the Soviets who filled concentration and labor camps with alleged enemies of the state, whether Jews or supposed counterrevolutionaries. Still, brutal as these regimes were, their successes in mastering the masses drew envious glances even from those following the liberal democratic road. They also attracted imitators: British and French fascists and communists, though never coming to power, formed national parties and proclaimed support for foreign models. Certain politicians, intellectuals, and labor organizers in South and North America admired Hitler, Lenin, and Stalin. Many hoped to use the methods of mass mobilization and mass violence for their own ends.

The Hybrid Regimes in Latin America

Latin American nations felt the same pressures that produced liberal democratic and authoritarian responses in Europe: the Soviet Union, and Japan. However, Latin American leaders devised solutions that combined democratic and authoritarian elements



What they shared with European and Asian counterparts was the need to cope with the developing effects of the Depression and the breakdown of world trade and finance by shoring up domestic mass consumption and protecting native industries. As elsewhere, governments in Latin America turned inward. But they also aimed to integrate previously excluded and marginal peoples to bring legitimacy to the new order. So, with spreading mass consumption, new Latin American rulers expanded mass politics and fomented nationalism—which took democratic and autocratic forms. One such instance is called corporatism.

ECONOMIC TURMOIL. Latin American countries had abstained from fighting in World War I, but their export economies had suffered. As trade plummeted, popular confidence in traditional oligarchic regimes fell, and radical agitation surged. During the war years, trade unionists in Buenos Aires took control of the city's docks, and the women of São Paulo's needle trades inspired Brazil's first general strike. Bolivian tin miners, inspired by events in Russia, proclaimed a full-blown socialist revolution.

As in Europe, Latin American governments stepped in to manage volcanic economic markets. More than in any other region, the Depression battered Latin America's trading and financial systems because they were most dependent on the exports of basic staples, from sugar to wheat, and faced stiff protection or evaporating demand for their commodities. The region, in fact, suffered a double whammy because it had borrowed so much money to invest in infrastructure and expansion. When the world's major banks failed, creditors called in their loans from Latin America. This move drove borrowers to default. In response, Latin American governments—with backing from the middle classes, nationalist intellectuals, and urban workers—turned to their domestic rather than foreign markets as the main engine of growth. Here, too, the state took on a more interventionist role in market activity than it was expected to do under the model of classical liberalism.



Getúlio Vargas. This cartoon of Vargas, governor of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, portrays him as a country bumpkin even as he leads the way in overthrowing Brazil's Old Republic.

After the war, Latin American elites confronted the age of mass politics by establishing mass parties and encouraging interest groups to associate with them. Collective bodies such as chambers of commerce, trade unions, peasant associations, and organizations for minorities like Blacks and Indians all operated with state sponsorship. This form of modern politics, often labeled corporatism, used social groups to bridge the gap between ruling elites and the general population.

CORPORATIST POLITICS IN BRAZIL. Corporatist politics took hold especially in Brazil, where the Old Republic collapsed in 1930. In its place, a coalition led by the skilled politician Getúlio Vargas (1883–1954) cultivated a strong following by enacting socially popular reforms.

Dubbing himself the “father of the poor,” Vargas encouraged workers to organize, erected monuments to national heroes, and supported the building of schools and the paving of roads. Striving to appeal to Black Brazilians, who had been excluded from public life since the abolition of slavery, he legalized many previously forbidden Afro-Brazilian practices, such as the ritual *candomblé* dance, whose African and martial overtones seemed threatening to White elites. Vargas also supported samba schools, organizations that not only taught popular dances but also raised funds for public works. Moreover, Vargas addressed maternity and housing policies and enfranchised women (although they had to be able to read, as did male voters). Although he condemned the old elites for betraying the country to serve the interests of foreign consumers and investors, he arranged foreign funding and developed plans with foreign technical advisers to build steel mills and factories. However, he promoted domestic industry so that Brazil would not be so dependent on imports.

Ruling as a patriarch enabled Vargas to squelch dissent and build new lines of loyalty. When he revamped the constitution in 1937, he banned competitive political parties and created forms of national representation along corporatist lines. Each social sector, or class, would be represented by its function in society (for example, as workers, industrialists, or educators), and each would pledge allegiance to the all-powerful state. Although his opponents complained about losing democratic rights, Vargas also created rights for previously excluded groups like trade unions, who now could use their corporatist representatives to press for demands. One demand was to secure rights to basic economic needs, like food and shelter. To bolster the system, he employed a small army of modern propagandists who used billboards, loudspeakers, and radio to broadcast the benevolence of “Father” Vargas. Among this campaign's objectives was the persecution of “speculators” and “oligarchs” who were believed to deprive Brazilian workers of their basic social rights. The “father of the poor” in turn protected national industries that produced manufactured goods for popular consumption. In this way, Vargas's corporatist aims created a new alliance of consuming consumers and new industrialists to eclipse the old rural order.



Samba Dancers. The dance started in the shanty towns of Rio de Janeiro and eventually became popular throughout the world, thanks to films, photographs, and long-playing records that featured samba music.

The Vargas appeal had echoes around a world struggling with economic depression and scarcity. Fueled by nationalism, policies protected domestic markets and tried to secure impoverished workers. The same kinds of claims were voiced in the colonial worlds of Africa and Asia. But here the fact that colonial peoples had no access to the instruments of a national government meant that their welfare demands went unanswered and heightened anticolonialism.

Anticolonial Visions of Modern Life

In both Africa and Asia, access to consumer goods and other aspects of mass society led to heightened inequalities and created tension between the privileged and the poor. Nationalist protest movements ensued. Mostly, the leading parties represented the aspirations of the educated and well-off, seeking a way of life like that of developed societies. But individuals like Gandhi and anticolonial socialists and communists championed the interests of the poor and spurned the desires of the middle classes.

Although World War I had ravaged Europe, it also yielded more colonies than ever before. Ottoman territories, in particular, wound up in Allied hands. Great Britain emerged with an empire

that straddled one-quarter of the earth. Rechristened as the British Commonwealth of Nations, Britain conferred dominion status on White-settler colonies in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This meant independence in internal and external affairs in exchange for continuing loyalty to the crown. But no such privileges went to possessions in Africa or to India, where peoples of color were the vast majority.

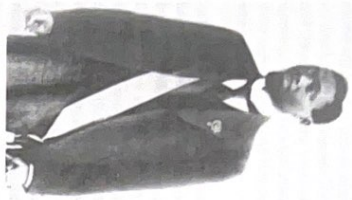
Debates over liberal democratic versus authoritarian models engaged the world's colonial and semicolonial regions. But in Asia and Africa there was a larger concern: what to do about colonial authority. Throughout Asia, most educated people wanted to roll back the European and American imperial presence. Some Asians even accepted Japanese imperialism as an antidote, under the slogan “Asia for the Asians.” In Africa, intellectuals questioned whether the British and the French were sincerely committed to African improvement or were instead obstacles to African peoples well being. (See again Current Trends in World History: Population Movements: Filling Up the Empty Spaces and Spreading Capitalism.)

In Africa as well as Asia, anticolonialism was the preeminent vision. To overcome the contradictions of European democratic liberalism, educated Asians and Africans proposed various forms of nationalism.

Behind the Asian and African nationalist movements were profound disagreements about how best to govern nations once they gained independence and how to define citizenship. For many intellectuals, the imperial powers' democratic ethos was appealing. Others liked the radical authoritarianism of fascism and communism, with their promises of a rapid leap to modernity. Whatever their political preferences, most literate colonials also regarded their own religious and cultural traditions as sources for political mobilization. Thus, Muslim, Hindu, Chinese, and African values were part of nationalist campaigns as leaders appealed for support from the rank and file. The colonial figures involved in political and intellectual movements insisted that the societies they sought to establish were going to be modern and at the same time retain their indigenous characteristics.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN STIRRINGS. Africa contained the most recent territories to come under the Europeans' control, so anticolonial nationalist movements there were quite young. After 1918, African peoples probed more deeply for the meaning of Europe's imperial presence.

In some regions, environmental degradation contributed to the resentment. In the peanut belt of Senegal, for example, African cultivators pushed into more and more regions, cutting down trees and eventually exhausting the soil. In Kenya, where African peoples were confined to specific locations to make land available to European settlers, Africans began to overgraze and overcultivate their lands. A severe problem occurred among the Kamba people living near Nairobi. Their herds had become so large that the government attempted to implement a forcible campaign of culling. Reluctant



Blaise Diagne. Diagne was the first African elected to the French National Assembly. He won the election to the French parliament in 1914, beating White and mixed-race candidates by appealing to the majority Black African population that lived in the four communes of Senegal.

to cooperate, the Kamba joined the chorus of African protesters against British authority.

There was some room (but not much) for voicing African interests under colonialism. The French had long sought to assimilate their colonial peoples into French culture. In France's primary West African colony, Senegal, four coastal cities had traditionally elected one delegate (of mixed African and European ancestry) to the French National Assembly. This practice lasted until 1914, when Blaise Diagne (1872–1934), an African candidate, ran for election to the Assembly and won, invoking his African origins and generating the African vote. While the British allowed Africans to elect delegates to municipal bodies, they refused to permit colonial representatives to sit in Parliament. Committed to democracy at home, the European powers remained steadfastly against it in their colonies.

Excluded from representative bodies, Africans experimented with various forms of protest, but such opposition ran up against not only colonial administrators but also western-educated African elites. Yet even this privileged group began reconsidering its relationship to colonial authorities. In Kenya, immediately after World War I, a contingent of mission-educated Africans called on the British to provide more and better schools and to return lands they claimed European settlers had stolen. The young nationalists drew important lessons from their confrontation with the authorities. Their new spokesperson, Jomo Kenyatta (1898–1978), invoked their precolonial Kikuyu traditions as a basis for reasserting colonialism. These early anticolonial movements laid the foundations for more widespread resistance to colonial rule after World War II.

IMAGINING AN INDIAN NATION As Africans explored the use of modern politics against Europeans, in India opposition took a different form. World War I and its aftermath brought full-blown

challenges to British rule. Indeed, the Indian nationalist challenge provided inspiration for other anticolonial movements.

For over a century, Indians had heard British authorities extol the virtues of parliamentary government, yet they were excluded from participation. In 1919, the British slightly enlarged the franchise in India and allowed more local self-government, but these moves did not satisfy Indians' nationalist longings. During the 1920s and 1930s, the nationalists, led by **Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi** (1869–1948), laid the foundations for an alternative, anticolonial movement.

GANDHI AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE Gandhi had studied law in England and had worked in South Africa on behalf of Indian immigrants before returning to India in 1915. Thereafter, he assumed leadership in local struggles and became the focus of the Indian nationalist movement. He also spelled out the moral and political philosophy of *satyagraha*, or **nonviolent resistance**, which he had developed while in South Africa. His message to Indians was simple: develop your own resources and inner strength and control the instincts and activities that encourage participation in colonial economy and government, and you shall achieve *swaraj* ("self-rule"). Faced with Indian self-reliance and self-control pursued nonviolently, Gandhi claimed, the British eventually would have to leave.

The Amritsar massacre (discussed earlier in this chapter) and other conflicts spurred the nationalists to oppose cooperation with government officials, to boycott goods made in Britain, to refuse to send their children to British schools, and to withhold taxes. Gandhi added his voice, calling for an all-India *satyagraha*. He also formed an alliance with Muslim leaders and began turning the Indian National Congress from an elite organization of lawyers and merchants into a mass organization open to anyone who paid modest dues, including the illiterate and the poor.

When the Depression struck India in 1930, Gandhi singled out salt as a testing ground for his ideas on civil disobedience. Every Indian used salt, whose production was a heavily taxed government monopoly. Thus, salt symbolized the Indians' subjugation to a colonial government. To break that monopoly, Gandhi began a 240-mile march from western India to the coast to gather sea salt for free. Accompanying him were seventy-one followers representing different regions and religions of India. News wire services and mass-circulation newspapers worldwide reported on the drama of the sixty-one-year-old Gandhi, wooden staff in hand, dressed in coarse homespun garments, leading the march. Thousands of people gathering en route were moved by the sight of the frail apostle of nonviolence encouraging them to seek independence from colonial rule. The air thickened with tension as observers speculated on the British reaction to Gandhi's arrival at the sea. After nearly three weeks of walking, Gandhi waded into the surf, picked up a lump of natural salt, held it high, confessed that he had broken the salt law, and invited every Indian to do the same.

Inspired by Gandhi's example, millions of Indians joined strikes, boycotted foreign goods, and substituted indigenous hand-woven cloth for imported textiles. Many Indian officials in the colonial administration resigned in solidarity. The colonizers were taken aback by the mass mobilization. Yet British denunciations of Gandhi only added to his personal aura and to the anticolonial crusade. By insisting that Indians follow their conscience (always through nonviolent protest), by exciting the masses through his defiance of colonial power, and by using symbols like homespun cloth to counter foreign, machine-spun textiles, Gandhi instilled in the people a sense of pride, resourcefulness, and Indian national awareness.

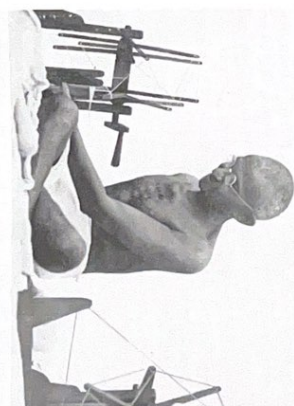
A DIVIDED ANTICOLONIAL MOVEMENT Unlike the charismatic authoritarians who dominated Italy, Germany, and Russia, Gandhi did not aspire to dictatorial power. Moreover, his program met opposition from within, for not everyone shared his vision of a unified national community as the source of public life. Like elsewhere, the winds of modern social change were blowing in new ideologies and aspirations. Cambridge-educated Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), for example, believed that only by embracing science and technology could India develop as a modern nation. And radical activists wanted revolution, not peaceful protest. These activists organized rural peasants and the growing industrial proletariat in the cities to overthrow colonial domination. Their stress on class conflict ran against Gandhi's ideals of national unity.

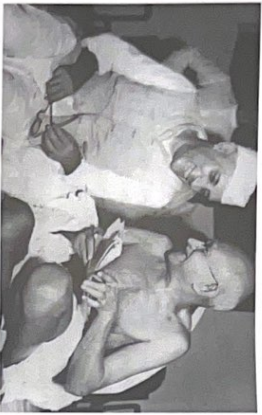
The era of mass politics brought lower castes and Dalits ("untouchables") onto the public stage, where they demanded an end to caste discrimination. This demand was articulated most powerfully by the brilliant Dalit leader B. R. Ambedkar. Born in 1891 to a poor family of the "untouchable" caste, Ambedkar graduated from Bombay University in 1912 and earned doctorates from Columbia University and the London School of Economics in the 1920s. On his return to India, he emerged as the most important Dalit leader and engaged Gandhi in a fierce debate over the relationship between caste and the nation. Gandhi argued that the unity of Hindu society, which included the Dalits, formed the bedrock of national unity. Ambedkar responded that the achievement of national unity demanded a rejection of Hinduism, which divided the society into castes and perpetuated social discrimination. Only social equality and democracy, not a caste-ridden Hindu society, could build nationhood, he claimed. The removal of Dalits' civil disabilities, such as untouchability and prohibition from entry into temples, that Gandhi proposed was not the answer. What was required, Ambedkar insisted, was the whole-scale destruction of the caste system.

Religion, too, threatened to fracture Gandhi's hope for anticolonial unity. The Hindu-Muslim alliance crafted by nationalists in the early 1920s splintered over who represented them and how to ensure their political rights. The Muslim community found a leader in Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who set about making the Muslim League the sole representative organization of the Muslim community.



Gandhi and the Road to Independence. Left: Gandhi launched a civil disobedience movement in 1930 by defying the British government's tax on salt. Calling it "the most important poll tax the ingenuity of man can devise," Gandhi, accompanied by his followers, set out on a monthlong march on foot covering 240 miles to Dandi, on the Gujarat coast. The picture shows Gandhi arriving at the sea, where he and his followers broke the law by scooping up handfuls of salt. Right: Gandhi believed that India had been colonized by becoming enslaved to modern industrial civilization. Indians would achieve independence, he argued, when they became self-reliant. Thus, he made the spinning wheel a symbol of *swaraj* and homespun cloth the virtual uniform of the nation.





Gandhi and Nehru Sharing a Light Moment. Despite their divergent views on modernity, Gandhi was personally close to Nehru, who was his chosen political heir.

In 1940, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding independent Muslim states in provinces where Muslims constituted a majority, on the grounds that they were not a religious minority of the Indian nation, but a nation themselves.

Hindus also sought a political role on the basis of religious identity. Leaders committed to revitalizing Hinduism began organizing Hindus as a religious nation. Hindu symbols and a Hindu ethos colored the fabric of Indian nationalism woven by Gandhi and the Indian National Congress Party.

A further challenge came from women. Long-standing efforts to “uplift” women now escalated into a demand for women’s rights, including suffrage. Following the formation of the All India Women’s Conference in 1927, activists addressed issues relating to women’s work, health, employment, education, and literacy and demanded legislative seats for women. The Indian National Congress Party, however, elevated its nationalist agenda above women’s demands, just as it had done in dealing with the lower castes and the relations between Hindus and Muslims.

In 1937, the British belatedly granted India provincial assemblies, a bicameral (two-chamber) national legislature, and a self-governing executive. By then, however, India’s people were deeply politicized. The Indian Congress Party, which inspired the masses to overthrow British rule, struggled to incorporate divergent ideologies and new political institutions, such as labor unions, peasant associations, religious parties, and communal organizations. Seeking a path to economic modernization, Gandhi, on one side, envisioned independent India as an updated collection of village republics organized around the benevolent authority of male-dominated households. Nehru, on another side, hoped for a socioeconomic transformation powered by science and state-sponsored planning. Both believed that India’s traditions of collective welfare and humane religious and philosophical practices set it apart

from the modern west. By the outbreak of World War II, India was well on its way toward political independence, but British policies and India’s divisions foretold a violent end to imperial rule (see Chapter 20).

CHINESE NATIONALISM Unlike India and Africa, China was never formally colonized. But foreign powers’ “concession areas” on Chinese soil compromised its sovereignty. Indeed, foreign nationals living in China enjoyed many privileges, including immunity from Chinese law. Furthermore, unequal treaties imposed on the Qing government had robbed China of its customs and tariff autonomy. Thus, Chinese nationalists’ vision of a modern alternative echoed that of Indian nationalists: rid the nation of foreign domination was the initial condition of national fulfillment. For many, the 1911 Revolution (as the fall of the Qing dynasty came to be known; see Chapter 18) symbolized the first step toward transforming a crumbling agrarian empire into a modern nation.

Despite high hopes, the new republic could not establish legitimacy. For one thing, factional and regional conflicts made the government little more than a loose alliance of gentry, merchants, and military leaders. Its intellectual inspiration came from the ideas of the nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen. In 1912, after the Qing emperor stepped down, a military strongman, Yuan Shikai, forced Sun Yat-sen to concede the presidency to him. Although Sun had organized his followers into a political party, the Guomindang, Yuan dismissed all efforts to further democracy and dissolved the parliament. Only Yuan’s death in 1916 ended his attempt to establish a new personal dynasty.

The republic endured another blow when the Treaty of Versailles awarded Germany’s old concession rights in the Shandong Peninsula to Japan. On May 4, 1919, thousands of Chinese students demonstrated in Beijing. As the protests spread to other cities, students appealed to workers and merchants to join their ranks. In what became known as the May Fourth movement, workers went on strike and merchants closed shops. Across the country, the Chinese boycotted Japanese goods.

As the Guomindang, allied by Sun Yat-sen, tried to rejuvenate itself, it looked to students and workers as well as the Russian Revolution for inspiration. Under the banner of anti-imperialism, the reorganized party sponsored mass organizations of workers’ unions, peasant leagues, and women’s associations.

In 1926, amid a renewed tide of anti-foreign agitation, **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975) seized control of the party following Sun’s death. Chiang launched a partially successful military campaign to reunify the country and established a new national government in 1928 with its capital in Nanjing.

Chiang, like his Chinese communist rivals, believed that the Chinese masses had to be mobilized in order for China to succeed as a modern nation and escape colonial rule. The New Life movement, launched with a torchlight parade in 1934 in

Nanchang, exemplified his aspiration for a new Chinese national consciousness. Drawing on diverse ideas from Confucian precepts to social Darwinism) and fascist practices such as the militarization of everyday life in the name of sacrificing for the nation, the movement aimed to instill discipline and moral purpose into a unified citizenry. It promoted dress codes for women, condemned casual sexual liaisons, and campaigned against spitting, urinating, and smoking in public.

PEASANT POPULISM IN CHINA: WHITE WOLF For many Guomindang leaders, the peasant population represented a backward class. Thus, the leadership failed to tap into the revolutionary potential of the countryside, which was alive with grassroots movements such as that of White Wolf.

From late 1913 to 1914, Chinese newspapers circulated reports about a roving band of armed men led by a mysterious figure known as White Wolf said to have almost magical power. It is unlikely that the band, rumored to have close to a million followers, had more than 20,000 members at its height. But the White Wolf movement’s impact reverberated well beyond its physical presence.

Popular myth depicted White Wolf’s mission to rid the country of injustice. The band was known to raid major trade routes and market towns. It was said that once the band captured a town, “cash and notes were flung out to the poor.” Such stories won the White Wolf army many followers in rural China. Although the army lacked the power to restore order to the countryside, its presence reflected the changing market forces that had come to China. For example, in the northwestern province of Shanxi (Shensi), where the band held its most famous march, markets that formerly flourished with trade in Chinese cotton now awaited cotton bales shipped from Fall River, Massachusetts.



Chiang Kai-shek. Riding the current of anti-imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek, shown here in 1924 in military dress, led the Guomindang on a military campaign in 1926–1928 and seized power, establishing a new national government based in Nanjing.

A POSTIMPERIAL TURKISH NATION Of all the postwar anticolonial movements, none was more successful or more committed to European models than that of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), who helped forge the modern Turkish nation-state. Until 1914, the Ottoman Empire was a colonial power in its own right. But having fought on the losing German side, it saw its realm shrink to a part of Anatolia under the Treaty of Sevres, which ended the war between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire.

Some of its former territories, such as those in southern Europe, became independent states; others, such as those in the Middle East, came under British and French administration as mandates of the League of Nations. Fearing that the rest of the empire would be colonized, Ottoman military leaders, many of whom had resisted Turkish nationalism, now embraced the cause. What made modern Turkish nationalism so successful was its ability to convert the mantras of the old regime, the army, to the goal of creating a Turkish nation-state. These men, in turn, mobilized the masses and launched a state-led drive for modernity.

In 1920, an Ottoman army officer and military hero named Mustafa Kemal harnessed this groundswell of Turkish nationalism into opposition to Greek troops who had been sent to enforce the peace treaty. Rallying his own troops to defend the fledgling Turkish nation, Kemal reconquered most of Anatolia and the area around



Atatürk. In the 1920s, Mustafa Kemal, known as Atatürk, introduced the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language as part of his campaign to modernize and secularize Turkey. He underscored his commitment to change by having a photographer record his demonstration of the new alphabet.

Istanbul and secured international recognition for the new state in 1923 in the Treaty of Lausanne. Thereafter, a forcible exchange of populations occurred. Approximately 1.2 million Greek Christians left Turkey to settle in Greece, and 400,000 Muslims relocated from Greece to Turkey.

With the Ottoman Empire gone, Kemal and his followers moved to build a state based on Turkish national consciousness. First they deposed the sultan. Then they abolished the Ottoman caliphate and proclaimed Turkey a republic, whose supreme authority would be an elected House of Assembly. Later, after Kemal insisted that the people adopt European-style surnames, the assembly conferred on Kemal the mythic name Atatürk, "father of the Turks."

In forging a Turkish nation, Kemal looked to construct a European-style secular state and to eliminate Islam's hold over civil and political affairs. The Turkish elite replaced Muslim religious law with the Swiss civil code, instituted the western (Christian) calendar, and abolished the once-powerful dervish religious orders. They also suppressed Arabic and Persian words from Turkish, substituted Roman script for Arabic letters, forbade polygamy, made wearing the fez (a brimless cap) a crime, and instructed Turks to wear European-style hats. The veil, though not outlawed, was denounced as a relic. In 1934, the government enfranchised Turkish women, granted them property rights in marriage, and inheritance, and allowed them to enter the professions. Schools, too, were placed under state control and, along with military service, became the chief instrument for making the masses conscious of belonging to a Turkish nation. Yet many villagers did not accept Atatürk's non-Islamic nationalism, remaining devoted to Islam and resentful of the prohibitions against dervish dancing.

In imitating Europe, Kemal borrowed many of its antidemocratic models. Inspired by the Soviets, he inaugurated a five-year plan for the economy emphasizing centralized coordination. Turkish nationalists also drew on Nazi examples by advocating racial theories that posited central Asian Turks as the founders of all civilizations. In another authoritarian move, Kemal occasionally rigged parliamentary elections, while using the police and judiciary to silence his critics. The Kemalist revolution in Turkey was the most far-reaching and enduring transformation that had occurred outside Europe and the Americas up to that point. It offered an important model for the founding of secular, authoritarian states in the Islamic world.

NATIONALISM AND THE RISE OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT Elsewhere in the Middle East, where France and Britain had expanded their holdings at the Ottomans' expense, anticolonial movements borrowed from European models while putting their own stamp on nation-making and modernization campaigns. In Egypt, British occupation predated

the fall of the Ottoman Empire, but here, too, World War I eroded the forces of anticolonial nationalism.

When the war ended, Saïd Zaghlul (1857-1927), an educated Egyptian patriot, pressed for an Egyptian delegation to attend the peace conference at Versailles. He hoped to present Egypt's case for national independence. Instead, British officials arrested and exiled him and his most vocal supporters. When news of this action came out, the country burst into revolt. Rural rebels broke away from the central government, proclaiming local republics. Villagers tore up railway lines and telegraph wires, the symbols of British authority.

After defusing the conflict, British authorities tried to mollify Egyptian sensibilities. In 1922, Britain proclaimed Egypt independent, though it retained the right to station British troops on Egyptian soil. Ostensibly, this provision would protect traffic through the Suez Canal and foreign populations residing in Egypt, but it also enabled the British to continue influencing Egyptian politics. Two years later, elections placed Zaghlul's nationalist party, the Wafd, in office. But the British prevented the Wafd from exercising real power.

This subversion of independence and democracy provided an opening for antibritish variants of anticolonialism. During the Depression years, a fascist group, Young Egypt, garnered wide appeal. Much more influential and destined to have an enduring influence throughout the Arab world was an Islamic group founded in 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood, which attacked liberal democracy as a facade for middle-class, business, and landowning interests. The Muslim Brotherhood was anticolonial and anti-British, but its members considered mere political independence insufficient Egyptians, they argued, must also renounce the lure of the west (whether liberal capitalism or "godless" communism) and return to a purified form of Islam. For the Muslim Brotherhood, Islam offered a complete way of life. A "return to Islam" through the nation-state created yet another model of modernity for colonial and semicolonial peoples.

CONCLUSION

The Great War and its aftermath accelerated both the trend toward mass society in a broad range of activities and the debate over how to define progress and organize the people. Because mass society meant production and consumption on a staggering scale, satisfying the populace became a pressing concern for rulers worldwide. Competing programs vied for ascendancy in the new, broader, public domain.

Most programs fell into one of three categories: liberal democratic, authoritarian, or anticolonial. Liberal democracy defined the political and economic systems in most of western Europe and the Americas in the decade following World War I. Resting on faith

in free enterprise and representative democracy (with a restricted franchise), liberal regimes had already been unsettled before the Great War. Turn-of-the-century reforms broadened electorates and brought government oversight and regulation into private economic activity. But during the Great Depression, dissatisfaction again deepened. Only far-reaching reforms, introducing greater regulation and more aggressive government intervention to provide for the citizenry's welfare, saved capitalist economies and democratic political systems in Britain, France, and North America from collapse.

Through the 1930s, liberal democracy was in retreat. Authoritarianism seemed better positioned to satisfy the masses while representing the dynamism of modernity. While authoritarians differed about the faults of capitalism, they joined in the condemnation of electoral democracy. Authoritarians mobilized the masses to put the interests of the nation above the individual.

That mobilization often involved brutal repression, yet it seemed also to restore pride and purpose to ordinary people.

Meanwhile, the colonial and semicolonial world searched for ways to escape European domination. In Asia and Africa, anticolonial leaders sought to eliminate foreign rule while turning colonies into nations and subjects into citizens. Some looked to the liberal democratic west for models of nation building, but others rejected liberalism because it was associated with colonial rule. Instead, socialism, fascism, and a return to religious traditions offered more promising paths.

The two decades after the end of World War I brought great political upheavals and deep economic dislocations. At times, powerful states stood behind the competition between liberal democracy, authoritarianism (both right and left), and anticolonial nationalism. Yet the traumas were tame compared with what followed with the outbreak in 1939 of World War II.

TRACING THE GLOBAL STORYLINE

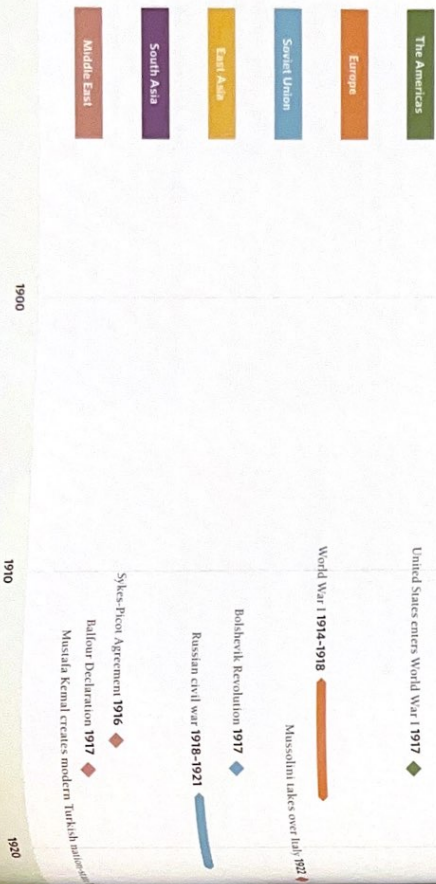
FOCUS ON: World War I and the Growth of Mass Societies

After You Read This Chapter

- The Great War
- The war destroys empires, starting with the Bolshevik Revolution against the tsarist regime in Russia, followed by the defeat and dissolution of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires.
- Mass mobilization sees almost 70 million men join the fighting, undermining traditional gender boundaries, and forces states to recognize their peoples' demands for compensation afterward.
- Mass culture spreads as leaders use the new media of radio and film to promote national loyalties and discredit enemies.
- Liberal democracies in France, Britain, and the United States survive the Great Depression by enacting far-reaching changes in their political systems and free market economies.
- Authoritarian (communist and fascist) dictatorships with many political similarities emerge in the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.
- Latin American leaders devise hybrid solutions that combine democratic and authoritarian elements.
- Peoples living under colonial rule in Asia and Africa mobilize traditional values to oppose imperial rulers.
- Key individuals emerge in the struggle to define newly independent nations: Kenyatta, Gandhi, Chang Kai-shek, and Atatürk.



CHRONOLOGY



KEY TERMS

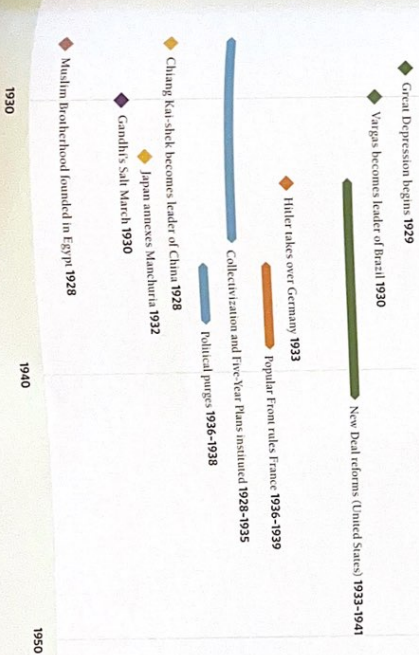
- Allied Powers p. 785
- Muscle Kemal Atatürk p. 815
- Rubioveks p. 791
- Central Powers p. 785
- Chang Kai-shek p. 814
- fascism p. 804
- Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi p. 812
- Great Depression p. 797
- Great War (World War I) p. 785
- Adolf Hitler p. 805
- League of Nations p. 792
- Benito Mussolini p. 804
- Nazi p. 805
- New Deal p. 801
- nonviolent resistance p. 812
- Joseph Stalin p. 803

THINKING ABOUT GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

- Thinking about Transformation and Conflict and Visions of the Modern** What was the relationship between war and progress in the early twentieth century? What new political, social, and cultural movements grew out of the Great War? Think in particular of the role of former soldiers in politics; the adaptation in peacetime of production practices developed for the war effort; and governments' willingness and ability to regulate the economy and people's everyday lives.
- Thinking about Changing Power Relationships and Visions of the Modern** What, if anything, was left in this period of the tradition of classical liberalism, which trusted markets to regulate themselves and believed progress would result when individuals pursued their own self-interest? What role did government intervention—in the economy and society—play for the three major traditions discussed in this chapter: liberal democratic, authoritarian, and anticolonial? How central was state intervention to their respective views of progress and modernity?
- Thinking about Gender and Visions of the Modern** What role did women play in the social transformations of the early twentieth century, both as participants and as symbols? Pay special attention to the role of women workers in war production and, increasingly, in professional careers thereafter; to women consumers in an era of mass production; and to governments' commitment to the ideal of gender equality and their (faltering) willingness to abide by that ideal.



Go to **INQUIZITIVE** to see what you've learned—and learn what you've missed—with personalized feedback along the way.



GLOBAL THEMES AND SOURCES

Comparing and Contextualizing Totalitarianism

The term *totalitarianism* emerged in the early twentieth century to refer to regimes that aspired to intervene more directly into people's everyday lives than previous dictatorships had done. While some writers gave the term a positive meaning, most used it critically, to condemn the erosion of basic freedoms. During the Cold War, anticommunist intellectuals in Europe and the United States linked Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union and sometimes imperial Japan, and contrasted them with the "free world" of liberal democracies. Since the end of the Cold War, historians have largely abandoned the term, calling attention to the notable differences between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union and to the role of ordinary people in policing one another in all the interwar dictatorships.

Hannah Arendt gave classic expression to the term *totalitarianism* in her 1951 *Origins of Totalitarianism*. The next two sources provide a more ambivalent view of state power: the letter to Maria Gudzina shows one woman shaming another in Soviet Maginotogorsk for her husband's supposed failure as a worker and a man, while Victor Klemperer's diary shows ordinary Germans uninterested in Nazi propaganda. The final document, political graffiti from Japan at the height of the Pacific War, shows popular resistance to the militarist regime.

These sources invite you to compare and contextualize. Each provides a different window into the workings of power in authoritarian dictatorships. To what degree did the governments impose their will on their people? What space, if any, for resistance, was left?

Analyzing the Context of Totalitarianism

- How does Arendt's view of totalitarianism apply to the three subsequent documents? To which document does the term *totalitarian* seem most appropriate? To which does it apply least well?
- What role do ordinary people play in supporting or resisting the regime in the final three documents?
- Identify the nature and limits of state power in the final three documents.

PRIMARY SOURCE 19.1

The Origins of Totalitarianism (1951).

Hannah Arendt

One of the most influential political philosophers of the twentieth century, Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), a Jew, fled Nazi Germany

in 1933 and ultimately settled in the United States, where she received American citizenship in 1950. Her first major book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, linked Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

- Arendt claims that totalitarianism marks a fundamentally new form of politics. On what grounds does she make this claim?
- Explain the significance of the private sphere—"the whole sphere of private life"—in this passage.
- What is the relationship between ruler and ruled in this excerpt?

The question we raised at the start of these considerations and to which we now return is what kind of basic experience in the living-together of men permeates a form of government whose essence is terror and whose principle of action is the logicity of ideological thinking. That such a combination was never used before in the varied forms of political domination is obvious. Still, the basic experience on which it rests must be human and known to men, insofar as even this most "original" of all political bodies has been devised by, and is somehow answering the needs of, men.

It has frequently been observed that terror can rule absolutely only over men who are isolated against each other and that, therefore, one of the primary concerns of all tyrannical government is to bring this isolation about. Isolation may be the beginning of terror; it certainly is its most fertile ground; it always is its result. This isolation is, as it were, pretotalitarian; its hallmark is impotence, insofar as power always comes from men acting together, "acting in concert" (Edmund Burke); isolated men are powerless by definition.

Isolation and impotence, that is the fundamental inability to act at all, have always been characteristic of tyrannies. Political contacts between men are severed in tyrannical government and the human capacities for action and power are frustrated. But not all contacts between men are broken and not all human capacities destroyed. The whole sphere of private life with the capacities for experience, fabrication and thought are left intact. We know that the iron band of total terror leaves no space for such private life and that the self-coercion of totalitarian logic destroys man's capacity for experience and thought just as certainly as his capacity for action.

Source: Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), repr., San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1973, p. 474.

PRIMARY SOURCE 19.2

Letter to Marfa Gudzia (1930s)

In this letter, a woman named Anna Kovaleva, wife of the best locomotive driver in the Soviet factory town of Magnitogorsk, writes to Marfa Gudzia, the wife of the worst, to criticize her for her husband's many shortcomings.

- Analyze the role of gender in this document. What is the source of Kovaleva's pride? How does she contribute to society?
- How does state power operate in this document?
- How did Kovaleva and her husband get their apartment?

Dear Marfa!

We are both wives of locomotive drivers of the rail transport of Magnitka. You probably know that the rail transport workers of the MNR (Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Complex) are not fulfilling the plan, that they are disrupting the supply of the blast furnaces, open hearths, and rolling shops. . . . All the workers of Magnitka accuse our husbands, saying that the rail workers hinder the fulfillment of the [overall] industrial plan. It is offensive, painful, and annoying to hear this. And moreover, it is doubly painful, because all of it is the plain truth. Every day there were stoppages and breakdowns in rail transport. Yet our internal factory transport has everything it needs in order to fulfill the plan. For that, it is necessary to work like the best workers of our country work. Among such shock workers is my husband, Aleksandr Panteleevich Kovaliev. He always works like a shock worker, exceeding his norms, while economizing on fuel and lubricating oil. His engine is on profit and loss accounting. . . . My husband trains locomotive drivers' helpers out of unskilled laborers. He takes other locomotive drivers under his wing. . . . My husband receives prizes virtually every month. . . . And I too have won awards. . . .

My husband's locomotive is always clean and well taken care of. You, Marfa, are always complaining that it is difficult for your family to live. And why is that so? Because your husband, Lakov Sepanovich, does not fulfill the plan. He has frequent breakdowns on his locomotive; his locomotive is dirty, and he always overconsumes fuel! Indeed, all the locomotive drivers laugh at him. All the rail workers of Magnitka know him—from the wrong reasons, as the worst driver. By contrast, my husband is known as a shock worker. He is written up and praised in the newspapers. . . . He and I are honored everywhere as shock workers. At the store we get everything without having to wait in queues. We moved to the building for shock workers (*dom udarnika*). We will get an apartment with rugs, a gramophone, a radio, and other comforts. Now we are being assigned to a new store for shock workers and will receive double rations. . . . Soon the Seventeenth Party Congress of our Bolshevik Party will take place. All rail workers

are obliged to work so that Magnitka greets the Congress of Workers at full production capacity.

Therefore, I ask you, Marfa, to talk to your husband heart to heart, read him my letter. You, Marfa, explain to Lakov Sepanovich that he just can't go on working the way he has. Persuade him that he must work honorably, conscientiously, like a shock worker. Teach him to understand the words of comrade Stalin, that work is a matter of honor, glory, valor, and heroism.

You tell him that if he does not correct himself and continues to work poorly, he will be fired and lose his supplies. I will ask my Aleksandr Panteleevich to take your husband in tow, help him improve himself and become a shock worker, earn more. I want you, Marfa, and Lakov Sepanovich to be honored and respected, so that you live as well as we do.

I know that many women, yourself included, will say: "What business is it of a wife to interfere in her husband's work. You live well, so hold your tongue." But it is not like that. . . . We all must help our husbands to fight for the uninterrupted work of transport in the winter. OK enough. You catch my drift. This letter is already long. In conclusion, I'd like to say one thing: It's pretty good to be a wife of a shock worker. It's within our power. Let's get down to the task, amicably. I wait your answer.

Anna Kovaleva

Source: Stephen Kotkin, *Magnets: A Story of a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 215–19.

PRIMARY SOURCE 19.3

Victor Klemperer's Diary (1938)

Victor Klemperer (1881–1960) was a scholar of the French Enlightenment whose diaries, published in Germany in 1995, shed light on everyday life in Nazi Germany.

- According to Klemperer, how did the public respond to Goering's speech?
- Based on Klemperer's account, how would you characterize the relationship between rulers and ruled, between the Nazi state and ordinary Germans?
- Evaluate the influence of Nazi ideology in this document.

September 11, Sunday

For the third time Georg has remitted 500M to me from the blocked account "of the deceased Frau Maria Kl." My joy is already no longer as great as the first two times. Because this time I was almost counting on the sum. Also it is only a very partial help; also I feel more humiliated than before, since he has not written me a single line since October and replied neither to my letter of condolence nor to my birthday greetings. Nevertheless

the sum (which by the way I do not yet have in my hands, and no one knows what is going to happen tomorrow. Everything is uncertain and every hour may bring new coercive measures and war), so nevertheless the money is a great relief to me at the moment. Eva was always preaching. Let the Ohlmanns come here during their holiday, then we can go for a trip with Grete. I had vacillated: the Ohlmanns' holiday came to an end, and Grete took the train to Kudowa. In view of the 500M we announced our visit to the Ohlmanns and drove to Leipzig yesterday. Luck with the weather and a very successful drive via Niederrath, Meissen (. . .) New rest house in Lomnitz. Village just before Oschatz. "Long Distance Lorry Drivers' Restaurant." The huge vehicles outside, the huge portions inside. The Party Rally was coming over the loudspeaker. Announcement, the arrival of Field Marshal Goering. Introductory march, roars of triumph, then Goering's speech, about the tremendous rise, alliance, peace and workers' good fortune in Germany, about the absurd lies and hopes of its enemies, constantly interrupted by well-drafted roars of applause. But the most interesting thing about it all was the behavior of the customers, who all came and went, greeting and taking their leave with "Heil Hitler." But no one was listening. I could barely understand the broadcast because a couple of people were playing cards, striking the table with loud thumps, talking very loudly. It was quieter at other tables. One man was writing a postcard, one was writing in his order book, one was reading the newspaper. And handily and waitress were talking to each other or to the carhoppers. Truly: Not one of a dozen people paid attention to the radio for even a single second, it could just as well have been transmitting silence or a fox trot from Leipzig.

At the Ohlmanns' by two and then like the last time in early spring coffee and conversation in her little room until six. According to "Trade Ohlmann's stores from the Deutsche Bucherei," where they get a great deal of official information, war is virtually certain. The air-raid precautions (we too have just had several practices, blackout, sirens), the preparations for mobilization all point to it. Mood of the public, of the workers in particular, is bad. If I talk to the butcher or the butter man here in Dresden, then there will certainly be peace, but if (as the day before yesterday) I listen to Wolf, the car man, then so many of his mates have been leached straight from work to the army again. "Things are coming to a head now!" If I read the newspaper, see and hear the film reports, then we're doing soooo well. We love the Führer so much and sooo unanimously—that is real, what is happening! That's how one experiences history. We know even less about today than about yesterday and no more than about tomorrow.

Source: Victor Klemperer, *I Will Build a Future: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer*, translated by Martin Chuzzleton (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), pp. 261–68.

PRIMARY SOURCE 19.4

Political Graffiti in Imperial Japan (1941–1944)

These passages were collected by the imperial Japanese. Thought Police from the walls of public and private places.

- Are these passages evidence of the strength or weakness of the Japanese state?
- What can you tell about the people who wrote this graffiti? What values did they share?
- Does this source tell us more about the opinions of ordinary Japanese people or the anxieties of the government?

December 1941

Kill the emperor

Japan is losing in China

Why does our fatherland dare to commit aggression?

Ask the leaders why they're waging aggressive war against China.

Communism. Communism.

Workers of the world Revolution now

. . . including the emperor

Look at the pitiful figures of the undernourished people. Overthrow the government.

Shoot former Prime Minister Kono, the traitor.

January 1942

Absolute opposition to the imperialist war.

Japan and Germany proclaim their domination throughout the world

But that won't make people happy.

True peace will come only when the Soviet Union obtains victory.

You laborers in military industry throughout the land—Now is the time to become aware.

Soon we won't be able to eat.

Those who feel good being called soldiers of industry are big fools.

Win or lose, our lives won't change.

End the war (say the workers).

It's just piling up the bourgeoisie (says the proletariat).

March 1942

End the war.

In the end we'll lose and the people will suffer.

Her Majesty the Empress is a lecher

Sumitomo Metal is a cheating company that wrings the sweat and blood out of us workers for a pittance.

Kill those guys who decide on salaries

June 1942

Soldiers carry weapons to kill

What's become of things like personal character?

Ridiculous. All the more reason to commit suicide.

Capitalists are thieves, property is the fruit of exploitation

—A Socialist

No rice. End the war

End the war. Give us freedom.

July 1942

Capitalists ignited the war and are accumulating wealth and hoarding it

Give the people peace, liberty, and bread

Destroy the aristocracy—those consuming parasites

People's Revolution

Japan Communist Party *banzai!*

What we believe in is nothing more than Idealism, Liberalism, Individualism.

Become a youth of "originality."

August 1942

Overthrow the government

Raise wages

November 1942

Starvation and war dead

The imperialist war intensified work.

Turn the war into insurrection

Marxism *banzai!*

Communist Party *banzai!*

We demand repeal of the Peace Preservation Law.

We workers and farmers have been exploited as slaves of the bourgeois landlords.

Let's throw off our submissive attitudes of the past.

Unite and overthrow Japanese imperialism and overthrow the capitalists who have exploited and repressed us.

Overthrow capitalism and imperialism.

No prospect of winning the war.

Kill Konoé Fumimaro.

Stop the war

December 1942

Kill the emperor

Buy the politicians, overthrow the capitalists

February 1943

Kill the dumb emperor

Don't make the farmers weep

Kill the Minister of Agriculture

Kill Minister Ino.

Kill Tōgō

March 1943

Ridiculous to be a soldier—35 sen a day

Ridiculous to be a soldier—35 sen a day

May 1943

Communism *banzai!* Oppose the war.

Rid Japan of the war-mongering military.

The sword that kills one saves many

End the war

End the war

End the war

June 1943

2,000 yen to whoever lops off the emperor's head.

2,000 yen . . . for the empress.

Japan and the United States should cooperate for world peace

The war is no good

July 1943

Kill the rich

Kill the rich

Brave men! Carry out a Red revolution!

Soviet *banzai!* Japan Communist Party *banzai!*

Motherland Russia.

Attack the government's running-dog police.

You who have complaints against the government,

Join with comrades and gather under the red flag.

Anarchism. Anarchism.

Stand up, proletariat.

Destroy the bourgeoisie!

Destroy the bourgeoisie!

For what purpose have you all been fighting for seven years?

August 1943

Communist Party *banzai!*

Comrades of the country, band together under the flag of communism.

Do it. It's life.

Advance and overthrow the capitalists.

Concept of mutual help

Concept of joint responsibility

Concept of class struggle

... the rich with these.

... the rich with these.

September 1943

How long will the Great East Asian War last?

Three and a half years without food

One after another, starvation . . .

All the strong ones have perished . . .

October 1943

Anglo-American victory, Japanese-German defeat

It's the military and bureaucrats who are profiting from the war

under the beautiful name of "nation."

November 1943

To the Deity of Poverty, the Tōgō Cabinet, Liberty, and Equality.

Comrades die for the glory of a few.

For whom are we fighting this war that was started by the privileged class and the military group?

For whom are we fighting this war that was started by the privileged class and the military group?

December 1943

What's wrong with liberalism and communism?

We have to reconsider this.

March 1944

Even in the Japanese empire.

Something that was bound to come has come.

What is it? Marxism.

Source: John W. Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (New York: New Press, 1993), pp. 124-28.

INTERPRETING VISUAL EVIDENCE

Men, Machines, and Mass Production

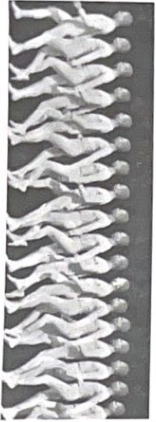
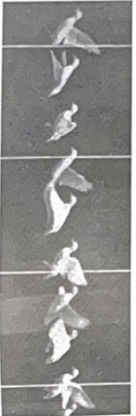
Mass production of consumer goods reshaped economies and societies in the early twentieth century. Powered by coal and later electricity, the modern factory transformed work, first in Europe, the United States, and Japan and then, especially from 1950 onwards, around the world. The images gathered here provide several perspectives on mass production and its cult of efficiency—its efforts to streamline, to standardize productive activity, to maximize output and minimize cost—and its consequences for workers.

Large-scale manufacturing on assembly lines demands coordinated action. Engineers like Frederick Winslow Taylor (see Chapter 18) developed the field of “scientific management,” the forerunner of ergonomics, to streamline the production process. Rather than shaping production to the needs and desires of skilled workers, Taylor tried to adapt machines and human bodies to one another. He and his followers broke down complex tasks into standardized, repeatable actions and then timed workers, imposing a predictable uniformity and minimizing accidents

and error. Gone were the days when farmers organized their days by the light of the sun.

The French inventor-scientist Etienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904) helped prepare the way for the scientific study of labor. He developed stop-action photography in 1882, with a photographic “gun” that took twelve frames per second, which helped pave the way for modern cinema. Here we look at a series of studies of human movement that would influence Taylor and facilitate the study of labor practices around the world.

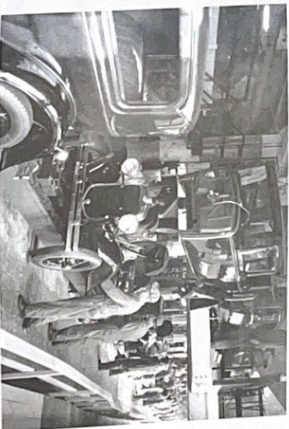
Inspired by Pablo Picasso and Karl Marx, among others, the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera (1886–1957) was fascinated by labor. His Detroit mural (1923) of the Ford Motor Company depicted workers on an assembly line, celebrating the physical force of cosmopolitan groups of industrial workers. The final two images include a photograph of a Ford assembly line in Detroit and one from a Mitsubishi electric plant in Japan in the 1930s, representing iconic examples of modern factories, with standardized, streamlined production processes powered by electricity and massive machines.



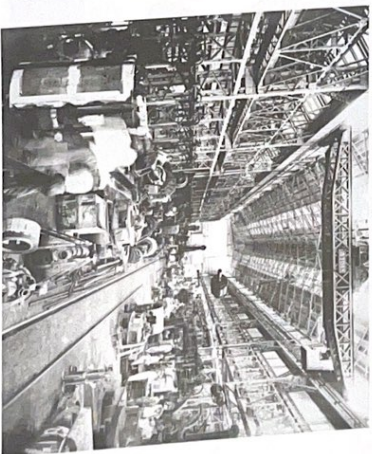
Photographs by Etienne-Jules Marey.



Mural in Detroit by Diego Rivera.



Car assembly line at Ford plant.



Mitsubishi Electric Factory.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Describe the relationship between workers and machines in these images, from the point of view of the workers.
2. Explain how engineers like Taylor, who were interested in maximizing production, could also use Marey's images to improve working conditions.
3. Explain the relationship between factory production and factory workers, as depicted in these images, and mass consumption and consumers, as presented in this chapter.
4. On balance, do the images of the human body and industrial work presented here promise alienation or liberation for workers?