1919–1936
The Great Depression and the Rise of Totalitarianism

1919
Science and Technology
The influenza pandemic responsible for more than 20 million deaths finally begins to subside.

1920
Daily Life
The first commercial radio broadcasting station goes on the air in the United States.

1921
Business and Finance
Vladimir Lenin announces the New Economic Policy, which allows for some free enterprise in communist Russia.

1922
Politics
Benito Mussolini heads a coalition government in Italy.

1923
Business and Finance
Germany informs the Allies that it cannot make war reparations payments on schedule.

1924
Politics
Lenin's death leads to a political struggle for leadership in the Soviet Union.

1925
The Arts
Czech writer Franz Kafka's novel The Trial is published.

1926
Business and Finance
A general strike brings Great Britain to a halt, May 3–12.

1927
Daily Life
Charles Lindbergh becomes a worldwide celebrity after completing a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean.

Build on What You Know

World War I destroyed lives, property, and national identities on a scale never before experienced. The Treaty of Versailles forced defeated European countries to pay enormous reparations to the victors and limited their freedom to rebuild. This drained their resources, destabilized their governments, and affected their sense of national pride. New governments created under the treaty were particularly fragile. In this chapter, you will learn how the war's aftermath led to anxiety, conflict, and, in some parts of Europe, the rise of totalitarian governments.
What's Your Opinion?

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Support your point of view in your journal.

**Global Relations** Nations should always defend international treaties.

**Government** Democratic practices can always be relied on to prevent dictators from coming to power.

**Culture** Scientific and technological advances do not affect culture.
The Postwar Era

The Story Continues
World War I profoundly disrupted European and American society. The mass destruction caused by the war changed ideas about nations and people. Many people felt a sense of anxiety and concern for the future. New scientific discoveries added to the concern. A journalist writing in 1938 noted that, “Marx, Freud, [and] Einstein all conveyed the same message to the 1920s: the world was not what it seemed. The senses [that] shaped our ideas of time and distance, right and wrong, law and justice, and the nature of man’s behavior in society, were not to be trusted.”

The Effects of Scientific Events and Ideas

In the wake of World War I, with its mass destruction and wholesale slaughter, many people lost faith in the Enlightenment ideal of ongoing human progress. They felt a sense of disconnection and doubt about the future. New events and ideas in science raised even stronger doubts about the predictable nature of the world.

A global epidemic. Although the death and destruction of World War I was difficult for many people to accept, at least they understood what had caused most battlefield deaths. In the midst of the fighting, however, the world was hit by a mysterious illness that caused more deaths than the war itself and showed how little doctors still understood about disease.

In the spring of 1918 many soldiers fighting in France began to complain of flu-like symptoms. The disease spread, but few patients died from it. Then, in the summer and fall of 1918, a second, more deadly wave of this flu appeared and quickly became global in nature. In all, three waves of the influenza pandemic hit the world between 1918 and 1919. A pandemic is an epidemic that occurs over a large geographic area and affects a significant portion of the population. The disease spread with terrifying speed, in part because of the rapid movement of people during the global war. At the time, many doctors referred to it as the “Spanish influenza” because news of the deadly disease spread quickly throughout Spain, where wartime censorship was limited.

No inhabited continent was safe from this flu, which quickly spread into the civilian population. It could kill some victims within two or three days of the first sign of symptoms. Doctors still knew relatively little about how such illnesses developed and spread. They were unable to overcome the deadly disease. Then, just as mysteriously as it had appeared, this strain of influenza disappeared, and the pandemic stopped. It is uncertain exactly how many people died from the influenza pandemic, but most estimates put the death toll well above 20 million.

Scientific and social theories. Events like the influenza pandemic increased many people’s feelings that the world was a frightening and unpredictable place. Some looked to the ideas of Sigmund Freud, founder of the modern field of psychology, to ease some of this uncertainty. Freud’s claim that the unconscious—not the rational mind—often controlled people’s actions seemed to explain many confusing and irrational events in life.
Some people used Freud’s ideas to understand the dreadful destruction of World War I and the continued uneasiness that confronted people around the world.

Other people looked to scientific theories to support their disillusion with the attitudes that some felt had led to war. People who believed that social standards of morality or artistic taste were not absolute pointed to Albert Einstein’s argument that even such definite concepts as motion, space, and time were relative. These people argued that values differ greatly in different societies. No one could say that one set of principles was good for all groups. This idea became known as moral relativism.

✓ READING CHECK: Identifying Cause and Effect How did scientific events and ideas shape views in the postwar era?

**New Directions in Literature**

The major writings of World War I and the postwar years show dissatisfaction with traditional ideas. Some writers tried to offer a new vision. German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler expressed one mood of the era in his *Decline of the West*. Spengler argued that civilizations pass from youth to maturity to old age and then to death. Spengler claimed that European civilization would disintegrate. His view matched the sense of disillusionment of the era.

One group of Americans who expressed such disillusionment included several writers who continued to live in Europe after the war. American Gertrude Stein hosted many of these authors in her Paris home. “All of you young people who served in the war, you are all a lost generation,” she once said. After that, this group, which included Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and John Dos Passos, became known as the Lost Generation. Their novels, such as Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises*
and Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, reflected a generation that had lost its moral grounding during the war.

Other writers reflected a new era by experimenting with form. The influence of Freud led many authors to examine unconscious motivations. French novelist Marcel Proust believed that reality is a world of memory and sensation lost in daily life. Proust vividly brought to life the sensory impressions of a disappeared past in the novel *Remembrance of Things Past*. This first part of the novel appeared in 1913. Most of it, however, was published after World War I. Thomas Mann, a German contemporary of Proust, wrote about the constant presence of death amid life and the disconnection of the writer from society. Mann's *The Magic Mountain* (1924), which is set in a hospital, deals symbolically with the moral state of Europe. Mann's novels reflected the era's mood of decay and sadness.

Most of the works of Franz Kafka, a Czech writer, were unknown before his death in 1924. Kafka used *surrealism* in his work. Surrealism brings conscious and unconscious ideas together to portray life in a dreamlike way. In *The Castle* (1926), a man searches for an authority in a castle. He travels through endless corridors and dead, with many people, but never finds the authority he seeks. These stories of struggle to find meaning, and Kafka's unique way of telling them, later influenced many writers.

Ireland's James Joyce caused a great stir during this period. Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) was a revolutionary book that broke from the traditional novel. In this work, Joyce used a technique called "stream of consciousness." This technique attempts to record everything that comes into a character's mind. Many readers found *Ulysses* difficult to understand. It lacks normal punctuation and the story seems to skip about. Joyce's experimentation with language and form was characteristic of post-World War I artists.

Similarly, many poets of this period abandoned traditional forms such as rhyming lines. Instead they wrote poetry without rhyme that had lines of varying lengths. They also experimented with punctuation and even with the physical appearance of their poems. American born poet T. S. Eliot expressed the negative outlook of the postwar years. In his long poem *The Waste Land* (1922), Eliot described a world without faith, where moral and spiritual values could not be restored.

**✓ READING CHECK: Summarizing** How did the work of leading writers reflect changes in society during the postwar era?

### New Directions in Music, Painting, and Architecture

Musicians and painters of this period, like novelists and poets, experimented with creative new forms and styles. Some new artistic ideas were developed before World War I. These ideas, however, did not take hold until the unsettled postwar years.

**Music.** One of the pioneers of a new direction in music was Russian-born composer Igor Stravinsky. His ballet *The Rite of Spring* (1913) caused a major uproar at its first performance. It broke completely with traditional musical composition. This musical piece featured different instruments playing in different keys at the same time. Many people found the sound disturbing. The Austrian Arnold Schoenberg and his students were more revolutionary than Stravinsky. Schoenberg abandoned the usual eight-tone musical scale, using instead a twelve-tone scale. In addition, Schoenberg and his followers avoided traditional forms such as the large symphony. They wrote pieces for unusual groups of instruments, such as *Quartet for Violin, Clarinet, Tenor Saxophone, and Piano.*
Technology influenced music during this time. In industrialized countries a growing number of households had radios in the 1920s and 1930s. Music aimed at a mass audience filled the airwaves. This medium helped give rise to the popularity of new music such as jazz. This form of music originated among the African American community in New Orleans. It fused styles from West Africa and Latin America with sounds from African American folk music and some European styles. The lively music soon swept the United States and Europe, giving rise to numerous “jazz clubs.” Jazz performers like Louis Armstrong, Billie Holiday, and “Jelly Roll” Morton became famous throughout the world.

**Painting.** Like writers and musicians, painters also experimented with forms and styles. Two artists working in Paris, Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, created a new style called **cubism.** This style, which was influenced by traditional African art, emphasized geometric designs, using shapes such as cubes, flat planes, and spheres. Cubist painters often showed objects from several different viewpoints at the same time. For example, a painting might show half a face in profile and half from the front.

Other artists moved beyond traditional forms in various ways. Surrealist painters attempted to represent the unconscious. Their works featured objects that did not seem to relate to one another. The Spanish surrealist **Salvador Dali** painted *The Persistence of Memory* (1931). It is a dreamlike landscape that appears to consist of liquid clocks draped over a tree branch and the edge of a shelf. Other artists, such as Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky and Dutch painter Piet Mondrian, created purely abstract designs. One group of painters called the *dadaists* used random images to reflect what they considered the insanity of the war.

Some places like China witnessed a struggle between modern and more traditional artists. While some Chinese artists embraced new experimental forms, others, like Chi Pai-shih, praised traditional Chinese art. Chi Pai-shih was the last great painter of the older school of Chinese art.

**Architecture.** Advances such as the use of structural steel caused remarkable changes in architecture. American **Louis Sullivan** pioneered the new architecture. Sullivan helped develop the skyscraper. He also created a new style called **functionalism.** With functionalism, a building is designed for its specific use instead of in a particular style. **Frank Lloyd Wright,** a student of Sullivan, adopted many of Sullivan’s ideas and added his own. Wright believed that buildings should fit into their environment. In the 1920s Wright completed the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan. Adapting the hotel to its location, he designed a way to “float” the building’s foundation, rather than to anchor it in rock. Thus, the Imperial Hotel was one of the few large buildings in Tokyo to survive a major earthquake in 1923.

**INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD**

**Prairie house** Between 1900 and 1910, **Frank Lloyd Wright** developed many prairie houses in the American Midwest. This image shows an example of the outside of Wright’s prairie house design. Why might the prairie house be considered an example of functionalism?
European architects, influenced by Sullivan and Wright, also developed a new style of architecture called the **international style**. This style included uninterrupted sheets of steel and glass. German architect Walter Gropius later described changes in architecture.

"The great technical inventions and social developments of the last hundred years set off a stream of changes in our way of living and producing.... There has been a steady movement toward a less rigid... style of living and building. The skeleton structures enabled us to introduce large window openings and the marvel of glass curtain walls... which transformed the rigid compartmental character of buildings into a transparent fluid one."

Walter Gropius, from *Four Great Makers of Modern Architecture*

**READING CHECK: Finding the Main Idea** How did architecture change after the war?

### Popular Culture and Consumerism

The era of the 1920s was marked by the rise of leisure activities and purchases of consumer goods in industrialized nations. Shorter workdays and slowly improving economies gave people more money and free time. After years of war, many were ready to enjoy life. Feats like Charles Lindbergh's first solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927 seemed to many to signal a new era of progress.

**Entertainment.** The chief entertainment for popular audiences of the 1920s and 1930s was the motion picture. Developed in about 1890, motion pictures were first shown publicly about 10 years later. By the 1920s millions of moviegoers regularly flocked to theaters to see their favorite films. By the late 1930s, for example, 40 percent of British adults said they went to the movies once a week. Some 25 percent said they went twice a week. While some films reflected the darker feelings of the postwar years, most movies offered viewers escape and entertainment. Slapstick comedies were among the most popular films of the era. The 1927 film *The Jazz Singer* further revolutionized film by introducing sound.

Playing and watching sports became very popular throughout the world. Baseball was popular in the United States and Japan. Golf was widely played and followed in both countries, as well as in parts of Europe. Tennis was another popular sport, attracting players and spectators throughout the United States and Europe.

Europe and Latin America enjoyed soccer, also called football. The game became so popular internationally that the World Cup soccer tournament was established in 1930. The modern Olympics also grew in popularity. The ancient Greek athletic contest was revived in 1896 and held every four years. Amateur athletes from around the world competed in the games. Many Olympic athletes became instant heroes in their home countries. Countries around the world vied for the privilege of hosting the games, which brought revenue and great prestige to the sponsoring nation.

**Consumer culture.** The decade of the 1920s brought enormous changes to people's lifestyles. As economies improved, more people began to purchase consumer goods. The price of many goods once considered luxury items, like automobiles, dropped significantly.
As more people purchased such items, the whole structure of society began to change. One woman described how owning a car had affected her family.

"We'd rather do without clothes than give up the car. We used to go to [my husband's] sister's to visit, but by the time we'd get the children shod and dressed there wasn't any money left for carfare. Now no matter how they look, we just poke 'em in the car and take 'em along."

from Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd

Companies came up with new techniques to get consumers to buy more goods. Radio advertising brought commercials right into people's homes. Companies also began offering to sell more goods on credit. Buying on credit allowed people to instantly purchase goods they wanted instead of saving up for them, as they had in the past.

The expanded use of credit reflected a gradual change in attitudes and values of the times. Increasingly people were focused on the present moment instead of planning for the future. At the same time, the questioning of traditional values was bringing other changes. Increasingly the younger generation began to challenge "proper" societal norms. For example, in industrialized nations many women started wearing short hair and skirts and going out to public places like jazz clubs. These young women were nicknamed "flappers." Women were also asserting their independence by voting and joining the work force in greater numbers than ever before.

Some younger people rebelled against the older generation's efforts to curb their behavior. In the United States, the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution established *prohibition*, making alcoholic beverages illegal, in 1920. Many people ignored prohibition, however, and it proved too difficult to enforce. The amendment was repealed in 1933.

**READING CHECK: Drawing Conclusions** How did popular culture and consumerism in industrialized nations reflect a shift in values?

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**SECTION 1 REVIEW**

1. **Define** and explain the significance:
   - influenza pandemic
   - surrealism
   - jazz
   - cubism
   - dadaism

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:
   - Gertrude Stein
   - Lost Generation
   - Franz Kafka
   - James Joyce
   - T.S. Eliot
   - Igor Stravinsky
   - Pablo Picasso
   - Salvador Dalí
   - Ch'í Pai-shih
   - Louis Sullivan
   - Frank Lloyd Wight

3. **Categorizing** Copy the web diagram below. Use it to explain how each discipline reflected the anxieties and experimentation of the postwar years.

   ![Web Diagram](#)

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   a. How were popular culture and architecture affected by new technology following the end of the war?
   b. How did people's social behavior reflect a change in values in many societies?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   **Analyzing Information** Write an essay that explains how science and art reflected the uncertainty of the postwar years.
   **Consider:**
   - the ideas of Freud and Einstein
   - the work of novelists such as Mann and Kafka
   - the music of Stravinsky and Schoenberg

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**Homework Practice Online**

*[keyword: SH3 HP19]*
Postwar Prosperity Crumbles

The Main Idea
Nations responded to the global economic crisis of the 1930s by protecting their own economies.

The Story Continues
Postwar prosperity turned to worldwide economic depression by the end of the 1920s. Unemployment soared around the world. On the high plains of the United States, overcultivation and drought turned farmlands into one large Dust Bowl. In this excerpt from The Grapes of Wrath, author John Steinbeck describes dust bowl families as they abandon their homes. "In the little houses the tenant people sifted their belongings and the belongings of their fathers and of their grandfathers... They piled up the goods in the yards and set fire to them. They stood and watched them burning, and then frantically they loaded up the cars and drove away, drove away, drove away in the dust."

Signs of Economic Troubles
Many nations never fully recovered from the economic effects of World War I. Others relied heavily on Western industrialized nations like the United States. Although Western industrialized nations generally prospered during the 1920s, some economic problems existed. As the decade of the 1920s continued, therefore, the global economy became increasingly vulnerable to disaster.

Farmers. Much of the prosperity of the 1920s was fueled by industry. Meanwhile, many farmers were suffering. Much European farmland had been destroyed during the war. During that time farmers in other areas, such as Africa, Australia, India, New Zealand, North America, and South America, increased food production to sell to Europe. American farmers took out loans to buy modern machinery and additional land. With the return of peace in 1918, the worldwide demand for certain crops like grain fell, and agricultural prices dropped. Farmers made very little money. Those who had borrowed money to expand now had problems paying their debts.

Protectionism. In the postwar world the economies of different countries were linked more closely together than at any time before. In this situation the promotion of economic nationalism, or protectionism, caused problems. This occurred when nations tried to protect domestic industries by limiting trade with others. To protect their industries from foreign competition, nations established tariffs on the import of goods. This policy usually failed. For example, high American tariffs made it hard for Europeans to sell their goods in the United States. Thus, they could not purchase goods from the United States or pay off their debts. American bankers and business leaders loaned money to Europeans to buy American goods. This practice, however, drove the Europeans further into debt.

Speculation and panic. During the 1920s millions of Americans engaged in market speculations, or risky investments, in the stock market. The stock market is an organization through which shares of stock in companies are bought and sold. A company issues shares of stock to raise money for its business. Investors who buy the stock are actually buying shares of the company. As long as investors hold the shares
of stock, they can share in the company’s earnings. They can also profit by selling the shares at prices above their original purchase cost if the company’s stock increases in value.

During the 1920s stock prices soared. Many investors made large profits and believed that stock prices would continue to rise. This confidence led investors to borrow money to buy more stock. When the stock’s value rose, the stock could be sold at a higher value. The investor could then repay the loan and still enjoy a profit. If the value of the stock fell, however, problems arose. By the late 1920s the stock prices of many companies had become wildly overvalued.

On October 29, 1929—Black Tuesday—investors on the New York Stock Exchange panicked in the face of bad economic news. Fearing a drop in stock prices that were artificially high, investors rushed to sell their shares. The sudden sell-off drove stock prices tumbling. Many stocks on the exchange became virtually worthless overnight. At the same time, many of the economy’s underlying problems and weaknesses surfaced as investor confidence fell. Savers rushed to their banks to withdraw their savings, only to find that the banks had not maintained adequate cash reserves to honor mass withdrawals. Banks, in turn, demanded that borrowers repay their loans, but borrowers had no money. A major financial crunch resulted. In a very short time, thousands of banks and their customers—factories, farms, and individuals—were forced into bankruptcy.

**READING CHECK: Finding the Main Idea** What economic weaknesses appeared in the global economy during the 1920s?

### The Great Depression

The collapse of the New York Stock Exchange marked the beginning of the worldwide Great Depression. Prices and wages fell, business activity slowed, and unemployment rose, all in a very brief period of time. By 1932 more than 30 million workers in countries throughout the industrialized world could not find jobs. Poverty during the depression, however, occurred in the midst of great productivity. Goods were available and their prices fell to very low levels, but people had no money to buy them. Some countries tried to force prices up by destroying farm surpluses. For example, Brazil burned excess coffee for years.

Most nations, including the United States, initially tried to protect themselves from the Great Depression through economic nationalism. In reality, however, this usually made economic recovery more difficult.

Great Britain tried to create jobs by granting low-interest loans to its industries. In 1931 the British government raised tariffs against foreign goods. Great Britain also formed a system of economic cooperation within its empire. France was less industrialized than Great Britain. This helped protect it from the effects of the Great Depression for a couple of years. French trade eventually declined, however, while unemployment rose and industrial production dropped sharply. The uncertainty of the depression years caused political instability in France. In 1933 alone there were three changes of government. Elsewhere in the world, the Great Depression caused unrest and violence. In Germany it helped destroy the Weimar Republic.

**READING CHECK: Summarizing** How did some nations deal with the onset of the Great Depression?
The New Deal

The United States lagged behind most other industrialized nations in creating social programs to help its citizens in troubled times. Americans did not have publicly funded unemployment insurance or government relief programs that could help during periods of economic struggle. As a result, when the Great Depression began, American workers who lost their jobs had to rely on personal savings, if any, or on charity. People who could not afford to buy food stood in breadlines to receive a bowl of soup. Some people sold apples on street corners to earn money.
President Herbert Hoover was said to believe that prosperity was "just around the corner." Hoover tried to revive the American economy, but his efforts had little effect in the face of so massive an economic collapse. In 1932 the American people elected a new president, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The new president immediately created a program of relief and reform called the New Deal. The federal government granted money to each state to provide the needy with clothing, food, and shelter. To create jobs, the government began a program of public works. The program hired people to construct public buildings, roads, and other projects.

Congress followed Roosevelt’s emergency relief program by reforming the economic system. Banks and stock exchanges were placed under stricter regulation. The Social Security Act of 1935 provided for unemployment and old-age benefits. Congress established a 40-hour workweek and minimum wages. It also guaranteed workers the right to form unions.

Under the New Deal, the United States became deeply involved in the welfare of its citizens. The New Deal did not, however, completely end the Great Depression in the United States. Government efforts to restore prosperity were not enough to solve the economic crisis.

✓ READING CHECK: Problem Solving How did the New Deal mark a dramatic change in the U.S. government’s approach to economic crisis?

This migrant child rides in the backseat of the family car as his parents travel to look for work in 1939.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. Define and explain the significance: economic nationalism market speculations

2. Identify and explain the significance: Black Tuesday Great Depression Herbert Hoover Franklin D. Roosevelt New Deal Social Security Act

3. Identifying Cause and Effect Copy the graph below. Use it to describe the effects of the Great Depression.

   International relations  
   Human suffering  
   Government reactions

4. Finding the Main Idea
   a. What weaknesses in the global economy led to the Great Depression?
   b. How effective was the New Deal in responding to the problems of the Great Depression?

5. Writing and Critical Thinking
   Drawing Inferences Imagine that you are a young American living during the Great Depression. Write a journal entry discussing President Roosevelt’s approach to correcting the problems of the economy and explaining why Roosevelt called his package of legislation a “New Deal” for Americans.
   Consider:
   • the underlying problems that contributed to the Great Depression in America
   • the hardships that the depression caused
   • government efforts to assist Americans

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE RISE OF TOTALITARIANISM  545
Political Tensions
After World War I

The Main Idea
Western Europe weathered the crisis of the 1920s, but eastern Europe did not fare as well.

The Story Continues
At war's end, European lands and economies were in ruins. France was especially hard hit. One observer described the landscape of northern France: "For mile after mile nothing was left. No building was habitable and no field fit for the plow. . . . One devastated area was exactly like another—a heap of rubble, a morass [jumble] of shell holes, and tangle of wire." The unparalleled destruction caused by World War I, and the need to rebuild in the face of rapidly changing political, social, and economic conditions, strained many European nations.

France's Postwar Difficulties

France emerged from World War I victorious but weakened. During the four years of war, northern France had been a major battleground. At war's end, farmland and even entire cities lay in ruins. Trenches and shell holes scarred the land. The most modern parts of France's agriculture and industry had been destroyed. Most tragic of all, a large number of France's young men had died in the war.

The Economy. France also faced severe economic problems. High prices hurt industrial workers and the lower middle class. At the same time, the expenses of the French government rose. After the war France owed money to its citizens and to the United States for war materials. The government had to pay the war debt and the interest on the debt. It also financed a rebuilding program for the war-damaged areas.

Military security was another major expense for the French. Twice in less than 50 years, Germany had invaded France. The French were determined to prevent another invasion from the east. France rebuilt its army and constructed a series of steel and concrete fortifications. This system, called the Maginot (mazhuh-noh) Line, stretched nearly 200 miles along the borders of Germany and Luxembourg. Construction of the Maginot Line was enormously costly, further weakening the French economy.
**International affairs.** The political situation in Europe improved during the mid-1920s. In 1925 Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Poland met at a conference held at Locarno in Switzerland. Delegates to the conference signed a number of treaties that together became known as the **Locarno Pact.** Delegates pledged that their countries would peacefully settle all future disputes. They also guaranteed the existing boundaries between France and Germany.

France also signed mutual assistance treaties with Czechoslovakia and Poland. These defensive alliances soon weakened, however. In the mid-1930s, Belgium declared that it would be neutral in any war. Italy, a wartime ally with France, returned to its traditional opposition to France. The French formed a shaky alliance with Russia, now under a communist government. To encircle Germany, France also made alliances with Romania and Yugoslavia. Along with Czechoslovakia and Poland, these nations shared France’s mistrust of Germany.

**Political unrest.** As the Great Depression began to affect France, many people lost confidence in the government. In early 1934 rioters in Paris called for an end to republican government. They favored a strong government headed by a dictator who would protect the nation. French trade unions responded to these right-wing demands by calling for a **general strike.** Workers in various industries refused to work until their demands were met. Left-wing parties in France then organized a government called the **Popular Front.** Its leader, the socialist **Léon Blum,** became premier of France in 1936.

To prevent the conservatives from seizing power by force, Blum’s government carried out many reforms. The Popular Front first persuaded leaders of French industries to grant pay increases to end the strike. The government then established a 40-hour workweek and guaranteed workers the right to paid vacations. It also set up a system to negotiate labor disagreements. The Bank of France came under government control. The weapons industry underwent partial **nationalization,** meaning that it was placed under government control. Prices, however, continued to rise. Wage increases did little to help French workers. Divisions within the Popular Front also made governing difficult. Blum’s government lasted only a year.

After the fall of the Popular Front, the new French government canceled many of the reforms that had helped labor. As a result, many workers came to oppose the government. Many new political and social groups developed, some of which followed extreme approaches. Although France remained a democracy, traditional French systems of government and society were questioned. Bitter divisions grew among the French people.

**READING CHECK:** **Summarizing** What economic and political problems did France experience after World War I?

*Léon Blum’s short-lived Popular Front government tried to cope with the effects of the Great Depression.*
Great Britain After World War I

Like France, Great Britain faced serious economic problems after World War I. The money it had used to finance industrial expansion was gone and the government had to borrow money. After the war Britain’s outdated factories and machinery had trouble competing with newer American and Japanese technology. In addition, high tariffs due to economic nationalism damaged British trade.

Labor troubles. British workers suffered after the war. Disarmament left many factory workers without jobs. By 1921 nearly a quarter of Great Britain’s workforce was unemployed. The government provided unemployment benefits, but the high unemployment rate led to labor unrest. Labor unions tried to keep the high wages and employment rates of the war years. Industry leaders opposed these union demands.

Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labour Party, spoke out for the workers, but the Labour Party did not have a majority in the House of Commons. MacDonald formed a coalition government with the Liberal Party. A coalition government is made up of several parties that agree to work together. The government set a tight budget. It also protected British industry from foreign competitors and helped the construction industry. These measures helped the economy recover. They also helped Britain avoid the social unrest that toppled democratic governments elsewhere.

Ireland. In the 1920s Great Britain faced serious problems in Ireland, a country it had ruled for centuries. During the 1800s Irish nationalists demanded the right to rule themselves. By 1914 the demand for Irish independence was still not met, although the British government promised Ireland home rule once World War I was over. Many Irish nationalists, however, wanted complete independence from Great Britain. During the war Irish nationalists revolted in the Easter Rising on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916. The British ended the bloody revolt and executed many of its leaders.

The Irish nationalist Padraic Pearse was executed by the British following the Easter Rising of 1916.

**Interpreting the Visual Record**

**Easter Rising** A citizen army parades outside Liberty Hall during the Easter Rising of 1916. **What does the banner on Liberty Hall mean?**
Michael Collins, an Irish nationalist, explained the importance of the 1916 uprising. Collins noted that the execution of the Easter Rising’s leaders fueled Irish nationalism.

"It [the Easter Rising of 1916] appeared at the time of the surrender to have failed, but that valiant effort and the martyrs of [killings] which followed it finally awoke the sleeping spirit of Ireland."

Michael Collins, from *The Path to Freedom*

In 1918 members of an Irish nationalist party called Sinn Fein (SINN-FAHN) dominated the election for Irish seats in the British Parliament. Instead of taking their seats in Parliament, the Sinn Fein representatives declared themselves the representative government for an independent Irish republic. When Britain refused to recognize this new government, fighting broke out again. For several years Sinn Fein’s military, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), battled British troops in a series of violent and bitter struggles. The British received little support from the Irish people.

Finally, with a full-scale war looming, British officials offered to compromise. A settlement was ratified in 1922, dividing Ireland in two. Catholic southern Ireland became the self-governing Irish Free State, with loose ties to Great Britain. Six northern counties with a Protestant majority remained in the United Kingdom. They were known as Northern Ireland. Many Irish nationalists refused to accept this arrangement, and civil war raged again. Just a few months after the settlement was finalized, Michael Collins, who had helped negotiate the agreement, was assassinated by nationalists who felt he had betrayed his people.

In the 1930s nationalist Eamon de Valera was elected prime minister of the Irish Free State. Under his leadership, the Free State began to break away from Great Britain. By 1949 the Irish Free State had become completely independent, calling itself the Republic of Ireland. For many nationalists, however, Ireland would only be free when both north and south were reunited.

✓ **READING CHECK:** Finding the Main Idea What kinds of domestic unrest affected Great Britain during and after the war?

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**Eastern Europe**

As western European nations tried to recover from the war, new nations in eastern Europe built new governments. Instability and cultural tensions in eastern Europe had led to World War I. These problems had not disappeared with the end of the war. They reappeared in new political conflicts among nations that had little experience with democracy. In addition, these nations suffered severe economic problems. The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires disrupted old trading patterns. Policies of economic nationalism further weakened eastern European economies. Several of the new governments formed in eastern and southeastern Europe after World War I angered the land-owning classes by breaking up some estates owned by the old aristocracy and redistributing the land to peasants. However, despite cultural, economic, and political problems, many of the new nations kept democratic governments.

Postwar Austria was a small, poor nation. Many Austrians wanted to unite with Germany, but peace treaties prohibited the union. Conflicts between socialists and conservatives weakened efforts to create a democracy. A third of Austria’s population...
lived in Vienna. They struggled for control against the rest of the country’s people, who saw the nation’s needs differently. Opposing groups created private armies, leading many people to desire authoritarian rule. Austria gradually became less democratic.

Hungary became a republic in November 1918. In March 1919, Bela Kun, a Hungarian communist, overthrew the weak republic. Kun had embraced communism while in Russia during the war. Now he tried to establish a system modeled on Russia’s new government. He nationalized the land, which made many Hungarians angry. He also failed to distribute food to the people. When Russia did not provide promised assistance, Kun’s government fell.

Admiral Miklos Horthy, a member of the military class, then ruled Hungary. He found postwar reconstruction very difficult. Parts of Hungary’s prewar empire had been given to Austria, Italy, Poland, and Romania. The new boundaries cut off factories from supplies and markets. During the Great Depression, Hungary sought economic help from the League of Nations, and then from Germany and Italy. Hungary found itself with less and less control over its destiny.

Poland was located between Germany and Russia. Faced with serious economic troubles, Poland had little chance at becoming a democracy. Despite the new Polish democratic constitution, many groups bitterly opposed the government. High German tariffs crippled the Polish economy. The government became more and more unstable. In 1926 Marshal Joseph Pilsudski (pih-lsud-skii) installed a military dictatorship. By that time Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia had all replaced their democratic governments with conservative military dictatorships or monarchies.

**READING CHECK: Analyzing Information** What role did geography play in the problems that eastern European nations faced?

![Soldier-statesman Joseph Pilsudski ruled Poland with an iron hand.](image)

**SECTION 3 REVIEW**

1. **Define** and explain the significance:
   - General strike
   - Nationalization

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:
   - Maginot Line
   - Locarno Pact
   - Popular Front
   - Leon Blum
   - Ramsay MacDonald
   - Easter Rising
   - Sinn Fein
   - Irish Republican Army

3. **Analyzing Information** Copy the chart below. Use it to explain the problems each nation faced after World War I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   a. What problems did France and Great Britain face during the years following World War I?
   b. Why did some new European governments survive and others fail during the 1920s?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   **Supporting a Point of View** Imagine you are a laborer in Paris in 1934. Write a broadsheet that explains why you want people to strike.
   **Consider:**
   - France’s economic troubles during the Great Depression
   - Political threats to stability

**Homework Practice Online**

| Keyword: SH3 HP19

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550  CHAPTER 19
Fascist Dictatorships in Italy and Germany

The Main Idea
Political and economic crises after World War I helped totalitarian regimes take control in Germany and Italy.

The Story Continues
After World War I, high unemployment and economic problems helped to pave the way for the rise of totalitarian dictatorships. In Italy, Benito Mussolini played upon his country's problems to gain power, becoming the first of Europe's fascist leaders. One writer compared Mussolini to Napoleon: "...like Napoleon, he [Mussolini] could strike fear into men twice his size with a direct glance from those astonishing eyes."

The Rise of Fascism in Italy
As it did elsewhere, the war and its aftermath took its toll in Italy. The Italian government, a constitutional monarchy, seemed unable to respond effectively to these problems. One person who did offer a clear response to Italy's troubles was Benito Mussolini. As a young man, Mussolini had edited a socialist newspaper. During World War I, however, his views changed, and he became an extreme nationalist. When Mussolini returned from the war, he organized his own political party. He called it the Fascist Party and called its doctrine fascism (fash-uhm). The words fascist and fascism come from the Latin word fascis. It refers to a bundle of rods bound tightly around an ax that symbolized the authority of the government.

Fascist doctrine. Fascism relied on dictatorship and totalitarianism.
It was strongly nationalistic and militaristic and opposed to communism as well as most democratic principles. In practice, fascist and communist governments seemed much alike, in that both tried to control people through force and censorship. There were important differences between fascism and communism, however. Communism appealed to workers and promised ultimately to achieve a society without social classes in which all property is shared communally. Fascism, on the other hand, appealed to the upper and middle class. Fascism promised to preserve existing social classes and the ownership of private property. The difference in views of private property placed fascism and communism in direct opposition to one another.

Mussolini criticized democracy as a weak and ineffective form of government. When he became dictator, he took the title Il Duce (ill doo-chay), Italian for "the leader."
Among Mussolini’s first followers were discontented nationalists and soldiers returning from the war. Gradually, however, the Fascists attracted shopkeepers, artisans, and wealthy landowners. Large manufacturers interested in blocking communist gains among workers were especially drawn to fascism. These new supporters provided financial assistance to the Fascists. The lower middle class, which had been hurt by inflation, and the unemployed also supported the Fascists.

Mussolini recognized the appeal of anticommunism. He emphasized it in his programs and promised to prevent a communist revolution. Fascism began to stand for the protection of private property and the middle class. Mussolini proposed cooperation between labor and management to restore and protect the Italian economy. He stressed national pride, pledging to return Italy to the military glories of the Roman Empire.

**Mussolini’s rise to power.** The Fascists conducted a violent campaign against their opponents, especially communists and socialists. Known as Black Shirts for the color of their uniforms, Fascists broke up strikes, intimidated voters, and drove elected socialist officials from office. In October 1922, Black Shirt groups from all over Italy met in Rome. They claimed their purpose was to defend Italy against a communist revolution. In response, liberal members of the Italian parliament called upon the king to declare martial law. When the king refused, the cabinet resigned. Conservative advisers then persuaded the king to appoint Mussolini premier and to ask him to head a coalition government.

Once in office Mussolini began to destroy democracy in Italy and to set up a dictatorship. He appointed Fascists to all official positions in the central government and pushed a new election law through parliament. Under it, the party receiving the most votes would automatically gain two thirds of the seats in the lower house of parliament.

The Fascists won the election of 1924. In 1925 Mussolini was made “head of the government.” While the king was allowed to reign as a figurehead, real power was held by the Fascist Party. Mussolini took over the Ministry of War and controlled the police. A Grand Council of the Fascist Party set government policy, but it usually deferred to Mussolini.

With Mussolini firmly in control, outward signs of dictatorship appeared. Parties opposed to Fascist rule were disbanded. The government suspended basic liberties, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and trial by jury. Labor unions came under government control. Strikes were outlawed. Uniformed and secret police spied on everyone. Under Fascist rule, Italy rapidly became a police state.

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**Sons of the Wolf** Mussolini established an organization for young people called “Sons of the Wolf,” in which children were taught fascist ideas. Why might Mussolini think it was important to recruit youths to the fascist movement?
**The corporatist state.** Mussolini introduced a new and complicated system of government called corporatism, making Italy a **corporatist state.** Representation was determined by area of economic activity. Major economic activities including agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, and transportation were formed into organizations similar to corporations. By about 1934 Italy had 22 of these corporations. Within each corporation, representatives of government, labor, and management met to establish wages and prices and to agree to working conditions.

Labor unions and business leaders were expected to submit to Mussolini’s government and to cooperate with one another for the goals of the state. Private property and limited profits were permitted, however.

**READING CHECK: Finding the Main Idea** What are some aspects of fascism and corporatism?

**The Weimar Republic**

As in Italy, Germany underwent great political change after World War I. In early 1919, following the kaiser’s abdication, Germany became a republic. The following year, an assembly met in the city of Weimar (vý-mar) and drafted a constitution. The German federal republic became known as the Weimar Republic.

The German people were unhappy with the Weimar Republic because it had signed the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. Many Germans considered the Weimar Republic to be a traitor to Germany’s interests. The government faced some of the same economic, political, and social problems that all Europe faced after World War I. Unemployment was extremely high, and inflation soared. Money lost value so rapidly that printers stopped putting numbers on bills.

Both right-wing groups and communist groups tried to overthrow the republic. For example, in 1923 an uprising known as the Beer Hall Putsch occurred in Munich. It was led by a group of extreme nationalists. Although the government put down the uprising and jailed its leaders, the Beer Hall Putsch highlighted the weaknesses of the government and the growing frustrations of the German people. Adolf Hitler, a leader of the Beer Hall Putsch, seized on these frustrations to gain support for his political party—the Nazis.

**READING CHECK: Identifying Cause and Effect** Why was the Weimar Republic so weak?

**The Nazis and Hitler**

Many political parties formed in Germany after World War I. One was the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or **Nazi Party.** The party was extremely nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and anticommunist. It promised to protect Germany from communism.

As a result, the Nazis eventually attracted the support of some wealthy business leaders and landowners. One of the first Nazi recruits was Adolf Hitler. By 1921 he was head of the Nazi Party. In 1923, while imprisoned for his role in the Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). The book expressed the spirit of the Nazi movement. In it, Hitler outlined his plan for racial purity through the total elimination of all Jews and
Analyzing Primary Sources

Drawing Conclusions  What was Hitler’s primary goal for Germany?

“...if the National Socialist movement really wants to be consecrated [honored] by history with a great mission for our nation...it must find the courage to gather our people and their strength for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present restricted living space to new land and soil.”

Adolf Hitler, from Mein Kampf

Hitler’s emotional speeches attracted many listeners. He promised to repeal the Treaty of Versailles and to restore Germany’s military power. He pledged, too, to lead the nation in the recovery of its lost territory and to build a “Greater Germany.” To these promises Hitler added his racial doctrine. According to Hitler the Germans were the “master race.” All others were inferior. Many Germans were eager to follow a leader who pledged to restore their country’s lost glory.

✓ READING CHECK: Drawing Conclusions  What does the popularity of Hitler’s message reveal about the attitudes of many German people during the 1920s?

The Nazis in Power

In 1925 the Nazi Party had just 25,000 members. By 1929 the party had grown to 180,000 members. In the 1930 election, the Great Depression and continuing social and civil unrest caused many workers and middle-class voters to turn to the Nazi Party. In 1932 the party won 230 seats in the Reichstag, one house of the German parliament. By late 1932 the Nazis held more seats in the Reichstag than any other party. They did not have enough votes to claim a majority, however. In January 1933 the president of the republic appointed Hitler as chancellor. Hitler then used the private Nazi army to frighten members of the Reichstag. In 1933 someone set fire to the Reichstag building. Hitler blamed the communists and received emergency powers to deal with the supposed communist revolt. He used these powers to make himself a dictator.

A formation of uniformed German workers gives the Nazi salute to Adolf Hitler, standing in the open automobile, at Nürnberg, Germany, in 1937.
Adolf Hitler’s Rise to Power

Adolf Hitler rose from obscurity during the bleak postwar period in Weimar Germany to become an all-powerful dictator. Hitler was expert at creating “the big lie,” claiming that the greater the falsehood, the more likely it would be accepted without question. He sought to destroy Germany’s postwar parliamentary democracy from within, through policies of intimidation and violence and by using the republic’s laws and practices against it. Hitler learned to cover his drive for absolute power at any cost with a thin cloak of legality. A careful study of documents from the period of Hitler’s rise to power reveals how he used the law to undermine Germany’s democratic institutions in order to control the political system.

The Historical Background

The documents below include a chart showing the results of elections for seats in Germany’s Reichstag (representative parliament) in 1932 and 1933. Document 2 is an excerpt from Hitler’s Emergency Decree, which was based on the burning of the Reichstag in 1933. The Nazis blamed the fire on the Communists. The Decree played on Germans’ fear of disorder and revolution, which many believed was caused by the Communists. The Emergency Decree placed severe restrictions on the Communists, who were the Nazis’ biggest rivals and to whom they had lost seats in the Reichstag in the election of 1932.

Excerpt from The Emergency Decree:

"The following is decreed as a defensive measure against Communist acts of violence, endangering the state: Sections 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 of the Constitution of the German Reich are suspended until further notice. Thus, restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, on the right of assembly ... association ... warrants for house-searches, ... are also permissible beyond the legal limits otherwise prescribed."

Adolf Hitler delivers an impassioned speech to the Reichstag in 1939. Hitler frequently provoked Germans’ anger and resentment toward the international community by claiming that Germany was “stabbed in the back” by cowardly, hidden enemies during World War I.

Skills Reminder

Historians use documents as basic sources of information and evidence. Documents answer questions, support or disprove assumptions, and help historians to build theories concerning the historical record. They take many forms—written, printed, and visual. To analyze documents, first identify the opinion, fact, or issue that is the document’s subject. Then determine the document’s source, validity, and bias. Finally, place the document in its historical context and draw conclusions based upon the information that it provides.

Skills Practice

1. Study the statistical data shown in the chart above. Recognize that for any single party to gain control of the German Reichstag, it had to have a clear majority of seats. Write a paragraph describing the trends shown by the chart and what the Nazis might have done to win control of the legislature.
2. Analyze the excerpt from Hitler’s Emergency Decree. Write a general explanation of the meaning of the excerpt, including its effects on individual rights and liberties. Then describe how this document might have used German laws to reinforce Hitler’s totalitarian rule.
Once in power, Hitler took the title *der Führer* (FYOOR-ur), German for "the leader." He turned Germany into a police state, banning labor unions, opposition newspapers, and opposition political parties. He gave the Gestapo, a secret police force, wide-ranging powers. Members of so-called inferior races, especially Jews, suffered persecution. In some places the Nazis forced the Jews to live in separate neighborhoods called ghettos. Many Jews were forced to wear the Star of David, a six-pointed star that is the symbol of Judaism, on their clothing. The Nazis' political opponents were harshly suppressed or sent to concentration camps. In Nazi Germany, concentration camps were initially set up to isolate all people suspected of opposing Hitler's regime. However, in accordance with Hitler's plan to rid Germany of its Jewish population, the camps soon developed into a network for the systematic suppression and extermination of millions of Jews and other so-called "impure" population groups in Nazi-occupied countries.

Like Mussolini, Hitler promised to revive his nation's economy. He also reminded Germans of their nation's former glory. He called his rule the Third Reich. *Reich* is the German word for "empire." The first German empire had been the Holy Roman Empire. The second was the German Empire of the Hohenzollerns. Hitler declared that the Third Reich would last 1,000 years.

During the early 1930s Germany began secretly rebuilding its military. In early 1936 Hitler ordered troops into the Rhineland. This act violated the Treaty of Versailles, which prohibited Germany from keeping troops there. Neither France nor Great Britain reacted to this treaty violation. In part, this was because neither of the two powers believed that the violation was worth going to war. Hitler was encouraged by his easy success in the Rhineland. He sought an alliance with Mussolini. In the fall of 1936, the two dictators formed the Rome-Berlin Axis.

**READING CHECK:** Summarizing How did Hitler come to power in Germany, and how did he use that power to become a dictator?

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**SECTION 4 REVIEW**

1. **Define** and explain the significance:
   - Fascism
   - Corporatist state

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:
   - Benito Mussolini
   - Black Shirts
   - Nazi Party
   - Adolf Hitler
   - Third Reich
   - Rome-Berlin Axis

3. **Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the chart below. Use it to compare and contrast fascism with communism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fascism</th>
<th>Communism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government power</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   a. How did World War I contribute to the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany?
   b. How did the dictators use their power in Italy and Germany?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**

   **Supporting a Point of View** Imagine that you are an American journalist in Germany during the 1930s. Write a newspaper column persuading readers that the Nazis are determined to destroy democracy.

   **Consider:**
   - the Nazis' use of military troops
   - Nazi attacks on minority groups
Dictatorship in the Soviet Union

The Main Idea
Under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union became a powerful police state.

The Story Continues
In 1917 the Communists seized power and imprisoned Czar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children. On the night of July 18, 1918, the royal family was taken to the basement of the house where they were being held. There, the entire family was shot to death. Many Communists thought they had ended centuries of oppression under czarist rule. Within a few years, however, Russia was once again at the mercy of an absolute ruler. Joseph Stalin would prove to be one of the most brutal dictators Russia had ever experienced.

Russia Under Lenin

In 1922 the Communist leaders renamed Russia the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The people of the USSR became known as the Soviet people. The country’s name indicated that the soviets, or revolutionary councils, now held power. The USSR was divided into separate political republics joined in a federal union. Eventually the USSR included 15 of these republics.

Between 1918 and 1921, Russian leader Vladimir Lenin followed a policy known as War Communism. This policy nationalized Russian industries. Social and economic measures were not based on a long-range plan, however. Communist leaders had to develop a program to build their new society in Russia.

War Communism did little to improve the Russian economy. In 1920 Russian farmers produced significantly less grain than they had grown before World War I. Factory production was less than one-sixth of its prewar levels. By 1921 the Communist leadership faced economic collapse and social disorder. In response, Lenin announced the New Economic Policy (NEP). The major industries—heavy industry, communications, transportation, and the credit system—remained under government control. The NEP allowed some free enterprise, however. Individuals could buy, sell, and trade farm products. Some private business, especially among peasants, was allowed. A new class of small businessmen, the Nepmen, arose. The Nepmen traded in domestic goods and helped manufacturers secure needed materials.

Soviet agriculture made important changes in this period. During the revolution farmlands had been seized from wealthy landlords and divided among the peasants. The government tried to persuade peasants to form collective farms. Land was pooled into large farms on which people worked together as a group. On a collective farm, peasants shared the scarce modern farm machinery.
**Women’s roles.** The Communists claimed to believe that men and women in Soviet society should be equal. In 1917 they declared that women should receive equal pay for work equal to that of men. Women were also granted time off from work to take care of newborn babies. In addition, the Soviet government made it much easier to obtain a divorce. As a result, the Soviet Union had one of the highest divorce rates in Europe.

Many male Communist Party members and peasants who preferred traditional values tried to limit women’s gains, however. Many women still received lower pay than men. They faced higher rates of unemployment. Few women held positions of authority within the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

**Education.** Soviet leaders emphasized education. They hoped to increase literacy rates and to teach socialist doctrine in the schools. In addition, they established technical schools to train industrial workers. Educators had limited success, however, partly because they lacked funds. Students lacked supplies such as pencils and notebooks. Some schools closed in the winter because they lacked heat. Moreover, the government emphasized higher education, often ignoring the needs of elementary schools. As a result, in 1925 Soviet students averaged fewer than three years in school.

*READING CHECK:* Finding the Main Idea What reforms took place in the USSR under Lenin?

**The Five-Year Plan**

When Lenin died in 1924, a power struggle took place within the Communist Party. The main rivals for power were Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Trotsky was a talented party organizer. He had almost single-handedly created the Red Army that defended the Bolshevik Revolution. Stalin was a leader of the party.

Trotsky and Stalin had differing views regarding the best way to make Communism succeed. Trotsky followed the strict Marxist belief that revolution should take place among workers all over the world. Stalin broke with this doctrine and advocated “socialism in one country.” Stalin argued that after socialism succeeded in the Soviet Union, revolution would spread to the rest of the world. A merciless struggle began between Trotsky and Stalin and their followers within the Communist Party. By 1928 Stalin had emerged as the leader. Trotsky, in turn, was exiled from the Soviet Union. He was later murdered in Mexico on Stalin’s orders.

Stalin believed the economy was not growing quickly enough. Peasants were refusing to sell wheat at the low prices set by the government. In 1928 Stalin ended the NEP. He returned to a command economy, in which the government controlled all economic decisions. Stalin wanted to make government control of the economy a permanent part of Soviet life.

In 1928 the government released the first Five-Year Plan for economic growth. The plan set ambitious agricultural, industrial, and social goals for the next five years. Stalin wanted to double the production of oil and coal, and triple the output of steel.
Stalin intended the Five-Year Plan to turn the Soviet Union into a modern, industrialized society. The planners hoped that collective farming would produce enough food for the Soviet people as well as a surplus for export. Money received from farm exports would help pay for modern machinery. This new machinery would advance the growth of Soviet industry.

The Five-Year Plan caused hardships for the Soviet people. Government efforts to have peasants voluntarily join collective farms failed. The government then forced people to accept the policy. All farms were to be merged into collectives. Peasants had to join or suffer severe punishment. Those who tried to keep their lands faced execution, exile, or imprisonment. The government turned about 90 percent of the productive farmland into collective farms. The Five-Year Plan actually decreased agricultural production, however, and millions of people died as a result of famine and crop failure.

Despite such failures, the Soviet economy grew under the Five-Year Plan. For example, steel production increased dramatically. A second Five-Year Plan, even broader than the first, went into effect in 1933. Soviets who expected an increase in consumer goods or food supply as a reward for their hard work were disappointed. Production of consumer goods actually decreased. The government focused its efforts on expanding heavy industry, especially military production. Rather than a reward, the Soviet people faced harder times as consumer goods and food became scarcer.

✔️ READING CHECK: Evaluating What effect did Stalin’s Five-Year Plan have on Soviet life?

Stalin’s Dictatorship

Before communism, the czars had used secret police and spies to maintain their absolute rule. Stalin, like Lenin, used similar tactics. Under Stalin the Soviet people were ruled by fear. People had to obey the demands of the Communist Party without complaint or face punishment such as imprisonment or death.

Religion and art were two areas of Soviet life that the government attempted to control. Soviet officials discouraged religious worship and seized the property of the Orthodox Church. Churches and Jewish houses of worship were destroyed or converted into public buildings. Government officials ordered the imprisonment and execution of many ministers, priests, and rabbis. They outlawed religious instruction in schools. The works of artists, musicians, and writers were subjected to government control and censorship. Artists were ordered to produce works of “socialist realism” as proof of their loyalty to the state.
**Government under Stalin.** In 1936 Stalin proclaimed a new Soviet constitution. This constitution kept the basic framework of government that had existed under Lenin. The Supreme Soviet, the parliamentary body, met twice a year. The Council of People’s Commissars, which later was renamed the Council of Ministers, held executive and administrative authority. On paper the Soviet government appeared to be democratic. In reality, however, most power lay in the hands of the Politburo (Political Bureau) of the Communist Party. The Supreme Soviet elected members to the Politburo, which was a small committee. Stalin controlled the Politburo. He was a dictator with almost complete authority.

Stalin’s dictatorship grew harsher over time. In 1934 an important official in the Communist Party was assassinated. Stalin responded with a **purge**—a large-scale elimination—of party members who were supposedly disloyal to him. He used brutality, intimidation, and public trials staged for show to rid the party of members who he claimed were disloyal or were working against the interests of the state. The purge expanded to include the general population. People could be imprisoned without a trial for the most minor offenses.

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**The Soviet Union in 1936**

**Interpreting Maps** The USSR included Russia, as well as Azerbaijan, Uzbek, Kirghiz, and Georgia, among others.

**Skills Assessment: Human Systems** What cities’ names show the influence of the Revolution?
Scholars estimate that by 1939 more than 5 million people had been arrested, deported, imprisoned in forced labor camps, or executed. One Soviet author recalled the injustice that a peasant experienced.

"Another peasant, with six children, met a different fate. Because he had six mouths to feed he devoted himself wholeheartedly to collective farm work, and he kept hoping he would get some return for his labor. And he did—they awarded him a decoration. They awarded it at a special assembly, made speeches. In his reply, the peasant got carried away. He said, 'Now if I could just have a sack of flour instead of this decoration! Couldn't I somehow?' A wolflike laugh rocketed through the hall, and the newly decorated hero went off to exile, together with all six of those dependent mouths.'"

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, from The Gulag Archipelago

**Foreign policy.** The Soviet Union's foreign policy during the 1920s and 1930s was confusing. On the one hand, the new Communist government wanted other established nations to accept it. On the other hand, the Soviets supported the Communist International or Comintern. Lenin had founded this organization to spread the Communist revolution throughout the world. The Comintern worked to overthrow democracies by urging workers in other countries to rebel. These open calls for revolution caused fear and suspicion outside the Soviet Union.

**READING CHECK:**

**Summarizing** What was the relationship between the ordinary Soviet citizen and the state during the era of Stalin's rule?

**Remains of a Soviet gulag**

**SECTION 5 REVIEW**

1. **Define** and explain the significance:
   - collective farms
   - command economy
   - purge

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:
   - New Economic Policy
   - Leon Trotsky
   - Joseph Stalin
   - Five-Year Plan
   - Politburo
   - Comintern

3. **Comparing** Copy the chart below and use it to compare the NEP and the first Five-Year Plan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEP</th>
<th>5 Yr. Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumer goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic freedom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   a. How did Joseph Stalin rise to power?
   b. Why did the Soviet system of government make the development of a police state possible?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Drawing Inferences** Imagine that you are a Soviet citizen living under Stalin's rule. Write a letter that you secretly smuggle to a friend in the United States. Your smuggled letter describes Soviet life.

**Consider:**
- Stalin's economic policies
- life in the Stalinist police state

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**Homework Practice Online**

**Keyword:** SH3 HP19
Creating a Time Line

Copy the timeline below on to a sheet of paper. Complete the time line by filling in the events, individuals, and dates from the chapter that you think were significant. Pick three events and explain why you think they were significant.

1920 1929 1936

Writing a Summary

Using standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation, write an overview of the events in the chapter.

Identifying People and Ideas

Identify the following terms or individuals and explain their significance:

1. Igor Stravinsky
2. cubism
3. economic nationalism
4. Franklin Roosevelt
5. general strike
6. Popular Front
7. fascism
8. Third Reich
9. collective farms
10. command economy

Understanding Main Ideas

Section 1 (pp. 535–541)
The Postwar Era

1. How did Freud’s notion of the irrational and the subconscious influence postwar literature?
2. How did technology lead to advances in architecture?

Section 2 (pp. 542–545)
Postwar Prosperity Crumbles

3. What was the effect of the U.S. stock market crash in 1929?
4. What New Deal programs led to reforms in the American economy?

Section 3 (pp. 546–550)
Political Tensions After World War I

5. What economic and political problems did France face after World War I?
6. What economic and political problems did eastern European nations face after World War I?

Section 4 (pp. 551–556)
Fascist Dictatorships in Italy and Germany

7. What role did communism play in Mussolini’s rise to power?

8. How did Hitler turn Germany into a police state after 1933?

Section 5 (pp. 557–561)
Dictatorship in the Soviet Union

9. What was the goal of the first Five-Year Plan?
10. How did Stalin insure loyalty from government and party officials and from the Soviet people?

Reviewing Themes

1. Global Relations Why did western European nations and the United States fail to respond to Germany’s violations of the Treaty of Versailles?
2. Government How did Hitler use Germany’s democratic system to gain control over the country?
3. Culture How did the work of Freud and Einstein influence culture during the 1920s?

Thinking Critically

1. Evaluating Why were Allied nations in western Europe more successful at remaining democratic after World War I?
2. Drawing Conclusions Why did nations practice economic nationalism if this policy only prolonged the depression?
3. Identifying Cause and Effect Why might there be a relationship between communist or fascist doctrines and the development of a police state?
4. Finding the Main Idea What was life like for the average Soviet citizen during the 1930s?

Writing About History

Comparing and Contrasting Use the chart below to explain similarities and differences between communism and fascism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Fascism</th>
<th>Communism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual rights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Using Artifacts as Historical Evidence

Study the photograph below. Then answer the questions that follow.

Classic 1920s U.S. touring car

1. Which of the following statements best summarizes the historical evidence this artifact gives?
   a. Some automobiles of this period were meant to be driven over long distances.
   b. All automobiles of this period were large.
   c. Only very wealthy people could afford to own an automobile.
   d. Some automobiles of this period may have been designed to be symbols of comfort and luxury.

2. What can you infer about 1920s lifestyles in the United States from this artifact? Give specific examples.

Linking Literature to History

Read the following excerpt from the 1934 "Ballad of Roosevelt" by poet Langston Hughes, a leader of the Harlem Renaissance. Then answer the questions.

"Sister got sick
   And the doctor wouldn't come
   Cause we couldn't pay him
   The proper sum—
   A-waitin' on Roosevelt,
   Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
   A-waitin' on Roosevelt.
   Then one day
   They put us out o' the house.
   Ma and Pa was
   Meek as a mouse
   Still waitin' on Roosevelt,
   Roosevelt, Roosevelt."

3. Which statement best describes the author's main point?
   a. Many families lost their homes during the depression.
   b. Roosevelt's relief programs did not do enough to help.
   c. Even though many people were poor during the depression, they did not complain.
   d. Medical services were almost nonexistent during the depression.

4. How does the author's view of the depression compare with what really happened? Give specific examples.

Alternative Assessment

Building Your Portfolio

Life for many during the years of the Great Depression was a struggle to survive in the face of nearly overwhelming economic hardship. Use the library, the Internet, and other sources to research living conditions in the United States, Great Britain, France, or another industrialized nation during the depression. Then use pictures, drawings, or other visual images to build a collage that reflects your findings.

Internet Activity: go.hrw.com

KEYWORD: SH3 WH19

Choose a topic on the Great Depression and the Rise of Totalitarianism to:

• create a pamphlet on the Spanish Civil War.
• create a graph and database on U.S. economic cycles.
• write journal entries from the point of view of a teenager living in the Great Depression.

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