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many cases inherited political power in the new nations that emerged from the fallen empires. Like Sukarno, many of these leaders lacked the skills and political base to deal effectively with the problems that faced their new states, which were often artificially patched together, ethnically and religiously divided, and economically disadvantaged. And many of these leaders shared Sukarno's fate, as his failures and the machinations of the superpowers locked in cold war rivalries led to his overthrow by military leaders who often seized power in nations emerging from colonial rule.

The war itself was a searing event, adding to the destructive potential of contemporary conflict and blurring the lines between civilians and the military. The war's consequences included another complex and flawed settlement, which led directly to the struggles of the cold war, and to the global unfolding of the decolonization movement across Asia and Africa.

OLD AND NEW CAUSES OF A SECOND WORLD WAR



Would it be fair to argue that World War II began with the Japanese invasions of Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937 rather than with the German invasion of Poland in 1939?

The gradual militarization of Japan proceeded despite the solid majorities that moderate political parties continued to win until the end of the 1930s. And it developed in the context of a succession of regional diplomatic crises. During the later 1920s, nationalistic forces in China began to get the upper hand over the regional warlords who had dominated Chinese politics since the early 1900s. At the head of the Guomindang (or Nationalist) party, General Chiang Kai-shek in particular was able to win the support of intellectuals, students, the business classes, the rural gentry, and even members of the largely discredited Confucian elites and rival military leaders. His military successes against first the southern and later the northern warlords seemed destined to unify China under a strong central government for the first time in decades.

The success of the Guomindang worried Japan's army officers, who feared that a reunited China would move to resist the informal control the Japanese had exerted over Manchuria since their victory in the Russo-Japanese war in 1905. Fearful of curbs on their expansionist aims on the mainland and unimpeded by weak civilian governments at home, the Japanese military seized Manchuria in 1931 and proclaimed it the independent state of Manchukuo. The international crisis that resulted worked to the military's advantage because civilian politicians were reluctant to raise objections that might weaken Japan in negotiations with the United States and the other powers or undermine its armies' occupation in Manchuria and Korea, which the Japanese had declared a colony in 1910.

Rehearsals: Dictators, Militarism, and the Agony of the Spanish Civil War

In contrast to the gradual shift of power to the military in Japan, the change of regimes in Germany was more abrupt and more radical. Parliamentary government in the Weimar era had been a siege from the time its civilian leaders had agreed to the armistice in 1918, and even more so when they signed the punitive treaty at Versailles. Weimar had survived these humiliations, civil war, and hyperinflation of the mid-1920s, but just as economic recovery appeared to be gaining real momentum, the Great Depression struck. In the social discontent and political turmoil that followed, Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) party captured a steadily rising portion of the parliamentary seats in a rapid succession of elections.

The Nazis promised to put the German people back to work, restore political stability and motion a remilitarization program that would allow Germany to throw off the shackles of what Hitler branded the diktat of Versailles. Hitler also promised to turn back the communist bid to capture in Germany that had grown more and more serious as the Depression deepened. The threat of communists within was linked to that from the Soviet Union to the east. From the early 1920s, Hitler and his lieutenants had stressed the need to invade and destroy the Soviet empire, and a central theme of Hitler's racist vision for the future was to reduce the Russians and other Slavic peoples to slaves in the service of the Aryan master race.

As we have seen in Chapter 34, a priority of the Nazis' political agenda once in power was systematic dismantling of the political and diplomatic system created by the Versailles settlement. Beginning with rearmament from 1935, the militarization of the Rhineland in 1936, and a forced union with Austria in 1938, the Nazis had fulfilled key aspects of this promise. The seizure in the latter half of 1938 of areas in Czechoslovakia where German-speakers were in the majority, and the occupation

National Socialist party Also known as the Nazi party, led by Adolf Hitler in Germany; picked up political support during the economic chaos of the Great Depression; advocated authoritarian state under a single leader, aggressive foreign policy to reverse humiliation of the Versailles treaty; took power in Germany in 1933.

THINKING HISTORICALLY

Total War, Global Devastation

WAR HAD CHANGED RADICALLY LONG BEFORE the 20th century. With state centralization, war lost its ritual characteristics. It became more commonly an all-out battle, using any tactics and weapons that would aid in victory. In other words, war became less restrained than it had been among less bureaucratized peoples who often used bluff and scare tactics more than all-out violence.

The 20th century most clearly saw the introduction of a fundamentally new kind of war, total war, in which vast resources and emotional commitments of the belligerent nations were marshaled to support military effort. The two world wars were thus novel not only in their geographic sweep, but in their mobilization of the major combatants. The features of total war also colored other forms of struggle, helping to explain brutal guerrilla and terrorist acts by groups not powerful enough to mount total wars but nonetheless affected by their methods and passions.

Total war resulted from the impact of industrialization on military effort, reflecting both the technological innovation

and the organizational capacity that accompanied industrial economies. Key steps in the development of total war emerged in the West at the end of the 18th century. The French Revolution, building new power for the state in contact with ordinary citizens, introduced mass conscription of men, forming larger armies than

had ever before been possible. New citizen involvement was reflected in incitements to nationalism and stirring military songs, including aggressive national anthems—a new idea in itself. Industrial technology was first applied to war on a large scale in the U.S. Civil War. Railroads allowed wider movement of mass armies. Mass-produced guns and artillery made

mockery of earlier cavalry charges and redefined the kind of personal bravery needed to fight in war.

However, it was World War I that fully revealed the nature of total war. Steadily more destructive technology was used: battleships, submarines, tanks, airplanes, poison gas (which had been banned by international agreement before the war).

[O]ne defining measure of total war was a blurring of the distinction between military and civilians, a distinction that had often limited war's impact earlier in world history.

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and long range artillery Organization for war included
not only massive, compulsory recruitment—the draft—but
government control of economic activity via obligatory
rationing and rationing. Another factor was the unprecedented
control of media, not only through powerful censorship and the
containment of dissidents but through propaganda
designed to incite passionate, all-out commitment to the national
cause and deep, unreasoned hatred of the enemy. Vivid posters,
inflammatory speeches, and outright falsehood were combined in
the emotional mobilization effort. All of these features returned
with a vengeance in World War II, from the new technologies
of aerial bombing, rocketry, and ultimately the atomic bomb to
the enhanced economic mobilization organized by government
planners.

The people most affected by the character of total war were
the troops, who directly endured—bled and died from—the new
weaponry. But one defining measure of total war was a blurring of
the distinction between military and civilians, a distinction that
had often limited war's impact earlier in world history. Whole
civilian populations, not just those unfortunate enough to be near
the front lines, were forced into certain types of work and urged to
certain types of beliefs. The bombing raids, including the German
rockets directed against British cities late in World War II, subjected
civilians to some of the most lethal weapons available. By the early
20th century belligerents deliberately focused their attacks on
densely populated cities. Correspondingly, psychological suffering,
although less common among civilians than among frontline
soldiers, spread throughout the populations involved in war.
Total war, like any major historical development, had mixed
results. Greater government economic direction often included
new measures to protect workers and give them a voice on

management boards. Mobilization of the labor force often
produced at least temporary breakthroughs for women. Intense
efforts to organize technological research often produced side
effects of more general economic benefit, such as the invention of
synthetic rubber and the production of nitrates in chemistry labs.

Still, total war was notable especially for its devastation. The
idea of throwing all possible resources into a military effort made
war more economically disruptive than had been the case before.
The emotions unleashed in total war produced embittered veterans
who might vent their anger by attacking established political val-
ues. It certainly made postwar diplomacy more difficult. One
result of total war was a tendency for the victor to be inflexible in
negotiations at war's end. People who fought so hard and had suf-
fered extensive civilian casualties and deprivations found it difficult
to treat enemies generously. The results of a quest for vengeance
often produced new tensions that led directly, and quickly, to fur-
ther conflict. War-induced passions and disruptions could also
spark new violence at home; crime rates often soared not only right
after the war ended (a traditional result) but for longer periods of
time. Children's toys started to reflect the most modern weaponry.
Thus, much of the nature of life in the 20th and 21st centuries has
been determined by the consequences of total war.

QUESTIONS

- How did the experience of total war affect social and political patterns after World War II?
- Why do many historians believe that total war made rational peacetime settlements more difficult than did earlier types of warfare?

of the rest of the Czechoslovak republic the following year, made a shambles of the agreements that
had ended World War I. Hitler's successes emboldened Mussolini to embark on military adventures
of his own, most infamously in Ethiopia. During the invasion Italian pilots bombed defenseless cities
and highly mechanized armies made extensive use of poisonous gases against resistance forces armed
with little more than rifles. The fascists stunned much of the rest of the world by routinely unleashing
these weapons on a civilian population that had no means of defending itself.

Hitler and Mussolini also intervened militarily in the Spanish Civil War in the mid-1930s in the
hope of establishing an allied regime. Once again, Mussolini's mechanized forces proved effective,
this time against the overmatched, left-leaning armed forces of the Spanish republic. Both the Italian
and German air forces used the Spanish conflict as a training ground for their bomber pilots in the
absence of enemy planes or pilots. But their main targets were ground forces and, ominously, civilians
in Spain's cities and villages. Support from Mussolini and Hitler was critical to Franco's destruction of
the elected republican government and seizure of power, particularly since the Western democracies
had refused to counter the Nazi and fascist interventions.

Excepting volunteer forces recruited in England, France, the United States, and other democracies,
only the Soviet Union sought to provide military aid to Spain's republicans. Although valiant, these
efforts proved futile in the face of relentless assaults by Franco's well-supplied legions and both
Nazi and Fascist forces. Despite the critical assistance provided by his fellow fascists, Franco refused
to join them in the global war that broke out soon after he had crushed the republic and begun a
personal rule in Spain that would last for decades.

UNCHECKED AGGRESSION AND THE COMING OF WAR IN EUROPE AND THE PACIFIC

By the late 1930s, the leaders of the new totalitarian states acted on the lesson that international rivalries in the preceding decades seemed to offer—that blatant aggression would succeed and at little cost.

35.2

What were the key factors in the early success of Japanese and German military aggression?

According to standard histories, World War II began on September 1, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland. But a succession of localized clashes, initiated by the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in 1931, can be seen as part of a global conflict that raged for well over a decade between 1931 and 1945. In contrast to the coming of World War I, which, as we have seen, the leaders of Europe or less blundered into, World War II was provoked by the deliberate aggressions of Nazi Germany and a militarized and imperialist Japan. The failure of the Western democracies and the Soviet Union to respond resolutely to these challenges simply fed the militarist expansionism of what came to be called the Axis powers, in reference to the linkages, both real and imagined, between Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo.

Hitler and Mussolini discovered that Britain and France, and even more so the increasingly isolated United States, were quite willing to sacrifice small states, such as Spain and Czechoslovakia, in the false hope that fascist and especially Nazi territorial ambitions would be satisfied and thus averted. Leaders like **Winston Churchill**, who warned that a major war was inevitable given Hitler's insatiable ambitions, were kept from power by voters who had no stomach for another world war. Rival politicians, such as Neville Chamberlain and the socialist leaders of France, also feared that rearming as Churchill proposed would put an end to their ambitious schemes to build world states as an antidote to further economic depressions. But in the late 1930s, another round of provocative aggressions pushed the democracies into a war that none had the stomach for or was prepared at that point to fight.

Churchill, Winston (1874–1965)
British prime minister during World War II; responsible for British resistance to German air assaults.

Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Transcript of the Rape of Nanjing Sentencing



FIGURE 35.2 As Chinese resistance to Japanese invasion in 1937 and 1938 stiffened, the invading armies resorted to random, mass executions to cow Chinese soldiers and civilians into submission.

The Japanese Invasion of China

Although Nazi aggressions traditionally have been stressed as the precipitant of World War II, the Japanese military actually moved first. In the second half of 1937, from their puppet state, Manchukuo, which had been carved out of Manchuria, they launched a massive invasion of China proper. Exploiting a trumped-up incident in early July that led to a fire fight between Japanese and Chinese troops, the army launched an ill-advised campaign to conquer the whole of China. Prominent naval leaders and civilian politicians had deep misgivings about this massive escalation of the war in China and were uneasy about American and British reactions to yet another major round of Japanese aggression. But they were largely cowed into silence by the threat of assassination by fanatical junior army officers and renewed appeals for patriotic solidarity in a situation where Japanese soldiers were at risk.

At first, the advancing Japanese forces met with great success, occupying most of the coastal cities, including Shanghai and Canton by the end of 1938, Canton as well as the hinterlands behind cities in the north. The Japanese deployed extensive aerial bombing against Guomindang forces and especially the civilian population in the coastal cities. Chinese resistance stiffened in some areas, Japanese soldiers resorted to mass killings against both the Chinese fighters and civilians. In many instances, as in the capture in December 1937 of the city of Nanjing, the evacuated Guomindang capital, Japanese forces took out their anger on retreating Chinese troops and the civilian population. The wanton destruction and pillage, murder of innocents, and rape of tens of thousands of undefended Chinese women during the Japanese occupation of the ancient city was but only one example of the unparalleled human suffering of the world war that had begun.

Deprived of the coastal cities and provinces that were the source of their power, Chiang and the Guomindang forces retreated into the interior.

the Document on MyHistoryLab: Adolf Hitler, "The Obersalzberg Speech"



and weeping Czechs were
completely

were helpless to assist the overmatched Poles in their futile efforts to oppose the German advance. The British and French had no choice but to declare war on Germany. But the armies of both powers simply dug in along the defensive lines that had been established in eastern France in the late 1920s. There they waited for the Nazis to turn to the west for further conquests and prepared for another defensive war like the one they had managed to survive, at such horrific cost, between 1914 and 1918. But a second major theater of what rapidly developed into a second world war had been opened, and this conflict would prove radically different in almost all major respects from the one to which the new configuration of powers in Europe and the Pacific believed they were committing themselves.

THE CONDUCT OF A SECOND GLOBAL WAR

What combination of forces led to the equally rapid demise of the empires that each of these expansionist powers had built?

The reluctance to rearm and react decisively displayed by both the Western democracies and the Soviet Union in the 1930s made possible crushing and almost unremitting victories and rapid territorial advances on the part of the main Axis powers, Germany and Japan, early in the war. But once the Nazis became bogged down in the expanses of the Russian steppes and the United States entered the war, the tide shifted steadily in favor of the Allies. Once the initial momentum of the Axis war machine was slowed, it became increasingly clear that the Anglo-American and Soviet alliance was decidedly more powerful in terms of population size, potential industrial production, technological innovation, and military capacity on land, in the seas, and in the air.

Nazi Blitzkrieg, Stalemate, and the Long Retreat

As the Japanese bogged down in China and debated the necessity of tangling with the United States and the European colonial powers, the Nazi war machine captured France and the Low Countries with stunning speed, forced the British armies to beat a fast retreat to their island refuge, and then rolled over eastern Europe and drove deep into the Soviet Union (Map 35.1). Germany appeared unstoppable and the fate of a large chunk of humanity seemed destined for a long period of tyrannical Nazi rule. From the outset, German strategy was centered on the concept of **blitzkrieg**, or "lightning war," which involved the rapid penetration of enemy territory by a combination of tanks and mechanized carriers, backup infantry, and supporting fighter aircraft and bombers. The effective deployment of these forces overwhelmed the Poles in 1939, and more critically routed the French and British in a matter of days in the spring of 1940, thereby accomplishing what the kaiser's armies failed to achieve through four long years of warfare between 1914 and 1918. German willingness to punish adversaries or civilian populations in areas that refused to yield greatly magnified the toll of death and destruction left in the wake of Hitler's armies. In early 1940, for example, the Dutch port of Rotterdam was virtually leveled by Nazi bombers, killing over 40,000 civilians.

The rapid collapse of France was, in part, a consequence of the divided and weak leadership the republic had displayed in the successive crises of the 1930s. Governments had come and gone, and contemporaries quipped, they were moving through revolving doors. Left and right quarreled and stalemated over rearming, responding to the Nazis, and allying with the British and the United States. When the war broke out, the citizenry of France was thoroughly demoralized, and the military forces were outdated and extremely susceptible to the Wehrmacht's blitzkrieg offensives. By June of 1940 all of north and central France was in German hands; in the south, a Nazi puppet government centered on the city of Vichy (VEE-shee), was in charge. With the Nazi occupation of Denmark in the preceding months, Britain alone of the Western democracies in Europe remained. What remained of the British armies had been driven from the continent. Britain's cities were under heavy assault by a markedly superior German air force, which strove to prevent a cross-channel invasion by the much larger and more powerful land forces of the Nazi empire.

Remarkably, under the courageous leadership of Winston Churchill, the British government, what their new prime minister had aptly pronounced the nation's "darkest hour," the British air force proved able to withstand the Nazi air offensive, including saturation bombing.

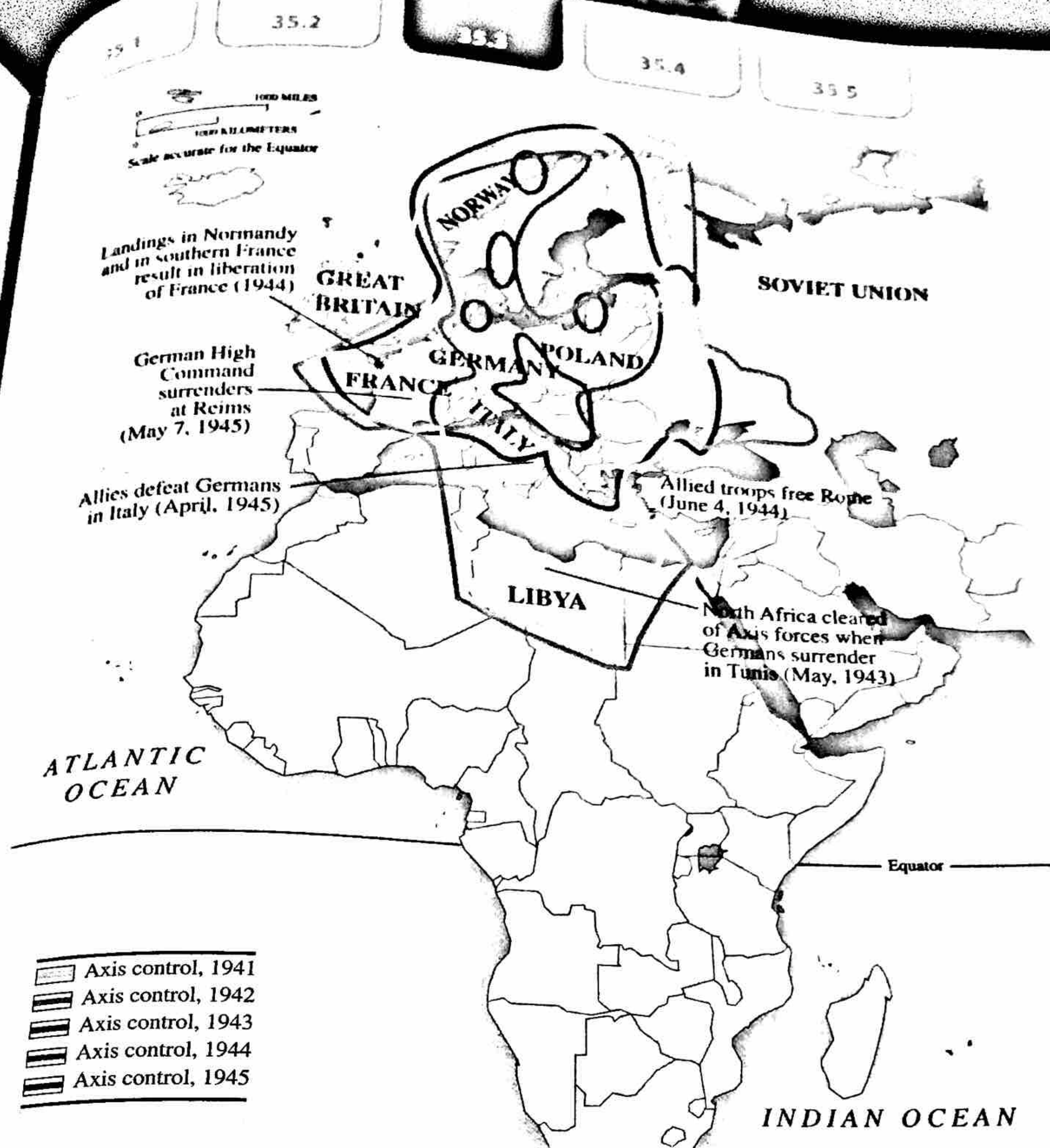
The forces that gave rise to World War II meant that there would be more of a balance than in the Great War between a number of theaters spread across Europe, north Africa, and Asia. The largest and most costly fronts in lives lost and physical destruction resulted from the Nazi invasion of the vast expanses of the Soviet Union and the Japanese invasion of China, and later Southeast Asia and the Pacific after the attack on the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor.

blitzkrieg German term for lightning warfare; involved rapid movement of airplanes, tanks, and mechanized troop carriers; resulted in German victories over Poland, Holland, and France in 1940.

collaborationist government established in 1940 in France following defeat of the Germans.

document on the Vichy regime.

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MAP 35.1 World War II in Europe and the Middle East The Nazi empire in Europe and the Middle East both rose and fell with remarkable speed but at the cost of tens of millions of lives.

and other British cities. Victory in what came to be known as the **Battle of Britain** was due to a mix of strong leadership by Churchill and a very able coalition cabinet, and innovative air tactics made possible by the introduction of radar devices for tracking German assault aircraft. The ability to withstand the Nazi onslaught also owed much to the bravery of Britain's royal family and the high morale of the citizenry as a whole that the bombing raids seemed only to enhance. Unable to destroy Britain's air defenses or break the resolve of its people, Hitler and the Nazi high command had to abandon their plans for conquest of the British Isles. Without air superiority, the Germans could not prevent the Royal Navy from entering the channel and destroying the huge flotilla of landing craft that would be needed to carry the Nazi forces across the narrow but turbulent straits that had for nearly a millennium shielded Britain from outside invasion.

By mid-1941 the Germans controlled most of the continent of Europe and much of the Mediterranean. They had rescued the Italians' floundering campaign to conquer Albania and overrun Yugoslavia and Greece. They had conquered, or in the case of Sweden forced the neutralization of, the Scandinavian countries. They continued on to capture most of the islands of the Mediterranean and launched motorized offensives under the soon-to-be legendary commander Erwin Rommel (see 35.4) across north Africa and on to Egypt. These campaigns were designed to seize the Suez Canal, thus cutting Britain off from its Asian empire. Once conquered, the hundreds of millions of

Battle of Britain The 1940 air offensive including saturation bombing of London and other cities, countered by British air tactics and radar tracking of German assault aircraft.

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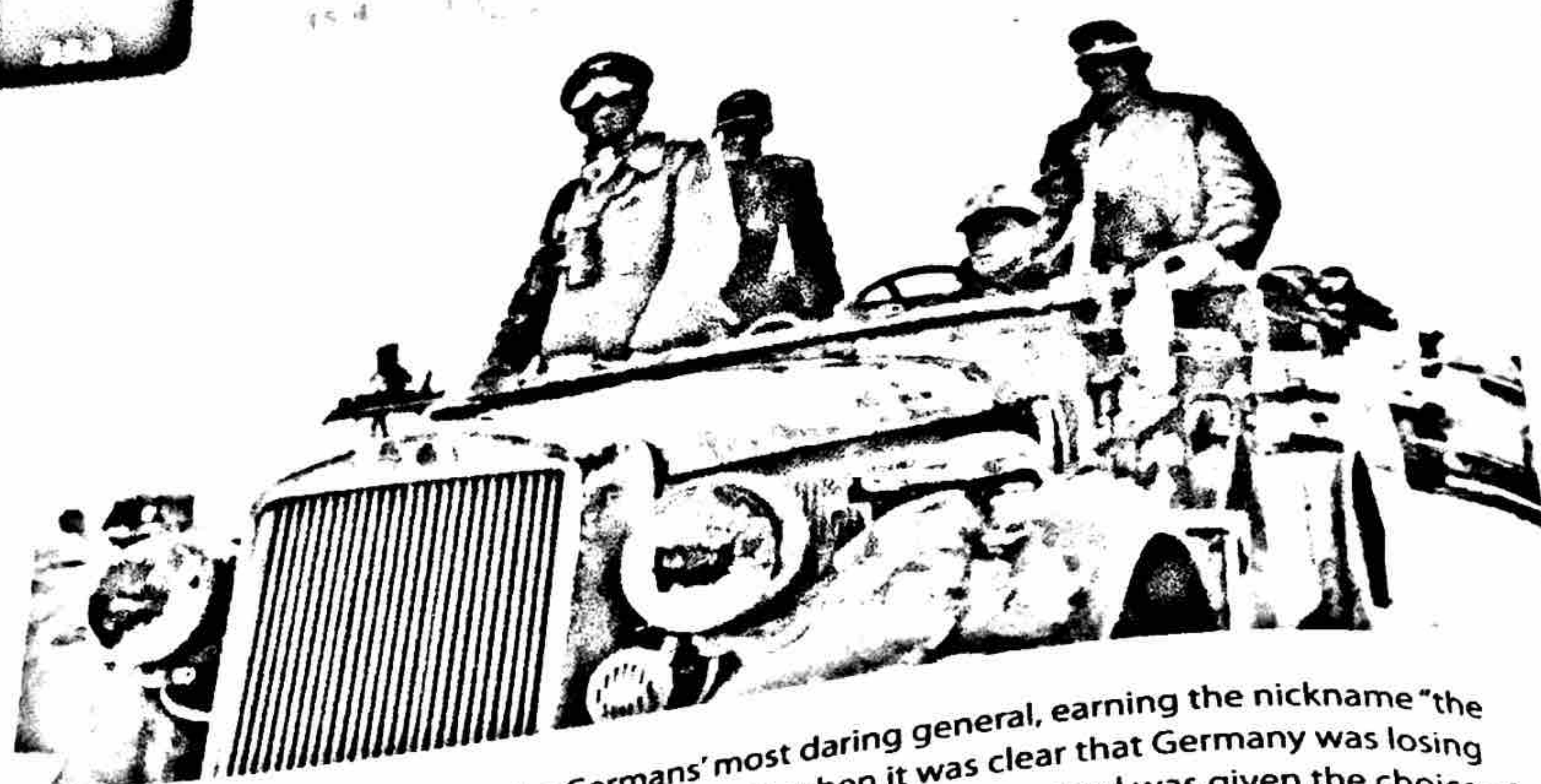


FIGURE 35.4 Erwin Rommel was the Germans' most daring general, earning the nickname "the Desert Fox" when he fought in north Africa. In 1944, when it was clear that Germany was losing the war, he came under suspicion of having plotted to kill Hitler. Rommel was given the choice of taking poison and being buried as a hero or being tried for treason. He chose poison; his death was presented to the German public as the result of war injuries.

peoples subjugated by Nazi aggression were compelled to provide resources, war materials, soldiers, and slave labor to a German war machine then being directed against even more ambitious targets.

Frustrated by resolute British defiance, Hitler and the Nazi high command turned to the south and east to regain the momentum that had propelled them to so many victories in the first years of the war in Europe. As Nazi forces, numbering 3.5 million, drove the poorly prepared and understaffed Soviet forces out of Finland, Poland, the Baltic states, and much of Byelorussia and the Ukraine in the summer and early fall of 1941, Hitler's grandest victory of all—and unlimited access to cheap labor and such critical resources as oil—seemed within reach. But the Soviet resistance, despite appalling losses, did not collapse; the Russian forces retreated eastward rather than surrender. Stalin ordered Soviet industry relocated across the Ural Mountains to shield them from capture and German aerial attacks.

As with Napoleon's invasion nearly a century and a half earlier, Russian resistance stiffened as winter approached, and the German drive east stalled on the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad. The harsh winter caught the German forces unprepared while their Russian adversaries used terrain and weather conditions they knew well to counterattack with ferocity on a wide front. The Nazis' mass killings and harsh treatment of the Slavic peoples aroused guerrilla resistance by tens then hundreds of thousands of partisans. These irregular forces fought behind German lines throughout the rest of the war. Many of the Ukrainians in particular were initially at least predisposed to back the Germans, but Nazi brutality proved a major obstacle to the conquest of the Soviet Union.

Renewed German offensives in the spring of 1942 again drove deep into Russia but failed a second time to capture key cities like Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad, and perhaps as critically the great Baku oil fields in the southern steppes. The two sides clashed in some of the greatest battles of the entire war—in fact of all human history—including Kursk, which featured thousands of tanks deployed (and destroyed) by each of the adversaries. As another winter approached, the Germans were further away from knocking the Soviets out of the war than the year before. In fact, the failed Nazi attempt to capture Stalingrad in the bitter winter of 1942 and 1943 ended in the destruction of an entire German army and proved a decisive turning point in the war in the east.

In 1943 the Soviet armies went on the offensive at numerous points along the overextended, undermanned, and vulnerable German front. With staggering losses in lives and equipment, the Nazi forces, despite Hitler's rantings that they die in place, began the long retreat from the Soviet Union. By late 1944, Red armies had cleared the Soviet Union of Nazi forces and captured Poland and much of east central Europe southward into the Balkans. As the Soviet forces advanced inexorably toward

Germany, it was clear that it was also apparent that soldiers, which included imposing Nazi armed fo

From Persecution

As the Nazi war machine's vendetta against Gypsies and communists had spread into eastern Europe, the regime directed its removal, of the Jews had been set up in thus polluting to t

The more the genocidal camps regularly diverted Jews and other the camps in a heavy toll in systematically callous disre

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Germany, it was clear that the destruction of Hitler's "thousand-year reich" was only months away. It was also apparent that the almost unimaginable sacrifices and remarkable resilience of Russian soldiers, which included many women, had contributed mightily to the destruction of the once imposing Nazi armed forces.

From Persecution to Genocide: Hitler's War Against the Jews

As the Nazi war machine bogged down in Russia, Hitler and his Nazi henchmen stepped up their vendetta against Gypsies, leftist politicians, homosexuals, and especially Jews. Jews, Polish intellectuals, and communists had been rounded up and killed in mass executions during the German offensives into eastern Europe and Russia in the early 1940s. But after a "final solution" for the "Jewish problem" was decided upon by prominent Nazi officials at the Wannsee Conference in February 1942, the regime directed its energies explicitly and systematically to genocide. The destruction, rather than the removal, of the Jewish people became the official policy of the Reich. The concentration camps that had been set up in the 1930s to incarcerate political enemies and groups branded as racially inferior—thus polluting to the Aryan people—were transformed into factories for the mass production of death. The more the war turned against Hitler and the Nazi high command, the more they pressed the genocidal campaign against the largely defenseless Jewish peoples of Europe. Vital resources were regularly diverted from the battle fronts for transportation, imprisonment, and mass murder in the camps, where the destruction of human life reached a frenetic pace in the last years of the regime. Jews and other "undesirables" were identified and arrested throughout the Nazi empire. Shipped to the camps in the east, those deemed physically fit were subjected to harsh forced labor that took a heavy toll in lives. The less fortunate, including the vast majority of the women and children, were systematically murdered, sometimes in experiments carried out by German physicians with the callous disregard for human suffering and humiliation that was a hallmark of the Nazi regime.

As many as 12 million people were murdered in the massive and systematic genocide that has come to be known as the **Holocaust**, which will almost certainly be remembered more than anything else about the brutal and ruthless Nazi regime. Of these, at least 6 million were Jews, and many millions of others were Slavic peoples mercilessly slaughtered on the Eastern Front. Without question, the Holocaust was by far the most costly genocide of the 20th century, which had begun with the Armenian massacres in 1915, and had the horrors of Kampuchea, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo yet to come. With the possible exceptions of the massacres in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s and those carried out in the 1970s by the Khmer Rouge, more than any of the other major episodes of the 20th-century genocide, the Holocaust was notable for the degree to which it was premeditated and systematic. It was carried out by the Nazi state apparatus and German functionaries, who until the very end kept precise and detailed records of their noxious deeds. The Holocaust was at least passively abetted by denial on the part of the people of Germany and the occupied countries, although the Danes and Italians were notable for their resistance to Nazi demands that they turn over "their" Jews for incarceration.

The plight of the Jews of Europe was also greatly exacerbated by the refusal of the Western Allies to accept as immigrants any but the most affluent or skilled Jews fleeing Nazi atrocities. Those same Allies also failed to use their military assets to strike at the railway lines and killing chambers they clearly knew were in operation by the last months of the war. These responses to the Nazi horror only steeled the resolve of Zionist leaders in Palestine and elsewhere to facilitate, by negotiations with the hated Nazis if necessary, the flight of the European Jews. It also intensified their determination to establish a Jewish state in Palestine to ensure that there could never be another Holocaust.

Anglo-American Offensives, Encirclement, and the End of the 12-Year Reich

For nearly two years, the British were so absorbed in their own struggle for survival that they could provide little relief for their Soviet allies, hard-pressed as Hitler's foolhardy invasion of Russia. Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the United States was providing substantial assistance, including military supplies, to beleaguered Britain. Franklin Roosevelt was quite openly sympathetic to the British cause and soon established a good working relationship with Churchill. Similar to World War I, American forces first entered the war in a major way in the campaigns to counter German U-boat

 Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Anna Petrovna Ostroumova-Lebedeva Describes the Siege of Leningrad, 1941

 Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Rudolf Hess Describes the Extermination Procedures at Auschwitz, 1946

Holocaust Term for Hitler's genocide of European Jews during World War II; resulted in deaths of 6 million Jews.

 View the Closer Look on MyHistoryLab: Envisioning Evidence: Deciphering the Holocaust

Battle of the Bulge Hitler's last ditch effort to repel the invading Allied armies in the winter of 1944–1945

attacks on shipping crossing the Atlantic. Then American tank divisions and infantry joined the British in reversing Rommel's gains in North Africa in 1942 and 1943. Having all but cleared Nazi forces from Africa and the Middle East, Anglo-American armies next struck across the Mediterranean at Sicily, then Italy proper. Their steady, but often costly, advance up the peninsula lasted into early 1945, eventually toppled the fascist regime and prompted a Nazi takeover of northern Italy. Mussolini was shot down on a lamp post near Lake Bellagio.

With significant German forces tied down on the Eastern Front and in Italy, the Allied high command, with General Dwight Eisenhower at its head, prepared landings in northern France. These were made to carry the war into the fortress the Nazis had been building in occupied Europe ever since their defeat in the Battle of Britain in 1940. In early June, against fierce resistance, the Allies established beachheads at Normandy, from which they launched liberation campaigns into the Low Countries and the rest of France. Despite Hitler's last-ditch effort to repel the invading Allied armies in what became known as the **Battle of the Bulge** in the winter of 1944–1945, by early in 1945, the Allies had invaded Germany from the west, while the Red armies were pouring in from the east.

In late April, Russian and American troops linked up at the Elbe River, where they became caught up in spontaneous celebrations. The genuine camaraderie and mutual respect widely displayed among troops on both sides would soon be lost in high-stakes maneuvers by the political leaders in each country to shape the postwar world order. On April 30, after haranguing his closest advisors for his betrayal of the German people, Adolf Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker. Less than two weeks later, German military leaders surrendered their forces, putting an end to the war in the European and Mediterranean theaters. But the contest between the Anglo-American and Soviet allies for control of Germany had already commenced, and it would soon be extended to Europe as a whole and the rest of the world.



View the **Closer Look** on MyHistoryLab: The Japanese Raid on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

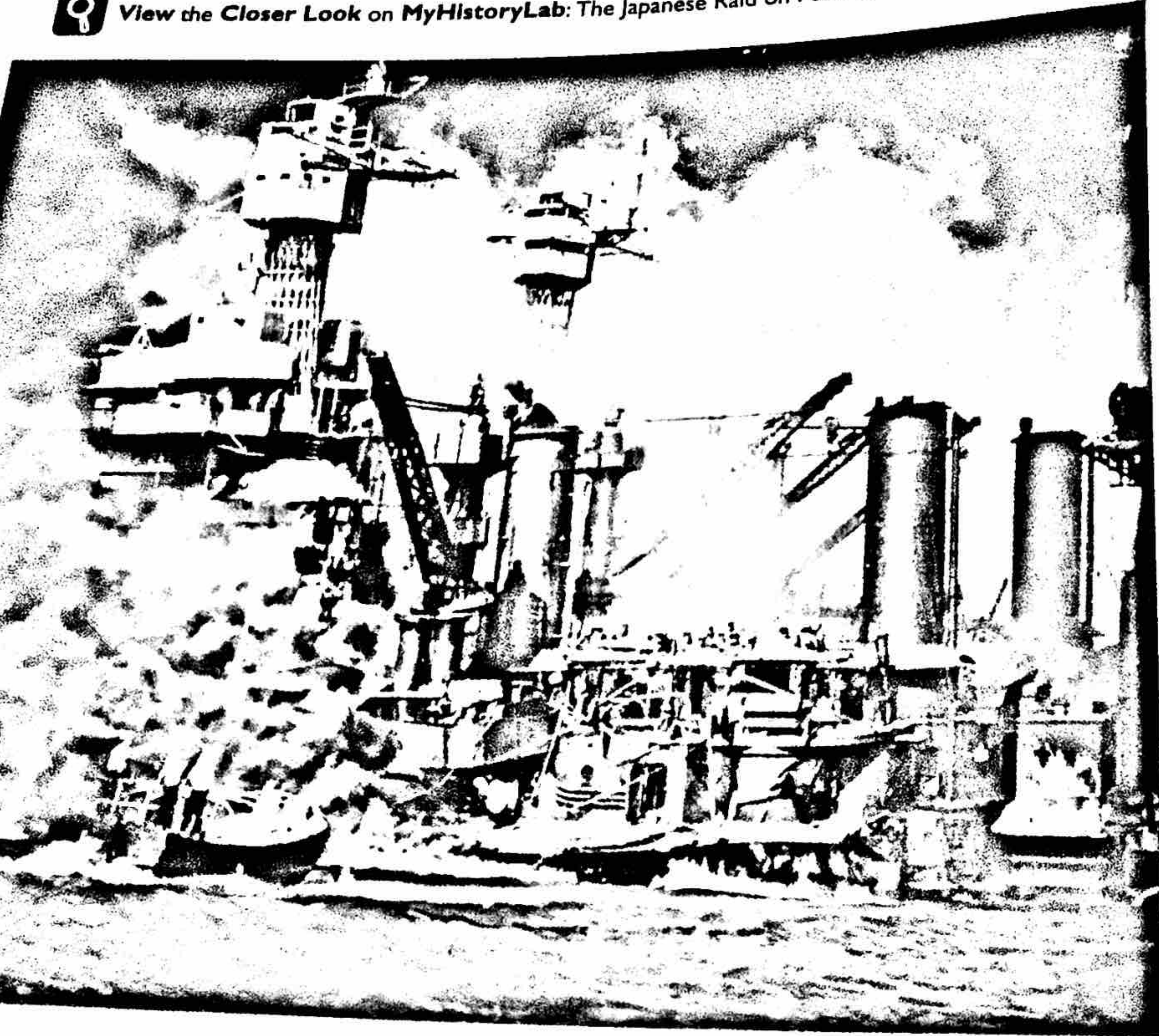


FIGURE 35.5 U.S. warships in flames at the American base at Pearl Harbor following a Japanese attack on December 7, 1941. The attack brought the United States into World War II.

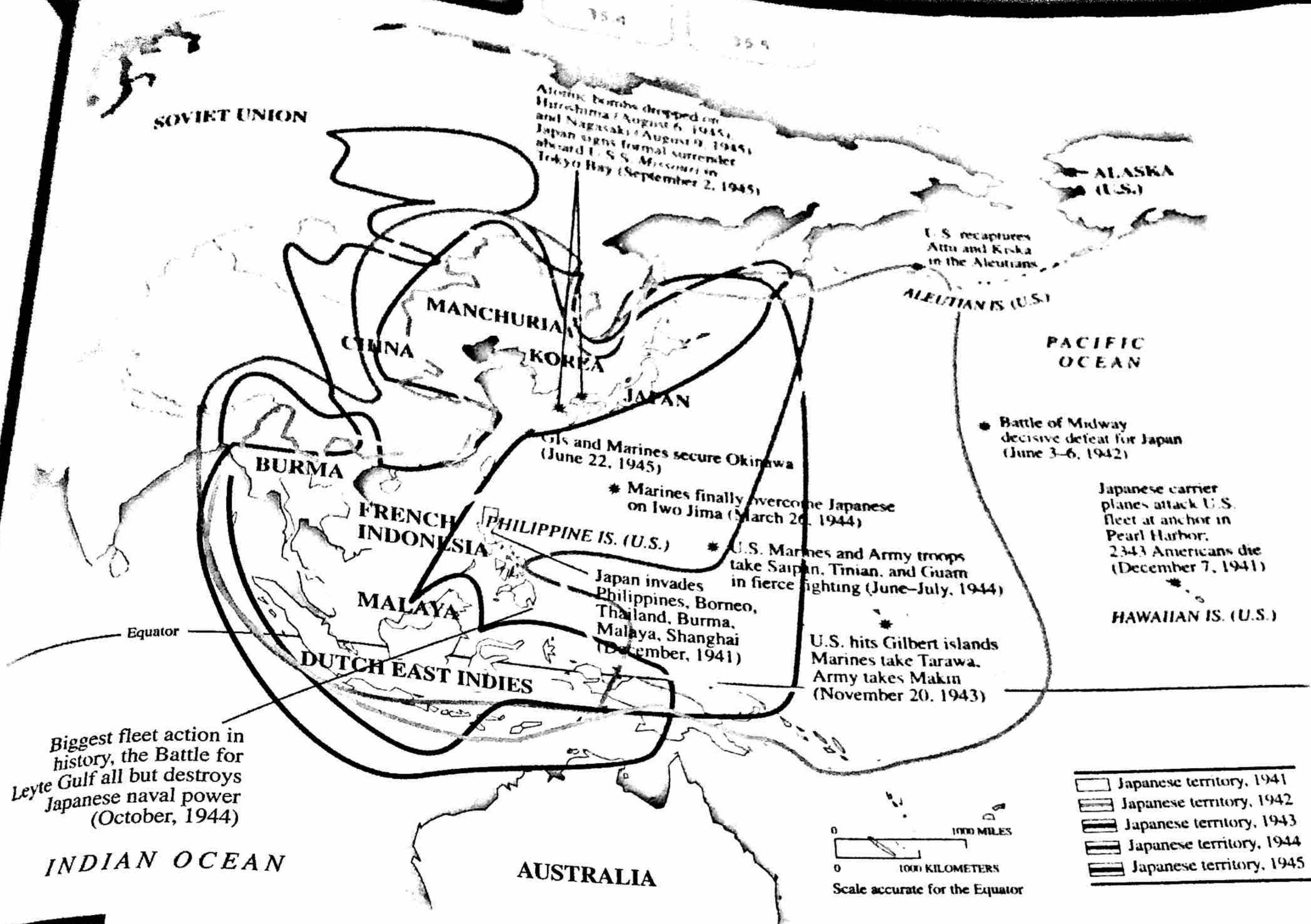
The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire in the Pacific War

Long before their attack on **Pearl Harbor** on December 7, 1941 (Figure 35.5), the Japanese had been engaged in a major war on the Chinese mainland. Even after Pearl Harbor, roughly one-third of all Japanese military forces would remain bogged down in China despite the sudden extension of the Japanese empire over much of southeast Asia and far out into the Pacific (Map 35.2). With the American Pacific fleet temporarily neutralized by the attack, Japan's combined air, sea, and army assaults quickly captured the colonial territories of the British in Hong Kong in south China as well as Malaya and Burma. They also overran the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines—despite more determined resistance—and completed the takeover of French Indochina. The Japanese managed to stave off the invasion and occupation of the United States by retreating into neutrality and cooperating with the ascendant Japanese. Although Great Britain remained a major ally of the United States, and Australia and New Zealand provided important support, the United States emerged as the major counterforce to the ever-expanding Asian empire.

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MAP 35.2 Asia and the Pacific in World War II Although the human cost in this theatre of the war was the highest in China, the decisive battles were fought on the seas and islands of the vast Pacific Ocean.

Although impressive in size and the speed with which it was formed, the Japanese empire soon proved highly vulnerable to the Allied forces committed to its destruction. The Japanese had risked alienating virtually all of the European colonial powers by their seizure of much of southeast Asia. They did so because they calculated that since the European metropolises had been overrun or were hard-pressed by the Nazis, the Europeans would not be able to reinforce their colonial enclaves. The Japanese leadership was also aware that their homeland's wartime economy was in desperate need of critical raw materials, including oil and staple foods that could be imported from southeast Asia. But in their efforts to extract those resources, the Japanese imposed colonial regimes on the peoples of southeast Asia that were a good deal more brutally oppressive than those of any of the displaced Western colonizers. Over time, these demands produced growing resistance movements from Burma to the Philippines, which drew Japanese soldiers and substantial resources from the war in the Pacific against the advancing Allied forces.

Resistance fighters also cooperated with British and American forces pushing into the area in latter stages of the war. Southeast Asian guerrilla forces, which often had communist affiliations, played significant roles in sabotaging occupying forces and harassing retreating Japanese armies. The

Pearl Harbor American fleet in Hawaii; attack by Japanese in December 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor caused entry of United States into World War II.

Battle of the Coral Sea World War II Pacific battle. United States and Japanese forces fought to a standoff.
Midway Island World War II Pacific battle. decisive U.S. victory over powerful Japanese carrier force.

shipping lanes from distant colonial enclaves throughout southeast Asia also proved highly vulnerable to American submarines, which by late 1944 were able to sink a high percentage of the tonnage of foodstuffs and war materials shipped back to Japan.

The main front of the Pacific theater of the war centered on the widely scattered islands that Japan had begun to occupy before, and especially after, World War I, as well as those seized from the British and Americans after Pearl Harbor. No sooner had the Japanese garrisoned these enclaves than they hastily but well prepared American advance into the central Pacific put them on the defensive. Having missed the chance to cripple the most potent weapons in the United States arsenal. Within six months, United States naval and air forces fought the Japanese to a standoff at the **Battle of the Coral Sea**. In June, less than a month later, off Midway Island, they won a decisive victory over a powerful carrier force, commanded by Admiral Yamamoto, the architect of the Pearl Harbor attack. Once the Allied forces had gained the upper hand in the air and on the sea through these engagements, they could begin the assault on the double ring of Pacific island fortresses that protected the Japanese homeland.

Keying their amphibious assaults on strategically vital islands, the joint air, sea, and land operations of the Allied forces had come within striking distance of Japan itself by early 1944, despite fierce and unrelenting Japanese resistance. In June of that year, the American air force began regular bomber assaults on the Japanese home islands. The high concentration of the Japanese population in urban areas and the wood and paper construction of most Japanese dwellings provided tempting targets for American bomber squadrons. In March 1945, General Curtis Le May, who was in charge of American air operations, ordered mass aerial bombardment of highly vulnerable Japanese cities. In Tokyo alone, these raids killed over 125,000 people, mostly civilians, and destroyed over 40 percent of the city within days. At the same time, Allied naval superiority and submarine attacks had largely cut the home islands off from what remained of the empire in China and southeast Asia.

By the early summer of 1945, Japanese leaders were sending out peace feelers, while the more fanatical elements in the army were promising to fight to the death. The end was sudden and terrifying.

DOCUMENT

Japan's Defeat in a Global War

JAPAN'S DEFEAT IN WORLD WAR II brought moral and material confusion. The government was so uncertain of the intentions of the victorious Americans that it evacuated its female employees to the countryside. The following excerpt from the 1945 diary of Yoshizawa Hisako (who became a writer on home economics) reveals more popular attitudes and the mixed ingredients that composed them. The passage also suggests how the American occupation force tried to present itself and the reception it received.

August 15. As I listened to the Emperor's voice announcing the surrender, every word acquired a special meaning and His Majesty's voice penetrated my mind. Tears streamed down my cheeks. I kept on telling myself that we must not fight ourselves and work hard for our common good. Yes, I pledged myself, I must work [for Japan's recovery].

The city was quiet.

I could not detect any special expression in people's faces. Were they too tired? However, somehow they seemed brighter, and I could catch an expression showing a sign of relief. It could

have been a reflection of my own feelings. But I knew I could trust what I saw . . .

The voluntary fighting unit was disbanded, and I was no longer a member of that unit. Each of us burned the insignia and other identifications.

I cannot foresee what kind of difficulty will befall me, but all I know is that I must learn to survive relying on my health and my will to live.

August 16. People do not wear expressions any different from other days. However, in place of a "good morning" or "good afternoon," people are now greeting each other with the phrase "What will become of us?"

During the morning, the city was still placed under air-raid alert.

My company announced that until everything becomes clearer, no female employees were to come to work and urged all of us to go to the countryside, adding that we should leave forwarding addresses. This measure was taken to conform to the step already taken by governmental bureaus. Are they thinking that the occupation army will do something to us girls? The

(continued on

not under... matters. To cope with, I can- are so worried about

... did not have enough power and lost the war. The Army continued to appeal to the people to resist the war to the end. This poses a lot of problems. People can show their true colors better when they are defeated than when they win. I just hope we, as a nation, can show our better side now.

Just because we have been defeated, I do not wish to see us destroying our national characteristics when we are dealing with foreign countries.

August 17. It was rumored that a number of lower echelon military officers were unhappy with the peace, and were making some secret moves. There were other rumors, and with the quiet evacuation of women and children from the cities, our fear seemed to have intensified. After all we have never experienced a defeat before. Our fear may simply be the manifestation of fear of the unknown.

Our airplanes dropped propaganda leaflets.

One of the leaflets was posted at the Kanda Station which said: "Both the Army and Navy are alive and well. We expect the nation to follow our lead." The leaflet was signed. I could understand how those military men felt. However, we already have the imperial edict to surrender. If we are going to rebuild, we must open a new path. It is much easier to die than to live. In the long history of our nation, this defeat may become one of those insignificant happenings. However, the rebuilding after the defeat is likely to be treated as a far more important chapter in our history.

We did our best and lost, so there is nothing we have to say for our own defense. Only those people who did not do their best may now be feeling guilty, though.

Mr. C. said that everything he saw in the city was so repugnant that he wanted to retreat to the countryside. I was amazed by the narrowness of his thought process. I could say that he had a pure sense of devotion to the country, but that was only his own way of thinking. Beautiful perhaps, but it lacked firm foundation. I wish men like him would learn to broaden their perspectives.

August 18. Rationed bread distribution in the morning. I went to the distribution center with Mrs. A.

August 21. We heard that the Allied advance units will be airlifted and arrive in Japan on the 26th. And the following day, their fleet will also anchor in our harbors. The American Army will be airlifted and land in Atsugi airport.

According to someone who accompanied the Japanese delegation which went to accept surrender conditions, the Americans behaved like gentlemen. They explained to the Americans that certain conditions were unworkable in light of the present situation in Japan. The Americans immediately agreed to alter those conditions. They listened very carefully to what the Japanese delegation had to say.

An American paper, according to someone, reported that meeting as follows: "We cooked thick beefsteak expecting seven or eight Japanese would appear. But seventeen of them came, so we had to kill a turkey to prepare for them. We treated them well before they returned." ... When I hear things like this, I immediately feel how exaggerated and inefficient our ways of doing things are. They say that Americans will tackle one item after another at a conference table, and do not waste even 30 seconds. ...

In contrast, Japanese administration is conducted by many chairs and seals. For example when an auxiliary unit is asked to undertake a task for a governmental bureau, before anything can be done, twenty, or thirty seals of approval must be secured. So there is no concept of not wasting time. Even in war, they are too accustomed to doing things the way they have been doing and their many seals and chairs are nothing but a manifestation of their refusal to take individual responsibilities.

The fact of a defeat is a very serious matter and it is not easy to accept. However, it can bring some positive effects, if it can inculcate in our minds all the shortcomings we have had. I hope this will come true some day, and toward that end we must all endeavor. Even if we have to suffer hunger and other tribulations we must strive toward a positive goal.

QUESTIONS

- How did Japanese attitudes in defeat help prepare Japan for postwar redevelopment?
- Did defeat produce new divisions in attitudes among the Japanese?
- What other kinds of reactions might have been expected?
- How would you explain the rather calm and constructive outcome of the passage suggests?
- Would American reactions to a Japanese victory have been similar?

On August 6 and three days later on August 9, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively. In moments these cities, which to this point had been spared bombing, were reduced to ashes. Short-term casualties in both cities were well over 100,000, and deaths from radiation sickness increased this total greatly in the years, and even decades, that followed. Even more than in the European theater, the end of the long and most destructive war in human history came swiftly. As they had in dealing with Germany, the Allies demanded unconditional surrender by the Japanese. With the exception of retaining the emperor, which was finally allowed, the Japanese agreed to these terms and began to disarm. With the division of Germany that had begun some months earlier, the Allied occupation of the islands set the stage for the third main phase of the 20th century, which would be dominated by the cold war between the Soviet and American superpowers that would be waged amid the collapse of the European colonial order.

WAR'S END AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE SUPERPOWER STANDOFF IN THE COLD WAR

How did the cold war emerge from the end of World War II?

The final stages of World War II quickly led to a tense worldwide half-century of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, each of which headed hostile alliances anchored in nations that had been major combatants during the war.

United Nations (UN) International organization formed in the aftermath of World War II; included all of the victorious Allies; its primary mission was to provide a forum for negotiating disputes.

World War II did not produce the sweeping peace settlements, misguided as most of them turned out to be, that had officially ended World War I. The leaders of the Allies opposed to the Axis powers met on several occasions in an attempt to build the framework for a more lasting peace free of the vindictiveness that was so prominent at the Versailles gathering. A key result of Allied discussions was agreement on establishing the United Nations (UN). From the outset this new international organization was more representative of the world's peoples, in both large and small nations than the League of Nations. The United States pledged to join, played a major role in the United Nations planning and finance, and provided a site on the East River in Manhattan for the organization's permanent headquarters. The Soviet Union was also a charter member, along with long-standing great powers, such as Britain and France. China, represented in the first decades after 1945 by the Guomindang, was grouped with these other global powers as a permanent member of the Security Council, the steering committee for United Nations operations. In the decades after the end of the war, the vanquished Axis powers were eventually granted membership, as were the former colonies soon after each of them gained independence.

With the successful establishment of the United Nations, international diplomacy and assistance moved beyond the orbit of the Western powers that had all but monopolized them for centuries. But through their vetoes in the Security Council they retained considerable control. The United Nations' primary mission was to provide a forum for negotiating international disputes. It also took over the apparatus of more specialized international agencies, including the World Court of Justice and those concerned with human rights. The UN also coordinated programs directed at specific groups and problems, ranging from labor organization and famine relief to agricultural development and women's concerns. Although UN interventions to preserve or restore peace to numerous regions have encountered much resistance by both the great powers and regional political leaders, they have repeatedly proved vital to reducing violent conflict and providing refugee relief throughout the globe. The United Nations has also sponsored initiatives, including critical international conferences, which have proved highly influential in shaping policies and programs affecting child labor, women's rights, and environmental protection.

From Hot War to Cold War

The cold war would last until the 1980s, with various points of crisis and confrontation. Direct conflict between the two superpowers did not occur, despite dire forebodings. Much of world history, however, was shaped by cold war maneuvering for over four decades. The U.S.-Soviet confrontation began when the World War II allies turned, in the war's final conferences, to debate the nature of the postwar settlement. It quickly became apparent that the Soviet Union expected massive territorial gains and that Britain and the United States intended to limit these gains through their own areas of influence. Unresolved disputes then led to a steady expansion of the cold war between 1945 and 1949.

Tensions had clearly surfaced during the 1944 **Tehran Conference**, when the allies agreed on the invasion of Nazi-occupied France. The decision to focus on France rather than moving up from the Mediterranean gave the Soviet forces a free hand to move through the smaller nations of eastern Europe as they pushed the Nazi armies back. Britain negotiated separately with the Soviets to ensure Western preponderance in postwar Greece as well as equality in Hungary and Yugoslavia, with Soviet control of Romania and Bulgaria. But the United States resisted this kind of un-Wilsonian scorn for the rights of small nations.

The next settlement meeting was the **Yalta Conference** in the Soviet Crimea in early 1945. President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States was eager to press the Soviet Union for assistance against Japan and to this end promised the Soviets important territorial gains in Manchuria and northern Japanese islands. The organization of the United Nations was confirmed. For Europe, however, agreement was more difficult. The three powers arranged to divide Germany into occupation zones (liberated France getting a chunk), which would be disarmed and placed under influence. Britain, however, resisted Soviet zeal to eliminate German industrial power, seeing a

Tehran Conference Meeting among leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union in 1943; led to the opening of a new front in the war.

Yalta Conference Meeting among leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union in 1945; agreed on the entry into the Pacific war in 1945 and the division of political influence in the eastern European region reestablished after the war.

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...many as a potential ally in a subsequent Western-Soviet contest. Bitter dispute also raged over
...smaller nations of eastern Europe. No one disagreed that they should be friendly to their Soviet
...neighbor, but the Western leaders also wanted them to be free and democratic. Stalin, the Soviet
...leader, had to make some concessions by including noncommunist leaders in what was already a
...Soviet controlled government in liberated Poland—concessions that he soon violated.
...The final postwar conference occurred in the Berlin suburb of **Potsdam** in July 1945. Russian forces
...occupied not only most of eastern Europe but eastern Germany as well. This de facto situation
...prompted agreement that the Soviet Union could take over much of what had been eastern Poland,
...with the Poles gaining part of eastern Germany in compensation. Germany was divided pending a final
...peace treaty (which was not to come for more than 40 years). Austria was also divided and occupied,
...the Soviet Union. Amid great difficulty, treaties were worked out for Germany's other allies, including
...Italy, but the United States and later the Soviet Union signed separate treaties with Japan.
...All these maneuvers had several results. Japan was occupied by the United States and its wartime
...gains stripped away. Even Korea, taken earlier, was freed but was divided between U.S. and Soviet
...zones of occupation (the basis for the North Korea-South Korea division still in effect today). Former
...Asian colonies were returned to their old "masters," although often quite briefly, as continuing and
...new independence movements quickly challenged the control of the weakened imperialist powers.
...China regained most of its former territory, although here, too, stability was promptly challenged by
...renewed fighting between communist and nationalist forces within the nation, aided by the Soviet
...Union and the United States, respectively.

The effort to restore old colonial regimes applied also to the Middle East, India, and Africa. Indian
...and African troops had fought for Britain during the war, as in World War I, although Britain impris-
...oned key nationalist leaders and put independence plans on hold. African leaders had participated
...actively in the French resistance to its authoritarian wartime government. The Middle East and North
...Africa had been shaken by German invasions and Allied counterattacks. Irritability increased, and
...so did expectations for change. With Europe's imperial powers further weakened by their war effort,
...adjustments seemed inevitable, just as they had been in those parts of Asia invaded by the Japanese.
...In Europe the boundaries of the Soviet Union pushed westward, with virtually all the losses after
...World War I erased. Independent nations created in 1918 were for the most part restored (although the
...former Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia became Soviet provinces because they had been
...Russian provinces before World War I). Except for Greece and Yugoslavia, the new nations quickly fell
...under Soviet domination, with communist governments forced on them and Soviet troops in occupa-
...tion. The nations of western Europe were free to set up or confirm democratic regimes, but most of
...them lived under the shadow of growing U.S. influence, manifested in continued presence of U.S. troops,
...substantial economic aid and coordination, and no small amount of outright policy manipulation.

The stage was set, in other words, for two of the great movements that would shape the ensuing
...decades in world history. The first comprised challenges by subject peoples to the tired vestiges of con-
...trol by the great European empires—the movement known as "decolonization" that in a few decades
...would create scores of new nations in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies. The second great theme was
...the confrontation between the two superpowers that emerged from the war—the United States and the
...Soviet Union, each with new international influence and new military might. Many believed that this
...cold war would soon become a war in a more literal and devastating sense. That these trends constituted
...a peace settlement was difficult to imagine in 1945 or 1947, yet they seemed the best that could be done.

Potsdam Conference Meeting
among leaders of the United
States, Britain, and the Soviet Union
before the end of World War II.
In July 1945, Allies agreed upon
Soviet domination in eastern Europe
and Austria to be divided
among the victorious Allies.



total war Warfare of the 20th century; vast resources and emotional commitments of belligerent nations were marshaled to support military effort; resulted from impact of industrialization on the military effort reflecting technological innovation and organizational capacity.

Atlantic Charter of 1941 World War II alliance agreement between the United States and Britain; included a clause that recognized the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live; indicated sympathy for decolonization.

Quit India movement Mass civil disobedience campaign that began in the summer of 1942 to end British control of India.

Muslim League Founded in 1906 to better support demands of Muslims for separate electorates and legislative seats in Hindu-dominated India; represented division within Indian nationalist movement.

Muhammad Ali (1876–1958) Muslim nationalist leader in India; originally a member of the Congress party; became leader of the Muslim League; traded support for British during World War II for promises of a separate state after the war; first prime minister of Pakistan.

a particularly critical role in destroying the myth of the white man's invincibility. The fall of the "impregnable" fortress at Singapore on the southern tip of Malaya and the Americans' reverses at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines proved to be blows from which the colonizers never quite recovered. Even though they went on to eventually defeat the Japanese. The sight of tens of thousands of British, Dutch, and American troops, struggling under the supervision of the victorious Japanese to carry out the "death marches" to prison camps in their former colonies, left an indelible impression on the villagers who saw them pass by. The harsh regimes and heavy demands the Japanese conquest imposed on the peoples of southeast Asia during the war further strengthened the determination to fight for self-rule and to look to their own defenses after the conflict was over.

The devastation of World War II—a total war fought in the cities and countryside over much of Europe—drained the resources of the European powers. This devastating warfare also sapped the energy of the European populace to hold increasingly resistant African and Asian peoples in bondage. The war also greatly enhanced the power and influence of the two giants on the European periphery, the United States and the Soviet Union. In Africa and the Middle East, as well as in the Pacific, the United States approached the war as a campaign of liberation. American propagandists made no secret of Franklin Roosevelt's hostility to colonialism. American support for the Allied war effort. In fact, American intentions in this regard were enshrined in the Atlantic Charter of 1941. This pact sealed an alliance between the United States and Great Britain that the latter desperately needed to survive in its war with Nazi Germany. In it Roosevelt persuaded a reluctant Churchill to include a clause that recognized the "right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live." The Soviets were equally vocal in their condemnation of colonialism and were even more forthcoming with material support for nationalist campaigns after the war. In the cold war world of the superpowers that emerged after 1945, there was little room for the domination that the much-reduced powers of western Europe had once exercised over much of the globe.

The Winning of Independence in South and Southeast Asia

The outbreak of World War II soon put an end to the accommodation between the Indian National Congress and the British in of the late 1930s. Congress leaders offered to support the Allies' war effort if the British would give them a significant share of power at the all-India level and commit themselves to Indian independence once the conflict was over. These conditions were staunchly rejected both by the viceroy in India and at home by Winston Churchill, who headed the coalition government that led Britain through the war. Labour members of the coalition government, however, indicated that they were quite willing to negotiate India's eventual independence. As tensions built between nationalist agitators and the British rulers, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India in early 1942 to see whether a deal could be struck with the Indian leaders. Indian divisions and British intransigence led to the collapse of Cripps's initiative and the renewal of mass civil disobedience campaigns under the guise of the **Quit India movement**, which began in the summer of 1942.

The British responded with repression and mass arrests, and for much of the remainder of the war, Gandhi, Nehru, and other major Congress politicians were imprisoned (Figure 35.6). Of the Indian nationalist parties, only the Communists—who were committed to the antifascist alliance—and, more ominously, the **Muslim League** rallied to the British cause. The League, now led by a former Congress party politician, the dour and uncompromising **Muhammad Ali Jinnah**, won more favor from the British for its wartime support. As their demands for a separate Muslim state in the subcontinent hardened, the links between the British and Jinnah and other League leaders became a key factor in the struggle for decolonization in south Asia.

World War II brought disruptions to India similar to those caused by the earlier global conflict. Inflation stirred up urban unrest, while a widespread famine in 1943 and 1944, brought on in part by wartime transport shortages, engendered much bitterness in rural India. Winston Churchill, in the first postwar British election in 1945 brought a Labour government to power that was determined to deal with India's nationalist leaders. With independence in the near future tacitly agreed, the process of decolonization between 1945 and 1947 focused on what sort of state or states would be carved out of the subcontinent after the British withdrawal. Jinnah and the League had been building a mass following among the Muslims. In order to rally support, they played on widespread fears among the Muslim minority that a single Indian nation would be dominated by the Hindus and that the Muslims would become the targets of increasing discrimination. It was therefore

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they insisted, that a separate Muslim state called Pakistan be created
in those areas in northwest and east India where Muslims were
the most numerous

As communal rioting spread throughout India, the British
and key Congress party politicians reluctantly concluded that a
bloodbath could be averted only by partition—the creation of two
nations in the subcontinent: one secular, one Muslim. Thus, in the
summer of 1947, the British handed power over to the leaders of
the majority Congress party, who headed the new nation of India,
and to Jinnah, who became the first president of Pakistan.
In part because of the haste with which the British withdrew
their military forces from the deeply divided subcontinent, a blood-
bath occurred anyway. Vicious Hindu-Muslim and Muslim-Sikh
communal rioting, in which neither women nor children were
spared, took the lives of hundreds of thousands in the searing
summer heat across the plains of northwest India. Whole villages
were destroyed; trains were attacked and their passengers hacked to
death by armed bands of rival religious adherents. These atrocities
fed a massive exchange of refugee populations between Hindu,
Sikh, and Muslim areas that may have totaled 10 million people.
Those who fled were so terrified that they were willing to give up
their land, their villages, and most of their worldly possessions. The
losses of partition were compounded by the fact that there was
soon no longer a Gandhi to preach tolerance and communal coex-
istence. On January 30, 1948, on the way to one of his regular prayer
meetings, he was shot by a Hindu fanatic.

In granting independence to India, the British, in effect,
removed the keystone from the arch of an empire that spanned
five continents. Burma (known today as Myanmar) and Ceylon
(now named Sri Lanka) won their independence peacefully in
the following years. India's independence and Gandhi's civil
disobedience campaigns, which had done so much to win a mass
following for the nationalist cause, also inspired successful struggles
for independence in Ghana, Nigeria, and other African colonies in
the 1950s and 1960s.

The retreat of the most powerful of the imperial powers could
not help but contribute to the weakening of lesser empires such
as those of the Dutch, the French, and the Americans. In fact, the
process of the transfer of power from U.S. officials to moderate,
middle-class Filipino politicians was well under way before World
War II broke out. The loyalty to the Americans that most Filipinos
displayed during the war, as well as the stubborn guerrilla resistance
they put up against the Japanese occupation, did much to bring
about the rapid granting of independence to the Philippines once the war ended. The Dutch and
French were less willing to follow the British example and relinquish their colonial possessions in the
postwar era. From 1945 to 1949, the Dutch fought a losing war to destroy the nation of Indonesia, which
nationalists in the Netherlands Indies had established when the Japanese hold over the islands broke
down in mid-1945. The French struggled to retain Indochina. Communist revolutions in East Asia
also emerged victorious in the postwar period. No sooner had the European colonizers suffered these
losses than they were forced to deal with new threats to the last bastions of the imperial order in Africa.

The Liberation of Nonsettler Africa

World War II proved even more disruptive to the colonial order imposed on Africa than the first global
conflict of the European powers. Forced labor and confiscations of crops and minerals returned, and
inflation and controlled markets again cut down on African earnings. African recruits in the hundreds

Read the Document on MyHistoryLab Jinnah, the "Father" of Pakistan



FIGURE 35.6 In 1931 Mahatma Gandhi returned to Great Britain for the first
time since his student days in 1915. Although his attempts to negotiate with
British leaders came to little, he was a great hit with the British public, in part
because of his sly sense of humor. When asked on another occasion, after
he had an audience with King George V, if he was embarrassed to meet His
Highness in the scant khadi-cloth apparel he wears in this photo, Gand-
hi quipped that the king-emperor had on enough clothes for the both of

of thousands were drawn once more into the conflict and had even greater opportunities to use the latest European weapons to destroy European Africa. African servicemen had witnessed British and other latest European weapons to destroy European Africa and they fought bravely only to experience a bitter defeat in the Middle East and southeast Asia and they were soon among the staunchest opponents of racial discrimination once they returned home. Many were soon among the staunchest opponents of postwar nationalist campaigns in the African colonies of the British and French. The humiliating treatment of the French and Belgians by Nazi armies in the spring of 1940 shattered the was left of the colonizers' reputation for military prowess. It also led to a bitter and, in the end, embarrassing struggle between the forces of the puppet Vichy regime and those of the Free French who continued fighting the Nazis mainly in France's North and West African colonies. The wartime needs of both the British and the Free French led to major departures from long-standing colonial policies that had restricted industrial development throughout Africa.

VISUALIZING THE PAST

National Leaders for a New Global Order

THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND ASIA, STRUGGLES FOR decolonization and national independence often led to the emergence of leaders with exceptional mass appeal and political skills. But the personal qualities, visions of the future, and leadership styles that made for widespread loyalty to these individuals varied

widely depending on the cultures and social settings from which they emerged as well as the nature of the political contests that led to the colonizers' retreat and the establishment of new nations. The following are photos of four of the most charismatic and effective leaders of independence movements in Africa and Asia. Study these photos and

the background information on each of these individuals that is provided in earlier sections of this chapter and the relevant sections of Chapters 33 and 38, and answer the questions about leadership styles and images that follow.

QUESTIONS

- What do the dress and poses of these leaders tell us about the image each projected?
- Why did the style and approach each adopted win widespread popular support in each of the very different societies in which they emerged as pivotal leaders in the struggles for independence?
- How well do you think that each of their approaches to leadership served them in dealings with the European colonizers and contests with the rival leaders and political parties they faced in each of the societies in which they arose?
- What did charisma mean in each of these settings?



Mohandas Gandhi, India.



Léopold Senghor, Senegal.



Gamal Abdul Nasser, Egypt.



Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana.

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were established to process urgently needed vegetable oils, foods, and minerals in western and south central Africa. These in turn contributed to a growing migration on the part of African peasants to the towns and a sharp spurt in African urban growth. The inability of many of those who moved to the towns to find employment made for a reservoir of disgruntled, idle workers that would be skillfully tapped by nationalist politicians in the postwar decades.

There were essentially two main paths to decolonization in nonsettler Africa in the postwar era. The first was pioneered by Kwame Nkrumah (KWAH-mee ehn-KROO-muh) and his followers in the British Gold Coast colony, which, as the independent nation of Ghana, launched the process of decolonization in Africa. Nkrumah epitomized the more radical sort of African leader that emerged throughout Africa after the war (see Visualizing the Past feature). Educated in African missionary schools and the United States, he had established wide contacts with nationalist leaders in both British and French West Africa and civil rights leaders in America prior to his return to the Gold Coast in the late 1940s. He returned to a land in ferment. The restrictions of government-controlled marketing boards and their favoritism for British merchants had led to widespread, but nonviolent, protest in the coastal cities. But after the police fired on a peaceful demonstration of ex-servicemen in 1948, rioting broke out in many towns.

Although both urban workers and cash crop farmers had supported the unrest, Western-educated African leaders were slow to organize these dissident groups into a sustained mass movement. Their reluctance arose in part from their fear of losing major political concessions, such as seats on colonial legislative councils, which the British had just made. Rejecting the caution urged by more established political leaders, Nkrumah resigned his position as chair of the dominant political party in the Gold Coast and established his own **Convention People's Party (CPP)**. Even before the formal break, he had signaled the arrival of a new style of politics by organizing mass rallies, boycotts, and strikes.

In the mid-1950s, Nkrumah's mass following, and his growing stature as a leader who would not be deterred by imprisonment or British threats, won repeated concessions from the British. Educated Africans were given more and more representation in legislative bodies, and gradually they took over administration of the colony. The British recognition of Nkrumah as the prime minister of an independent Ghana in 1957 simply concluded a transfer of power from the European colonizers to the Western-educated African elite that had been under way for nearly a decade.

The peaceful devolution of power to African nationalists led to the independence of the British nonsettler colonies in black Africa by the mid-1960s. Independence in the comparable areas of the French and Belgian empires in Africa came in a somewhat different way. Hard-pressed by costly military struggles to hold on to their colonies in Indochina and Algeria, the French took a much more conciliatory line in dealing with the many peoples they ruled in west Africa. Ongoing negotiations with such highly Westernized leaders as Senegal's Léopold Sédar Senghor and the Ivory Coast's Félix Houphouât-Boigny (hoh-FOO-aht BWAHN-yay) led to reforms and political concessions.

The slow French retreat ensured that moderate African leaders, who were eager to retain French economic and cultural ties, would dominate the nationalist movements and the postindependence period in French west Africa. Between 1956 and 1960, the French colonies moved by stages toward nationhood—a process that sped up after de Gaulle's return to power in 1958. By 1960 all of France's west African colonies were free.

In the same year, the Belgians completed a much hastier retreat from their huge colonial possession in the Congo. Their hasty abandonment of the colony was epitomized by the fact that there was little in the way of an organized nationalist movement to pressure them into concessions of any kind. In fact, by design there were scarcely any well-educated Congolese to lead resistance to Belgian rule. At independence in 1960, there were only 16 African college graduates in a Congolese population that exceeded 13 million. Although the Portuguese still clung to their impoverished and scattered colonial territories, by the mid-1960s the European colonial era had come to an end in all but the settler societies of Africa.

Repression and Guerrilla War: The Struggle for the Settler Colonies

The pattern of relatively peaceful withdrawal by stages that characterized the process of decolonization in most of Asia and Africa proved unworkable in most of the settler colonies (see Map 29.1, p. 664). These included areas like Algeria, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia, where substantial numbers of Europeans had gone intending to settle permanently in the 19th and early 20th centuries. South Africa provided few openings for nationalist agitation except that mounted by the politically and economically dominant colonists of European descent. In each case, the presence of European settler

Convention People's Party (CPP) Political party established by Kwame Nkrumah in opposition to British control of colonial legislature in Gold Coast.

Kenyatta, Jomo (1946–1978)
Leader of the nonviolent nationalist party in Kenya; organized the Kenya African Union (KAU); failed to win concessions because of resistance of white settlers; came to power only after suppression of the Land Freedom Army, or Mau Mau.

Kenya African Union (KAU) Leading nationalist party in Kenya; adopted nonviolent approach to ending British control in the 1950s.

Land and Freedom Army Radical organization for independence in Kenya; frustrated by failure of nonviolent means, initiated campaign of terror in 1952; referred to by British as the Mau Mau.

National Liberation Front (FLN) Radical nationalist movement in Algeria; launched sustained guerilla war against France in the 1950s; success of attacks led to independence of Algeria in 1958.

Secret Army Organization (OAS) Organization of French settlers in Algeria; led guerilla war following independence during 1960s; assaults directed against Muslims, Berbers, and French who favored independence.

communities, varying in size from millions in South Africa and Algeria to tens of thousands in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, blocked both the rise of indigenous nationalist movements and concessions on the part of the colonial overlords.

Because the settlers regarded the colonies to which they had emigrated as their permanent homes, they fought all attempts to turn political control over to the African majority or even to grant the civil rights. They also doggedly refused all reforms by colonial administrators that required them to give up any of the lands they had occupied, often at the expense of indigenous African peoples.

The first of these erupted in Kenya in the early 1950s. Impatient with the failure of the nonviolent approach adopted by Jomo Kenyatta and the leading nationalist party, the Kenya African Union (KAU), an underground organization coalesced around a group of more radical leaders. After forming the Land and Freedom Army in the early 1950s, the radicals mounted a campaign of terror and guerrilla warfare against the British, the settlers, and Africans who were considered collaborators. At the height of the struggle in 1954, some 200,000 rebels were in action in the capital at Nairobi and in the forest reserves of the central Kenyan highlands. The British responded with an all-out military effort to crush the guerrilla movement, which was dismissed as an explosion of African savagery and labeled the "Mau Mau" by the colonizers, not the rebels. In the process, the British, at the settlers' insistence, imprisoned Kenyatta and the KAU organizers, thus eliminating the nonviolent alternative to the guerrillas.

The rebel movement had been militarily defeated by 1956 at the cost of thousands of lives. But the British were now in a mood to negotiate with the nationalists, despite strong objections from the European settlers. Kenyatta was released from prison, and he emerged as the spokesperson for the Africans of Kenya. By 1963 a multiracial Kenya had won its independence. Under what was, in effect, Kenyatta's one-party rule, it remained until the mid-1980s one of the most stable and more prosperous of the new African states.

The struggle of the Arab and Berber peoples of Algeria for independence was longer and even more vicious than that in Kenya. Algeria had for decades been regarded by the French as an integral part of France—a department just like Provence or Brittany. The presence of more than a million European settlers in the colony only served to bolster the resolve of French politicians to retain it at all costs. But in the decade after World War II, sporadic rioting grew into sustained guerrilla resistance. By the mid-1950s, the National Liberation Front (FLN) had mobilized large segments of the Arab and Berber population of the colony in a full-scale revolt against French rule and settler dominance. High-ranking French army officers came to see the defeat of this movement as a way to restore a reputation that had been badly tarnished by recent defeats in Vietnam (see Chapter 39). As in Kenya, the rebels were defeated in the field. But they gradually negotiated the independence of Algeria after de Gaulle came to power in 1958. The French people had wearied of the seemingly endless war, and de Gaulle became convinced that he could not restore France to great power status as long as its resources continued to be drained by the Algerian conflict.

In contrast to Kenya, the Algerian struggle was prolonged and brutalized by a violent settler backlash. Led after 1960 by the Secret Army Organization (OAS), settler violence was directed against Arabs and Berbers as well as French who favored independence for the colony. With strong support from elements in the French military, earlier resistance by the settlers had managed to topple the government in Paris in 1958, thereby putting an end to the Fourth Republic. In the early 1960s, the OAS came close to assassinating de Gaulle and overthrowing the Fifth Republic, which his accession to power had brought into existence. In the end, however, the Algerians won their independence in 1962 (Figure 35.7). After the bitter civil war, the multiracial accommodation worked out in Kenya appeared out of the question as far as the settlers of Algeria were concerned. Over 900,000 left the new nation within months after its birth. In addition, tens of thousands of harkis, or Arabs and Berbers who had sided with the French in the long war for independence, fled to France. They, and later migrants, formed the core of the substantial Algerian population now present in France.

The Persistence of White Supremacy in South Africa

In southern Africa, violent revolutions put an end to white settler dominance in the colonies of Angola and Mozambique in 1975 and in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1980. Only in South Africa did the white minority manage to maintain its position of

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...to do so rested on several factors that distinguished it from other settler societies. To begin with, the white population in South Africa, roughly equally divided between the Dutch descended Afrikaners and the more recently arrived English speakers, was a good deal larger than that of any of the other settler societies. Although they were only a small minority in a country of 23 million black Africans and 1.5 million East Indians and coloreds (in American parlance), by the mid 1980s, South Africa's settler-descended population had reached 4.5 million. Unlike the settlers in Kenya and Algeria, who had the option of retreating to Europe as full citizens of France or Great Britain, the Afrikaners in particular had no European homeland to fall back upon. They had lived in South Africa as long as other Europeans had in North America, and they considered themselves quite distinct from the Dutch. Over the centuries, the Afrikaners had also built up what was for them a persuasive ideology of white racist supremacy. Although crude by European or American standards, Afrikaner racism was far more explicit and elaborate than that developed by the settlers of any other colony. Afrikaner ideology was grounded in selected biblical quotations and the celebration of their historic struggle to "tame a beautiful but hard land" in the face of opposition from both the African "savages" and the British "imperialists."

Ironically, their defeat by the British in the Boer War from 1899 to 1902 also contributed much to the capacity of the white settler minority to maintain its place of dominance in South Africa. A sense of guilt, arising especially from their treatment of Boer women and children during the war—tens of thousands of whom died of disease in what the British called concentration camps—led the victors to make major concessions to the Afrikaners in the postwar decades. The most important of these was internal political control, which included turning over the fate of the black African majority to the openly racist supremacist Afrikaners. Not surprisingly, the continued subjugation of the black Africans became a central aim of the Afrikaner political organizations that emerged in the 1930s and 1940s, culminating in the **Afrikaner National Party**. From 1948, when it emerged as the majority party in the all-white South African legislature, the National party devoted itself to winning complete independence from Britain (which came without violence in 1961). The Afrikaners also strove to complete a decades-long quest to establish white domination over the political, social, and economic life of the new nation.

A rigid system of racial segregation (which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 38), called **apartheid** by the Afrikaners, was established after 1948 through the passage of thousands of laws. Among other things, this legislation reserved the best jobs for whites and carefully defined the sorts of contacts permissible between different racial groups. The right to vote and political representation were denied to the black Africans, and ultimately to the coloreds and Indians. It was illegal for members of any of these groups to hold mass meetings or to organize political parties or labor unions. These restrictions, combined with very limited opportunities for higher education for black Africans, hampered the growth of black African political parties and their efforts to mobilize popular support for the struggle for decolonization. The Afrikaners' establishment of a vigilant and brutal police state



FIGURE 35.7 Algerians celebrate after independence was announced in July 1962. Inhabitants of the city stand in triumph atop the motorcade of the PGAR (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic), which negotiated the terms of independence with the French government. Before independence, barricades had been erected throughout the colony to keep European residential areas off limits to the Arabs and Berbers, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population.

Afrikaner National Party Emerged as the majority party in the all-white South African legislature after 1948; advocated complete independence from Britain; favored a rigid system of racial segregation called apartheid.

apartheid Policy of strict racial segregation imposed in South Africa to permit the continued dominance of whites politically and economically.

to uphold apartheid, and their opportunistic cultivation of divisions between the diverse peoples of the black African population, also contributed to their ability to preserve a bastion of white supremacy in an otherwise liberated continent.

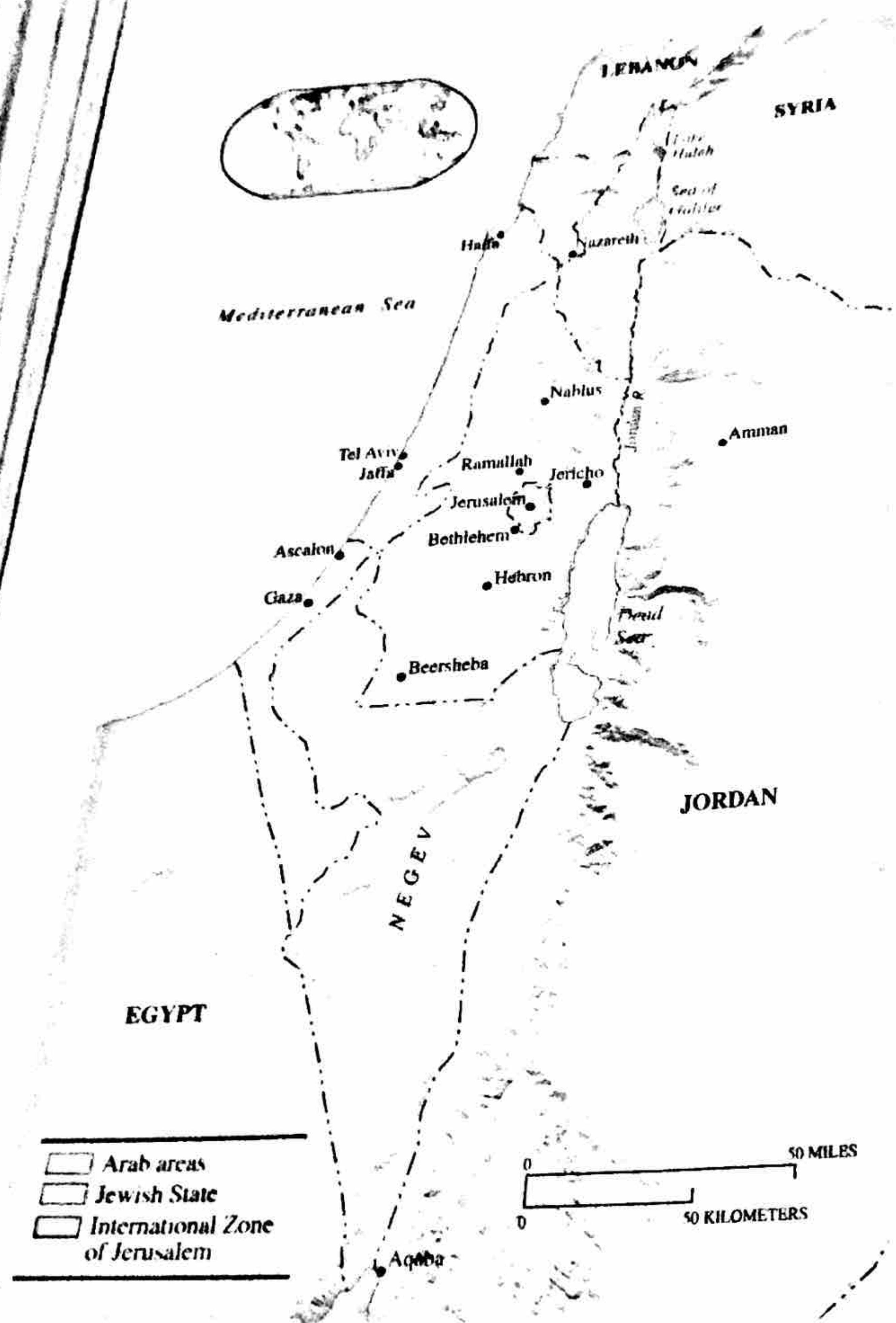
Conflicting Nationalisms: Arabs, Israelis, and the Palestinian Question

Along with Egypt, several Middle Eastern states, including Iraq and Syria, had technically gained independence between the world wars, although European influence remained strong. With World War II, independence became more complete, although it was not until the 1970s that governments were strong enough to shake off Western dominance of the oil fields. Although virtually all Arab independence movements in the rest of north Africa gained ground, although the struggle against France in Algeria was bitter and prolonged. Although the European Jews had not yet been free by the end of World War II, the fate of Palestine continued to present special problems. Hitler's campaign of genocide against the Jews also won provided powerful support for the Zionist cause. This was in part due to the fact that the leaders of many nations, including the United States and Great Britain, were reluctant to admit Jews fleeing the Nazi terror into their own countries. As Hitler's henchmen stepped up their race war against the Jews, the tide of Jewish immigration to Palestine rose sharply. But growing Arab resistance to Jewish settlement and land purchases in Palestine, which was often expressed in communal rioting and violent assaults on Zionist communities, led to increasing British restrictions on the entry of Jews into the colony.

A major Muslim revolt swept Palestine between 1936 and 1939. The British managed to put down this rising but only with great difficulty. It both decimated the leadership of the Palestinian Arab community and further strengthened the British resolve to stem the flow of Jewish immigrants to Palestine. Government measures to keep out Jewish refugees from Nazi oppression led in turn to violent Zionist resistance to the British presence in Palestine. The Zionist assault was spearheaded by a regular Zionist military force, the **Haganah**, and several underground terrorist organizations.

By the end of World War II, the major parties claiming Palestine were locked into a deadly stalemate. The Zionists were determined to carve out a Jewish state in the region. The Palestinian Arabs and their allies in neighboring Arab lands were equally determined to transform Palestine into a multireligious nation in which the position of the Arab majority would be ensured. Having badly bungled their mandatory responsibilities, and under attack from both sides, the British wanted more than anything else to scuttle and run. The 1948 report of a British commission of inquiry supplied a possible solution. The newly created United Nations provided an international body that could give a semblance of legality to the proposal. In 1948, with sympathy for the Jews running high because of the revelations of the horrors of Hitler's Final Solution, the members of the United Nations—with the United States and the Soviet Union in rare agreement—approved the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states (Map 35.3).

Haganah Zionist military force engaged in violent resistance to British presence in Palestine in the 1940s



MAP 35.3 The Partition of Palestine After World War II The areas granted to the Palestinian people by the 1948 UN Partition were quickly occupied by the warring states of Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

The Arab states that bordered the newly created nation of Israel had, on the whole, been better armed and much better prepared to defend themselves than almost anyone had expected. Not only did they hold onto the tiny, patchwork state that had been given by the United Nations, but they expanded it at the Arabs' expense. The brief but bloody war that ensued between Arabs and Israelis that has been the all-consuming issue in the region and a major international problem to the present day. In Palestine, conflicting strains of nationalism had collided. As in much of the rest of newly independent Africa and Asia

Global Connections and Critical Themes

PERSISTING TRENDS IN A WORLD TRANSFORMED BY WAR Even the fragile foundations on which it rested, the rather rapid demise of the European colonial order is not really surprising. World War II completed the process that World War I and anticolonial nationalism had begun; the end of Western imperialism came quickly. In this sense, the global framework was transformed. However, the winning of political freedom in Asia and Africa also represented less of a break with the colonial past than the appearance of many new nations on the map of the world might lead one to assume.

The decidedly nonrevolutionary, elite-to-elite transfer of power that was central to the liberation process in most colonies, even those where there were violent guerrilla movements, limited the extent of the social and economic transformation that occurred. The Western-educated African and Asian classes moved into the offices and took the jobs—and often the former homes—of the European colonizers. But social gains for the rest of the population in most new nations were minimal or nonexistent. In Algeria, Kenya, and Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia), abandoned European

lands were distributed to Arab and African peasants and laborers. But in most former colonies, especially in Asia, the big landholders that remained were indigenous, and they have held on tenaciously to their holdings. Educational reforms were carried out to include more sciences in school curricula and the history of Asia or Africa rather than Europe. But Western cultural influences have remained strong in almost all of the former colonies. Indians and many west Africans with higher education continue to communicate in English and French.

The liberation of the colonies also did little to disrupt Western dominance of the terms of international trade or the global economic order more generally. In fact, in the negotiations that led to decolonization, Asian and African leaders often explicitly promised to protect the interests of Western merchants and businesspeople in the postindependence era. These and other limits that sustained Western influence and often dominance, even after freedom was won, greatly reduced the options open to nationalist leaders struggling to build viable and prosperous nations. Although new forces have also played important roles, the postindependence history of colonized peoples cannot be understood without a consideration of the lingering effects of the colonial interlude in their history.

Further Readings

Three of the most genuinely global histories of World War II, which include extensive accounts of the origins of the war in both Europe and the Pacific, are Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (1994); Peter Calvocoressi and Guy S. W. Jackson, *Total War: Causes and Consequences of the Second World War* (1972); and more recently Anthony Beevor's *The Second World War* (2012). And Overy's many works on World War II and 20th century conflict more generally are among the most original and engaging in the extensive literature on modern warfare. For a good overview of the coming of the war in Europe from the British perspective, see Christopher Thorne, *The Approach of War 1938–1939* (1967), and for the German viewpoint, Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler, and World War II* (1995). A fine analysis of the underlying patterns

in the European theater can be found in Gordon Wright, *The Ordeal of Total War, 1939–1945* (1968).

From a prodigious literature on the Holocaust, some good works to begin with are Hannah Arendt's brilliant *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963) and Raul Hilberg's *Destruction of the European Jews* (1985). Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men* (1992) provides a chilling account of some of those who actually carried out the killings, while Viktor Frankl's *Man's Search for Meaning* (1959) is one of the most poignant of the numerous autobiographical accounts of the concentration camps. Omer Bartov provides a thoughtful meditation on the wider meanings of the Holocaust in his 20th-century history in *Murder in Our Midst* (1996).

On the causes of the Pacific war, see Michael Barnet, *Japan Prepares for Total War* (1987), and William O'Neill, *Japan at War* (1993). Sukarno's reactions to the Japanese invasion