

Chapter

19

OF MASSES AND VISIONS OF THE MODERN, 1910–1939



The last guns of the Great War (World War I) fell silent not on the bloody battlefields of Europe, but in a remote corner of East Africa. It took a full day for news of the armistice to reach that region where African soldiers, under British and German officers, were battling for control of German East Africa. Here, 10,000 German-led African soldiers used guerrilla tactics to thwart the efforts of over 300,000 British-led African soldiers. Thousands of African troops died in these battles, beyond the spotlight of international opinion. Thus did this world conflagration come to a close outside Europe.

Raging from August 1914 to November 1918, World War I shook the foundations of the European-centered world. Although most major battles occurred on European soil, multitudes of American, African, and Asian soldiers were ferried across oceans to join the killing and maiming there. Campaigns also bloodied the soil in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and sub-Saharan Africa. This was the first modern war involving whole societies. Its impact was thoroughly global. In addition to involving countless soldiers from Europe's colonies, its aftermath fostered notions of freedom and self-determination and a growing disillusionment with European

rule in these locations. Elsewhere, nations grappled with competing visions for building a viable, modern society.

This chapter deals with the Great War and its global impact. First, because the war was fought on a worldwide scale and to utter exhaustion in Europe, it required the resources of a large part of the world. Therefore it prompted production and consumption on a mass scale. These in turn became defining features of economic modernity. Wartime leaders used new media such as radio and film to promote national loyalties and to discredit enemies—and thereby helped to spread a mass culture. Second, the harsh terms of the peace settlement unbalanced the global economy and led directly to the Great Depression. Third, political turmoil surrounding the war inflamed disputes over how to manage mass societies and build a better world. To this end, three strikingly different visions arose: liberal democratic, authoritarian, and anti-colonial. These ideologies competed for preeminence in the decades leading up to World War II.

THE QUEST FOR THE MODERN

→ *What were the different forms of political modernity?*

When people spoke of “being modern” in the 1920s and 1930s, they disagreed on what it meant. Most agreed, however, that in economic terms modernity involved mass production and mass consumption. In the West, for example, the automobile, the gramophone (a record player), the cinema, and the radio reflected the benefits of economic and cultural modernism. In terms of political issues, being modern meant the involvement of the masses in politics. Everywhere peo-

ple favored strong leadership to reinvigorate their societies; some wanted more democracy to replace monarchical and colonial rule. Following the Great Depression in the 1930s, even more intense debates arose. These debates led to bitter divisions on how to build modern societies.

The first political vision of modernism—the *liberal democratic* one—confronted economic failings without sacrificing market economies or parliamentary democracy. It did so through widened participation in governance but also greater power for state regulatory bureaucracies. However, after the Great Depression spread hard times and unemployment, this predominantly American and western European model linking capitalism and democracy no longer seemed so promising. Around the world, people considered alternatives that might better deliver the promises of modernity. Although many rejected the parliamentary or liberal perspective, the system survived in the United States, parts of western Europe, and several Latin American nations.

For many observers, liberal democracies failed to match the astonishing dynamism of a second perspective—*authoritarianism*. Authoritarian regimes rejected parliamentary rule, subordinated the individual to the state, managed and often owned most aspects of the production process, used censorship and terror to enforce loyalty, and exalted an all-powerful leader. Authoritarianism was evident in both right-wing dictatorships (Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, dictatorial Spain and Portugal, and militaristic Japan) and a left-wing dictatorship (the Soviet Union).

The third vision—*anticolonial*—also questioned the liberal democratic order, primarily because of its connection to colonialism. However, most anticolonialists did not reject parliaments or private enterprise. Resentful of European rulers who preached democracy but practiced despotism, anticolonial leaders sought to oust their colonial rulers and then find their own path to modernity. They generally favored mixing western ideas with indigenous traditions.

Focus Questions

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- *What were the different forms of political modernity?*
- *In what ways did the Great War change the world?*
- *How did different political systems utilize mass culture?*
- *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*

Storylines OF MASSES AND VISIONS OF THE MODERN

MAIN THEMES

- *The Great War (World War I) engulfs the entire globe, exhausts Europe, and promotes production and consumption on a mass scale.*
- *The harsh terms of the peace settlement unbalance the global economy and lead directly to the Great Depression.*
- *Three strikingly different visions for building a better world arise: liberal democratic, authoritarian, and anticolonial.*

FOCUS ON *World War I and Its Aftermath*

The Great War

- ◆ The war destroys empires, starting with the Bolshevik Revolution against the tsarist regime in Russia, followed by the defeat and dissolution of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires.
- ◆ Mass mobilization sees almost 70 million men join the fighting, undermines traditional gender boundaries, and forces states to recognize their peoples' demands for compensation afterward.
- ◆ Mass culture spreads as leaders use the new media of radio and film to promote national loyalties and discredit enemies.

The Aftermath

- ◆ Liberal democracies in France, Britain, and the United States survive the Great Depression by enacting far-reaching changes in their political systems and free-market economies.
- ◆ Authoritarian (communist and fascist) dictatorships with many political similarities emerge in the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.
- ◆ Latin American leaders devise hybrid solutions that combine democratic and authoritarian elements.
- ◆ Peoples living under colonial rule in Asia and Africa mobilize traditional values to oppose imperial rulers.
- ◆ Key individuals emerge in the struggle to define newly independent nations: Kenyatta, Gandhi, Chiang Kai-shek, and Atatürk.

THE GREAT WAR

➤ *In what ways did the Great War change the world?*

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

The war's causes were complex. The bedrock cause was the combustible rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. Through most of the nineteenth century, Britain had been the preeminent power. By the century's end, however, German industrial output had surpassed Britain's, and Germany had begun building a navy. For the British, who controlled the world's seas, the German navy was an affront; for the Germans, it was a logical step in their expanding ambitions. This Anglo-German antagonism drew in the other powers in rival alliances. Germany joined Austria-Hungary to form the **Central Powers**; Britain affiliated itself with France and Russia in the Triple Entente (later called the **Allied Powers** after Italy joined).

Well armed and secretly pledged to defend their partners, the rivals lacked only a spark to ignite open hostilities. That came in August 1914, when the heir to the Habsburg throne

was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Austrian Bosnia. The assassin hoped to trigger an independence movement that would detach South-Slav territories from the Austro-Hungarian Empire (see Chapter 18) and unite them with independent Serbia. But as the Ottoman Empire was pushed out of the Balkans, Russia and Austria-Hungary competed for influence and territory there. Russia backed the Serbs against Austria-Hungary, and the British, French, and Germans were drawn into the conflict in support of their partners. The world war that followed dragged in Europe's colonies, too.

THE FIGHTING

The declarations of war drew cries of jubilation from those who anticipated a short triumphal conflict for their side. Dreams of glory inspired tens of thousands of men to enlist. But the fighting did not go as expected.

BATTLE FRONTS, STALEMATE, AND CARNAGE Despite hopes for a swift resolution, the war became infamous for its duration and horrors. The initial German offensive, which intended to thrust through neutral Belgium, stalled thirty miles outside Paris at the battle of the Marne in September 1914 (see Map 19-1). A stalemate ensued. Instead of a quick war, vast land armies dug trenches along the Western Front—from the English Channel through Belgium and France to the Alps—installing barbed wire and setting up machine-gun posts. The troops became immobilized. Anything but glorious, life in the trenches mixed boredom, dampness, dirt, vermin, and disease, punctuated by the terror of being ordered to “go over the top” to attack the enemy's entrenched

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



position. Doing so meant running across a “no man's land” in which machine guns mowed down almost all attackers.

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

By 1915, the war had ground to a gruesome standstill. Along the Western Front, neither the Allies nor the Central Powers could advance. On the Eastern Front, the Russians had been driven back and had lost much of Poland. At Ypres in 1915, the Germans tried to break the stalemate by introducing poison gas, but a countermove of equipping soldiers with gas masks nullified that advantage. In July 1916, the British launched an offensive along the Somme River in northeastern France. By November, when the futile attack halted, approximately 600,000 British and French and 500,000 Germans had perished. Yet the battle lines had hardly budged. Attempts to win by opening other fronts—in Turkey, the Middle East, and Africa—failed and added to the war's carnage (see Map 19-2).

The death toll forced governments to call up more men than ever before. Nearly 70 million men worldwide fought in the war, including almost all of Europe's young adult males. From 1914 to 1918, 13 million served in the German army. In Russia, more than 15 million men took up arms. The British mobilized 5.25 million troops, almost half the prewar population of men age fifteen to forty-nine, and in France around 8 million served, nearly 80 percent of the same prewar age-group population.

Mass mobilization also undermined traditional gender boundaries. Tens of thousands of women served at or near the front as doctors, nurses, and technicians. Even more women mobilized on the “home front,” taking on previously male occupations—especially in munitions plants. But women could also turn against the state. Particularly in central Europe and Russia, the war's demands for soldiers and supplies left farms untended and caused food shortages. Bread riots and peaceful protests by women, traumatized by loss and desperate to feed their children, put states on notice that their citizens expected compensation for their sacrifices. Indeed, civilian pressure forced many states to make promises they would have to fulfill after the war, in the form of welfare provisions, expanded suffrage, and pensions for widows and the wounded.

In the four years of war, military deaths exceeded 8 million. Another 20 million soldiers were wounded. Vast numbers of survivors bore artificial limbs. Naval blockades and aerial bombardments had aggravated civilian food shortages and left people susceptible to epidemics, like influenza. As



MAP 19-1 WORLD WAR I: THE EUROPEAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN THEATERS

Most of the fighting in World War I, despite its designation as a world war, occurred in Europe. Although millions of soldiers fought on both sides, the territorial advances were relatively small. Look at the maps above, and identify all the countries where Allies and Central Powers made advances. Which countries had to fight a two-front war? Did the armies of the Central Powers or the Allies gain the most territory during the war? According to your reading, how did this factor affect the war's outcome?



→ In what ways did the Great War change the world?



MAP 19-2 WORLD WAR I: THE GLOBAL THEATER

This map illustrates the ways in which World War I was a truly global conflict. Which states outside Europe became involved? Other than Europe, which continent experienced the most warfare? Which parts of the world were spared the fighting, and why?



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

demobilizing soldiers spread disease into their communities, influenza claimed 50 million people worldwide.

EMPIRE AND WAR The war's horrors reached across the world's regions (see again Map 19-2). The sprawling Ottoman Empire sided with the Central Powers, battling British- and Russian-led forces in Egypt, Iraq, Anatolia, and the Caucasus. In 1915–1916, Ottoman forces massacred or deported between 800,000 and 1.3 million Armenians, who were accused en masse of collaborating with the Russians. Many analysts regard these attacks as the world's first genocide, the intentional elimination of a whole people. To increase their forces, the British and the French conscripted colonial subjects: India provided 1 million soldiers; over 1 million Africans fought in Africa and Europe for their colonial masters, and another 3 million transported war supplies. Even the sparsely populated British dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada dispatched over a million loyal young men to fight for the empire.

Despair and disillusionment at the prolonged, bloody war turned into revolt and revolution. In British-ruled Nyasaland, a mission-educated African, John Chilembwe, directed his compatriots to refuse British military demands and to stand up for "Africa for the Africans." Although the British suppressed the insurrection and executed the rebel leader, Chilembwe's death did not stop the growing desire to undo bonds to the mother country.

Controlling the mobilized masses proved even more difficult in Europe. In 1916, after the second winter of deprivation, antiwar demonstrations broke out. The next year, strikes roiled Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Russia. Meanwhile, in trying to break the battlefield stalemate, Allied commanders introduced devastating new weapons such as the tank. Neither civilian protest nor new armaments could stop the war's devastation, though. As a result, Europe's postwar leaders reaped a bitter harvest of anger, sorrow, and despair.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION The war destroyed entire empires. The first to go was Romanov Russia. In February 1917, Tsar Nicholas II stepped down under pressure from his generals. They wanted to quash the mass unrest in the capital, which, they believed, threatened the war effort along the Eastern Front. Some members of the Russian parliament formed a provisional government; at the same time, grassroots councils (soviets) sprang up in factories, garrisons, and towns. The irony of Russia's February Revolution, which brought an end to the monarchy, was that the military and civilian elites wanted to restore order, not encourage a revolution. With the tsar removed, millions of peasants seized land, soldiers and sailors abandoned the front, and borderland nationalities declared autonomy from the crumbling Russian Empire.

In October 1917, left-wing Socialists calling themselves **Bolsheviks** seized power. Led by Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviks drew support among radicalized soldiers, sailors, and factory workers organized in the soviets. Arresting provisional government members and claiming power in the name of the soviets, the Bolsheviks proclaimed a socialist revolution to overtake the February "bourgeois" revolution. Several months later, Soviet Russia signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, acknowledging German victory on the Eastern Front as the Russian army collapsed. For protection, the Bolshevik leadership relocated the capital to Moscow and set up a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin insisted on accepting the peace treaty and the loss of vast territories to safeguard the socialist revolution.

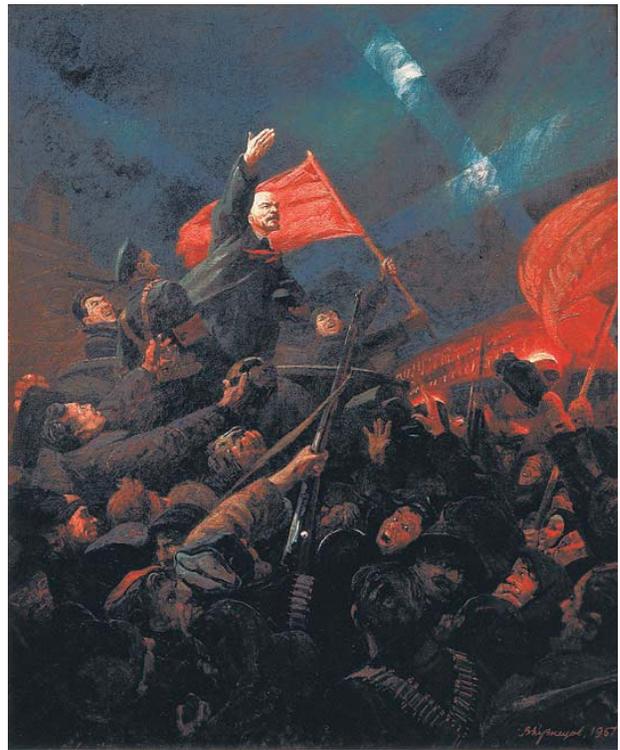
THE FALL OF THE CENTRAL POWERS On April 2, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. This occurred after German submarines sank several American merchant ships and after a secret telegram came to light in which German officials sought Mexican support by promising to help Mexico regain territories it had lost to the United States in 1848.

With U.S. troops added to the fray, the balance of military power in Europe changed. The Allies turned the tide at the Second Battle of the Marne in July 1918 and forced the Germans to retreat into Belgium. German troops then began to surrender en masse, and some announced a soldiers' strike as hunger and influenza became unbearable. Before long,

→ *In what ways did the Great War change the world?*



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



Germany tottered on the edge of civil war as the Allied blockade caused food shortages. Faced with defeat and civil strife, the Central Powers fell in succession. Although most of Austria-Hungary's troops remained at the front, German generals agreed to an armistice in November 1918. After Kaiser Wilhelm II slipped into exile, the German empire became a republic. The last Habsburg emperor also abdicated, and Austria-Hungary dissolved into several new states. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the war claimed a fourth dynasty among its casualties.

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AND THE IMPACT OF THE WAR

To decide the fate of vanquished empires and the future of the modern world, the victors convened five peace conferences, one for each of the Central Powers. Most important was the conference to negotiate peace with Germany, held at Versailles, France, in January 1919. Delegates drew many of their ideas from American President Woodrow Wilson's “Fourteen Points,” a blueprint he had devised for making peace in Europe. Wilson especially insisted that post-war borders be redrawn by following the principle of “self-

determination of nations” and that an international **League of Nations** be set up to negotiate further quarrels. Such high-minded ideas were appealing, but once delegates got down to the business of carving up Europe and doling out Germany's colonies, negotiations became tense and difficult. Over the objections of the Americans and British, the French insisted on a punitive treaty that assigned Germany sole blame for the war and forced it to pay reparations.

Applying the principle of self-determination was much more difficult in practice than Wilson had understood. Suddenly, 60 million people in central and eastern Europe now emerged as inhabitants of new nation-states (see Map 19-3). The patchwork nature of the old multiethnic empires here meant that as many as 25 million now lived in states in which they were ethnic minorities and vulnerable to persecution in the tumultuous years after the armistice. The limits of self-determination were even more telling in terms of non-Europeans' rights, for the peacemakers were not prepared to extend self-determination beyond Europe.

Instead of granting independence to the inhabitants of Germany's former colonies in Africa, the treaty parceled them out to the French, the British, the Belgians, and the South Africans. They were assigned as mandates under the oversight of the League of Nations. The same was true of the Arab



MAP 19-3 OUTCOMES OF WORLD WAR I IN EUROPE, NORTH AFRICA, AND SOME OF THE MIDDLE EAST

The political map of Europe and the Middle East changed greatly after the peace treaty of 1919. Comparing this map with Map 19-1, which shows the European and Middle Eastern theaters of war, identify the European countries that came into existence after the war. What happened to the Ottoman Empire, and what powers gained control over many territories of the Ottoman state? What states emerged from the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

→ *How did different political systems utilize mass culture?*

provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq), which were turned over to the British and the French.

Whatever idealism survived the peacemaking process absorbed another blow when the U.S. Senate, reflecting a resurgence of isolationism, turned down the Treaty of Versailles and kept the United States out of the League of Nations. Russia, too, was outside the league. For Britain, France, Japan, and the United States, keeping Communist “Red” Russia isolated became a postwar priority.

Demobilization hit societies hard, especially working women; when soldiers hobbled home, women faced layoffs from their wartime jobs. Still, they did not retreat entirely. Within a few years, women gained the vote in Russia, Britain, Germany, and the United States. France held out until 1944, partly because the left feared that French women were under the thumb of the conservative Catholic Church. Nonetheless, in all these nations women claimed new privileges. Young, unmarried women went out in public unescorted, dressed as they saw fit, and maintained their own apartments. Such behavior shocked cultural conservatives, but young women and men alike were determined to enjoy the new, modern world.

MASS SOCIETY: CULTURE, PRODUCTION, AND CONSUMPTION

→ *How did different political systems utilize mass culture?*

The war also contributed to another modern phenomenon: the making of mass societies. Even before World War I mobilized entire societies to produce and to fight, parliamentary regimes had begun to democratize, in many cases granting non-property holders and women the right to vote. Authoritarian regimes, meanwhile, had begun to mobilize the people via rallies and mass organizations. And new technologies, such as radio, were helping to create mass cultures that spanned geographic and class divides.

MASS CULTURE

Indicative of the modern world were new forms of mass communication and entertainment. These were partially wartime products. In an effort to mobilize populations for total war, leaders had disseminated propaganda as never before—through public lectures, theatrical productions, musical com-

positions, and (censored) newspapers. Indeed, the war’s impact had politicized cultural activities while broadening the audience for nationally oriented information and entertainment. Together with new media, the war was instrumental in fostering mass culture.

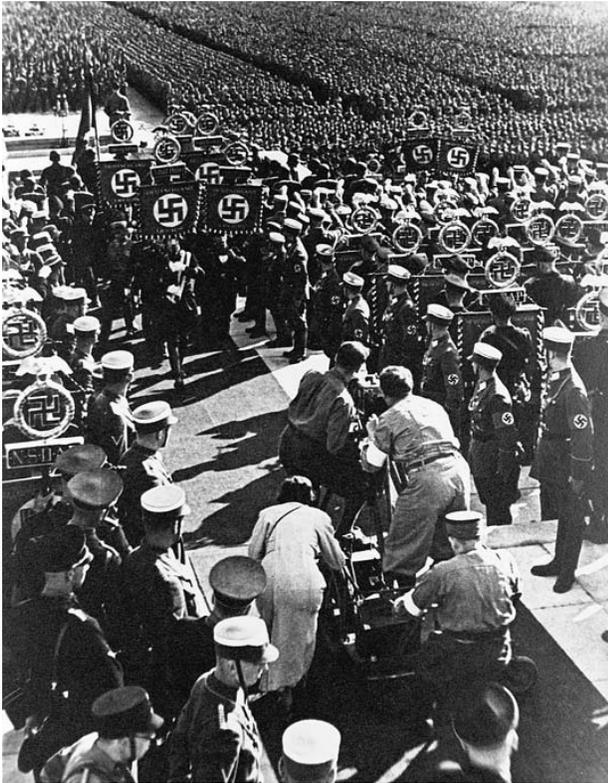
Postwar **mass culture** was distinctive. First, it differed from elite culture (opera, classical music, paintings, literature) because it reflected the tastes of the working and the middle classes, who now had more time and money to spend on entertainment. Second, mass culture relied on new technologies,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

RADIO Radio entered its golden age after World War I. Invented early in the twentieth century, it made little impact until the 1920s, when powerful transmitters permitted stations to reach much larger audiences—often with nationally syndicated programs. Radio “broadcasts” gave listeners a sense of intimacy with newscasters and stars, addressing consumers as personal friends and drawing them into the lives of serial heroes. Special programs targeted children and women, making radio listening something for the whole family. Even the illiterate could enjoy the programs, such as *The Lone Ranger*. By the late 1920s, nearly two-thirds of homes in the United States had at least one radio. Britain achieved similar radio saturation a decade later.

Radio also was a way to mobilize the masses, especially in authoritarian regimes. For example, the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini pioneered the radio address to the nation. Later, Soviet and Nazi propagandists used this format with great regularity and effect. In Japan, too, radio became a tool to promote the right-wing government’s goals. But even dictatorships could not exert total control over mass culture. Although the Nazis regarded jazz as racially inferior music and the Soviets regarded it as “bourgeois,” neither could prevent young or old from tuning in to foreign radio broadcasts, smuggling gramophone records over the borders, or creating their own jazz bands.

FILM AND ADVERTISING Film, too, had profound effects. For traditionalists, Hollywood by the 1920s signified vulgarity and decadence because the silver screen prominently displayed modern sexual habits. And like radio, film served political purposes. Here, again, antiliberal governments took the lead. German filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl’s movie of the Nazi Nuremberg rally of 1934, *Triumph of the Will*, is a key example of propagandistic cinema. Nazi-era films were comedies, musicals, melodramas, detective films, and adventure epics—sometimes framed by racial stereotypes and political goals. Soviet film studios also produced Hollywood-style musicals alongside didactic pictures about Socialist triumphs.

In market economies, radio and film grew into big businesses, and with expanded product advertising they promoted



Triumph of the Will. The shooting of *Triumph of the Will*, perhaps the greatest propaganda film ever, directed by Leni Riefenstahl. The film, later denounced, won gold medals in Venice in 1935 and at the World's Fair in 1937.

other enterprises as well. Especially in the United States, advertising became a major industry, with radio commercials shaping national consumer tastes. Increasingly, too, American-produced entertainment, radio programs, and cinematic epics reached an international audience. Thanks to new media, America and the world began to share mass-produced images and fantasies.

MASS PRODUCTION AND MASS CONSUMPTION

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

Never before had armies had so much firepower at their disposal. Whereas in 1809 Napoleon's artillery had discharged 90,000 shells over two days during the largest battle

waged in Europe to that point, by 1916 German guns were firing 100,000 rounds of shells per hour over the full twelve hours of the Battle of Verdun. To sustain military production, millions of men and women worked in factories at home and in the colonies. Producing huge quantities of identical guns, gas masks, bandage rolls, and boots, these factories reflected the modern world's demands for greater volume, faster speed, reduced cost, and standardized output—key characteristics of **mass production**.

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

THE AUTOMOBILE ASSEMBLY LINE The most outstanding example of the relationship between mass production and consumption in the United States was the motor car. It symbolized the machine age and the American road to modernization. Before World War I, the automobile had been a rich man's toy. Then came Henry Ford, who founded the Ford Motor Company in 1903. Five years later, he began production of the Model T, a car that at \$850 was within the reach of middle-class consumers. Soon popular demand outstripped supply. Seeking to make more cars faster and cheaper, Ford used mechanized conveyors to send the auto frame along a track, or assembly line, where each worker performed one simplified, repetitious task. By standardizing the manufacturing process, subdividing work, and substituting machinery for manual labor, Ford's assembly line brought a new efficiency to the mass production of automobiles.

By the 1920s, a finished car rolled off Ford's assembly line every ten seconds. Although workers complained about becoming "cogs" in a depersonalized labor process, the system boosted output and reduced costs. The effects reverberated throughout the nation's economy. Ford's factory near Detroit employed 68,000 workers—the largest factory in the world. In addition, millions of cars required millions of tons of steel alloys, as well as vast amounts of glass, rubber, textiles, and petroleum. Cars also needed roads to drive on and service stations to keep them running. Altogether, nearly 4 million jobs related directly or indirectly to the automobile—an impressive total in a labor force of 45 million workers.

After World War I, automobile ownership became more common among Americans. By the 1920s, assembly-line production had dropped the Model T's price to \$290. Ford further expanded the market for cars by paying his own workers \$5 per day—approximately twice the average manufacturing wage in the United States. He understood that without **mass consumption**, increased purchasing power in the middle classes, and appetite for goods there could be no

→ *How did different political systems utilize mass culture?*



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

mass production. Whereas in 1920 Americans owned 8 million motor cars, a decade later they owned 23 million. The automobile's rapid spread seemed to demonstrate that mass production worked. (See Primary Source: Bruce Barton's *Gospel of Mass Production*.)

THE GREAT DEPRESSION Not all was easy listening or smooth motoring in countries where mass societies were taking root. During the 1920s, many producers of foodstuffs, coal, and ores faced sagging prices because of overproduction. As staple prices declined in proportion to manufactured goods, farmers throughout the United States, Canada, Aus-

tralia, and Latin America lamented their dwindling fortunes compared to those of their urban cousins.

On October 24, 1929—Black Tuesday—the American stock market collapsed, plunging not only the American economy but also international financial and trading systems into crisis. This event led the world into the **Great Depression**. Its causes went back to the Great War, which had left European nations in deep debt as they struggled to rebuild their economies and pay off war debts. To restore stability, Europeans borrowed heavily from the United States. When wobbly governments and small investors defaulted on their loans, the U.S. Federal Reserve reacted by raising interest rates. Starting in central Europe, financial institutions began to collapse. As banks fell, other lenders scrambled to call in their loans. Companies, governments, and private borrowers were soon floating in a sea of debt. The panic then spread to the world's stock markets, which led to the Wall Street crash of 1929, which spurred more bank closures.

Financial turmoil produced a major contraction of world trade. Striving to protect workers and investors from the



Stock Traders after the Crash. On October 24, 1929, the American stock market crashed. Here traders are pictured congregating in the financial district of New York City, on what came to be known as “Black Tuesday.” As stock values plummeted, panic gripped Wall Street and soon spread across the nation. The market crash was followed by even more devastating bank runs as the Great Depression overtook the world.

Primary Source



BRUCE BARTON'S GOSPEL OF MASS PRODUCTION

*In 1925, the journalist (and, later, advertising executive) Bruce Barton published *The Man Nobody Knows*, which became a best-seller. In the book, Barton interpreted the life and teachings of Jesus as a gospel for success in modern business. In the excerpt below, Barton uses Henry Ford, whose Model T automobile reigned as the era's marvel of mass production, to show the profitable connections between religion and commerce.*

"If you're forever thinking about saving your life," Jesus said, "you'll lose it; but the man who loses his life shall find it."

Because he said it and he was a religious teacher, because it's printed in the Bible, the world has dismissed it as high minded ethics but not hard headed sense. But look again! . . .

What did Henry Ford mean, one spring morning, when he tipped a kitchen chair back against the whitewashed wall of his tractor plant and talked about his career?

"Have you ever noticed that the man who starts out in life with a determination to make money, never makes very much?" he asked. It was rather a startling question; and without waiting for my comment he went on to answer it: "He may gather together a competence, of course, a few tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands, but he'll never amass a really great fortune. But let a man start out in life to build something better and sell it cheaper than it has ever been built or sold before—let him have *that* determination, and, give his whole self to it—and the money will roll in so fast that it will bury him if he doesn't look out.

"When we were building our original model, do you suppose that it was money we were thinking about? Of

course we expected that it would be profitable, if it succeeded, but that wasn't in the front of our minds. We wanted to make a car so cheap that every family in the United States could afford to have one. So we worked morning, noon and night, until our muscles ached and our nerves were so ragged that it seemed as if we just couldn't stand it to hear anyone mention the word automobile again. One night, when we were almost at the breaking point I said to the boys, 'Well, there's one consolation,' I said, 'Nobody can take this business away from us unless he's willing to work harder than we've worked.' And so far," he concluded with a whimsical smile, "nobody has been willing to do that."

- *What are the key ingredients to success, according to Ford?*
- *What was foremost on Ford's mind when he set out to build "our original model"?*
- *How do the lessons from the Bible and Henry Ford relate to each other? Do you think the indirect analogy is effective? Explain why or why not.*

SOURCE: Bruce Barton, *The Man Nobody Knows: A Discovery of the Real Jesus*, in Loren Baritz, ed., *The Culture of the Twenties* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), pp. 241–42.

influx of cheap foreign goods, governments raised tariff barriers against imports. After the United States enacted protective tariffs, other governments abandoned free trade in favor of protectionism. Manufacturers cut back production, laid off millions of workers, and often went out of business. By 1935, world trade had shrunk to one-third of its 1929 level. Primary producers felt the harshest effects, for their international markets shut down almost completely. World prices for Argentine beef, Chilean nitrates, and Indonesian sugar all dropped sharply. The combination of shrinking markets and drastic shortages of credit forced industries and farms worldwide into bankruptcy.

The Great Depression soon spawned rethinking of the tenet that markets should govern themselves, the core of laissez-faire liberalism (see Chapter 14). By the late 1930s, the exuberant embrace of private mass production had ceded to a new conviction: state intervention to regulate the economy was critical to prevent disaster. In 1936, the British economist John Maynard Keynes published a landmark treatise, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. He argued that the market could not always adjust to its own failures and that sometimes the state had to stimulate it by increasing the money supply and creating jobs. Although the "Keynesian Revolution" took years to transform economic

➔ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*

policy and to produce the welfare state, many governments were determining that capitalism had to be saved from itself. This unsettling realization called into question political liberalism.

MASS POLITICS: COMPETING VISIONS FOR BUILDING MODERN STATES

➔ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*

World War I heightened the prewar unsettling of class, gender, and colonial relations, further challenging the liberal vision of technological progress, free markets, and societies guided by the educated few. On battlefronts and home fronts, countless workers, peasants, women, and colonial subjects had sacrificed and now expected to share in the fruits of peace. Many, even in victorious nations, lost confidence in traditional authorities who had failed to prevent the cataclysm and allowed it to go on so long.

Politics, no longer contained in genteel chambers, shifted to the street. Everywhere except in the United States, variants of socialism gained throngs of new adherents. In the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks began to construct a society whose rules defied capitalist principles. Elsewhere mass movements sought to replace imperiled liberal democratic states, as in Germany, Italy, and Spain. Even liberal democratic empires such as Britain and France faced challenges to square their rule over colonial subjects with their rhetoric of freedom. And a hybrid political order, mixing democratic and authoritarian institutions, emerged in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Great Depression further undermined capitalism and parliaments.

Authoritarian solutions to problems like mass unemployment grew increasingly popular, especially as the Communist Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, dictatorial Portugal and Spain, and militaristic Japan projected images of national strength and pride. Outside Europe, anticolonial movements gathered steam; here, liberal models could not cope with the scale and diversity of the new politics. Thus, by the late 1930s, the states that retained democracy and capi-

Josephine Baker. The African American entertainer Josephine Baker was a sensation on the stage in interwar Paris. Many of her shows exoticized or even caricatured her African descent.

talism in some form appeared weak and vulnerable. Dictators seemed to be riding the wave of the future, and colonies were threatening to go their own separate ways.

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE

In Europe of the 1920s, anxiety about modernization increased. Reacting to the war's carnage, elite Europeans looked longingly for supposedly pristine worlds that their own corrupting civilization had not destroyed. This trend found expression in the arts. For example, Josephine Baker, an African American dancer who performed nude, wild dances on the Parisian stage, enjoyed colossal popularity. So did Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1919), a best-seller whose title seemed to capture the trajectory of liberal modernity.

The demands of fighting a total war had offered European states the opportunity to experiment with illiberal policies.



Indeed, the war brought both the suspension of parliamentary rule and an effort by governments to manage industry and distribution. States on both sides of the conflict jailed many individuals who opposed the war. Governments regulated both production and, through rationing, consumption. Above all, the war revolutionized the size and scope of the state.

BRITISH AND FRENCH RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC CRISES At the war's end, liberal democratic elites wished to return to free-market policies, but women, veterans, and workers insisted that the states for which they had fought address their needs—for jobs, housing, and compensation for war wounds. Recurrent economic crises, especially the Great Depression, forced most liberal democrats to rethink their ideas. By 1930, even Britain had given up on free trade, and other countries were seeking economic self-sufficiency.

Britain and France retained their parliamentary systems, but even here, old-fashioned liberal democracy was on the run. Strife rippled across the British Empire, and in the home isles Britain gave independence to what became the Republic of Ireland in 1922. Britain's working-class Labour Party came to power twice between 1923 and 1931; but either alone or in coalition with Liberals and Conservatives, Labour could not lift the country out of its economic crisis. In 1926, 162 million working days were lost to strikes. Still, despite hard times, the British retained their commitment to parliamentarianism and capitalism.

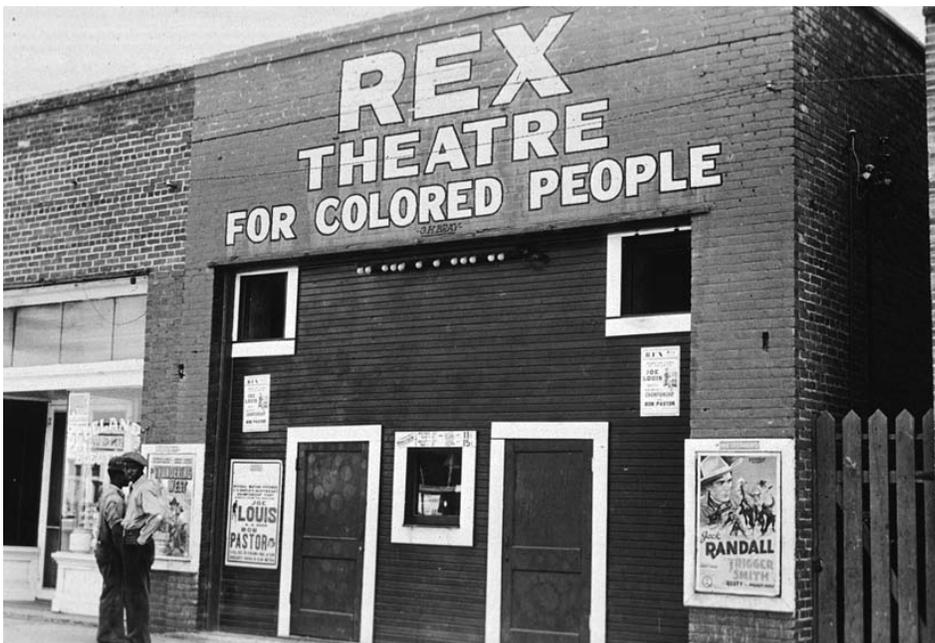
Disorder was even more pronounced in France, which had lost 10 percent of its young men and seen the destruction

of vast territory. In 1932–1933, six government coalitions came and went over the course of just nineteen months. Against the threat of a rightist coup, a coalition of the moderate and radical left, including the French Communist Party, formed the Popular Front government (1936–1939). It introduced the right of collective bargaining, a forty-hour workweek, two-week paid vacations, and minimum wages.

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

In contrast to postwar Europe, where labor parties and Socialist movements were surging, the 1920s saw a conservative tide engulf American politics. Calling for a “return to normalcy” (a retreat from the government activism that had characterized the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson), Warren Harding won the presidency in 1920 with a resounding 60 percent of the popular vote. Four years later, Calvin Coolidge scored an even greater landslide; his remark that the “business of America is business” reflected his dislike of government interference in free enterprise. With the election of Herbert Hoover in 1928, Republicans continued their string of presidential triumphs.

Largely left behind was the nation's African American population. In the rural American South, “Jim Crow” laws enforced social segregation, economic inequality, and political disenfranchisement. Like rural whites, millions of blacks quit the countryside and moved to northern cities such as



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

→ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*

New York and Chicago. Here they found some relief from the legal barriers that had limited their opportunities and rights, but discrimination continued to hold them down and to restrict their residences to urban ghettos. Still, within black neighborhoods, most famously New York City's Harlem, a vibrant cultural scene blossomed. The New Negro Movement, or Harlem Renaissance, showcased black novelists, poets, painters, and musicians, many of whom used their art to protest racial subordination.

With the Great Depression came deeper challenges to liberal modernity. By the end of 1930, more than 4 million American workers had lost their jobs. As President Hoover insisted that citizens' thrift and self-reliance, not government handouts, would restore prosperity, the economic situation worsened. By 1933, industrial production had dropped a staggering 50 percent since 1929. The hard times were even worse in the countryside, where farm income plummeted by two-thirds between 1929 and 1932.

In the 1932 presidential election, a Democrat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, won by a landslide. He promptly launched what came to be called the **New Deal**, a set of programs and regulations that dramatically expanded the scope of the American national government and its role in the nation's economic life. In his first hundred days in office, Roosevelt obtained legislation to provide relief for the jobless and to rebuild the shattered economy. Among his administration's experiments were the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to guarantee bank deposits up to \$5,000, the Securities and Exchange Commission to monitor the stock market, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to help states and local governments assist the needy. Subsequently, in 1935, the Works Progress Administration put nearly 3 million people to work building roads, bridges, airports, and post offices. In addition, the Social Security Act inaugurated old-age pensions supported by the federal government.

Never before had the U.S. federal government expended so much on social welfare programs or intervened so directly in the national economy. Yet the Depression lingered, and before long unemployment again climbed—from 7 million in 1937 to 11 million in 1938.

The persistence of hard times opened the New Deal to attacks from both the left and the right. Emboldened labor leaders, resurgent radicals, and populist demagogues claimed that the New Deal was not addressing the problems of the poor and the unemployed. But Roosevelt continued on a moderate course. The New Deal did not substantially redistribute national income. Likewise, although Roosevelt's administration established public agencies to build dams and to oversee the irrigation of arid lands and the electrification of rural districts, these were exceptions. Privately owned enterprises continued to dominate American society. Roosevelt's aim was not to destroy capitalism, but to save it. In this regard the New Deal succeeded, for it staved off authoritarian solutions to modern problems.

AUTHORITARIANISM AND MASS MOBILIZATION

Like the liberal systems they challenged, authoritarian regimes came in various stripes. On the right arose dictatorships in Italy, Germany, and Japan. Although differing in important respects, all disliked the left-wing dictatorship of the Soviet Union. The Soviets had no liking for the Fascists. Yet all the postwar dictatorships were forged principally in opposition to the liberal democracies. In place of liberal inertia, these regimes touted their success in mobilizing the masses to create dynamic yet orderly societies. They also had charismatic leaders, who personified the power and unity of the societies over which they ruled.

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

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALISM The most dramatic blow against liberal capitalism occurred in Russia when the highly radical Bolshevik Party seized power. The coup aroused opposition inside and outside the country. Fearing the spread of socialist revolution, Britain, France, Japan, and the United States sent armies to Russia to contain Bolshevism. But after executing the tsar and his family, the Bolsheviks rallied support by defending the homeland against its invaders. They also mobilized people to fight (and win) a civil war (1918–1921) in the name of defending the revolution. The conflict pitted an array of disunited forces (former tsarist supporters but also some social democrats and independent peasant armies) against the Bolsheviks and their supporters (many soldiers, sailors, workers, and state functionaries).

In the all-out mobilization against those whom they labeled the Whites, or counterrevolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, calling themselves the Reds, began to rebuild state institutions. Amid this turmoil, the need to requisition grain from the peasantry as well as the extensive military operations weighed heavily on the population and interfered with the harvest. From 1921 to 1923, Russia suffered a severe famine in which some 7 to 10 million people died from hunger and disease.

To revive the economy, the Bolsheviks grudgingly legalized private trade and private property. In 1924, with the country still recovering from civil war, the undisputed leader of the revolution, Lenin, died. No one had done more to

→ How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?



MAP 19-4 THE SOVIET UNION

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) came into being after World War I. How did its boundaries compare with those of the older Russian Empire, as shown in Map 17-6 (p. 662)? What does the large number of Soviet republics suggest about the ethnic diversity within the Soviet Union? According to your reading, how did Soviet leaders govern non-Russian minorities within the new state?

peasants and nomads as well as the officials of the republics, but industrialization and urbanization strengthened local elites.

MASS TERROR AND STALIN'S DICTATORSHIP The Soviet political system became more despotic as the state expanded. Police power grew the most, partly from forcing peasants into collectives and organizing mass deportations. As the party's ranks swelled, ongoing loyalty verifications also led to the removal of party members, even when they professed absolute loyalty. From 1936 to 1938, trials of supposedly treasonous "enemies of the people" resulted in the execution of around 750,000 people and the arrest or deportation of several million more. They were sent to forced labor camps, collectively known as the Gulag. Such purges decimated the loyal Soviet elite—party officials, state officials, intelligentsia, army officers, and even members of the police who had enforced the terror.

Behind this mass terror loomed fear, a sense of omnipresent conspiracies, and the Soviet leader's overpowering personal dictatorship. Although Stalin initiated mass terror against the elite, his motives remain unclear. Neither he nor the regime was under threat, and the leaders' loyalty was not in doubt. What is clear is that the political police, given sizeable arrest quotas, often exceeded them. In addition, millions of ordinary people helped implement the terror. Some reluctantly turned in neighbors; some did so to try to save themselves; many showed fanatical zeal in fingering "enemies." In the end, the terror manifested highly petty motives as well as a desire to participate in the violent crusade of building socialism in a hostile world, full of internal and external enemies.

ITALIAN FASCISM Long before the Soviets had created a new anticapitalist model, the political situation in capitalist societies had begun to change. Two key factors were



Mussolini. Benito Mussolini liked to puff out his chest, particularly when appearing in public. *Il Duce* pioneered the leader's radio address to the people, and he encouraged Fascist versions of the mass spectacles that also became common in Soviet Russia.

disillusionment with the costs of the Great War, and lessons drawn from the Bolshevik takeover in Russia. In Italy, for example, mass strikes, occupations of factories, and peasant land seizures swept the country in 1919 and 1920. Amid this disorder, rightists seized power. Their leader was **Benito Mussolini** (1883–1945), a former Socialist journalist.

In 1919, Mussolini sought to organize disaffected veterans into a mass political movement called **fascism**. His early programs mixed nationalism with social radicalism and revealed a yearning to sweep away all the institutions discredited by the war. Fascist supporters demanded the annexation of “Italian” lands in the Alps and on the Dalmatian coast and called for female suffrage, an eight-hour workday, a share of factory control for workers, a tax on capital, land redistribution, and a constituent assembly—in short, a populist program.

Fascists attracted numerous followers. Their violence-prone shock troops wore black shirts and loose trousers tucked into high black leather boots and saluted with a dagger thrust into the air. In 1920, the squads received money from landowners and factory owners to beat up Socialist leaders, after which Italian fascism became fully identified with the right. Still, the Fascists saw themselves as champions of the little guy, of peasants and workers, as well as of war veterans, students, and white-collar types.

In 1922, Mussolini announced a march on Rome. The march was a bluff, yet it intimidated the king, who opposed Fascist ruffians but feared bloodshed. So he withheld use of the army against the lightly armed marchers. When the Italian government resigned in protest, the monarch invited Mussolini to become prime minister, despite the fact that Fascists had won only a small minority of seats in the 1921 elections.

The 1924 elections, in which Fascists won 65 percent of the vote, took place in an atmosphere of intimidation and fraud. Mussolini dealt with other challenges by mobilizing the squads and police for crackdowns on the liberal and Socialist opposition. Soon a series of decrees transformed

Italy from a constitutional monarchy into a dictatorship. Within two years, all parties except that of the Fascists had been dissolved.

Mussolini's dictatorship made deals with big business and the church, thus falling short of a total social revolution. Nonetheless, it was skilled at using parades, films, radio, and visions of recapturing Roman imperial grandeur to boost support during the troubled times of the Depression. The cult of the leader, *Il Duce*, also provided cohesion. As the first antiliberal, anti-socialist alternative, Italian fascism served as a model for other countries.

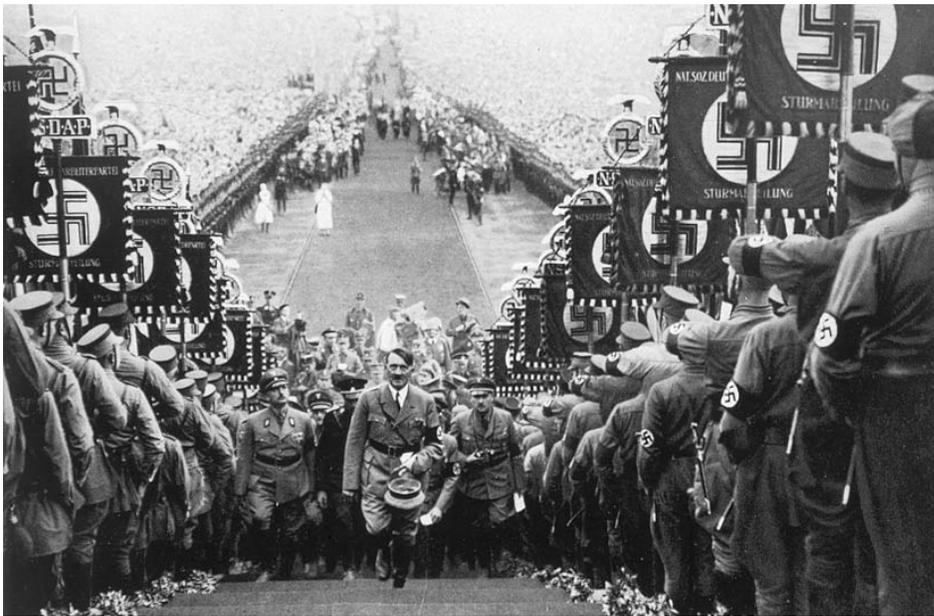
GERMAN NAZISM In Germany, too, fear of Bolshevism and anger over the war's outcome propelled the right to power. Here, the dictator was **Adolf Hitler** (1889–1945). After a small nationalist workers' organization took shape in Munich, dedicated to winning workers over from socialism, the army high command ordered a young demobilized corporal to infiltrate the group. That corporal, Hitler, soon dominated the nationalist workers' movement, whose name he changed to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*National-Sozialistische Arbeits-Partei*, or **Nazis**).

Unlike Mussolini, the young Hitler was never a Socialist. The first Nazi Party platform, set forth in 1920, combined nationalism with anticapitalism and anti-Semitism. It also called for the renunciation of the Treaty of Versailles. It was an assertion of Germany's grievances against the world and of the small man's grievances against the rich. At first, Hitler and the Nazis were unsuccessful, and Hitler himself was arrested. He was sentenced to five years in prison for treason, but served less than a year. While in prison he wrote an autobiographical and fanatically anti-Semitic treatise called *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle, 1925), which subsequently became wildly popular among Nazis.

The Weimar Republic enjoyed a period of stability after hyper-inflation was curtailed by the intervention of American bankers, and in the 1926 elections the Nazi Party received only 2.6 percent of the votes. It only gained popularity after the collapse of the American stock market in 1929, when short-term loans were called in. As more and more people lost their jobs, farms, and small businesses, Germans considered radical alternatives. In this atmosphere, fearing popular support of the Communist and Socialist parties and convinced that he could control Hitler, Germany's president appointed Hitler chancellor (prime minister) in 1933. Initially, Hitler pledged that traditional conservatives would dominate the government. Thus, like Mussolini, Hitler came to power peacefully and legally.

Hitler's first step as chancellor was to heighten fear of a Communist conspiracy to take power. The burning of the Reichstag building in Berlin the following month provided the opportunity. The Nazis blamed the fire on the Communists, immediately suspended civil liberties “as a defensive measure against the Communists,” and forced the left-wing press out

→ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*



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

of business. The latter move robbed opponents of the ability to criticize the regime publicly. Hitler then proposed legislation that would enable him to promulgate laws on his authority as chancellor without the parliament's approval.

Within a month Hitler was free from the control of parliament and the conservative elites. Soon the government seized the offices, banks, and newspapers of trade unions and arrested their leaders. The Socialist and Communist parties were outlawed; others were dissolved. By July 1933, the Nazis were the only legal party and Hitler was dictator of Germany. He aggressively curbed dissent and banned strikes, jailing political opponents and building the first concentration camps (initially to house political prisoners) when the jails overflowed.

He also unleashed a campaign of persecution against the Jews, believing that assimilated Jews controlled the banks and that Eastern Jewish emigrants carried disease. Like many other right-wing Germans, Hitler also believed that a Jewish-socialist conspiracy had stabbed the German army in the back, causing its surrender in World War I, and that intermarriage with Jews was destroying the supposed purity of the Aryan race (which included northern, white, Europeans). Hitler and the Nazis did not believe that religious practice defined Jewishness; instead, they held, it was transmitted biologically from parents to children. Once he became dictator, Hitler instituted legal measures that excluded Jews from the civil service and the professions, forced them to sell their property, deprived them of citizenship, and forbade them to marry or have sex with Aryans. Hitler also encouraged the use of terror against Jews, destroying their businesses, homes, and marriages with non-Jews, frightening them into leaving

Germany, and ultimately eliminating all traces of Jewish life and culture in Nazi-dominated central Europe.

Although some Germans opposed Hitler's illiberal activism, the Nazis won popular support for restoring order and reviving the economy. In 1935, defying the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler began a vast rearmament program that absorbed the unemployed. Now economic despair and national disgrace turned into fierce pride and impressive national power. The state also financed public works including reforestation and swamp drainage projects; organized leisure, entertainment, travel, and vacations; and built highways and public housing. Anti-Semitism mixed with full employment and social welfare programs that privileged racially approved groups.

Germany reemerged as a great power with expansionist aspirations. Hitler called his state the Third Reich (the first being the Holy Roman Empire, or Reich, and the second the Reich created by Bismarck in 1871). He claimed that, like the Holy Roman Empire, his empire would last 1,000 years. Hitler also harbored grand aspirations to impose racial purity and German power in Europe and perhaps beyond. (See Primary Source: Cult of the Dynamic Leader.)

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

The Spanish civil war was, from the start, an international war. When the Spanish republican government introduced reforms to break the hold of the church and landlords on the

Primary Source



CULT OF THE DYNAMIC LEADER

Nazi political theorists offered no apologies for dictatorship. On the contrary, they bragged about it as the best way of mobilizing the masses and directing the state. The Führer, or Leader, stood above the Nazi Party and all government institutions and embodied the supposed will of the German nation. He also decided who belonged, or did not belong, to the nation. The following excerpt, taken from the writings of Ernst Rudolf Huber, Germany's major constitutional expert of the 1930s, elaborated on the awesome powers being conferred on Hitler as Führer.

The office of Führer has developed out of the National Socialist movement. In its origins it is not a State office. This fact must never be forgotten if one wishes to understand the current political and legal position of the Führer. The office of Führer has grown out of the movement into the Reich, firstly through the Führer taking over the authority of the Reich Chancellor and then through his taking over the position of Head of State. Primary importance must be accorded to the position of "Führer of the movement"; it has absorbed the two highest functions of the political leadership of the Reich and thereby created the new office of "Führer of the Nation and of the Reich." . . .

The position of Führer combines in itself all sovereign power of the Reich; all public power in the State as in the movement is derived from the Führer power. If we wish to define political power in the Third Reich correctly, we must not speak of "State power" but of "Führer power." For it is not the State as an impersonal entity which is the

source of political power but rather political power is given to the Führer as the executor of the nation's common will. Führer power is comprehensive and total; it unites within itself all means of creative political activity; it embraces all spheres of national life; it includes all national comrades who are bound to the Führer in loyalty and obedience. Führer power is not restricted by safeguards and controls, by autonomous protected spheres, and by vested individual rights, but rather it is free and independent, exclusive and unlimited.

- *How did the office of Führer arise, according to Huber?*
- *What are the source and scope of "Führer power"?*

SOURCE: Ernst Rudolf Huber, "Führergewalt," from *Nazism 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader, Volume 2: State, Economy, and Society, 1933–1939*, pp. 198–99, edited by J. Noakes and G. Pridham. Reprinted by permission of University of Exeter Press.

state, the military intervened and all of Europe's major powers got involved. The military's attack against the republic at first failed, but with the help of German and Italian weapons (above all, airplanes) Generalissimo Francisco Franco gained the upper hand. Meanwhile, Britain and France dithered and only Stalin's Russia supported the republican government, allowing Franco to establish a dictatorship.

MILITARIST JAPAN Unlike authoritarian regimes, Japan did not suffer wounded power and pride during World War I. In fact, because wartime disruptions reduced European and American competition, Japanese products found new markets in Asia. Japan expanded production, exporting munitions, textiles, and consumer goods to Asian and western markets. During the war, the Japanese gross national product

(GNP) grew 40 percent, and the country built the world's third largest navy. After a devastating earthquake and fire in 1923, Tokyo was rebuilt with steel and reinforced concrete, symbolizing the new, modern Japan.

Initially, post-World War I Japan seemed headed down the liberal democratic road. When Japan's Meiji Emperor died in 1912, his third son succeeded him and oversaw the rise of mass political parties. Suffrage expanded in 1925, increasing the electorate roughly fourfold. But along with democratization came repressive measures. Although the Meiji Constitution remained in effect, a new Peace Preservation Law specified up to ten years' hard labor for any member of an organization advocating change in the political system or abolition of private property. The law served as a club against the mass leftist parties.



MAP 19-5 THE JAPANESE EMPIRE IN ASIA, 1933

Hoping to become a great imperial power like the European states, Japan established numerous colonies and spheres of influence early in the twentieth century. What were the main territorial components of the Japanese Empire? How far did the Japanese succeed in extending their political influence throughout East Asia? According to your reading, what problems did the desire to extend Japanese influence in China present to Japanese leaders?



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

Japan veered still further from the liberal democratic road after Emperor Hirohito came to power in 1926. In Japan, as in Germany, the Great Depression spurred the eventual shift to dictatorship. Japan's trade with the outside world had more than tripled between 1913 and 1929, but after 1929 China and the United States imposed barriers on Japanese exports in preference for domestic products. These measures contributed to a 50 percent decline in Japanese exports. Unemployment surged.

Such turmoil invited calls for stronger leadership, which military commanders were eager to provide. Already beyond civilian control, in 1927 and 1928 the army flexed its muscles by twice forcing prime ministers out of office. New "patriotic societies" used violence to intimidate political opponents. Violence culminated in the assassination of Japan's prime minister, accompanied by an uprising of young naval officers and army cadets. Their coup failed, but it further eclipsed the power of political parties.

It was in the Japanese Empire that militarism and expansionism received a boost. In 1931, a group of army officers arranged an explosion on the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railroad as a pretext for taking over Manchuria. In 1932, adding Manchuria to its Korean and Taiwanese colonies (see Map 19-5), Japan oversaw the proclamation of the puppet state of Manchukuo. In 1933, the Japanese army seized the Chinese province of Jehol to use as a buffer zone between China proper and Manchukuo. Later, they annexed it to the Empire of Manchukuo. Meanwhile, at home, "patriots" continued a campaign of terror against uncooperative businessmen and critics of the military. As in Italy and Germany, the state in Japan took on a sacred aura. This occurred through the promotion of an official religion, Shinto, and of Emperor Hirohito's divinity. By 1940, the clique at the top had merged all political parties into the Imperial

Rule Assistance Association, ending even the semblance of parliamentary rule.

COMMON FEATURES OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES Despite important differences, the major authoritarian regimes of this period—communist Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and militarist Japan—shared many traits. All rejected parliamentary rule and sought to revive their countries' power through authoritarianism, violence, and a cult of the leader.

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

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

Three of the states adopted extensive social welfare policies. The Nazis emphasized full employment, built public housing, and provided assistance to needy Aryan families. The Italian National Agency for Maternity and Infancy provided services for unwed mothers and infant care. Soviet programs addressed maternity, disability, sickness, and old age. In fact, the Soviet state viewed welfare assistance as an ongoing program that distinguished socialism from capitalism. Although Japan did not enact innovative social welfare legislation, its Home Affairs Ministry enlisted helpmates among civic groups, seeking to raise savings rates and improve childrearing practices.

A fourth common feature was ambivalence about women in public roles—the Soviet Union excepted. But even that state eventually promoted higher rates of reproduction, rewarding mothers who had many children and restricting abortion. State officials were eager to honor new mothers as a way to repair the loss of so many young men during the Great War. Yet, many more women were also entering professional careers, and some were becoming their families' primary wage earners. In Italy, Fascist authorities had to accept the existence of *la maschietta*—the new woman, or flapper, who wore short skirts, bobbed her hair, smoked cigarettes, and engaged in freer sex. In Japan, the *mogā* or *modan gāru* ("modern girl") phenomenon provoked considerable negative comment, but

→ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*



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

authorities could not suppress it. The Soviets demonstrated the most contradictory behavior. In 1918, they declared men and women equal, legalized (and subsidized) abortion, and eased divorce laws. However, by 1935–1936 new laws made divorce nearly impossible, drove abortion underground, and rewarded “hero mothers” of multiple children. Nonetheless, the rapidly industrializing Soviets had the highest percentage of women in the paid workforce.

Finally, all the dictatorships used violence and terror against their own citizens, colonial subjects, and “foreigners” living within their state borders. These tools served as levers for remaking the sociopolitical order. The Italians and the Japanese were not shy about arresting political opponents, particularly in their colonies. However, it was the Nazis and especially the Soviets who filled concentration and labor camps with alleged enemies of the state, whether Jews or supposed counterrevolutionaries.

Still, brutal as these regimes were, their successes in mastering the masses drew envious glances even from those trying to stay on the liberal democratic road. They also attracted imitators. British and French Fascists and communists, though they never came to power, formed national parties and proclaimed support for foreign models. Certain politicians, intellectuals, and labor organizers in South and North America admired Hitler, Lenin, and Stalin. Many also hoped to use the methods of mass mobilization and mass violence for their own ends. This was particularly true of anticolonial movements.

THE HYBRID NATURE OF LATIN AMERICAN CORPORATISM

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

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

The Great Depression brought even sharper challenges from workers’ groups. More than in any other region, the Depression battered Latin America’s trading and financial systems because they were most dependent on the exports of basic staples, from sugar to wheat, and faced stiff protection or evaporating demand for their commodities. The region, in fact, suffered a double whammy because it had borrowed so much money to invest in infrastructure and expansion. When world money markets went belly-up, creditors called in their loans from Latin America. This move drove borrowers to



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

default. In response, Latin American governments—with enthusiastic backing from the middle classes, nationalist intellectuals, and urban workers—turned to their domestic rather than foreign markets as the main engine of growth. Here, too, the state took on a more interventionist role in market activity.

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

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

Dubbing himself the “father of the poor,” Vargas encouraged workers to organize, erected monuments to national heroes, and supported the building of schools and the paving of roads. He made special efforts to appeal to Brazilian blacks, who had been excluded from public life since the abolition of slavery. Thus he legalized many previously forbidden Afro-Brazilian practices, such as the ritual “candomblé” dance, whose African and martial overtones seemed threatening to white elites. Vargas also supported samba schools, organizations that not only taught popular dances but also raised funds for public works. (See *Global Connections & Disconnections: Samba: Mass Culture from the Bottom Up*.) Moreover, Vargas addressed maternity and housing policies and enfranchised women (although they had to be able to read, as did male voters). Although he condemned the old elites for betraying the country to serve the interests of foreign consumers and investors, he also arranged foreign funding and technical transfers to build steel mills and factories. However, he took this step to create domestic industry so that Brazil would not be so dependent on imports.

Ruling as a patriarch enabled Vargas to squelch dissent and build new lines of loyalty. When he revamped the constitution in 1937, he banned competitive political parties and created forms of national representation along corporatist lines. Each social sector or class would be represented by its function in society (for example, as workers, industrialists, or educators), and each would pledge allegiance to the all-powerful state. Although his opponents complained about losing their democratic rights, Vargas also created rights for previously excluded groups like trade unions, who now could use their corporatist representatives to press for demands. To bolster the system, he employed a small army of modern propagandists using billboards, loudspeakers, and radio to broadcast the benevolence of “Father” Vargas.

ANTICOLONIAL VISIONS OF MODERN LIFE

Debates over liberal democratic versus authoritarian models engaged the world's colonial and semicolonial regions as well. But here there was a larger concern: what to do about colonial authority? Throughout Asia, most educated members of these communities wanted to roll back the European and American imperial presence. Some Asians even accepted Japanese imperialism as an antidote, under the slogan “Asia for the Asians.” In Africa, however, where the European colonial presence was more recent, intellectuals still questioned the real meaning of colonial rule: were the British and the French sincerely committed to African improvement, or were they obstacles to African peoples' well-being?

World War I crippled Europe but gave it more colonies than ever before. Ottoman territories, in particular, wound up in Allied hands. Great Britain emerged with an empire that straddled one-quarter of the earth. Rechristened as the British Commonwealth of Nations, Britain conferred dominion status on white-settler colonies in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This meant independence in internal and external affairs in exchange for continuing loyalty to the crown. But no such privileges went to possessions in Africa and India, where nonwhite peoples were the vast majority. Here the British fell back on an old line: nonwhite peoples were not yet ready for self-government.

In Africa as well as Asia, then, the search for the modern encompassed demands for power sharing or full political independence. Anticolonialism was the preeminent vision. To overcome the contradictions of European democratic liberalism, educated Asians and Africans proposed various incarnations of nationalism.

Behind the Asian and African nationalist movements were profound disagreements about how best to govern nations once they gained independence and how to define citizenship. For many intellectuals, the democratic ethos of the imperial powers was appealing. Others liked the radical

Global Connections & Disconnections

SAMBA: MASS CULTURE FROM THE BOTTOM UP

The evolution and dissemination of the musical and dance form known as samba in Brazil illustrates the ways in which mass culture could emerge in poorer societies and then spread upward to elite consumers and outward across national borders. Radio especially helped to diffuse such distinctly regional cultural products throughout Latin America.

Samba originated in Rio de Janeiro's shantytowns as a mixture of popular Spanish fandangos and the 2/4 meter of slave songs. Samba's lyrics extolled the freeing of the slaves in 1888 and the benevolence of the old monarchs. But mostly samba celebrated the idea that life was not all squalor. Samba was not high culture (though many in the elite had joined the audiences and even the dance troupes



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

by the 1920s), and it was not the culture of any race or ethnic group (though it had African roots). Nor was it simply popular culture. Rather, it became a mass culture uniting the people of Rio de Janeiro and soon thereafter other parts of Brazil, and eventually it found an international audience as well.

What transformed the samba musical form from a local into a national and then international mass cultural phenomenon was the invention of the phonograph and long-playing records. These allowed samba to be broadcast on the new medium, radio. The movie house helped disseminate samba, too. Brazilian samba musical films brought fame to a Portuguese-born dancer, Carmen Miranda, whose fruit-decorated hats made her a household symbol of the tropics in the United States. Records and radio also spread the tango of Argentina, boleros of Mexico, and salsa, the New York musical creation of Cuban and Puerto Rican émigrés.

The content and influence of musical mass culture were internationalized, but music and dance were also instrumental in fostering "national" cultures in Latin America. Songs and artists transcended physical barriers and regional accents, and as such, they did the work of nation building, creating cultural links between disparate people.

Samba took on new political implications during the 1920s when dance organizations began to create "schools" to instruct neighbors and to raise funds to help with public works in the face of the Brazilian state's neglect. By the 1930s, samba schools were often the largest benefactors of schools, roads, and utilities in Rio de Janeiro. They also became patronage machines for local political bosses. For many years, the Brazilian government banned these organizations as potentially subversive, although they continued to operate illegally. But President Getúlio Vargas, eager to induct the schools into his own political network, legalized the schools in 1935 and allowed them to occupy an ever more prominent place in the capital's cultural landscape. Thereafter, the annual festival of Mardi Gras evolved from a boisterous parade and religious celebration to an occasion for Rio's proliferating samba schools to strut their colorful and highly choreographed stuff. The belated efforts by the authorities to harness samba for their own purposes demonstrated its power as a mass culture from and for the people.

authoritarianism of fascism and communism, with their promises of rapid change to modernity. Whatever their political preferences, most literate colonials also regarded their own religious and cultural traditions as sources for political mobilization. Thus Muslim, Hindu, Chinese, and African values became vehicles for galvanizing the rank and file. The colonial figures involved in political and intellectual movements insisted that the societies they sought to establish were going to be modern *and* at the same time retain their indigenous characteristics.

AFRICAN STIRRINGS Africa contained the most recent territories to come under the Europeans' control, so anti-colonial nationalist movements there were quite young. The region's fate remained very much in the hands of Europeans. After 1918, however, African peoples probed more deeply for the meaning of Europe's imperial presence.

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

There was some room (but not much) for voicing African interests under colonialism. The French had long held to a vision of assimilating their colonial peoples into French culture. In France's primary West African colony, Senegal, four coastal cities had traditionally elected one delegate (of mixed



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

African and European ancestry) to the French National Assembly. This practice lasted until 1914, when Blaise Diagne (1872–1934), an African candidate, ran for office and won, invoking his African origins and garnering the African vote. While the British allowed Africans to elect delegates to municipal bodies, they refused to permit colonial representatives to sit in Parliament. Committed to democracy at home, the European powers were steadfastly against it in their colonies.

Excluded from representative bodies, Africans experimented with various forms of protest. For example, in southeastern Nigeria in 1929, Ibo and Ibibio women responded to a new tax by breaking off contact with the local colonial chiefs. Moving beyond boycotts of local officials, women burned down chiefs' huts, as well as European and Lebanese trading establishments, to protest their exploitation.

Opposition was still not widespread in Africa, for protests ran up against not only colonial administrators but also western-educated African elites. These individuals often built western-style homes, drove automobiles, wore western clothing, and consumed western foods. Yet, even this privileged group began to reconsider its relationship to colonial authorities. In Kenya, immediately after World War I, a small contingent of mission-educated Africans called on the British to provide more and better schools and to return lands they claimed European settlers had stolen. Although they enlisted the support of liberal missionaries, their pleas fell on deaf ears and their leader was arrested. Although defeated in this instance, the young nationalists drew important lessons from their confrontation with the authorities. They now viewed colonialism in a more combative light. Their new spokesperson, Jomo Kenyatta (1898–1978), invoked their precolonial Kikuyu traditions as a basis for resisting colonialism. (See Primary Source: *Facing Mount Kenya*.)

IMAGINING AN INDIAN NATION As Africans explored the use of modern politics against Europeans, opposition in India took on a more advanced form. The war and its aftermath brought full-blown challenges to British rule. Indeed, the Indian nationalist challenge provided inspiration for other anticolonial movements.

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

GANDHI AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE Gandhi had studied law in England and had worked in South Africa on behalf of Indian immigrants before returning to India in 1915. Thereafter, he assumed leadership in local struggles.

Primary Source



FACING MOUNT KENYA

Jomo Kenyatta, one of Kenya's leading nationalists, wrote a moving account of his own Kikuyu community in Facing Mount Kenya (1937). The book demonstrated the cohesion and strong tribal bonds of precolonial Kikuyu society, as well as the destructive elements of the colonial assault on African traditions. The excerpt below is from the conclusion.

And it is the culture which he inherits that gives a man his human dignity as well as his material prosperity. It teaches him his mental and moral values and makes him feel it worth while to work and fight for liberty.

But a culture has no meaning apart from the social organisation of life on which it is built. When the European comes to the Gikuyu country and robs the people of their land, he is taking away not only their livelihood, but the material symbol that holds family and tribe together. In doing this he gives one blow which cuts away the foundations from the whole of Gikuyu life, social, moral, and economic. When he explains, to his own satisfaction and after the most superficial glance at the issues involved, that he is doing this for the sake of the Africans, to "civilise" them, "teach them the disciplinary value of regular work," and "give them the benefit of European progressive ideas," he is adding insult to injury, and need expect to convince no one but himself.

There certainly are some progressive ideas among the Europeans. They include the ideas of material prosperity, of medicine, and hygiene, and literacy which enables people to take part in world culture. But so far the Europeans who visit Africa have not been conspicuously zealous in imparting these parts of their inheritance to the Africans, and seem to think that the only way to do it is by police discipline and armed force. They speak as if it was somehow beneficial to an African to work for them instead of for himself, and to make sure that he will receive this benefit they do their best to take away his land and leave him with no alternative. Along with his land they rob him of his government, condemn his religious ideas, and ignore his fundamental conceptions of justice and morals, all in the name of civilisation and progress.

If Africans were left in peace on their own lands, Europeans would have to offer them the benefits of white

civilisation in real earnest before they could obtain the African labour which they want so much. They would have to offer the African a way of life which was really superior to the one his fathers lived before him, and a share in the prosperity given them by their command of science. They would have to let the African choose what parts of European culture would be beneficially transplanted, and how they could be adapted. He would probably not choose the gas bomb or the armed police force, but he might ask for some other things of which he does not get so much today. As it is, by driving him off his ancestral lands, the Europeans have robbed him of the material foundations of his culture, and reduced him to a state of serfdom incompatible with human happiness. The African is conditioned, by the cultural and social institutions of centuries, to a freedom of which Europe has little conception, and it is not in his nature to accept serfdom for ever. He realises that he must fight unceasingly for his own complete emancipation; for without this he is doomed to remain the prey of rival imperialisms, which in every successive year will drive their fangs more deeply into his vitality and strength.

- *According to Kenyatta, why is it so devastating when European imperialists rob African people of their land?*
- *Why do you think the Europeans were not zealous in imparting "progressive ideas" to the Africans?*
- *Why does Kenyatta think the Africans would not choose to adopt "the gas bomb or the armed police force" from European culture?*

SOURCE: Excerpt from *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* by Jomo Kenyatta, published by Vintage Books, a division of Random House, Inc. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc.

He also spelled out the moral and political philosophy of *satyagraha*, or **nonviolent resistance**, which he had developed while in South Africa. His message to Indians was simple: Develop your own resources and inner strength and control the instincts and activities that encourage participation in colonial economy and government, and you shall achieve *swaraj* (“self-rule”). Faced with Indian self-reliance and self-control pursued nonviolently, Gandhi claimed, the British eventually would have to leave. (See Primary Source: India and Self-Government.)

A crucial event in rising opposition to British rule was a massacre in 1919 of Indian civilians protesting British policies in the Punjab. The incident, in which a British general ordered soldiers to fire on the protesters, left 379 Indian civilians dead and more than 1,200 wounded. As news of the massacre spread, many Indians were infuriated—especially when they learned that British authorities were not punishing the general.

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

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

Inspired by Gandhi’s example, millions of Indians joined strikes, boycotted foreign goods, and substituted indigenous hand-woven cloth for imported textiles. Many Indian officials in the colonial administration resigned in solidarity. The colonizers were taken aback by the mass mobilization. Yet, British denunciations of Gandhi only added to his personal aura and to the anticolonial crusade. By insisting that Indians follow

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





INDIA AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

The following excerpt is from Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi's Hind Swaraj, a pamphlet that he wrote in 1909 to explain why India needed self-government. Gandhi wrote it as a dialogue between a newspaper editor and a reader. Taking the role of the editor, he criticized modernity as represented by modern western civilization, which was based on industry and materialism. In contrast, Gandhi's imagined civilization of India derived from religion and harmonious village life. According to Gandhi, India demanded modern nationhood (or self-rule, swaraj) so that it could restore the best elements of its age-old civilization.

READER: . . . I would now like to know your views on Swaraj. . . .

EDITOR [GANDHI]: It is quite possible that we do not attach the same meaning to the term. You and I and all Indians are impatient to obtain Swaraj, but we are certainly not decided as to what it is. . . .

Why do we want to drive away the English?

READER: Because India has become impoverished by their Government. They take away our money from year to year. The most important posts are reserved for themselves. We are kept in a state of slavery. They behave insolently towards us, and disregard our feelings.

EDITOR: Supposing we get self-government similar to what the Canadians and the South Africans have, will it be good enough?

READER: . . . We must own our navy, our army, and we must have our own splendour, and then will India's voice ring through the world.

EDITOR: . . . In effect it means this: that we want English rule without the Englishman. You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, you would make India English, and, when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan. This is not the Swaraj that I want.

READER: Then from your statement I deduce that the Government of England is not desirable and not worth copying by us.

EDITOR: . . . If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined.

READER: To what do you ascribe this state of England?

EDITOR: It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilisation. It is a civilisation only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day.

READER: . . . I should like to know your views about the condition of our country.

EDITOR: . . . India is being ground down not under the English heel but under that of modern civilisation. It is groaning under the monster's terrible weight. . . . India is becoming irreligious. Here I am not thinking of the Hindu, the Mahomedan, or the Zoroastrian religion, but of that religion which underlies all religions. We are turning away from God.

READER: You have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What, then, is civilisation?

READER: . . . The tendency of Indian civilisation is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilisation is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behooves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilisation even as a child clings to its mother's breast.

READER: . . . What, then, . . . would you suggest for freeing India?

EDITOR: . . . Those alone who have been affected by Western civilisation have become enslaved. . . . If we become free, India is free. And in this thought you have a definition of Swaraj. It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves.

➤ *What are Gandhi's complaints about English colonial rule?*

➤ *Why does Gandhi reject modern civilization?*

➤ *According to Gandhi, what are the best aspects of "the old Indian civilisation"?*

SOURCE: M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, edited by Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 26–91.

their conscience (always through nonviolent protest), by exciting the masses through his defiance of colonial power, and by using symbols like homespun cloth to counter foreign, machine-spun textiles, Gandhi instilled in the people a sense of pride, resourcefulness, and Indian national awareness.

A DIVIDED ANTICOLONIAL MOVEMENT Unlike the charismatic authoritarians who dominated Italy, Germany, and Russia, Gandhi did not aspire to dictatorial power. Moreover, his program met opposition from within, for many in the Indian National Congress Party did not share his vision of community as the source of public life. Cambridge-educated Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), for example, believed that only by embracing science and technology could India develop as a modern nation.

Even less enamored were radical activists who wanted a revolution, not peaceful protest. In the countryside, these radicals sought to organize peasants to overthrow colonial domination. Other activists galvanized the growing industrial proletariat by organizing trade unions. Their stress on class conflict ran against Gandhi's ideals of national unity.

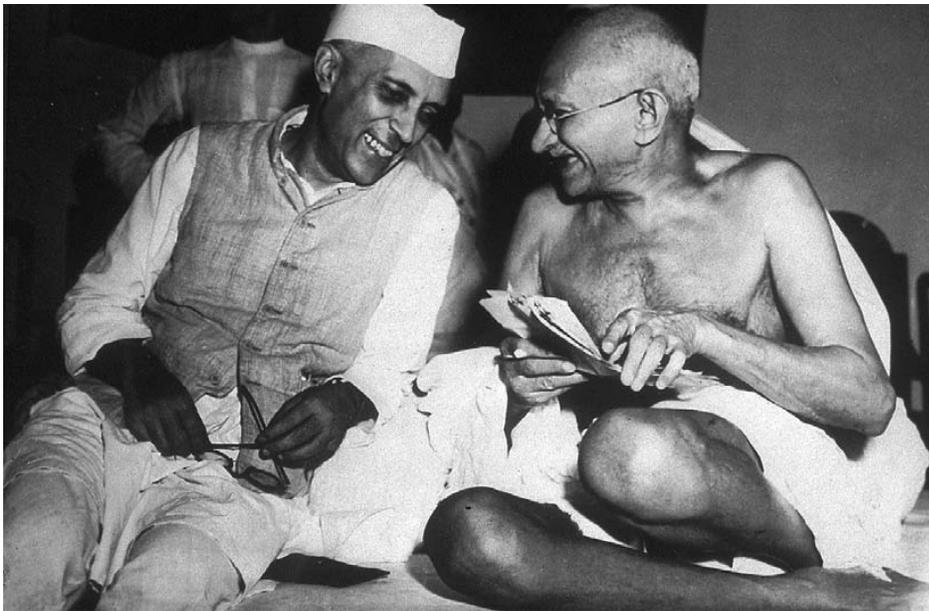
Religion, too, threatened to fracture Gandhi's hope for anticolonial unity. The Hindu-Muslim alliance crafted by nationalists in the early 1920s splintered over who represented them and how to ensure their political rights. The gulf widened after the Government of India Act of 1935 conceded substantial provincial autonomy and enlarged the franchise. The Muslim community found an impressive leader in Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who set about making the Muslim League the sole representative organization of the Muslim

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

Hindus also sought a political role on the basis of religious identity. Movements to revitalize Hinduism began organizing Hindus as a religious nation. Indeed, the influence of Hindu culture on Indian nationalism was broad. Hindu symbols and a Hindu ethos colored the fabric of Indian nationalism woven by Gandhi and the Indian National Congress Party.

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

In 1937, the British belatedly granted India provincial assemblies, a bicameral (having two chambers or bodies) national legislature, and a self-governing executive. By then, however, India's people were deeply politicized. The Congress Party, which inspired the masses to overthrow British rule, struggled to contain the different ideologies and new political institutions, such as labor unions, peasant associations, religious parties, and communal organizations. Seeking a



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

→ *How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?*

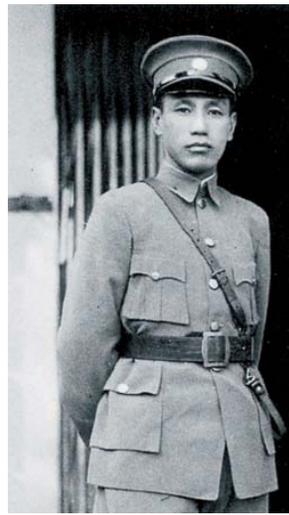
path to economic modernization, Gandhi, on one side, envisioned independent India as an updated collection of village republics organized around the benevolent authority of male-dominated households. Nehru, on another side, hoped for a socioeconomic transformation powered by science and state-sponsored planning. Both believed that India's traditions of collective welfare and humane religious and philosophical practices set it apart from the modern West. By the outbreak of World War II, India was well on its way toward political independence, but British policies and India's divisions foretold a violent end to imperial rule (see Chapter 20).

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

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

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

As the Guomindang, still led by Sun Yat-sen, tried to rejuvenate itself, it looked to students and workers as well as the Russian Revolution for inspiration. In 1923, Sun reached an agreement with the Russians and admitted Chinese Communists to the Guomindang as individual members. Under the banner of anti-imperialism, the reorganized party sponsored mass organizations of workers' unions, peasant leagues, and women's associations.



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

In 1926, amid a renewed tide of antiforeign agitation, **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975) seized control of the party following Sun's death. Chiang launched a partially successful military campaign to reunify the country and established a new national government with its capital in Nanjing. However, he broke with the Soviets and the Chinese communists, whom he viewed as more threat than ally. Furthermore, his regime, despite its anti-imperialist platform, honored the treaty rights and concessions gained by foreigners in the late Qing era.

Still, Chiang acknowledged that China needed to change in order to succeed as a modern nation. He believed that the Chinese masses had to be mobilized. The New Life movement, launched with a torchlight parade in 1934 in Nanchang, exemplified his aspiration for a new Chinese national consciousness. Drawing on diverse ideas (from Confucian precepts to Social Darwinism) and fascist practices such as the militarization of everyday life in the name of sacrificing for the nation, the New Life movement aimed to instill discipline and moral purpose into a unified citizenry. It promoted dress codes for women, condemned casual sexual liaisons, and campaigned against spitting, urinating, or smoking in public.

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

From late 1913 to 1914, Chinese newspapers circulated reports about a roving band of armed men led by a mysterious figure known as White Wolf. This figure terrified members of the elite with his almost magical power. It is unlikely that the band, rumored to have close to a million followers, had more than 20,000 members even at its height. But the

mythology surrounding White Wolf was so widespread that the movement's impact reverberated well beyond its physical presence.

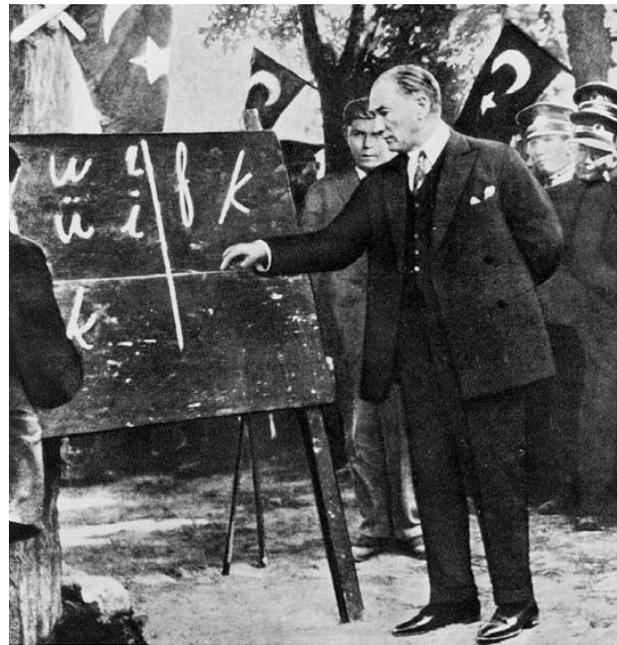
Popular myth depicted White Wolf as a Chinese Robin Hood with the mission to restore order. The band's objective was to rid the country of the injustices of Yuan Shikai's government. Raiding major trade routes and market towns, White Wolf's followers gained a reputation for robbing the rich and aiding the poor. It was said that once the band captured a town, "cash and notes were flung out to the poor." Such stories won the White Wolf army many followers in rural China, where local peasants joined temporarily as fighters and then returned home when the band moved on.

Although the White Wolf army lacked the power to restore order to the countryside, its presence reflected the changes that had come to China. The army struck areas where inhabitants were feeling the effects of the new market forces. In the northwestern province of Shaanxi (Shensi), for example, where the band made its most famous march, markets that formerly flourished with trade in Chinese cotton now awaited camels carrying cotton bales shipped from Fall River, Massachusetts. The fact that the Guomindang never managed to bridge the differences between themselves and a rural-based movement such as that of White Wolf showed the limits of their nationalist vision. The challenge fell to the Chinese communists, who had fled to the countryside to escape Chiang's persecution. They learned that the rural population could indeed become a mass political force—a lesson that served them well during the subsequent war and Japanese occupation in the 1930s and 1940s.

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

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

In 1920, an Ottoman army officer and military hero named Mustafa Kemal harnessed this groundswell of Turkish nationalism into opposition to Greek troops who had been



Atatürk. In the 1920s, Mustafa Kemal, known as Atatürk, introduced the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language as part of his campaign to modernize and secularize Turkey. He underscored his commitment to change by being photographed while giving instruction in the use of the new alphabet.

sent to enforce the peace treaty. Rallying his own troops to defend the fledgling Turkish nation, Kemal reconquered most of Anatolia and the area around Istanbul and secured international recognition for the new state in 1923 at the Treaty of Lausanne. Thereafter, a vast, forcible exchange of populations occurred. Approximately 1.2 million Greek Christians left Turkey to settle in Greece, and 400,000 Muslims relocated from Greece to Turkey.

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

In forging a Turkish nation, Kemal looked to construct a European-like secular state and to eliminate Islam's hold over civil and political affairs. The Turkish elite replaced Muslim religious law with the Swiss civil code, instituted the western (Christian) calendar, and abolished the once-powerful dervish religious orders. They also suppressed Arabic and Persian words from Turkish, substituted Roman script for Arabic letters, forbade polygamy, made wearing the fez (a brimless cap)

a crime, and instructed Turks to wear European-style hats. The veil, though not outlawed, was denounced as a relic. In 1934, the government enfranchised Turkish women, granted them property rights in marriage and inheritance, and allowed them to enter the professions. Schools, too, were taken out of the hands of Muslim clerics, placed under state control, and, along with military service, became the chief instrument for making the masses conscious of belonging to a Turkish nation. Yet, many villagers did not accept Atatürk's non-Islamic nationalism, remaining devoted to Islam and resentful of the prohibitions against dervish dancing.

In imitating Europe, Kemal borrowed its antidemocratic models. Inspired by the Soviets, he inaugurated a five-year plan for the economy emphasizing centralized coordination. During the 1930s, Turkish nationalists also drew on Nazi examples by advocating racial theories that posited central Asian Turks as the founders of all civilization. In another authoritarian move, Kemal occasionally rigged parliamentary elections, while using the police and judiciary to silence his critics. The Kemalist revolution in Turkey was the most far-reaching and enduring transformation that had occurred outside Europe and the Americas up to that point. It offered an important model for the founding of secular, authoritarian states in the Islamic world.

NATIONALISM AND THE RISE OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT Elsewhere in the Middle East, where France and Britain expanded their holdings at the Ottomans' expense, anticolonial movements borrowed from European models while putting their own stamp on nation-making and modernization campaigns. In Egypt, British occupation predated the fall of the Ottoman Empire, but here, too, World War I energized the forces of anticolonial nationalism.

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

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

Most programs fell into one of three categories: liberal democratic, authoritarian, or anticolonial. Liberal democracy defined the political and economic systems in western Europe and the Americas. Resting on faith in free enterprise and representative democracy (with a restricted franchise), liberal regimes had already been unsettled before the Great War. Turn-of-the-century reforms broadened electorates and brought government oversight and regulation into private economic activity. But during the Great Depression, dissatisfaction again deepened. Only far-reaching reforms, introducing greater regulation and more aggressive government intervention to provide for the citizenry's welfare, saved capitalist economies and democratic political systems from collapse.

Still, through the 1930s, liberal democracy was in retreat. Authoritarianism seemed better positioned to satisfy the masses while representing the dynamism of modernity. While authoritarians differed about the faults of capitalism, they joined in the condemnation of electoral democracy. Authoritarians mobilized the masses to put the interests of the nation above the individual. That mobilization often involved brutal repression, yet it seemed also to restore pride and purpose to the masses.

Meanwhile, the colonial and semicolonial world searched for ways to escape from European domination. In Asia and Africa, anticolonial leaders sought to eliminate foreign rule while turning colonies into nations and subjects into citizens. Some looked to the liberal democratic West for models of nation building, but others rejected liberalism because

it was associated with colonial rule. Instead, socialism, fascism, and a return to religious traditions offered more promising paths.

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

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KEY TERMS

Allied Powers (p. 709)	League of Nations (p. 715)
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (p. 740)	mass consumption (p. 718)
Bolsheviks (p. 714)	mass culture (p. 717)
Central Powers (p. 709)	mass production (p. 718)
Chiang Kai-shek (p. 739)	Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi (p. 734)
fascism (p. 726)	Benito Mussolini (p. 726)
Great Depression (p. 719)	Nazis (p. 726)
Great War (World War I) (p. 709)	New Deal (p. 723)
Adolf Hitler (p. 726)	nonviolent resistance (p. 736)
	Joseph Stalin (p. 724)

Chronology

	1910	1920
AMERICAS		◆ 1917 United States enters World War I
EUROPE	◆ 1914 The Great War begins	◆ 1918 Dissolution of German and Austro-Hungarian Empires ◆ 1919 Treaty of Versailles ends World War I 1922 Mussolini and Fascists march on Rome ◆
RUSSIA (SOVIET UNION)		◆ 1917 Bolshevik Revolution 1918–1921 Russian Civil War ◆
EAST ASIA		◆ 1919 May Fourth movement (China)
SOUTH ASIA		◆ 1919 Massacre at Amritsar
MIDDLE EAST		◆ 1918 Dissolution of Ottoman Empire 1922 Ottoman sultan deposed ◆ 1923 Mustafa Kemal leads Turkey to nationhood ◆

STUDY QUESTIONS

- List and explain the numerous ways in which World War I changed the world. How did it usher in a new age for diverse societies?
- Define the terms *mass culture*, *mass production*, and *mass consumption*. How did World War I help to diffuse these concepts across the world's cultures?
- Analyze how the Great Depression challenged political establishments after World War I. How were the two events linked? What values and assumptions did the Great Depression challenge?
- Explain competing visions of modernity that emerged across the globe during the period covered in this chapter. How were they similar and how were they different?
- Compare and contrast the liberal democratic and authoritarian visions of modernity as epitomized by various states in the 1930s. What features did they have in common?
- List and explain various anticolonial visions of modern life that emerged in the first half of the twentieth century. To what extent did they reflect borrowed developments versus native traditions and ideas?
- Describe how Latin American societies adjusted to modern ideas at this time. How did visions of modernity affect states and societies in that region of the world?

	1930		1940
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 1929 Great Depression begins ◆ 1930 Getúlio Vargas becomes leader of Brazil 1933–1941 American “New Deal” ◆-----◆ 		◆
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 1929 Great Depression begins ◆ 1933 Hitler becomes dictator of Germany 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War ◆-----◆ 1936–1939 Popular Front rules France ◆-----◆ 		
1929–1935 Collectivization in Russia ◆-----◆		◆-----◆	◆ 1936–1938 Great Purge in the Soviet Union
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 1928 Chiang Kai-shek becomes leader of China ◆ 1932 Japan annexes Manchuria 			
	◆ 1930 Gandhi’s March to the Sea		
◆ 1928 Muslim Brotherhood established (Egypt)			