

# PERIOD 6: Accelerating Global Change and Realignment, c. 1900 to the Present

**Chapter 25** *The World War I Era, 1900–1919*

**Chapter 26** *The Interwar Years, 1919–1939*

**Chapter 27** *World War II*

**Chapter 28** *The Cold War Era*

**Chapter 29** *Decolonization*

**Chapter 30** *Post-Cold War World, 1990–Present*

## Period Overview

Scientific research after 1900 revolutionized how people thought, lived, and interacted with nature. Innovative theories reshaped human understanding of everything from how the universe began to the unconscious forces influencing individual behavior. Dramatic increases in agricultural productivity combined with medical breakthroughs such as the development of antibiotics to fight infections made people healthier and extended life, resulting in a population explosion. At the same time, new forms of birth control increased the control women had over their lives.

However, advances in technology and population growth intensified the human impact on the planet, resulting in air pollution, water pollution, deforestation, desertification, and global warming. In addition, improved military technology, including tanks, planes, and atomic weapons, increased wartime casualties.

The political order of the world in 1900 was dominated by a small number of countries in Europe, along with Russia, Japan, and the United States. Throughout the twentieth century, these states fought one another for power and struggled to maintain control of other lands. The result was a century with World War I and World War II, frequent large wars, endless small wars, and four decades of tense ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. By the end of the century, the old empires had collapsed, as most colonies had won their independence through negotiation or war.

The frequent wars and the rapid economic changes caused extensive global migrations as people fled violence and searched for economic opportunity. In the midst of all this upheaval, women were winning the right to vote and were challenging traditional divisions between the roles and opportunities for each gender.

In response to economic challenges, governments in Europe, the United States, India, and most countries increasingly influenced economic decisions. Communist governments such as the Soviet Union and China experimented with total control over the economy. The Soviets eventually abandoned the effort and China moved toward a more market-oriented approach.

The twentieth century featured the increasing role of transnationalism—the global reorganization of production in which the development of a product or service is split between multiple locations around the world. From regional organizations (the European Union) to collections of countries (United Nation) to humanitarian groups (Red Cross) to entertainment (Bollywood) to large corporations (Sony), people were working together across national borders in all aspects of life.

## Key Concepts

### 6.1 Science and the Environment

- I. Researchers made rapid advances in science that spread throughout the world, assisted by the development of new technology.
- II. During a period of unprecedented global population expansion, humans fundamentally changed their relationship with the environment.
- III. Disease, scientific innovations, and conflict led to demographic shifts.

### 6.2 Global Conflicts and Their Consequences

- I. Europe dominated the global political order at the beginning of the 20th century, but both land-based and transoceanic empires gave way to new states by the century's end.
- II. Emerging ideologies of anti-imperialism contributed to the dissolution of empires and the restructuring of states.
- III. Political changes were accompanied by major demographic and social consequences.
- IV. Military conflicts occurred on an unprecedented global scale.
- V. Although conflict dominated much of the 20th century, many individuals and groups—including states—opposed this trend. Some individuals and groups, however, intensified the conflicts.

### 6.3 New Conceptualizations of Global Economy, Society, and Culture

- I. States responded in a variety of ways to the economic challenges of the 20th century.
- II. States, communities, and individuals became increasingly interdependent, a process facilitated by the growth of institutions of global governance.
- III. People conceptualized society and culture in new ways; rights-based discourses challenged old assumptions about race, class, gender, and religion. In much of the world, access to education, as well as participation in new political and professional roles, became more inclusive in terms of race, class, and gender.
- IV. Popular and consumer culture became global.

Source: AP® World History Curriculum Framework, 2016–2017

## The World War I Era, 1900–1919

*If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood  
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,  
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud  
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—  
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest  
To children ardent for some desperate glory,  
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est  
Pro patria mori.*

—Wilfred Owen, from “Dulce et Decorum Est”

**B**ritish poet Wilfred Owen’s “Dulce et Decorum Est” is one of the most famous war poems of the twentieth century. Most of the poem describes the horrors of modern warfare, and the final lines of the excerpt, translated as “It is sweet and noble to die for one’s country,” he labels “the old Lie.” World War I, which lasted from 1914 to 1918, was known as *the Great War*, not because of its positive nature, but because of the immense scale of the fighting. No previous war had involved as many nations from different parts of the world and few had killed as many soldiers *and* civilians. However, World War I did more than create an enormous body count. It fundamentally weakened the Western European powers, thus encouraging the growth of nationalism and appeals for self-rule within European colonies in Asia and Africa. The treaties signed at the end of this war arguably set the stage for World War II. World War I was easily one of the most influential events of the twentieth century.

### Immediate Causes of the Great War

The final straw in a series of events that led to World War I was *Gavrilo Princip’s* assassination of *Archduke Francis Ferdinand* and his wife, Sophie, on June 28, 1914. Princip, a Serbian nationalist, was a member of the *Black Hand*, a nationalist organization devoted to ending Austro-Hungarian presence in the Balkans. From the Austro-Hungarian perspective, the Black Hand was a terrorist group. Immediately following the assassinations, the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent an ultimatum to the Serbian government, demanding that it work to end all anti-Austrian agitation in Serbia. When the Serbian government rejected the ultimatum, the Austro-Hungarian Empire looked to

its ally Germany, a stronger nation with more firepower, for military assistance to punish Serbia. Serbia, populated by ethnic Slavs looked to other Slavic countries, particularly Russia, for help. Russia and Germany's entrance into the conflict changed a minor issue into a large war in August 1914.

## Long-Term Causes of the Great War

Princip's actions were not the sole cause of World War I. Rather, tensions in Europe had been simmering for decades. One way to remember the sources of such tensions is with the acronym MAIN: militarism, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism.

**Militarism** Defined as aggressive military preparedness, *militarism* celebrates war and the armed forces. European powers had been competing for dominance; one way to prove their strength was to invest in the military. Great Britain and Germany in particular spent a great deal of money on building up their armies and navies, heavily recruiting young men to join their armed forces, and buying more ships and other military hardware. A nation's militaristic attitude influenced its public to view war as a festive competition, more similar to a game than to a gravely serious matter.

**Alliances** In their quest for power, European nations also formed *secret alliances*, groups whose members secretly agree to protect and help one another when attacked. When one member of an alliance was attacked in any way, the other members of the alliance were expected to stand up for that particular member. This system explains why Russia and Germany were ready to jump into the conflict between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.

Further, countries that were allied with particular countries were also sworn enemies of members of other alliances. For example, Britain and France were allies with Russia in the *Triple Entente*., but they also viewed Germany as a rival. France was bitter that Germany had taken French land during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). Britain competed with Germany for colonies in Africa. After the war began, the Triple Entente added the United States, China, and Japan. This diverse group became known as the *Allies* during World War I.

The Allies' rival alliance before the war was known as the *Triple Alliance*, composed of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. However, when the war began, Italy remained neutral and then in 1915 switched its allegiance and joined the Allies. At the outbreak of the war, the Ottoman Empire joined the Triple Alliance, which was also called the *Central Powers*.

**Imperialism** The alliance system developed largely because Western European countries became bitter rivals for global domination. One of the most important ways these nations could assert their power and generate wealth was to own overseas colonies. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, for example, Western European countries scrambled for any available land in Africa to add to the colonies they already owned in South and Southeast Asia, in the Americas, and in the Pacific. Thus, imperialism was a driving force behind tensions in Europe leading up to the archduke's assassination.

**Nationalism** The assassination of the archduke in June 1914, the immediate cause of war, reflects the growth of nationalism, the final long-term cause of the Great War. On a basic level, nationalism originates from a feeling of pride in one's identity. Multinational empires such as the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had to contend with nationalist movements among their subject peoples. Serbs, such as Princip, were eager to rid their land of Austro-Hungarian conquerors, and Arabs tired of the limitations imposed upon them by the Ottoman Empire. Both groups were seeking *self-determination*—the idea that peoples of the same ethnicity, language, culture, and political ideals should be united and should have the right to form an independent nation state. Militant nationalists among Serbs and Arabs fought on the side of the Allies, thus extending the boundaries of the Great War.

Understanding the role of militarism, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism during the years leading up to 1914 is essential to comprehension of this complicated conflict.

## Changes in Warfare

Many modern-day films such as *Saving Private Ryan*, set during World War II, and *Platoon*, set during the Vietnam War, show that war is *not* a glorious experience, but most Europeans saw warfare differently during the first few months of World War I. Hundreds of thousands of teenage boys enthusiastically enlisted in the military, dreaming of heroism. Wartime assemblies sounded more like high school pep rallies, in which speakers naively predicted swift and easy victories in battles against supposedly inferior enemies. Leaders of some of the socialist parties were among the few Europeans who spoke out against the war. Even socialists were divided on the issue, however, as many supported the war effort of their nation.

At the time, few people actually understood how brutal twentieth-century warfare could be. Only over the years of fighting would the horrific effects of new advances in war technology and tactics, such as poison gas, machine guns, airplanes, submarines, tanks, and trench warfare become apparent.

- *Poison gas* was one of the most insidious weapons of the new style of warfare. Chlorine, phosgene, and mustard gas were used during World War I. Soldiers were soon equipped with gas masks, which were effective when used in a timely fashion. Although fatalities were limited, the effects of a gas attack could be extremely painful and long-lasting. Many veterans suffered permanent damage to their lungs. After the war, international treaties outlawed the use of poison gas.
- Developed in the late 1800s, *machine guns* could fire more than 500 rounds of ammunition per minute, increasing the deadly impact of warfare. The weapon made it difficult for either side in a battle to gain new territory.
- Although *submarines* were used briefly in the American Civil War, they played a larger part in World War I, causing havoc on the shipping lanes of the Atlantic Ocean.

- *Airplanes* in 1914 were still light and small and unable to carry many weapons. Therefore, they did not present much of a threat to troops or vehicles on the ground or ships at sea. Planes were used mainly to carry on reconnaissance (observation) of enemy lines.
- *Tanks* allowed armies to move across vast areas of difficult terrain, even over trenches.
- The defining experience for most soldiers in this war was the time spent in the trenches, long ditches dug in the ground with the excavated earth banked in front in order to defend against enemy fire. *Trench warfare* was not a glorious way to fight a war. Combatant nations dug hundreds of miles of trenches facing one another, and soldiers slept, ate, and fought in the trenches for months at a time. Trenches were often cold, wet, muddy, and rat-infested. Many soldiers died from disease caused by the unhygienic conditions. Erich Maria Remarque's 1929 novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and the 1930 film based on it, give a vivid sense of a soldier's life in the trenches during World War I. Remarque himself was a young German soldier during the war.

With both the Central Powers and the Allies using brutal weapons and tactics, neither side could defeat the other. The result was a bloody four-year *stalemate* in which the suffering and death went on and on. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph comparing and contrasting warfare during World War I with the warfare before and during World War II. See pages 516 and 542–543.)

## United States Entrance into the War

Economic ties between the United States and the Allies comprised one of the underlying reasons for U.S. entry into the war in 1917. In addition, many Americans believed that the Allied nations were more democratic than the Central Powers were. A third reason was growing resentment against the Germans, especially for *U-boat* (submarine) attacks on ships carrying civilians, including Americans. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine attacked and sank the *Lusitania*, an ocean liner carrying more than 100 U.S. citizens among its passengers. The event that finally pushed the United States into the war was the interception of the *Zimmermann Telegram* in January 1917. In this document, the German government offered to help Mexico reclaim territory it had lost to the United States in 1848 if Mexico allied with Germany in the war.

## The Russian Revolution

The Great War made an already unstable Russia even more chaotic. Russian troops suffered a number of defeats with devastating numbers of casualties. Government mismanagement led to fuel and food shortages during the winter of 1916–1917, causing popular uprisings in St. Petersburg. In March 1917, revolutionary groups overthrew Tsar Nicholas II. The Romanov dynasty, after 300 years of rule, collapsed.

The monarchy was replaced by a provisional government that included socialists, liberals, and conservatives. Vying for political power outside of the Duma, the Russian parliament, were several *soviets*, groups of workers or soldiers led by socialists, which promised the Russian people reforms such as land redistribution and better opportunities for education. A few months after the fall of the tsar, Vladimir Lenin returned to Russia from exile in Switzerland. He was the leader of the *Bolsheviks*, a party of radical socialists that seized power in November 1917, promising “peace, land, and bread” to hungry, war-weary Russians. (Test Prep: Create a chart that compares the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions. See pages 557–558.)

Throughout the 1917 upheavals, Russian troops continued to suffer an astounding number of casualties on the Eastern Front of the war against the Central Powers. Four months after he took control of the Russian government, Lenin appealed for peace with Germany. In March 1918, the leaders of the new *Soviet Russia* signed the *Treaty of Brest-Litovsk* with Germany, ending Russia’s involvement in World War I. The treaty called for Russia to hand over to Germany an enormous amount of land, including most of Ukraine. But the treaty gave the new Bolshevik government time to concentrate on building a *Communist* state based on Marxist principles of common ownership of all property. The Bolshevik government also had to fight a civil war against anti-Communist forces that were supported by France, Britain, Japan, and the United States. In November 1920, the Russian government declared victory.

## Total War

Combatant nations intensified the conflict in World War I by committing all of their resources to the war effort. This strategy, known as *total war*, meant that a nation’s domestic population, in addition to its military, was committed to winning the war. Thus, millions of civilians, particularly women, worked in factories producing war materials. Entire economies were centered on winning the war. Governments set up planning boards that set production quotas, price and wage controls, and rationing of food and other supplies. They censored the media and imprisoned many who spoke out against the war effort.

Propaganda was another component of total war. *Propaganda* is communication meant to influence the attitudes and opinions of a community around a particular subject by spreading inaccurate or slanted information. Governments invested heavily in army and navy recruitment campaigns and other wartime propaganda. Posters and articles in newspapers and magazines often depicted the enemy crudely or misrepresented the facts of the war completely. For example, American and British propaganda demonized the German army, exaggerating reports of atrocities against civilians. Likewise, German propaganda demonized the Americans and the British. The use of highly emotional and often misleading information fomented hatred and bitterness across borders, among civilians as well as soldiers.



Source: Library of Congress



Source: Library of Congress

Posters recruiting sailors and soldiers for World War I in the United States and Great Britain reflected how governments used art and media to appeal to nationalist feelings in the early twentieth century.

## A Global War

World War I was fought in Europe, Asia, and Africa and in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Not since the Seven Years' War of the late eighteenth century had there been such a *global war*. Most of the major combatants in World War I ruled colonies in Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Pacific. Competition for these colonies was one major reason for war. Imperialism extended the boundaries of the war, and major battles were fought in North Africa and the Middle East. Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies so that it could take control of German colonies in the Pacific: the Marshall Islands, the Mariana Islands, Palau, and the Carolines. Japan also occupied a German-held port in China: Qingdao.

The British seized most of Germany's colonies in Africa, but the Germans held on to German East Africa, now Tanzania. The British also defended the Suez Canal from an attack by the Ottoman Empire.

Colonial troops reinforced their home countries' forces in several battles. Australian and New Zealand troops formed a special corps known as *ANZAC* and fought in a bloody year-long campaign at *Gallipoli*, a peninsula in northwestern Turkey, that resulted in heavy Allied losses with little to show for the effort. Canadian troops fought in several European battles. Britain drafted Africans and Indians for combat roles in Europe. Some 200,000 Gurkha soldiers from Nepal, India, served in the British Army in Europe and Southwest



Asia. France used Algerian, Chinese, and Vietnamese forces in support roles behind the lines. Some colonial troops fought in hopes that their efforts would gain them recognition from their colonizers, who often promised the colonies self-rule (ability to establish own government) after the war ended.

Arabs, long under the rule of the multinational Ottoman Empire, fought with the Allies because the British promised self-rule after the war if they were victorious. Arab troops attacked Ottoman forts in Arabia and present-day Israel and helped the British take over the cities of Baghdad, Damascus, and Jerusalem.



Source: Library of Congress



Source: Library of Congress



Source: Library of Congress



Source: Library of Congress

World War I armies included soldiers from Senegal in West Africa (upper left), France in Western Europe (upper right), India in South Asia (lower left), and Japan in Eastern Asia (lower right).

## Casualties of the War

After three years of a bloody stalemate, the United States entered the war in 1917, despite considerable popular protests in the United States against American involvement. By the summer of 1918, when U.S. forces were finally in place in Europe, U.S. actions helped push the war in the Allies' favor. Allied advances against the Central Powers forced Germany to surrender on November 11, 1918, now known as *Armistice Day*.

Between 8 million and 9 million soldiers died in the Great War, with more than 21 million wounded. In France, Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, less than half of all young men who fought for their countries returned physically unharmed. Soldiers who did return often bore emotional scars.

World War I Casualties				
Country	Alliance	Dead (in millions)	Wounded (in millions)	Imprisoned (in millions)
Germany	Central Powers	1.8	4.2	0.6
Russia	Allies	1.7	5.0	0.5
France	Allies	1.4	3.0	0.5
Austria-Hungary	Central Powers	1.2	3.6	0.2
Great Britain	Allies	0.9	2.1	0.2
Italy	Allies	0.5	1.0	0.5
Turkey	Central Powers	0.3	0.4	Not known
United States	Allies	0.1	0.2	Less than 0.05

**Atrocities** Civilian casualties were harder to record, but estimates range anywhere from 6 million to 13 million. This was one of the first modern wars where civilians were considered legitimate targets in battle. Although the Allies' propaganda often exaggerated accounts of atrocities, reports of German soldiers raping women and killing families during their march through Belgium were quite common.

The most shocking example of such atrocities were the deaths of between 600,000 and 1.5 million Armenians in Turkey. This action has been called the twentieth century's first *genocide*, the attempted killing of a group of people based on their race, religion, or ethnicity. The Ottoman government alleged that the Christian Armenians, a minority within the Ottoman Empire, were cooperating with the Russian army, the Ottoman's enemy during World War I. As punishment for this cooperation, the Ottoman government deported Armenians from their homes between 1915 and 1917 and forced them south to camps in Syria and Mesopotamia, present-day Iraq. Many Armenians died because of starvation, disease, or exposure to the elements, and some were executed by Turkish troops. Armenians have argued that the deaths constituted genocide, a Turkish attempt to eliminate the Armenian people. The Turkish government has said the deaths were the result of actions of war, ethnic conflicts, and disease, not genocide. (Test Prep: Create a graphic organizer comparing the Armenian genocide with the Nazis' extermination of millions of Jews. See page 542.)

**Pandemic** War-related deaths continued past Armistice Day in the form of an *influenza epidemic*. Under peacetime circumstances, a virulent disease might devastate a concentrated group of people in a particular region. However, in 1918, millions of soldiers were returning home as the war ended. As they did, they had contact with loved ones and friends, thereby facilitating the spread of the flu. In 1919, the epidemic became a *pandemic* (a disease prevalent over a large area

or the entire world), killing 20 million people in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. India alone may have lost 7 million people to the disease.

The worldwide spread of the disease was another sign that while nationalism remained a powerful political force, improvements in transportation were creating a global culture that would create global challenges. Whether people could create effective international responses was unclear.

**Dismay and Fear** A more intangible casualty of the war was the loss of a sense of security and hopefulness. The term *Lost Generation*, first used to describe American expatriate writers living in Paris after the war, came to be used more broadly to describe those suffering from the shock of the war.

## Paris Peace Conference

The war itself greatly damaged Europe. However, the treaty conference held in its wake would have even more profound effects on the entire world. The leaders of the victorious countries at the *Paris Peace Conference* became known as the *Big Four*: Woodrow Wilson (United States), David Lloyd George (Great Britain), Georges Clemenceau (France), and Vittorio Orlando (Italy). The Italians walked out of the peace conference in a rage because Italy would not get Fiume, a town they had been promised for joining the Allies. Soviet Russia, later called the *Soviet Union*, was not invited to the conference because it had undergone a Communist revolution. Western leaders shunned Russian leaders because they were terrified of the spread of Communist ideas.

The Big Four had different visions of how to settle the peace. President Wilson's pledge to establish "peace without victory" reflected his belief that no one country should be severely punished or greatly rewarded. France's Clemenceau rejected this view: he believed that France, out of all the Allies represented at the conference, had suffered the most and thus deserved special considerations to be protected from Germany. He also argued that the victorious powers should seek some sort of revenge on the Central Powers for starting the war. Clemenceau complained that Wilson was an unrealistic idealist who was naive about European relations, even though Wilson had a Ph.D. in history. David Lloyd George tended to support Clemenceau's ideas, but he often acted as an intermediary between the two differing points of view.

**Fourteen Points** Despite Clemenceau's protests, Wilson pushed for his principles, which he outlined in a document called the *Fourteen Points*. He particularly wanted to create a *League of Nations*, an organization in which all nations of the world would convene to discuss conflicts openly, as a way to avoid the simmering tensions that had caused World War I. Although the other nations agreed to establish the League, the U.S. Senate voted against joining it and against ratifying the *Treaty of Versailles*, the 1919 peace treaty with Germany.

Wilson also believed that conquered peoples under the defeated Central Powers deserved the right to self-determination. Instead of the colonies and territories of the Central Powers being snatched up by the Allies, conquered peoples should have the right to decide their own political fate. Quite a few

new nations were created or resurrected in Europe: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The last three of these were home to Slavic peoples.

**The Treaty of Versailles** Because Wilson failed to convince France and Britain not to punish Germany, the Treaty of Versailles treated Germany harshly. Most notably, Germany had to pay billions of dollars in *reparations* (payment of money for wrongs committed) for damage caused by the war, give up all of its colonies, and restrict the size of its armed forces. Germans took the entire blame for the war. Signing the treaty was humiliating for German leaders. Moreover, the terms of the treaty caused tremendous damage to the nation during the decade following World War I. The German economy suffered from sky-high inflation, partly due to the reparations the country was forced to pay. The German people were bitter in the immediate aftermath of the Paris Peace Conference. Resentment toward the *Weimar Government*, which had agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, set the stage for an extreme and militaristic political party known as the Nazis to take power barely 15 years later.

## Effects of the War

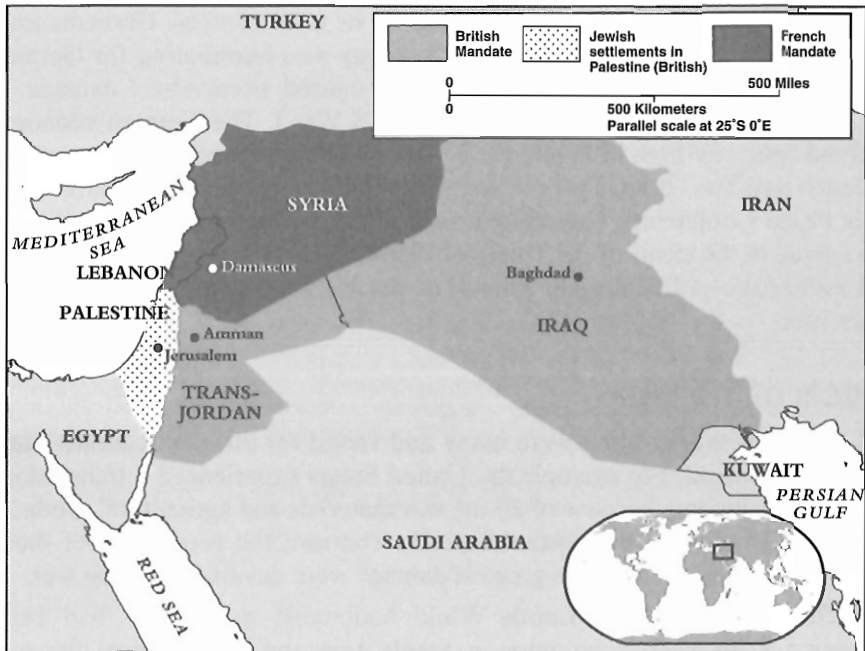
The effects of World War I were many and varied for different countries and areas of the world. For example, the United States experienced a tremendous surge in its economy because of all the war materials and agricultural products it sold to Britain and the other Allies. By contrast, the economies of those countries that experienced the greatest damage were devastated by the war.

**Effects on Colonial Lands** While nationalist movements had been brewing for decades in colonies in South Asia and West Africa, the war renewed the hopes of people in these regions for independence. African and Asian colonial troops contributed thousands of soldiers to the Allied war effort. In addition, this disastrous war showed colonial peoples that imperial powers such as Britain and France were not invincible or even formidable anymore. The colonized peoples thought that the principle of self-determination, as expressed in Wilson's Fourteen Points, would get them closer to self-rule. Nationalists in Africa and Asia hoped that the blood they had shed for their "home countries" would earn them some respect from Western Europe and thus begin a *decolonization* process.

The peace conference's *Big Three*—Lloyd George, Wilson, and Clemenceau—were not at all interested in freeing the colonies. Wilson even refused to meet with a young Vietnamese nationalist, Ho Chi Minh, who requested to speak with him about the independence of Vietnam from the French. This rejection only fueled stronger nationalist movements in colonies scattered across the southern rim of Asia and in parts of Africa. The seeds of African, Arab, and Asian, nationalism were sown largely in the aftermath of World War I. (and Test Prep: Write a brief paragraph connecting self-rule after World War I with later movements for independence. See pages 573–590.)

**Mandate System** Arab rebels of the former Ottoman Empire were especially insulted by the results of the peace conference. They had been promised self-rule if they fought with the Allies. Instead, the Allies forgot all of their promises and, through the League of Nations, established a *mandate system* to rule the colonies and territories of the Central Powers.

#### MANDATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER WORLD WAR I



Article 22 of the League of Nations charter specifically stated that colonized people in Africa and Asia required “tutelage” from more “advanced” nations in order to survive. For example, Cameroon, which had been a German colony, was divided and transferred to France and Britain as separate mandates.

Southwest Asia experienced enormous upheaval because of the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq all became League of Nations mandates. These Arab states were not yet sovereign lands but virtual colonies of Great Britain and France. This infuriated the Arabs who lived in these lands and set the stage for a nationalist movement known as *Pan-Arabism*—an ideology that called for the unification of all lands in North Africa and Southwest Asia.

Another source of conflict arose in 1917, when the British government issued the *Balfour Declaration*, which stated that *Palestine* should become a permanent home for the Jews of Europe. Those who supported a Jewish homeland were known as *Zionists*. After the Allied victory in the Great War, European Jews moved in droves to Palestine, which was controlled by the British.

**March First Movement in Korea** Like its victorious European allies that seized power in the Middle East and Africa after World War I, Japan expected to expand its role in East Asia. Japan had been increasing its influence in Korea since the 1890s, taking control of the country in 1910. The prospect of European support for a stronger Japan, and the mysterious death of the Korean emperor, caused Korean resentment to explode. On March 1, 1919, Koreans began a series of protests that involved as many as 2 million Koreans out of a population of 17 million people. The occupying Japanese forces cracked down harshly, killing several thousand Koreans. But the *March First Movement* demonstrated the power of Korean nationalism.

**May Fourth Movement in China** After World War I, Japan claimed the right to Germany's sphere of influence in the Shandong Peninsula in northeast China. However, China had also supported the Allies, and it wanted to reclaim Shandong. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Great Britain and France sided with Japan. Infuriated, Chinese intellectuals and workers staged anti-Japanese demonstrations beginning on May 4, 1919. The *May Fourth Movement* symbolized China's growing nationalism and demand for democracy. Angered by Europe's support for Japan, many Chinese rejected Western-style government. They turned toward the Marxist model of the Soviet Union. Several May Fourth leaders joined the Chinese Communist Party.

**Global Trends** The protest movements in Korea and China, and other anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa, reflected the growth of nationalism after World War I. They were part of the same global trend that included the breakup of empires in Europe, the success of Communism in Russia, and the spread of anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States. Nationalism would continue to shape events around the world throughout the twentieth century.

#### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE A SUCCESS?**

The Paris Peace Conference, according to most scholars, was a major failure, but they have not agreed on what went wrong. British economist John Maynard Keynes was among the first critics with *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919). As the title suggested, Keynes focused on the economic issues that emerged. In particular, he attacked the reparation policy, which he considered harsh and short-sighted. Partially due to the influence of Keynes's opposition to the reparations policy, the U.S. Senate rejected the Versailles treaty, and the United States never joined the League of Nations.

**Defending Internationalism** During the conference, American journalist Ray Stannard Baker had served as Wilson's press secretary, and afterwards he criticized those who blocked Wilson's efforts to build a viable international organization. By 1941, Europe and East Asia were at war again, and Wilsonian internationalism looked even more

attractive to some. Among these was American historian Paul Birdsall, whose book *Versailles Twenty Years After* was sympathetic to the efforts to unite the world against militaristic dictators.

**Legacy of Trouble** By 2003, when Canadian historian Margaret MacMillan completed *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, other problems from the conference were evident. Conference members had redrawn borders in the Balkans and the Middle East. Wars in both of these regions during the 1990s suggested that the settlement after World War I had failed to create viable states.

**Comparing Post-War Settlements** Not every recent scholar has focused on the shortcomings of the Paris Peace Conference. In 1996, Boston University historian William Keylor called for reevaluating the event. For example, he suggested that in light of the settlement of World War II, the treaties ending World War I do not look as harsh.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES</b> Gavrilo Princip Archduke Francis Ferdinand Woodrow Wilson David Lloyd George Georges Clemenceau Vittorio Orlando Ho Chi Minh</p>	<p>Zionists May Fourth Movement</p>	<p>reparations decolonization mandate system Balfour Declaration Palestine</p>
<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: STATES, MOVEMENTS, &amp; ALLIANCES</b> Black Hand Triple Entente Allies Triple Alliance Soviet Russia Big Four Big Three Soviet Union League of Nations Weimar Government Pan-Arabism</p>	<p><b>STATE-BUILDING</b> The Great War militarism secret alliances Central Powers self-determination stalemate <i>Lusitania</i> Zimmermann Telegram Treaty of Brest-Litovsk total war propaganda global war Gallipoli ANZAC Armistice Day Paris Peace Conference Fourteen Points Treaty of Versailles</p>	<p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b> poison gas machine guns tanks submarines airplanes trench warfare U-boat Influenza epidemic pandemic</p> <p><b>SOCIAL STRUCTURE</b> Soviets Bolsheviks Lost Generation</p> <p><b>CULTURE</b> genocide Armenians</p>

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

---

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the passage below.

*Article 119:* Germany renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.

*Article 160:* By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

*Article 231:* The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

*Article 233:* The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the Reparation Commission. . . .”

Versailles Treaty, 1919

- 1.1** Which two of the above articles from the treaty would have most directly harmed the German economy in the years after World War I?
- (A) Articles 119 and 231
  - (B) Articles 119 and 233
  - (C) Articles 160 and 231
  - (D) Articles 160 and 233
- 1.2** Which negotiator at Versailles would have felt most satisfied with the terms of the treaty as demonstrated in these articles?
- (A) U.S. President Woodrow Wilson
  - (B) German President Friedrich Ebert
  - (C) Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin
  - (D) French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau
- 1.3** Article 119 of the treaty most directly addresses which of the original causes of World War I?
- (A) the growth of militarism in several countries
  - (B) the conflicts resulting from imperialism by Europeans
  - (C) the formation of political alliances among governments
  - (D) the spread of nationalism around the world



Questions 2.1 and 2.2 refer to the images below.



Source: Library of Congress

The British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee published this poster in 1915, soon after the war began.



Source: Library of Congress

This photograph of an Allied trench during World War I is titled "Removing the Dead from the Trenches." It was not published until September 1919, when the war was nearly over.

- 2.1** Comparing the World War I poster from Great Britain and the photo of the trenches supports the interpretation that the British government believed it
- (A) needed to persuade civilians of the seriousness of the war
  - (B) could recruit soldiers by appealing to their fear of the enemy
  - (C) should emphasize the positive side of military service
  - (D) wanted to portray military service realistically and honestly
- 2.2** Which set of ideas that spread after World War I was most directly supported by images such as the photo above?
- (A) the attitudes of the Lost Generation
  - (B) the decision to create a mandate system
  - (C) the fear of the influence of Bolsheviks
  - (D) the desire of Zionists to settle in Palestine

**Questions 3.1 to 3.3 refer to the passage below.**

*“Article 1: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, for the one part, and Russia, for the other part, declare that the state of war between them has ceased.*

*Article 3: The territories lying to the west of the line agreed upon by the contracting parties which formerly belonged to Russia [including Finland, the Baltic states, and the Ukraine], will no longer be subject to Russian sovereignty . . . . Germany and Austria-Hungary purpose to determine the future status of these territories in agreement with their population.*

*Article 5: Russia will, without delay, carry out the full demobilization of her army inclusive of those units recently organized by the present Government.*

*Article 8: The prisoners of war of both parties will be released to return to their homeland.*

*Article 9: The contracting parties mutually renounce compensation for their war expenses.”*

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918

- 3.1** One benefit for the Soviets from signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was that it allowed
- (A) the government to prepare for an attack by the Allies
  - (B) the country to defeat internal counterrevolutionaries
  - (C) Tsar Nicholas II to hold off the Communist revolution
  - (D) the country to set up a provisional government
- 3.2** One disadvantage for the Soviets from signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was that it
- (A) required the Soviets to release prisoners of war
  - (B) forced the Soviets to pay war reparations
  - (C) took away Soviet colonies in Africa
  - (D) took away enormous amounts of Soviet land
- 3.3** Which article of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk seems to support the principle of self-determination as expressed by Woodrow Wilson after the end of World War I?
- (A) Article 3
  - (B) Article 5
  - (C) Article 8
  - (D) Article 9

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

---

**Question 1 refers to the poem below.**

“If you could hear at every jolt, the blood  
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,  
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud  
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—  
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest  
To children ardent for some desperate glory,  
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est  
Pro patria mori.”  
[“It is sweet and noble to die for one’s country.”]

Wilfred Owen, “Dulce et Decorum Est,” 1920

1. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Describe ONE group of writers that would most likely agree with the poem’s sentiments and ONE group of people that would most likely disagree.
  - B. Explain ONE element of World War I that meant that many soldiers were risking death for the country that they lived under, even though it was not their nation.
2. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Provide ONE reason that European powers gave for why the settlements after World War I in the lands that had been colonies before the war would help these lands.
  - B. Provide TWO reasons the settlements after World War I created instability in the lands that had been colonies before the war.

### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: APPLY THE SKILL OF SYNTHESIS

Synthesis is the process by which two or more things are joined together to create a new whole. For example, a synthesis of ideas to explain how World War I began might combine information about how the growth of militarism, the spread of nationalism, and the impact of alliances. Information about the number of deaths in the war probably would not fit into the synthesis. *Which THREE statements would be most useful in creating a synthesis to justify the name “The Great War” for the conflict now called World War I?*

1. The war included soldiers from all over the globe, including many from Africa and Asia fighting on behalf of a European country.
2. The alliance system that led to the conflict grew out of the Congress of Vienna, which has kept Europe relatively peaceful for a century.
3. The number of people killed and wounded in the conflict made it one of the costliest wars in human history to that time.
4. The conflict was total war, which meant that civilians were involved as providers of supplies for soldiers as never before.
5. Propaganda in the conflict often depicted the enemy crudely, and with little regard for accuracy.

*Which TWO statements would be most useful in creating a synthesis to explain why the mandate system was likely to fail.*

6. People in lands in Asia and Africa that had been colonized by Europeans were becoming increasingly nationalistic.
7. Europeans viewed people in their colonies as less capable of participating in government than were Europeans.
8. The Germans, French, and British had all developed colonial empires before the start of World War I in 1914.
9. The mandates created in the Middle East included Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq.

### **WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: WRITE A STRONG LAST SENTENCE**

The final sentences of an essay are your last chance to make your argument clear for your readers. You should use these sentences to summarize the points you made in earlier paragraphs, and to state clearly how they support your thesis. Follow the directions in each exercise.

1. Choose the sentence that best concludes an essay about the causes of World War I.
  - a. Several factors contributed to the Great War, including patriotism, expansionism, and military allies.
  - b. The unwavering nationalism, strong alliances, and dominating imperialistic attitudes led to World War I.
2. Choose the sentence that best concludes an essay about the effects of the war on international relations.
  - a. Germany's financial and political penalizations, the false hope of colonized peoples and the contradicting interests of nations generated the state of international relationships after World War I.
  - b. In addition to nominal peace conferences, some countries felt excluded from such meetings which led to increased tension between nations.
3. Choose the pair of sentences that best concludes an essay about whether World War I was one cause of the Russian Revolution.
  - a. The Russian Revolution was the first major victory for a movement inspired by the ideas of Karl Marx. While it had many causes, it happened three years after the outbreak of World War I. It is hard to imagine that the Communists would have won if they had rebelled during peacetime. World War I made the success of the Russian Revolution possible.
  - b. World War I contributed to the Russian Revolution by highlighting how weak Russia was under the tsar. The country had failed to equip its soldiers with weapons, had failed to train its soldiers effectively, and had failed to create a system in which people had enough food to eat.

## The Interwar Years, 1919–1939

*Has not this truth already come home to you now, when this cruel war has driven its claws into the vitals of Europe? when her hoard of wealth is bursting into smoke and her humanity is shattered into bits on her battlefields? You ask in amazement what has she done to deserve this? The answer is that the West has been systematically petrifying her moral nature in order to lay a solid foundation for her gigantic abstractions of efficiency.*

—Rabindranath Tagore, Indian poet, *Nationalism*, 1917

From today's perspective, the effects of World War I can look small compared to the even greater destruction caused by World War II. However, they were massive. As Tagore suggested, many Western Europeans felt bewildered. The war undermined faith in reason and progress, and a global economic collapse undermined faith in market-based economics. As unemployment, hunger, and homelessness increased, people turned to their governments for help. Governments had long been essential to capitalism—building roads, providing schools, and regulating trade—but across the world in the 1930s, government intervention in the economy increased. The United States became more liberal, countries such as Germany, Italy, and Japan turned radically to the right.

In contrast to the pessimism in Europe and the United States, colonized peoples felt hope. They realized that a weakened Europe gave them an opportunity to win independence. As nationalist movements matured, demands for an end to colonialism increased.

In the context of the chaos of the 1920s and 1930s, daring new ideas emerged among intellectuals and artists. New understandings of the nature of the universe, of the human mind, and of art continue to shape the world today.

### The Great Depression

World War I brought anxiety to the people that suffered through it. The Allied nations, though victorious, had lost millions of citizens, both soldiers and civilians, and had spent tremendous amounts of money on the international conflict. The defeated Central Powers, particularly Germany and the countries that emerged from the breakup of Austria-Hungary, suffered even greater losses. The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to pay billions of dollars in reparations to the war's victors. War-ravaged Germany could not make these

payments, so its government printed more paper money in the 1920s. This action caused *inflation*, a general rise in prices. That meant that the value of German money decreased. To add to the sluggish postwar economy, France and Britain had difficulty repaying wartime loans from the United States, partly because Germany was having trouble paying reparations to them. In addition, the Soviet government refused to pay Russia's prerevolutionary debts.

**Global Downturn** Although the 1920s brought modest economic gains for most of Europe, the subsequent *Great Depression* ended the tentative stability. Agricultural overproduction and the United States' stock market crash in 1929 were two major causes of the global economic downturn. American investors who had been putting money into German banks removed it when the American stock market crashed. In addition to its skyrocketing inflation, Germany then had to grapple with bank failures. Germany thus suffered more than any other Western nation during the Great Depression. The economies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America suffered because they were dependent upon the imperial nations that were experiencing this enormous economic downturn. Japan also suffered during the Depression because its economy depended upon foreign trade. With the economic decline in the rest of the world, Japan's exports were cut in half between 1929 and 1931.

**Keynesian Ideas** The Great Depression inspired new insights into economics. British economist *John Maynard Keynes* rejected the *laissez-faire* ideal. He concluded that intentional government action could improve the economy. During a depression, he said, governments should use *deficit spending* (spending more than the government takes in) to stimulate economic activity. By cutting taxes and increasing spending, government would spur economic growth. People would return to work, and the depression would end.

The Global Economy, 1929 to 1938		
Year	Total Global Production	Total Global Trade
1929	100	100
1930	86	89
1931	77	81
1932	70	74
1933	79	76
1934	95	79
1935	98	82
1936	110	86
1937	120	98
1938	111	89

**Source:** Adapted from data in Barry Eichengreen and Douglas Irwin, "The Protectionist Temptation: Lessons from the Great Depression for Today," *voxeu.org*. March 17, 2009.

In this chart, the levels of production and trade for 1929 are represented by 100. The other numbers reflect changes from the 1929 level.

**New Deal** The administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used Keynes's ideas to address the Great Depression in the United States. Roosevelt and his backers created a group of policies and programs known collectively as the *New Deal*. Its goal was to bring the country relief, recovery, and reform: *relief* for citizens who were suffering, including the poor, the unemployed, farmers, minorities, and women; *recovery* to bring the nation out of the Depression, in part through government spending; and *reform* to change government policies in the hopes of avoiding such disasters in the future.

By 1937, unemployment was declining and production was rising. Keynesian economics seemed to be working. However, Roosevelt feared that government deficits were growing too large, so he reversed course. Unemployment began to grow again. The Great Depression finally ended after the United States entered World War II in 1941 and ran up deficits for military spending that dwarfed those of the New Deal programs.

**Impact on Trade** The Great Depression was a global event. Though it started in the industrialized countries of the United States and Europe, it spread to Latin America, Africa, and Asia. By 1932, more than 30 million people worldwide were out of work. People everywhere turned to their government for help. As unemployment increased, international trade declined, a decline made worse as nations then imposed strict tariffs, or taxes on imports, in an effort to protect the domestic jobs they still had.

In contrast to most countries, Japan dug itself out of the Depression relatively rapidly. Japan devalued its currency, which meant that the government lowered the value of its money in relation to foreign currencies. Thus Japanese-made products became less expensive than imports. Japan's overseas expansionism also increased Japan's need for military goods, thus stimulating the economy.

## Rise of Right-Wing Governments

In some countries, the turn to the right was radical. A new political system known as *fascism* arose that appealed to extreme nationalism, glorified the military and armed struggle, and blamed problems on ethnic minorities. Fascist regimes suppressed other political parties, protests, and independent trade unions. They justified violence to achieve their goals and were strongly anti-Communist.

**Rise of Fascism in Italy** Benito Mussolini coined the term *fascism*, which comes from the term "fasces," a bundle of sticks tied around an axe, an ancient Roman symbol for punishment. This violent symbol helped characterize Italy's Fascist government, which glorified militarism and brute force.

The Italian Fascist state was based on a concept known as *corporatism*, a theory based on the notion that the sectors of the economy—the employers, the trade unions, and state officials—are seen as separate organs of the same body. Each sector, or organ, was supposedly free to organize itself as it wished as long as it supported the whole. In practice, the Fascist state imposed its will



upon all sectors of society, creating a *totalitarian state*—a state in which all aspects of society are controlled by the government.

**Mussolini Takes Control** Even though Italy had been considered one of the major powers at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference—along with Britain, France, and the United States—Italy received very little territory from the Treaty of Versailles. This failure to gain from the war caused discontent in Italy. Amid the general bitterness of the 1920s, Mussolini and his allies managed to take control of the parliament. Mussolini became a dictator, repressing any possible opposition to his rule. Militaristic propaganda infiltrated every part of the Fascist government. For example, school children were taught constantly about the glory of their nation and their fearless leader, “Il Duce.”

Part of Mussolini’s fascist philosophy was the need for his nation to conquer what he considered to be an inferior nation. During the imperialist “Scramble for Africa” in the nineteenth century, Italy seized *Libya* and colonized *Somaliland*, modern-day Somalia. However, the army was pushed back by Abyssinia, modern-day Ethiopia, in the 1890s. Under Mussolini in 1935, Italy crossed the border from Somaliland to Abyssinia, defying a mandate from the League of Nations. This time, the Italian army overpowered Abyssinia’s while the global community did little to stop the conquest. In 1936, Mussolini and Germany’s Adolf Hitler formed an alliance they hoped would dominate Europe. With the security of this alliance, Italy invaded and seized Albania in 1939.

**Rise of Nazism** Germany’s defeat in 1918 brought an end to the kaiser’s monarchical rule. The democratically elected *Weimar Republic* took its place. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the new German government not only had to pay billions in war reparations, but it also was not allowed to have an army. The Weimar Republic, appearing weak to the demoralized German people, became especially unpopular during the Great Depression.

The rolls of the unemployed swelled due to the weak German economy. Large numbers of young men, including many World War I veterans, found themselves with few job prospects. Such an environment fostered alienation and bitterness. Many Germans perceived their democratic government, the Weimar Republic, to be too weak to solve the country’s problems, so they looked to right-wing political parties that promised strong action.

The National Socialist German Worker’s Party, or the *Nazis*, came to power legally after the party did well in the 1932 parliamentary elections. In early 1933, the president of Germany, Paul von Hindenburg, invited Adolf Hitler to form a government as chancellor, which he did. Hindenburg died in 1934, giving Hitler the opening he needed to declare himself president. Through manipulation, the Nazi Party instilled fear and panic in the German people, making them believe that they were in a state of emergency. For example, the Nazis staged a burning of the *Reichstag*, the German parliament building, and blamed radical extremists for the act. Using domestic security as justification, Hitler outlawed all other political parties and all forms of resistance to his rule.

Hitler openly promoted ultra-nationalism and *scientific racism*, a pseudo-intellectual movement that claimed that certain races were genetically superior

to others. He also advanced an extreme form of *anti-Semitism*, or hostility toward Jews. His filled his speeches with accusations against German Jews, whom Hitler claimed were responsible for the nation's domestic problems. Nazi propaganda emphasized a need for a "pure" German nation of "Aryans," purged of "outsiders"—not only Jews, but also Slavs, Communists, gypsies, and gay men and women. Hitler suggested that the only way for Germany to live up to its potential was to eliminate the corrupting influence of these groups, and particularly the Jews.

**Nuremberg Laws** Hitler's anti-Jewish campaign began with laws designed to disenfranchise and discriminate against them. The *Nuremberg Laws*, passed in 1935, forbade marriage between Jews and Gentiles (people who are not Jewish), stripped Jews of their citizenship, and unleashed a series of subsequent decrees that effectively pushed Jews to the margins of German society. German Jews, many of whom were successful in their careers and felt very assimilated into German society, were shocked by the way they were being treated. Some Eastern European nations, such as Romania and Bulgaria, also passed discriminatory laws against their Jewish citizens.

**Olympic Games** In 1936, in the midst of its campaign against the Jews, the German government hosted the summer *Olympic Games* in Berlin. These games used the global interest in sports to promote national and social aspirations. Spain and the Soviet Union boycotted the games in protest against the Nazi regime. Many Americans and key Jewish organizations opposed U.S. participation, but the United States eventually sent a team to Berlin. One of the African-American athletes who participated was Jesse Owens, who won four gold medals in the long jump and the sprint. Germany allowed only people it considered "Aryans" to compete on its teams.

The 1936 Olympics was the first modern games to have a torch relay from Olympia, Greece. It was also the first to be televised live, although limited to certain sites in Berlin. The Olympic Games constituted a propaganda victory for Germany in light of the poor press it was receiving in many countries in the 1930s. Two years after the games, the government released the documentary film *Olympia*, by Leni Riefenstahl. Using artful camera angles and editing, the film glorified the events of 1936 in Berlin.

**Kristallnacht** Hitler's propaganda and the Nuremberg Laws successfully created an atmosphere of hostility, hatred, and distrust within Germany. This tension erupted one night in early November 1938. *Kristallnacht*, the "Night of the Broken Glass," produced anti-Jewish riots that ostensibly occurred in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a Jewish teenager. Although it appeared to be a spontaneous burst of outrage on the part of the German citizenry, Nazi leaders, in fact, engineered the entire operation. The riots resulted in the deaths of more than 90 German Jews, and the destruction of nearly every synagogue in Germany and some 7,000 Jewish shops. More than 30,000 Jews were dragged from their homes, arrested, and sent to concentration camps. Most of these prisoners were eventually released on orders to leave Germany, an option not given to later prisoners in concentration camps.

Hitler's campaign to rid Germany of Jews predated his aggressive land grabs in Europe. Declaring that the German people needed more *lebensraum* (living room) in Europe, Hitler did not try to hide his ambition to conquer the entire continent. His lust for land eventually brought the international community to the brink of war.

**Fascism and Civil War in Spain** After the economic decline in the early 1930s, two opposing ideologies, or systems of ideas, battled for control of Spain. The *Spanish Civil War* that resulted soon took on global significance as a struggle between the forces of democracy and the forces of fascism.

The *Spanish Republic* was formed in 1931 after King Alfonso XIII abdicated. In 1936, the Spanish people elected the *Popular Front*, a coalition of left-wing parties, to lead the government. A key aspect of the Front's platform was *land reform*, a prospect that energized the nation's peasants as well as its radicals. Conservative forces in Spain, such as the Catholic Church and high-ranking members of the military, were violently opposed to the changes that the Popular Front promised. In July of the same year, a military uprising against the Popular Front was conducted by Spanish troops stationed in Morocco. This action marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, which soon spread to Spain itself. General *Francisco Franco* led the insurgents, who called themselves *Nationalists*. On the other side were the *Loyalists*, the defenders of the newly elected Republic of Spain.

**Foreign Involvement** Although the nations of Europe had signed a nonintervention agreement, Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy, and Antonio Salazar of Portugal contributed armaments to the Nationalists. Civilian volunteers from the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States, and France contributed their efforts to the Loyalists. Many historians believe that without the help of Germany, Italy, and Portugal, the Nationalist side would not likely have prevailed against the Republic of Spain.

**Guernica** The foreign involvement in Spain's struggle also escalated the violence of the war. One massacre in particular garnered international attention. The German and Italian bombing of the town of *Guernica*, located in northern Spain's *Basque region*, was one of the first times in history an aerial bombing targeted civilians. Many historians believe that the bombing of Guernica was a military exercise for Germany's air force, the *Luftwaffe*.

The tragedy of Guernica was immortalized in Pablo Picasso's painting of that name, commissioned by the Republic of Spain and completed in 1938. Although somewhat abstract, the painting brilliantly depicts the horrific violence of modern warfare and is recognized as one of the most significant works of twentieth-century art.

**Franco's Victory** The Spanish Civil War itself lasted from 1936 until 1939, when Franco's forces finally defeated the Loyalist army. Franco ruled Spain as a dictator until his death in 1975. Spain did not officially enter World War II (1939–1945), but the government did offer some assistance to the Axis powers, comprised of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

**Rise of a Repressive Regime in Brazil** As in Europe, parts of Latin America also became more conservative. During the interwar years, Brazil was considered Latin America's "sleeping giant" because of its slow shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The economy of the nation was dominated by large landowners, a fact that frustrated members of the urban middle class. Compounding their frustration was the workers' suffering caused by the Great Depression. Discontent led to a bloodless 1930 coup (illegal seizure of power), which installed Getulio Vargas as president.

Vargas's pro-industrial policies won him support from Brazil's bourgeoisie, or middle class. This economic liberalism led the urban middle classes to believe that their new leader was interested in establishing a democracy in Brazil. However, his actions paralleled those of Italy's corporate state under Mussolini. While Brazil's industrial sector grew at a rapid pace, Vargas began to strip away individual political freedoms. His "Estado Novo" program decreed government censorship of the press, abolition of political parties, imprisonment of political opponents, and hypernationalism, a belief in the superiority of one's nation over all others and the singleminded promotion of national interests. While these policies were similar to those of European fascists, the Brazilian government did not praise or rely upon violence to achieve and maintain control.

Moreover, even though Brazil had close economic ties with the United States and Germany in the late 1930s, Brazil finally sided with the Allies in World War II. This political alignment against the Axis powers made Brazil look less like a dictatorship and more liberal than it actually was. World War II prompted the people of Brazil to push for a more democratic nation later. They came to see the contradiction between fighting against fascism and repression abroad and maintaining a dictatorship at home.

## Political Revolutions

In the century's first two decades, rebellions erupted against long-standing authoritarian governments in Mexico, China, and Russia. Revolutionaries unseated the ruling governments in each country, instituting their own political philosophies and practices. The revolutions influenced subsequent events in the Soviet Union, Mexico, and China in the interwar years.

**Continuing Revolution in Russia** As you read in Chapter 25, Russian revolutionaries unseated the royal Romanov dynasty in the spring of 1917. In the fall of that year, the Bolsheviks seized power and set up a Communist government led by Vladimir Lenin. The Communists believed that workers eventually should own the means of production and that collective ownership would lead to collective prosperity and a just society. Toward that long-term goal, the Soviet government abolished private trade, distributed peasants' crops to feed urban workers, and took over ownership of the country's factories and heavy industries.

Although Lenin and the Bolshevik Party had promised “peace, land, and bread” during World War I, they instead presided over a populace that faced starvation during the widespread *Russian Civil War* (1918–1921). Hundreds of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, and others revolted against the Soviet government’s actions. Urban factory workers and sailors went on strike, and peasants began to hoard their food stocks. Industrial and agricultural production dropped sharply.

By 1921, Lenin realized that the Soviet economy was near complete collapse. Thus, he instituted a temporary retreat from Communist economic policies. Under his *New Economic Plan (NEP)*, he reintroduced private trade, allowing farmers to sell their products on a small scale. Although the government permitted some economic liberties, it maintained strict political control. The NEP enjoyed modest successes, but it came to an end when Lenin died in 1924.

**Joseph Stalin** Several years after Lenin’s death, Joseph Stalin took control of the *Politburo*, the Communist Party’s central organization, setting himself up as a dictator. He remained in power for almost 30 years. Once in power, Stalin abandoned Lenin’s NEP and instituted the first *Five-Year Plan*, which attempted to transform the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (also called the *U.S.S.R.* or Soviet Union) into an industrial power. He wanted his largely agricultural nation to “catch up” to the industrial nations of the West. At the same time, Stalin *collectivized* agriculture, a process in which farmland was taken from private owners and given to collectives to manage. In theory, a collective, or *Kolkhoz*, was a group of peasants who freely joined together to farm a certain portion of land. In practice, however, peasants were forced by the state to work on a specific collective and were expected to follow detailed plans and to reach specific goals set by the government. This elimination of private land ownership and the forced redistribution of land, livestock, and tools enraged farmers. Each year, the government seized food to send to the cities. The farmers retaliated against collectivization by burning crops and killing livestock. Many moved to the cities for a better life. It seemed to them that Stalin cared more about urban workers than rural farmers.

A series of five-year plans had mixed results. The collectivization of agriculture was a huge failure. Millions of peasants starved to death, especially in the Ukraine. Heavy industry, however, grew tremendously in the 1930s. Although consumer goods were in short supply, there were plenty of factory jobs available, and the cost of living was low.

Stalin’s brutal regime is widely condemned today. He punished his political opponents by executing them or sentencing them to life terms in labor camps, where many died. In addition, his agricultural policies led to the deaths of many millions of Soviet citizens. Because Stalin kept tight control of the press, details of his atrocities went largely unreported. Nonetheless, in the 1930s, an economically depressed world viewed the U.S.S.R. with a mix of horror and wonder. The U.S.S.R. was rapidly industrializing and increasing its military power. It presented a challenge to countries with capitalist economies

whose people were experiencing high levels of unemployment. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting the U.S.S.R. with the ideology of Marxism. See page 432.)

In the 1920s, there was a period of experimentation in Russian literature and the visual arts. Ilya Ilf and Evgeny Petrov wrote the humorous novel *The Twelve Chairs*, while Aleksander Blok wrote lyrical poems. Sergei Eisenstein made wonderful silent films about events in Russia, such as *Battleship Potemkin*, about the mutiny of a Russian crew against their officers of the Tsarist regime, while Kazimir Malevich made interesting abstract paintings. Then in the 1930s, the Soviet government began promoting *socialist realism*. Paintings and films had to be done in a realistic manner with an uplifting moral that showed the advantages of socialism. An early example of socialist realism in Soviet literature was the novel *Cement*, by Fyodor Gladkov, about life working in a cement factory.

**The Mexican Revolution** Mexico entered the twentieth century as an independent nation firmly under the control of a dictator, *Porfirio Diaz*. He had allowed much of the country's resources to come under the control of foreign investors, particularly those from the United States. Additionally, Mexican peasants held almost no land; 97 percent of the land was controlled by the wealthiest one percent of the population. When Diaz jailed Francisco Madero, the opposition candidate for president in 1910, revolution broke out with insurrections in northern Mexico. Madero escaped and set up revolutionary offices in El Paso. Then, in 1911, Madero's troops, under the command of Francisco "Pancho" Villa defeated Mexican troops, sending Diaz into exile. Madero was elected president later in 1911. A series of leaders and governments followed this initial victory for the Revolution.

One revolutionary leader, *Emiliano Zapata*, gave voice to the injustice peasants felt toward the unfair distribution of land and wealth. Zapata began the actual process of redistributing land to impoverished peasants.

While the goals of land redistribution, universal suffrage, and public education were not soon realized, they were written into the Mexican constitution in 1917. In the 1930s, efforts at land reform were more successful under *Lazaro Cardenas*. His regime also nationalized the oil industry in Mexico in 1938, angering foreign investors. Despite these reforms, the interwar period did not see dramatic changes in Mexico's social hierarchy.

**Upheaval in China** Following the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, China did not have a stable government until 1949. The intervening years brought tremendous upheaval and division to the nation. Dr. Sun Yat-sen became the leader of the Chinese Republic in 1912, but the central government was weak, as much of China was controlled by war lords, each in control of a specific region. The regional power structure was a holdover from the Qing Dynasty, which relied on regional armies instead of a national army. The regional armies lacked standardization, rendering control by a central government nearly impossible.

Urban intellectuals and college students in China had high hopes for the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. They expected that their country would finally win independence from Western European control. Instead, the Big Four decided to give much of China's European-controlled territory to Japan, which had given a great deal of economic aid to the Allies during the war. When news of the treaty reached China, the cities revolted. Though college students and elite youth led the May Fourth Movement, all classes in urban areas participated in the protests.

**Communists and Nationalist** Two main groups jockeyed for power in the wake of the protests: Communists and nationalists. The *Chinese Communist Party (CCP)*, led by Mao Zedong (or Mao Tse-tung), the son of a prosperous peasant who was inspired by the Communist revolution in Russia. Instead of energizing the working classes of Chinese cities, however, Mao believed that China's Communist revolution could be based on the revolt of peasants, who made up the vast majority of China's population. The Chinese Nationalist Party, or *Kuomintang*, was led by Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen was devoted to full independence and allied with Mao's forces to free China from foreign domination and to overthrow the war lords.

Following Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek took control of the Nationalist Party. Chiang Kai-shek's was a conservative and had deep-seated distrust of Communism. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek's forces attacked and nearly annihilated Mao's forces, initiating the Chinese Civil War.

**The Long March** Mao and remnants of the Chinese Communist Party retreated into China's interior, and for several years they trained in hiding. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek's forces again attacked Mao's army stationed in the rural areas of Jiangxi. After the attack, Mao's forces began what is now known as the *Long March*. This trek, which covered about 6,000 miles and took an entire year, traversed some of the world's most treacherous mountains, deepest marshes, and driest deserts. Of the 80,000 or more who began the walk, only 10,000 remained to assemble in 1935 in northern China. Although the Chinese Communist Party did not immediately gain control of the country afterward, the Long March brought popularity for the party and admiration from many Chinese, who were in awe of Mao and his army's tremendous stamina.

**Communists and Nationalists Join Forces** Meanwhile, the Nationalist Kuomintang continued to rule much of China during the 1930s. Chiang Kai-shek, however, was out of touch with the diverse needs of the Chinese people. He advocated Confucianism at a time when the old traditions were no longer in vogue. When criticism from opponents threatened his power, he suppressed free speech. Corruption was rampant in the Nationalist government as well. These factors alienated Chinese urban intellectuals. To make matters worse, Japan's expansionism into China in the 1930s severely weakened the country, particularly in northeast China. In 1935, the Nationalists and Communists suspended their civil war to unite against Japan. In 1945, with the defeat of the Japanese at the end of World War II, the Communists and Nationalist once again resumed their fight for control of China.

## Growth of Nationalism in Southwest Asia, South Asia, and Africa

**Widespread Anticolonial Sentiment** At the end of World War I, revolutionary sentiments stirred in the European colonies. Many anticolonial activists pinned their hopes for independence on the results of the Paris Peace Conference. They hoped Woodrow Wilson could persuade the other leaders to grant self-determination to the colonies. They also expected to be rewarded for their wartime contributions. Young men from all over Africa and South Asia had battled courageously in several theaters of war.

To the activists' dismay, the Paris Peace Conference did not produce any of the desired results. European powers granted self-determination only to white countries in Eastern Europe. Southwest Asian lands that had been a part of the Ottoman Empire came under the control of France and Britain in the League of Nations mandate system. Former German colonies in Africa had the same fate. German territories and spheres of influence in East Asia and the Pacific were transferred to various victorious nations of World War I. India and nearly every nation in Africa continued to be controlled by a European nation.

**Self-Determination in Turkey** The Ottoman Empire's forces crumbled during World War I, and victorious Allied forces immediately sent troops to occupy Anatolia. Although the sultan of the Ottoman Empire remained on his throne, he had little power, serving as a mere puppet for British forces that hoped to control the lands of the former empire. During the war, the *Turkish National Movement* organized an army to fight for the self-determination of the Turkish people. Led by Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish Nationalists defeated British and other forces in 1921. The Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, with Kemal, known as the "father of the Turks," installed as the first president.

Kemal's policies focused on reforming Turkey to make it more like the Western democracies. He was determined to create a secular nation, as opposed to one with strong Islamic influences. He implemented several reforms: establishing public education for boys and girls, abolishing polygyny, and expanding suffrage to include women. As a symbolic gesture, he mainly wore Western suits and hats, and encouraged his countrymen to do the same. In spite of his progressive reforms, he ruled like a dictator for 15 years. He did not give up power until he died in 1938.

**Independence Movements in India** The setback presented by the Paris Conference inspired anticolonial activists to redouble their efforts. In South Asia, the Indian National Congress was formed in the late nineteenth century to air grievances against the colonial government. By the end of the Great War in 1918, it had become the strongest voice for independence.

One event in particular, a massacre at *Amritsar*, radicalized many within the congress, convincing them that Indians could not continue living under British rule. In the spring of 1919, a group of Indian nationalists gathered in a public garden in Amritsar, Punjab, to protest the arrest of two freedom fighters.



The protest took place during a popular Sikh festival, which had attracted thousands of villagers to Amritsar, a city considered holy to followers of Sikhism. Although the throngs were peaceful, the British colonial government had recently made such public gatherings illegal. The armed colonial forces fired dozens of shots into the unarmed crowd, killing more than three hundred people and wounding thousands more. This massacre was a turning point in the Indian nationalist movement. It convinced even moderate members of the Indian National Congress that independence from Britain was the only way forward.

**Gandhi** By the 1920s, *Mohandas Gandhi* had brought the congress's cause to the Indian masses and caught the attention of the world. His *satyagraha*, or "devotion-to-truth," *movement* embarked on a campaign of *civil disobedience* that encouraged Indians to break unjust laws and serve jail time. These actions, he believed, would stir the consciousness of the empire and the international community, and expose the inherent injustice of the British imperial system.

Gandhi, who came to be known by Indians as Mahatma, or "the great soul," led a boycott against British goods. Gandhi wore Indian homespun cotton rather than suits manufactured in Britain made from Indian fabrics but sold back to Indians at inflated prices. Wearing homespun was a symbolic and practical form of protest against Britain's cotton trade in India.

One of Gandhi's first campaigns became known as the *Salt March*. British authorities had made it illegal for Indians to produce their own sea salt. The commodity was easy to make in the tropical country, but Britain wanted a monopoly on salt. In 1930, Gandhi led thousands of Indians to the Arabian Sea and simply picked up a few grains of salt, in defiance of Britain's unjust edict.

**Two-State Solution Introduced** While anticolonial sentiment was building, leaders of the independence movement disagreed about how India should define its national identity. Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a member of the Muslim minority in the largely Hindu Indian National Congress, originally favored Muslim-Hindu unity but later proposed a two-state plan for South Asian independence. He was concerned that Muslim interests would not be well represented in an independent India. His proposal for a separate Muslim state, *Pakistan*, made several leaders, including Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, who eventually became India's first prime minister, very anxious about India's future. Although independence did not come for India until after World War II, the interwar years were critical times for the anticolonial movement. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting twentieth-century tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India with its earlier religious history. See pages 206–207.)

**Independence Movements in Africa** As in South Asia, people all over Africa were disappointed that their colony did not receive independence after World War I. Independence movements grew out of the disappointment. Activism in Africa began with European-educated intellectuals—the middle and upper classes in Africa sent their children to schools in Europe. It was in Europe that African intellectuals were able to see the discrimination taking place in their homelands. Most members of the educated elite worked for the colonial government, if they were not self-employed attorneys or doctors.

New forms of nationalism emerged among this elite. For example, the *Negritude Movement*, which took place primarily in French West Africa, emphasized pride in “blackness” and the rejection of French colonial authority. Leopold Senghor of Senegal wrote poems about the beauty and uniqueness of African culture and is now regarded as one of the twentieth century’s most distinguished French writers. During the 1920s and 1930s, American intellectuals such as W.E.B. DuBois, Richard Wright, and Langston Hughes wrote movingly about the multiple meanings of “blackness” in the world. What many now refer to as “black pride” of the 1960s had its roots in the Negritude Movement.

## Neocolonialism in Latin America

Most Latin American countries had won their independence from European rulers in the nineteenth century. However, they were not free from the influence of the United States. *Neocolonialism* refers to actions taken by one government to indirectly control another country.

**U.S. Intervention** As the United States expanded its empire, specific policies emerged to justify its interventionist actions in Latin America. First, the Monroe Doctrine, formulated in 1823, stated that European countries should no longer interfere with the affairs of America countries. This may have seemed to be a doctrine of defiance by a young nation aimed at its former colonizer, but it was also a way to assert U.S. dominance in the Western Hemisphere.

Less than a century later, in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt expanded the Monroe Doctrine when he stated that the United States could intervene in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors if these countries showed that they could not govern themselves. His rationale was that U.S. intervention in a Latin American country would prevent intervention by European powers.

In 1912, President William Howard Taft proclaimed a new form of diplomacy with Latin America, which was derisively dubbed *Dollar Diplomacy*. His philosophy advocated investing U.S. money, rather than U.S. bullets, in Latin America. After all, he argued, the region was rich in natural resources, such as bananas, oil, and copper. Taft felt it was better that U.S. companies exploit this wealth before European companies were able to. In fact, over five short years, U.S. investments in the region increased by more than \$2 billion. Dubbed *Yankee imperialism*, this economic exploitation fueled the criticism that the United States really wanted its own colonies in Latin America.

Even though the United States claimed to have only economic ties to Latin America, its military became involved in the region whenever economic interests were threatened. U.S. Marines were stationed in several nations, including Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

**Shifting Policy** In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the *Good Neighbor Policy*, which renounced armed U.S. intervention in Latin America. The next year, the United States withdrew troops from Haiti and Nicaragua. This policy came to an end after World War II when fears of Communist influence led the United States back to its interventionist tendencies. Even during the period of the Good Neighbor Policy, many Latin Americans

complained of U.S. influence and the dependent ties their governments had with the United States.

**Opposition to Intervention** Latin Americans resisted U.S. imperialism in many ways. In Nicaragua, *Augusto Sandino* waged a guerrilla war (warfare by a small group of combatants using stealth and surprise rather than direct confrontation) until he was killed by a Nicaraguan general in 1934. Considered a hero by many Nicaraguans, later rebels called themselves *Sandinistas*.

Diego Rivera, a Mexican painter of the 1920s and 1930s, expressed opposition to Yankee imperialism through his art, which he believed should be created and displayed for the people. He suffused his colorful murals with Marxist ideals and Mexican folk aesthetics, making him popular with socialists in Mexico and around the world. The same commitment to socialism made his art extremely controversial among the economic elites of Mexico and the United States.

## Cultural and Intellectual Movements

World War I and its aftermath inspired a flurry of new and provocative movements in art, thought, and science. The modern era had brought about democratic revolutions, but it also glorified militarism, imperialism, and nationalism, culminating in the carnage of World War I. To many observers, these ideals did not justify the millions of lives lost. Out of the chaos, new fields opened up, such as psychology and quantum mechanics. New approaches to literature and the visual arts emerged as well.



Source: Benjamin F. Berlin, 1939, Gift of Herman and Regina Cherry, LACMA

In the early twentieth century, artists explored new ways to see the world. Cubism (left) combined different perspectives into one painting. Surrealism (above) combined realistic and fantastical images.

Source: Thinkstock

**Art** *Surrealist artists* such as Salvador Dali of Spain and Frida Kahlo of Mexico incorporated images from dreams in their paintings. Placing these images in unexpected settings brought a strange and otherworldly quality to their work. Kahlo's work conveys her naked emotion unapologetically and without explanation. For example, she placed violent imagery in her self-portraits to convey the suffering she experienced in a tragic accident.

**Literature** In literature, Virginia Woolf of England and James Joyce of Ireland popularized the stream-of-consciousness technique in which a character's inner thoughts are presented without filter or structure. These writers strove to represent a more complex and psychologically realistic character than had been achieved before in fiction.

**Science** The period also witnessed major *paradigm shifts* in several fields of science. A paradigm is a set of assumptions or models that form the basis of thought in a field. When those assumptions are overturned, the resulting shift reveals new areas of research and inspires a creative surge in the field.

Area	Paradigm	Impact
<b>Relativity</b>	<p><b>1905</b> Albert Einstein introduces the Special Theory of Relativity, which described the relationship between matter and energy in an equation (<math>E = mc^2</math>).</p> <p><b>1914</b> Einstein proposes the General Theory of Relativity, which explained gravity as a result of the properties of space and time.</p>	Relativity created new branches in physics and revolutionized astronomy.
<b>Psychology</b>	<p><b>1905</b> Sigmund Freud theorizes that the mind has unconscious as well as conscious aspects.</p> <p><b>1912</b> Carl Jung develops analytical psychology based on universally shared unconscious ideas called archetypes.</p> <p><b>1923</b> Freud develops a three-part model of the psyche consisting of id, ego, and superego.</p>	Psychology provided new approaches to understanding human behavior and to treat mental illnesses.
<b>Astronomy</b>	<p><b>1912</b> Vesto Slipher measures the Doppler shift of spiral nebula, showing that they are moving away from Earth.</p> <p><b>1922</b> Alexander Friedmann theorizes that the universe is expanding.</p> <p><b>1927</b> Georges Lemaitre develops the Big Bang Theory.</p> <p><b>1928</b> Edwin Hubble shows that the universe is expanding.</p>	New research and theories revolutionized the understanding of the structure and workings of the universe.
<b>Quantum Mechanics</b>	<p><b>1918</b> Max Planck wins the Nobel Prize for his discovery of discrete packets of light he named "quanta."</p> <p><b>1922</b> Niels Bohr is awarded the Nobel Prize for his work on the structure of atoms.</p>	New understandings challenged basic notions of reality and probability on the atomic level.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED TOTALITARIANISM?

Scholars disagree about why so many totalitarian states, states with complete control over every aspect of public and private life, emerged in the twentieth century. While many countries moved toward democracy, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Spain became dictatorships. Scholars often explain the rise of totalitarianism from their own discipline's viewpoint.

**An Economist's View** An Austrian economist, Friedrich Hayek, argued that totalitarianism had developed gradually and was based on decisions about economic policy. In his 1944 book, *The Road to Serfdom*, Hayek concluded that totalitarianism grew in Western democracies because they had "progressively abandoned that freedom in economic affairs without which personal and political freedom has never existed in the past." He viewed socialism and fascism as two sides of the same coin, since centralized government planning and state power characterized both.

**Political Scientists' View** In contrast, the American political scientists Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski focused on political and ethnic issues, not economic ones. They contended that the totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union had their origins in the upheaval brought about by World War I. The forces of nationalism unleashed by the war, combined with the need to respond politically to the global depression that followed World War I created fertile ground for strong, nationalistic rulers who could rise to political power and address ethnic conflict.

**A Historian's View** American historian and journalist William Shirer identified the origins of Nazism in Germany's distant and distinctive past. He concluded that Germanic nationalism, authoritarianism, and militarism dated back to the Middle Ages. "The course of German history . . ." he wrote, "made blind obedience to temporal rulers the highest virtue of Germanic man, and put a premium on servility." No other country developed the same sort of Nazism because no country had Germany's past.

**A Sociologist's View** Like a historian, American sociologist Barrington Moore looked to the past to explain totalitarianism. However, rather than focus on what made each country unique, he searched for patterns in the social structures of groups of countries. In his book *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966), Moore analyzed why Great Britain, France, and the United States evolved into democracies, while Japan, China, Russia, and Germany evolved into dictatorships. For Moore, two vital steps in creating a democracy were developing a middle class and breaking the power of the landed aristocracy. Countries that failed to do these things were more likely to become dictatorships.

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

### ECONOMICS

inflation  
John Maynard Keynes  
deficit spending  
Great Depression  
New Deal  
Recovery  
Reform  
Relief  
New Economic Plan  
(NEP)  
Five-Year Plan  
Dollar Diplomacy

### STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Benito Mussolini  
Adolf Hitler  
Paul von Hindenburg  
Francisco Franco  
Antonio Salazar  
Getulio Vargas  
Joseph Stalin  
Porfirio Diaz  
Emiliano Zapata  
Pancho Villa  
Lazaro Cardenas  
Mao Tse-tung  
Sun Yat-sen  
Mustafa Kemal  
Mohandas Gandhi  
Muhammad Ali Jinnah  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Howard Taft  
Augusto Sandino

### STATE-BUILDING: STATES, MOVEMENTS, AND ALLIANCES

Libya  
Somaliland  
Weimar Republic  
Nazis  
Spanish Republic  
Popular Front  
Nationalists  
Loyalists  
Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics (U.S.S.R.)  
Chinese Communist  
Party (CCP)  
Kuomintang  
Turkish National  
Movement  
satyagraha movement  
Pakistan  
Sandinistas

### STATE-BUILDING

fascism  
corporatism  
Reichstag  
lebensraum  
Spanish Civil War  
land reform  
Guernica  
Basque region  
Luftwaffe  
Politburo  
Amritsar  
civil disobedience  
Salt March  
Neocolonialism  
Good Neighbor Policy

### CULTURE

scientific racism  
Olympic Games  
Jesse Owens  
Leni Riefenstahl  
Pablo Picasso  
socialist realism  
Negritude Movement  
Leopold Senghor  
W.E.B. DuBois  
Richard Wright  
Langston Hughes  
Diego Rivera  
Surrealist artists  
paradigm shifts

### SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Nuremberg Laws  
*Kristallnacht*

### ENVIRONMENT

Long March

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the table below.

Dates of the Great Depression			
Country	Depression Began	Recovery Began	Decline in Industrial Production During the Great Depression
United States	Mid-1929	Mid-1933	47%
Germany	Early 1928	Mid-1932	42%
Italy	Mid-1929	Early 1933	33%
France	Mid-1930	Mid-1932	31%
United Kingdom	Early 1930	Late 1932	16%
Japan	Early 1930	Mid-1932	9%

- 1.1 Based on the countries in this table, the decline in industrial production during the Great Depression was relatively more severe in countries
- (A) that had industrialized more recently
  - (B) that had large overseas colonial empires
  - (C) where the Great Depression began earlier
  - (D) where World War I battles had been fought
- 1.2 One reason that explains the relative length of the Great Depression in Japan was that
- (A) the government devalued its currency
  - (B) industries adopted economic practices used by the U.S.S.R.
  - (C) the country returned to an agriculture-based economy
  - (D) employees worked longer hours for lower pay than did others in Asia
- 1.3 Which is the most important reason to explain why Germany suffered so severely from the Great Depression?
- (A) the refusal of the Soviets to repay their war debt to Germany
  - (B) the use of deficit spending to try to help the German economy
  - (C) the billions of dollars in war reparations that Germany owed
  - (D) the printing of less paper money in Germany, causing deflation

**Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the passage below.**

“All great cultures of the past perished only because the originally creative race died out from blood poisoning. The ultimate cause of such a decline was their forgetting that all culture depends on men and not conversely; hence that to preserve a certain culture the man who creates it must be preserved. . . . If we were to divide mankind into three groups, the founders of culture, the bearers of culture, the destroyers of culture, only the Aryan could be considered as the representative of the first group.”

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

- 2.1** Which policy did Nazi leaders try to justify most directly with the ideas expressed in the excerpt?
- (A) opposition to communism
  - (B) nonaggression pacts with neighboring countries
  - (C) suppression of political dissent
  - (D) discrimination against Jews
- 2.2** Which group of people would most strongly agree with the ideas in the excerpt?
- (A) opponents of Social Darwinism
  - (B) opponents of anti-Semitism
  - (C) supporters of Socialist realism
  - (D) supporters of scientific racism
- 2.3** Historian William Shirer would later explain that support of ideas such as those in the excerpt during the 1920s and 1930s was a result of Germany’s history of
- (A) alliances with Soviet Communism
  - (B) nationalism and authoritarianism
  - (C) armed revolt and civil disobedience
  - (D) rebellion against authoritarian rulers



**Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the passages below.**

“One reason *Guernica* [by Pablo Picasso] is considered a treasure in terms of art history is that it seemed to provide a bridge between what were considered by some to be antithetical poles: the idea of making an effective political statement and an effective artistic statement at the same time. And this is certainly one of the achievements of the *Guernica* project, that it was a third space between those two antithetical poles.”

Patricia Failing, art historian, pbs.org

“Diego Rivera . . . created popular political murals throughout Mexico that often included attacks on the ruling class, the church and capitalism. . . . Rivera believed that painting murals on the walls of public buildings made art accessible to the everyday man. His murals focused on telling stories that dealt with Mexican society and referenced the revolution of 1910. It featured large forms, bright colors and recurring images of farmers, laborers, popular Mexican figures and depictions of earth.”

“Diego Rivera’s Murals,” pbs.org

- 3.1** Which individual would be most sympathetic to the works of both Picasso and Rivera?
- (A) Chiang Kai-shek
  - (B) Adolf Hitler
  - (C) W.E.B. DuBois
  - (D) Francisco Franco
- 3.2** Which statement most accurately describes a similarity between Picasso and Rivera?
- (A) Both men wanted their art to influence public opinion.
  - (B) Both men supported conservative political movements.
  - (C) Both men resisted efforts by others to use their art for political purposes.
  - (D) Both men opposed the efforts to address economic inequality.

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

---

**Question 1 refers to the passages below.**

“Take up the White Man’s burden,  
Send forth the best ye breed  
Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives’ need;  
To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.”

Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” 1899

“The African has resisted, and persisted . . . . But what the partial occupation of his soil by the white man has failed to do; what the mapping out of European political ‘spheres of influence’ has failed to do; what the maxim [a type of gun] and the rifle, the slave gang, labor in the bowels of the earth and the lash, have failed to do; what imported measles, smallpox, and syphilis have failed to do; what even the oversea[s] slave trade failed to do, the power of modern capitalistic exploitation, assisted by modern engines of destruction, may yet succeed in accomplishing.

For from the evils of the latter, scientifically applied and enforced, there is no escape for the African . . . . It kills not the body merely, but the soul. . . . It wrecks his polity, uproots him from the land, invades his family life, destroys his natural pursuits and occupations, claims his whole time, enslaves him in his own home.”

Edward D. Morel, “The Black Man’s Burden,” 1920

1. Answer parts A, B, and C.
  - A. Identify and explain ONE difference in the viewpoints of the authors of these passages.
  - B. Identify ONE historical figure from Asia or Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century who would agree Morel’s view of capitalism and explain why.
  - C. Identify ONE European leader in the first half of the twentieth century who would disagree with Morel’s statement and explain why.
2. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Identify and explain ONE similarity and ONE difference in the political or economic policies of Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin.
  - B. Identify and explain ONE difference between how Lenin and Mao viewed the workers who made up the proletariat class.

### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE ARGUMENTATION IN A PARAGRAPH

A historical argument states a thesis and then supports it with evidence that is relevant to the thesis. If a thesis states that World War I promoted the rise of fascism, then information about the results of the war and about the rise of fascism is more relevant than information about particular battles of World War I. *Each item below gives the first sentence of a paragraph. For each, choose the second sentence that would best continue to build a paragraph that states an argument.*

1. Historians have underestimated the effects of World War I.
  - a. The death toll of World War I makes it one of the worst conflicts in history.
  - b. World War I started with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand.
2. What was bad for Western Europe and the United States was good for colonized peoples in the interwar years.
  - a. Although the interwar era was short, it spawned fascinating new artistic trends.
  - b. While Western Europe and the United States were rebuilding their devastated economies, colonized lands were building powerful nationalist movements.
3. Governments should take an active role in stimulating their nation's economies, including the use of deficit spending.
  - a. Deficit spending pays off because it enables people to find jobs, which increases consumer spending.
  - b. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used economist John Maynard Keynes's ideas in attacking the Great Depression.
4. In important ways, Kemal Ataturk of Turkey was similar to Peter the Great of Russia.
  - a. Though they lived two centuries apart, they recognized the need to reform a stagnant society.
  - b. Ataturk fought for self-determination for the Turks, while Peter the Great led a country that had been independent since the days of Ivan the Great.

## WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: CONSIDER CONNOTATION

An essential part of the meaning of a word can be its connotation, the emotion that goes along with it. Taken together, the words in each phrase and sentence often convey a judgment as well as objective information. Consider a small group of people who use violence and the threat of violence to achieve a goal. Supporters of the group might call them “freedom fighters.” Fighting for freedom sounds very positive. Opponents of the group might call them “terrorists,” a word with strongly negative meanings.

When writing an essay, be aware of the emotional impact of the words you select. Choose words that convey your precise meaning accurately. *In each pair of sentences, select the one that describes the topic more positively.*

### 1. Indian National Congress

- a. The Indian National Congress advocated secession.
- b. The Indian National Congress supported self-determination.

### 2. Japan and Manchuria

- a. Japan’s expansion into Manchuria began in the early 1930s.
- b. Japan’s imperialism into Manchuria began in the early 1930s.

### 3. Regional Leaders in China

- a. Mao and Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance against China’s traditional regional leaders.
- b. Mao and Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance against China’s regional warlords.

### 4. Policies of Getulio Vargas

- a. Like many fascists, Vargas followed policies that were pro-industry.
- b. Like many fascists, Vargas followed policies that were anti-labor.

### 5. Banks in the Great Depression

- a. During the Great Depression, thousands of banks failed.
- b. During the Great Depression, thousands of banks closed.

### 6. Government Spending in the 1930s

- a. Under Franklin Roosevelt, the government borrowed money to stimulate recovery.
- b. Under Franklin Roosevelt, the government used deficit spending that increased the national debt.

## World War II

*We shall not flag nor fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France and on the seas and oceans; we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air. We shall defend our island whatever the cost may be; we shall fight on beaches, landing grounds, in fields, in streets and on the hills. We shall never surrender . . .*

—Winston Churchill, June 4, 1940

As discussed in Chapter 26, the Great Depression created a great deal of instability worldwide in the 1930s. Many governments seemed incompetent in the face of the economic pressures, and citizens of those nations were drawn to any individuals and groups that claimed to have answers to the problems. These economic conditions contributed to the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, the rise of militarism in Japan, and the popularity of communism.

Some historians downplay the role of broad economic trends and blame World War II primarily on one man: Adolf Hitler. His extreme views on the superiority of the Aryan race and his vision of a great German civilization led him to persecute Jews and other minorities and to systematically seize land.

### The Path to War

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles severely limited the German military after World War I. Yet Hitler knew that he needed a stronger military if he was to acquire additional land. This meant breaking the treaty. In March of 1935, he announced the creation of a German air force and a policy of conscription to enlarge the size of the army. In 1936, he ordered German troops into the demilitarized area of the Rhineland.

Although France had the right to respond militarily to the German troop movement, it did not do so, partly because Britain would not support them. Some British believed that Hitler was the strong, anti-Communist leader that central Europe needed to keep order. Others were simply reluctant to return to war. So, Britain followed a policy of *appeasement*, giving in to the demands of another country in hopes of keeping the peace.

**The Axis Powers** Hitler then sought new allies to help him acquire *Lebensraum* (living space) for the new German empire. He first formed a military pact with Fascist Italy, the *Rome-Berlin Axis*. In addition to their need for military support, the two countries shared a political ideology and

economic interests. Germany then created a military alliance with Japan based on mutual distrust of communism, known as the *Anti-Comintern Pact*. The alliances among these three nations created the *Axis Powers*.

**Spanish Civil War** Hitler supported the Fascist Spanish nationalist government during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). In 1937, German and Italian planes bombed Guernica, a city in Basque region of Spain held by Republican forces. The bombing is considered to be the first such attack on a civilian population by a modern air force. Military records show that the attack on Guernica was a testing ground for the German air force and preparation for the war to come.

**German-Austrian Unification** With a military in tow and alliances in hand, Hitler felt confident about taking his next step in the creation of the German empire, or *Third Reich*. His plan was to bring Austria, where he was born, under German rule. Hitler used the threat of invasion to pressure the Austrian chancellor into giving more power to the Austrian Nazi Party. As Hitler had planned, the Austrian Nazis then opened the door for German troops to occupy Austria with no resistance. Austria officially became part of the Third Reich in March 1938.

**Czechoslovakia** The annexation of Austria was only the first step for Hitler. He wanted more. In September 1938, he issued a demand to Czechoslovakia for the border territory of the *Sudetenland*. Most of the people who lived in this region spoke German; Hitler argued that the area was a natural extension of his Aryan empire. The German leader met with the leaders of Britain, France, and Italy in Munich to discuss his demands. *Neville Chamberlain*, the British prime minister, again argued that a policy of appeasement would keep the peace and put an end to Hitler's demands for more land. This was a fateful miscalculation. Hitler saw that the British were not willing to stand up to his illegal land grabs, emboldening him to seize control of all of Czechoslovakia with an armed invasion in 1939.

**The Conflict over Poland** Of course, Hitler was not satisfied. He next set his sights on the Polish port of *Danzig*. Although Germany did have some historical claims to the port, in reality, Hitler was merely looking for an excuse to invade Poland. Britain, in the meantime, had reached the end of its policy of appeasement and agreed to protect Poland from a German attack. Britain and France also reached out to the Soviet Union to form a stronger alliance against Germany.

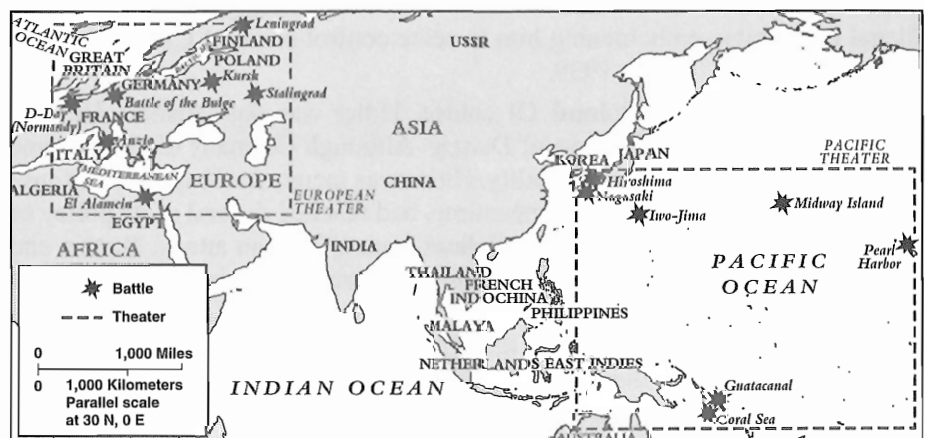
Germany was one step ahead of them, however; it was already in negotiations with the Soviets. With the signing of the *German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact* on August 23, 1939, the two nations pledged not to attack one another. During the negotiations for the pact, Hitler secretly offered Stalin control of eastern Poland and the Baltic States if Stalin would stand by during a German invasion of western Poland. With this assurance in hand, Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, claiming that Poland had attacked first. Britain and France honored their agreement to protect Poland and declared war on Germany. These actions marked the official start of World War II in Europe.

## Japan and Imperialist Policies

With the military in control of the government, Japan harbored imperialist ambitions that would lead to a world war in the Pacific. Seeking access to natural resources on the Asian mainland, Japan began with an invasion of Manchuria in northern China in September 1931. The Japanese claimed that Chinese forces had attacked a railway near Mukden owned by Japan. The attack, called the *Mukden Incident*, is controversial. It was carried out either by Chinese dissidents or agents of the Japanese military. When the League of Nations condemned Japan's actions, Japan gave up its membership in the League and proceeded to acquire additional land in Manchuria. In 1932, the Japanese set up a puppet state called *Manchukuo* with the last Chinese emperor on its throne. (Test Prep: Create a timeline showing the steps Japan took as it moved from isolation to Imperialism. See page 457–458.)

In the 1930s, Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek was in a power struggle with the Chinese Communists for control of China. The last thing he wanted was a war with Japan. In 1935, however, Chiang Kai-shek recognized the need to ally with the Chinese Communists in a *united front* against Japan. Although technically united, the two groups were not very effective together. In July 1937, the united Nationalist and Communist forces met Japanese forces in battle south of Beijing. After months of fighting, Japan took control of Nanjing, the Chinese Nationalist capital since 1928, and gained quite a bit of Chinese territory along the coast. (See the map below.) Japanese soldiers killed or raped so many Chinese in the city of Nanjing that the six-week-long incident is called the *Nanjing Massacre* or Rape of Nanjing.

### MAJOR BATTLES OF WORLD WAR II



**New Order in East Asia** The occupation of China was but one step in Japan's overall strategy, which was to create a "New Order in East Asia." The Japanese had looked to expand into Soviet Siberia, but when Germany and the Soviets signed the Nonaggression Pact of 1939, Japan had to look elsewhere

for new territory. Nearby Southeast Asia, which had been under the control of imperial powers in Western Europe and the United States, was the most obvious target. However, Japan faced obstacles. Their occupation of China led to economic sanctions by the United States. Because Japan's economy relied on oil and scrap iron from the United States, sanctions threatened to strangle its economy and undercut its military expansion. Therefore, Japan began a plan to retaliate against the United States with such surprising force that the Western powers would have to submit to Japan's imperial ambitions.

## Germany's Early Victories and Challenges

Once war broke out in Europe, Hitler moved swiftly to acquire territory. He embarked on a strategy called *Blitzkrieg*, or lightning war, to quickly subdue Poland. Germany used rapidly moving tank divisions supported by the air force in its four-week campaign. At the end of September 1939, Germany and the Soviets divided the country as they had planned when they signed the Nonaggression Pact.

Germany's rapid success in Poland encouraged Hitler to attack and conquer Denmark and Norway in April 1940, and the Netherlands, Belgium, and France in the following month. Germany then proceeded to bring the government and resources of the conquered nations under its control. In France the Nazis set up the *Vichy government* under the leadership of Marshall Henri Petain to run the southern half of the country on Germany's behalf. (Test Prep: Create a table comparing the conquests of Hitler and Alexander the Great. See pages 61–62.)

**British-American Relations** Fearing that it would be the next victim in Germany's relentless and rapid campaign, Britain asked the United States for support. However, the United States had a long history of isolationism, and a desire to avoid involvement in Europe's troubles. This attitude had been solidified with the passage of several neutrality acts in the previous decade.

Yet President Roosevelt was not an isolationist. He believed the United States should help the British. In 1940, the two powers signed the *Destroyers-for-Bases Agreement*, in which the United States promised delivery of 50 destroyers in exchange for eight British air and naval bases in the Western Hemisphere. In the 1941 *Lend-Lease Act*, the United States gave up all pretensions of neutrality by lending war materials to Britain. Also in 1941, Britain and the United States forged a policy statement known as the *Atlantic Charter*, which set down basic goals for the post-war world. The charter included such provisions as the restoration of self-government to those deprived of it, the abandonment of the use of force, and the disarmament of aggressor nations. The charter was later adopted by the United Nations.

**The Battle of Britain** In Europe, Britain was the last major holdout against Nazi power. In July 1940, Hitler ordered a large campaign against the small island nation by the *Luftwaffe*, the German air force. He believed that bombardment from the air would sufficiently weaken the country so that German sea and land forces could mount a successful invasion. Initially



targeting military bases in this *Battle of Britain*, the Germans turned to bombing British cities after the British Royal Air Force conducted a raid on Berlin. *Winston Churchill* termed this Britain's "finest hour" as the civilian population in London and other cities withstood months of relentless bombing. The university city of Oxford was the one city that was off limits to the German Luftwaffe in the bombing of Great Britain. Hitler had such respect for the tradition and learning at the various colleges of Oxford University that he did not want to see it destroyed. The targeting of cities did provide one advantage for Britain: the British military was able to rebuild after the earlier raids on its bases. Ultimately, Britain's superior planes and radar system allowed it to destroy German planes faster than they could be replaced. By May of 1941, Hitler was forced to postpone indefinitely any attempted invasion of Britain.

**War on the Soviet Union** After failing to invade Britain, Hitler turned east. He attacked the Soviet Union to eliminate Bolshevism and to create "Lebensraum" for the German people. Turning the focus to the east took pressure off Britain. After first attacking Greece and Yugoslavia, where its ally Italy had been unsuccessful, Germany began its invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Initially the Nazis experienced rapid success as they had in Western Europe, capturing large amounts of territory and two million Soviet troops. However, the German forces soon found themselves at the mercy of the same force that had defeated Napoleon in 1812, the harsh Russian winter. Even a modern mechanized army could not function properly in such extreme cold. The German army was also spreading itself too thin over the vast areas of the western and southern Soviet Union. In addition, the German army's supply routes were getting too long. The Soviets defended the city of Leningrad in the *Battle of Leningrad*, a siege that lasted three years and led to the deaths of a million Soviet men, women, and children.

## Japan Overreaches

Japan experienced rapid victories in the Pacific. It first launched a surprise air attack on the U.S. naval base at *Pearl Harbor* in Hawaii on December 7, 1941. Much of the U.S. Pacific fleet was in the harbor, and losses were extensive. Japan then responded to the U.S. declaration of war against it by seizing the Philippines (under partial U.S. control at the time), the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, Burma, and numerous Pacific islands. Japan termed these territories the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Although Japan claimed to be liberating people from Western imperialism, people in the region experienced Japan as a conqueror.

Japan believed that the surprise attack and the damage to the U.S. Pacific Fleet would prompt the United States to negotiate a settlement favorable to Japan immediately. Instead, U.S. isolationism vanished overnight; public opinion demanded retaliation against Japan. Great Britain and China joined the United States in the fight against Japanese aggression. The war truly became global when Hitler answered the U.S. declaration of war against Japan with his own declaration of war against the United States within days.

**Colonial Armies** As the Axis powers expanded into new territory, Western colonial powers began to join the Allies in the war effort. For example, the Indian Army, which had started the war with only 200,000 men, ended the war as the largest volunteer army in history with more than 2.5 million men. Although the Indian Army did send troops to North Africa, the bulk of its troops fought against the Japanese in Southeast Asia.

**Home Fronts** As was World War I, World War II was a total war. Most countries mobilized all their resources, including the civilian population, to achieve victory. The United States mobilized civilians exceptionally well. It started with the strongest industrial sector of any country in the world and it added stringent government planning to provide factories what they needed. In addition, unlike anywhere in Europe, U.S. industry operated without threat of military attack. The United States ramped up production of the resources required for war, including ships, tanks, planes, landing craft, radar equipment, guns, and ammunition. With American entry into the war and the enlistment of large numbers of men in the armed forces, women found opportunities to work in factories and offices at an unprecedented rate.

Germany was less successful than the United States. Instead of mobilizing all available Germans in the war effort, leaders relied on forced labor. At its peak, 20 percent of the wartime workforce was forced labor, with 600,000 French citizens working in German war plants and 1.5 million French soldiers working in prisoner-of-war (POW) camps. The solution was counterproductive, however. The workers were treated so poorly that productivity was low.

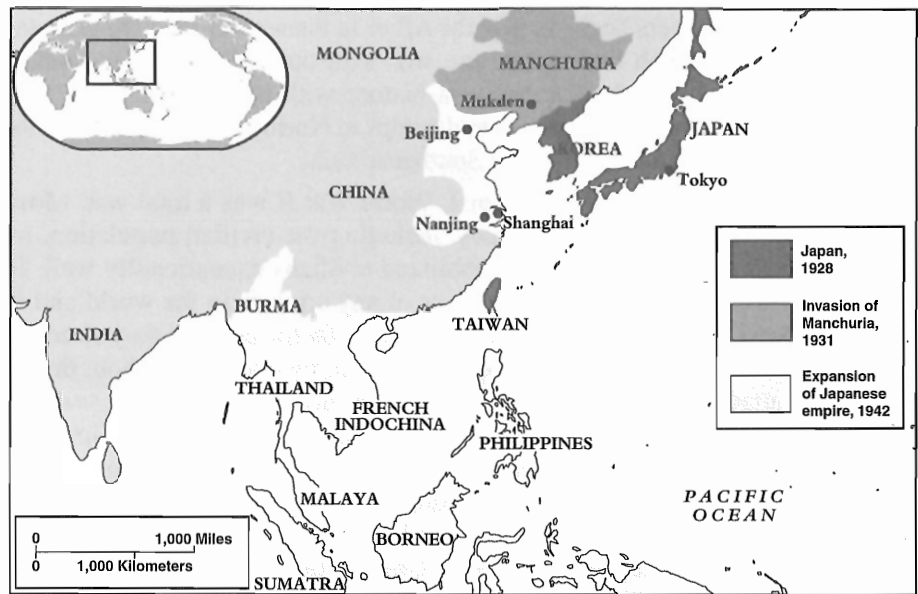
In Japan, efforts on the home front were confused. The government presented an optimistic view of the war instead of trying to mobilize resources. The government took pride in not utilizing women in the war effort, claiming that the enemy is “drafting women but in Japan, out of consideration for the family system, we will not.” The government was able to systematically remove children from cities to the countryside when bombing of cities started late in the war. It was also successful in rationing food throughout the war.

## The Tide Turns in Europe

With its entry into the war in December 1941, the United States joined the other Allied powers, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. In spite of political differences, the three nations were united in their determination to achieve a military victory and agreed that Axis surrender must be unconditional.

In early 1942, the Allies were struggling in Europe and North Africa. General *Erwin Rommel*, the “Desert Fox,” led German troops in Egypt and threatened to take the northern city of Alexandria. Germany had also succeeded in gaining control of the Soviet Crimea. But in the second half of 1942, the tide turned. The British defeated Rommel at the *Battle of El Alamein*. And after months of fighting, a Soviet counteroffensive successfully defeated the cream of Hitler’s military, the German Sixth Army, in the *Battle of Stalingrad*. Although the Germans remained in control of most of Western Europe, the momentum of the war in Europe had turned against the Nazis.

## JAPANESE CONQUESTS IN WORLD WAR II



### The Tide Turns in the Pacific Theater

The year 1942 was also crucial in the war against Japan. The first Allied victory occurred in May in the *Battle of the Coral Sea*, when the U.S. Navy stopped a Japanese fleet set to invade Australia. The following month, with the destruction of four Japanese aircraft carriers at the *Battle of Midway Island*, Allied naval forces demonstrated their superiority in the Pacific. These battles stopped the advance of the Japanese. The first major Allied offensive was on the island of Guadalcanal, which ended in early 1943 with an Allied victory.

The Allied forces in the Pacific under U.S. General *Douglas MacArthur* used a strategy called *island-hopping*. The Allies attacked islands where Japan was weak and skipped those where Japan was strong. The Allies slowly, and at great human cost, moved through the Philippines, getting closer to Japan itself.

Technology was critical to the success in the Pacific. For example, the development of fleets of *aircraft carriers*, ships that allowed planes to take off and land from their decks at sea, provided air support for battleships and increased the range and flexibility of naval forces. Aircraft were used for raids on enemy ships and bases and for intelligence gathering. In addition, submarines were extremely important to Allied success. They sank about 55 percent of the Japanese merchant fleet, severely damaging Japan's naval supply lines.

### The Last Years of the War

The successes of 1942 put the Axis powers on the defensive in 1943. The Allies identified Italy as the weakest point under Axis control in Europe. In spite of German forces sent to aid Italy, the Allies gained control of the island of Sicily in July 1943, leading to the fall of Mussolini. After the Allies invaded southern

Italy in September 1943, Italy turned against its former ally. After months of slow and costly progress, the Allies finally recaptured Rome on June 4, 1944.

June 6, 1944, has become known as *D-Day*, when Allied forces numbering about 150,000 launched an amphibious invasion from England and landed on the beaches of Normandy in northern France. Even with air support, Allied casualties were high. Eventually, however, the Allies established a base to begin the march toward Paris, which was finally liberated in August. With control of Western Europe slipping away, Germany's defeat was drawing closer.

The Germans made one final push against the Allies during the winter of 1944. The *Battle of the Bulge* was fought in the Ardennes Forest across parts of France, Belgium, and Luxembourg. An Allied victory left Germany with no realistic expectation of winning the war, yet Hitler refused to give up. Allied air raids began to systematically destroy Germany's infrastructure and Allied troops crossed the Rhine River into Germany in March 1945. One month later they were close to Germany's capital city of Berlin.

On the Eastern Front, Soviet troops were also moving rapidly toward Germany. In July 1943, the largest tank battle of the war, the *Battle of Kursk*, was fought about 300 miles south of Moscow. The Soviets successfully challenged this instance of German *Blitzkrieg* by successfully holding their defensive position and then counterattacking. The Soviets then made rapid progress through the Ukraine and the Baltic States in 1944. After taking control of Warsaw, Poland, in January 1945, the Soviets moved on to Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. In April 1945, they then advanced on Berlin, hoping to reach the German capital before the other Allies.

**Victory in Europe** Hitler spent the final days of the war hiding in a fortified underground shelter in Berlin. Although the country was falling apart all around him, he continued to live under the delusion that somehow Germany would triumph. The end came on April 30, 1945, when Hitler committed suicide. His ally Mussolini had been killed by members of the Italian resistance two days before. After Hitler's death, members of Germany's High Command acknowledged that continuing the war would be futile. In the first days of May, Germany surrendered to the Allies. May 8, 1945, marked the official end of the war in Europe and was designated as Victory in Europe Day or *V-E Day*.

**Victory over Japan** Although the island-hopping campaign had weakened Japan's hold on the Pacific, the emperor was not ready to surrender. The United States was beginning to consider the costs of invading the Japanese homeland, which it feared might lead to enormous Allied casualties. President Truman's advisors were split on whether to use atomic (nuclear) weapons. He decided to go ahead. On August 6, 1945, the U.S. Air Force dropped the first atomic bomb, on the Japanese city of *Hiroshima*, leading to the deaths of more than 100,000 civilians. Three days later, a second bomb was dropped on *Nagasaki*, resulting in another 40,000 or so immediate civilian deaths. The months of Allied victories combined with these devastating nuclear attacks caused Japan to unconditionally surrender on August 14. Truman designated September 2, the day of the formal surrender ceremonies, as Victory over Japan Day or *V-J Day*.

## Casualties of War

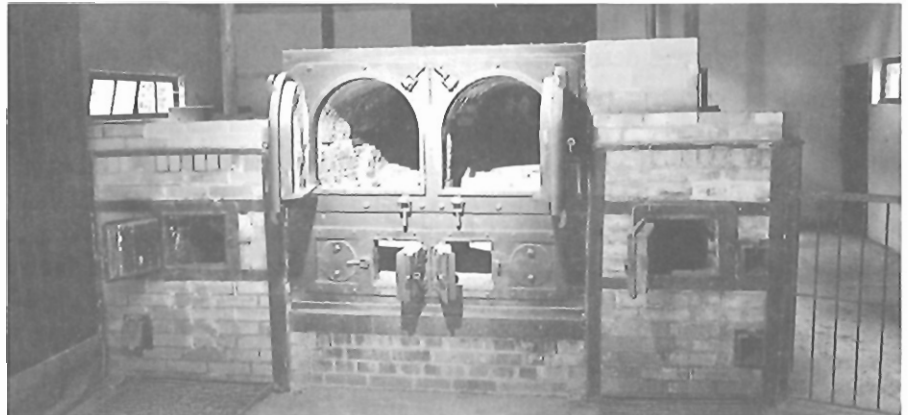
World War II was the bloodiest war in history. It resulted in tremendous suffering and death for both military personnel and civilians.

**The Nazis** News about Nazi brutality slowly became known to the world during the war. In its pursuit of territory, Germany forcefully removed many Slavic peoples, including one million Poles, and Roma, also known as Gypsies, from their homes. *Heinrich Himmler*, the leader of the Nazi special police, the SS, oversaw these policies. In addition, more than seven million residents of conquered territory were forced to work in labor camps or in jobs that would support the German war effort. Political opponents, people with disabilities, and gay people were also sent to camps.

The largest single group targeted by the Nazis were the Jews. Hitler had declared his extreme anti-Semitic views in his book *Mein Kampf*, written in 1925–1926. When he became chancellor, he instituted many policies that reflected these views, such as the *Nuremberg Laws* of 1935 that banned Jews from certain professions and certain schools. During *Kristallnacht* in 1938, Jews throughout Germany and Austria were beaten and more than 90 were killed; their homes, shops, and synagogues were looted and smashed. Later, Jews were forced to live in special sections of cities—Jewish *ghettos*.

In 1942, the Nazi persecution of Jews turned into mass murder. They began a campaign led by the SS to kill all Jews in Europe, a plan they called the “final solution.” Initially, Nazi killing units moved from place to place, shooting Jews and burying them in mass graves. Later the SS began rounding up Jews and shipping them to death camps, where they were gassed. By the end of the war, the Nazis had killed about six million Jews, an act of genocide known as the *Holocaust*.

In addition to murdering Jews, the Nazis killed another five million people who belonged to other persecuted groups or were Soviet prisoners of war. Many were worked to death in labor camps and others were massacred.



Source: Thinkstock

One shocking aspect of the Holocaust was how the Nazis used technology—trains, poisonous gas, and ovens for cremation (above)—to make their attempt at genocide more efficient and more deadly.

**The Japanese** Although the Japanese did not carry out a dedicated policy of genocide that paralleled the Holocaust, millions of people died as a result of their policies. Under the program “Asia for Asiatics,” Japan forced people they had conquered into a variety of labor programs. Among these were service in the military, on public works projects, and in agricultural settings where crops and livestock were produced to reduce the food shortage in Japan. As a result of these harsh programs, more than one million civilians died in Vietnam alone. Perhaps an equal number of Allied prisoners of war and local workers perished while doing forced labor for Japan.

**The Allies** Air warfare carried out by the United States and the other Allies brought a new type of deadly combat to civilians. The Allies’s *firebombing* of German cities, particularly Hamburg in 1943 and *Dresden* in 1945 caused large casualties. The number of deaths in Hamburg was about 50,000. Dresden had fewer casualties, maybe 25,000 deaths, as 15 square miles of its historic city-center were destroyed. The United States also used firebombing in *Tokyo*. There, incendiary bombs resulted in the destruction of some 16 square miles of that city and the deaths of about 100,000 Japanese people.

The final two air attacks in the war, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, produced not only high casualties, but tremendous fear about the destructiveness of a future war fought with nuclear weapons. These weapons had been developed by an international group of scientists working in the United States. The scientific achievement was impressive, but it also required developments in other areas to have military use. For example, to deliver the nuclear weapons required improvements in airplane design to allow long flights carrying heavy loads. There is a great difference between the planes used in World War II and those used in World War I. In addition, the widespread use of the aircraft carrier by several powers extended the airplanes’ reach. Utilizing these developments in planes and ships, countries could carry out air attacks anywhere in the world.

**Total Casualties** Because of the widespread fighting, advances in the technology of destruction, and its impact on the economies and civilian life of so many nations, the effects of World War II were unprecedented. Although exact casualty figures have been impossible to determine, total deaths likely exceeded 40 million. Maybe half of those were citizens of the Soviet Union, and millions of others were from Germany, Poland, China, and Japan. Losses among U.S. troops were fewer, but still considerable: about 290,000 soldiers killed and more than 600,000 wounded. Civilian casualties from attacks on land, air, and sea; from government executions based on political rationales, including genocide; and from disease and starvation caused by the war likely exceeded military casualties.

## The Big Three and a New World Order

The main Allied nations in World War II—Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union—were known collectively as the *Big Three*. Beginning in 1943, they met in a series of conferences to discuss strategy for winning the war and for shaping the world after the war ended. During the *Tehran Conference*

in November 1943, the Allies were generally in agreement. The Soviet Union would focus on freeing Eastern Europe, while Britain and the United States concentrated on Western Europe. In addition, Britain and the United States agreed to a Soviet demand to shift some Polish territory to the Soviet Union, to be made up by Poland gaining territory elsewhere, mostly from Germany.

**The Yalta Conference** By February 1945, at the *Yalta Conference*, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin revealed his distrust of his allies. The Allies could see that Germany was near defeat, but they had different ideas of what should happen after Germany's surrender. Stalin demanded influence over the countries of Eastern Europe so that the region would serve as a buffer between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe. President Franklin Roosevelt wanted these countries to rule themselves through free, democratic elections. He also wanted Soviet support in the war against Japan. Stalin asked for numerous concessions in return for his commitment to fight Japan, including possession of Japanese territory in the southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, as well as two Chinese ports and an ownership interest in a Manchurian railroad. Roosevelt hoped that agreeing to Stalin's demands would lead to self-determination for Eastern Europe. The conference ended with only vague assurances on this issue.

On the other hand, Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill did support Roosevelt's vision of a new international organization to help solve future disputes peacefully. This organization became the United Nations.

**The Potsdam Conference** The final meeting between leaders of the Big Three, the *Potsdam Conference*, began in July 1945 in Germany. Harry Truman, who had become president after Roosevelt died on April 12, represented the United States. Churchill started the conference, but lost his position as prime minister in mid-July and was replaced by Clement Atlee. Truman insisted on free elections in Eastern Europe. However, Stalin had already occupied the region with Soviet troops and adamantly refused Truman's demand. The two countries lacked trust in one another and began the aggressive rhetoric that would develop into the Cold War. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting the tensions at the end of World War II to the Cold War. See pages 551–555.)

#### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY DID THE ALLIES WIN?**

Disagreements about why the Allies won began even before the war was over. Adolf Hitler blamed Germany's defeat on the poor performance of its air force. Not surprisingly, many German military leaders disagreed: they blamed Hitler's meddling in military decisions.

**Debate over Air Power** Many Americans disagreed with Hitler's belief that the war was decided in the air. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith noted that despite the intensive Allied bombing of Germany, German production continued to increase during the war. He concluded that bombing was not that significant in the Allied victory.

**Western Historians, Western Power** After the war, historians in Great Britain, France, and the United States focused on the contributions made by the Western members of the Allies, giving the Soviets little credit. This focus might have reflected national pride or a reluctance to praise a communist country. However, it might also have been shaped by the sources available to them. They could study Western documents but the Soviet Union was not receptive to outsiders studying in its archives.

**New Sources, New Viewpoint** As the Cold War thawed, Western historians began to give more credit to the Soviets for helping win the war. For example, a 2013 article in the prestigious journal *Foreign Policy* by Ward Wilson of the Monterey Institute of International Studies was headed, “The Bomb Didn’t Beat Japan . . . Stalin Did.”

**Economics or Knowledge** Historians commonly disagree on how to weight different factors. For example, British economist Mark Harrison emphasized the economic advantages of the Allies, while British military historian Richard Overy argued that knowledge was more important than economics. In a 1996 book *Why the Allies Won*, Overy argued that the Allies had advantages in logistics and intelligence, so they used their supplies and troops more efficiently, leading to victory.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p><b>STATE-BUILDING</b>  Winston Churchill  appeasement  Rome-Berlin Axis  Anti-Comintern Pact  Axis powers  Third Reich  Neville Chamberlain  Danzig  German-Soviet    Nonaggression Pact  Mukden Incident  united front  Nanjing Massacre  Blitzkrieg  Vichy government  Destroyers-for-Bases    Agreement  Lend-Lease Act  Luftwaffe</p>	<p>Battle of Britain  Battle of Leningrad  Pearl Harbor  Erwin Rommel  Battle of El Alamein  Battle of Stalingrad  Battle of the Coral Sea  Battle of Midway Island  island-hopping  Douglas MacArthur  aircraft carriers  D-Day  Battle of the Bulge  Battle of Kursk  V-E Day  Hiroshima  Nagasaki  V-J Day  Heinrich Himmler  Tokyo</p>	<p>Dresden  Big Three  Tehran Conference  Yalta Conference  Potsdam Conference</p> <p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b>  Sudetenland  firebombing</p> <p><b>CULTURE</b>  Oxford University  Holocaust  <i>Mein Kampf</i></p> <p><b>SOCIAL STRUCTURE</b>  Rosie the Riveter  Nuremberg Laws  Kristallnacht  ghettos</p>
--	--	---



## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the cartoon below.



Source: Willard Wetmore Combes / Library of Congress

- 1.1 What development during World War II does the cartoon represent?
- (A) the alliance between Hitler and the Soviets
  - (B) the surprise Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union
  - (C) the successful Soviet defense of Stalingrad
  - (D) the rise of Soviet Communism during the war
- 1.2 Which statement best describes the context to understand the cartoon?
- (A) Soviet forces defeated German forces in a counteroffensive at Stalingrad.
  - (B) Soviet forces successfully held German forces to a stalemate at Stalingrad.
  - (C) Soviet forces violated their nonaggression pact with Germany with their victory at Stalingrad.
  - (D) Soviet forces were trapped at Stalingrad as the Germans faked a retreat, yet the Soviets still won the battle.

- 1.3** The importance of the event depicted in the cartoon was that it was
- (A) a direct response to Germany's invasion of Poland
  - (B) the battle that caused Britain and France to enter the war
  - (C) the last Allied victory in Europe, ending the European part of the war
  - (D) an Allied victory that helped turn the tide of the war against Germany

**Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the passage below.**

“Perception of danger, danger to our institutions, may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger, danger in a world-wide area—it has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly – we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena, an arena that may become so narrowed that only the Americas will retain the ancient faiths. Some indeed still hold to the now somewhat obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island, a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt, address delivered at  
Charlottesville, Virginia, June 10, 1940

- 2.1** What position is best supported by Roosevelt's words in this passage?
- (A) Appeasement would be an effective strategy against Hitler.
  - (B) The United States should avoid war with Hitler at all costs.
  - (C) The United States should join the fight against Hitler.
  - (D) The United States alone could stop Hitler.
- 2.2** Based on the passage, Roosevelt would have most strongly supported
- (A) the Monroe Doctrine
  - (B) the Lend-Lease Act
  - (C) the Senate's rejection of membership in the League of Nations
  - (D) Neville Chamberlain's "Peace For Our Time" speech
- 2.3** Which statement accurately provides the context needed to understand the passage?
- (A) Hitler's forces were overrunning Europe, and Britain asked the U.S. for help in spite of the U.S. history of isolationism.
  - (B) Hitler's forces were overrunning the Soviet Union, which asked the U.S. for help in spite of the U.S. anti-Communist sentiments.
  - (C) Japan's forces were taking over Communist China, which asked the U.S. for help in spite of the U.S. anti-Communist sentiments.
  - (D) Japan had attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, yet many in the United States still supported isolationism.

**Questions 3.1 to 3.2 refer to the passage below.**

“The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. . . . The Nazis, who came to power in Germany in January 1933, believed that Germans were ‘racially superior’ and that the Jews, deemed ‘inferior,’ were an alien threat to the so-called German racial community. . . .

To concentrate and monitor the Jewish population as well as to facilitate later deportation of the Jews, the Germans and their collaborators created ghettos, transit camps, and forced-labor camps for Jews during the war years. . . .

Between 1941 and 1944, Nazi German authorities deported millions of Jews from Germany, from occupied territories, and from the countries of many of its Axis allies to ghettos and to killing centers, often called extermination camps, where they were murdered in specially developed gassing facilities.”

*The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, ushmm.org

- 3.1** Which best helps explain the passage in the context of the historical period it describes?
- (A) Germany forced more than seven million people other than Jews into labor camps or jobs to support the war.
  - (B) World War II was the bloodiest war in history, causing tremendous suffering and death to both civilians and soldiers.
  - (C) Political conflicts before and during World War II led to various forms of genocide and ethnic violence.
  - (D) During *Kristallnacht* in 1938, Jews throughout Germany and Austria were beaten and killed.
- 3.2** The policy of the Japanese that most closely paralleled the conditions described in the passage was
- (A) forcing conquered peoples into deadly coerced labor programs
  - (B) engaging in surprise military attacks, such as the one on Pearl Harbor
  - (C) attempting to liberate the people of Asia from Western imperialism
  - (D) invading Manchuria after an attack on a Japanese railway station there

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

---

Questions 3.1 to 3.2 refer to the passage below.

“Japan used a highly developed military machine and a master-race mentality to set about establishing its right to rule its neighbors. . . .

If one event can be held up as an example of the unmitigated evil lying just below the surface of unbridled military adventurism, that moment is the Rape of Nanking. . . .

When the city fell on December 13, 1937, Japanese soldiers began an orgy of cruelty seldom if ever matched in world history. . . . Years later experts at the International Military Tribunal of the Far East (IMTFE) estimated that more than 260,000 noncombatants died at the hands of Japanese soldiers in Nanking in late 1937 and early 1938, though some experts have placed the figure at well over 350,000.”

Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, 1997

1. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Identify and explain TWO similarities between the actions of Japan and of Nazi Germany that the passage reflects.
  - B. Identify and explain ONE reason why Japan might have engaged in such activities in the context of that historical period.
  
2. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Offer TWO explanations of how World War I caused World War II.
  - B. Identify and briefly explain ONE difference between the fighting of World War I and the fighting of World War II.

### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE CAUSATION IN A PARAGRAPH

Even simple historical events have multiple causes. Hence, any causal statement is a judgment about which facts are worth mentioning. *In each outline for an paragraph, which statement is LEAST useful?*

1. What caused World War II?
  - a. Adolf Hitler desired to expand the size of Germany.
  - b. The Great Depression of the 1930s was global.
  - c. Franklin Roosevelt was president of the United States.
2. What caused the United States to enter World War II?
  - a. Roosevelt believed the United States should aid Britain.
  - b. Germany was planning the Holocaust.
  - c. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

### WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: CHOOSE PRECISE WORDS

Using precise words in place of vague ones will help you make your points clearly. For example, “The Nazis planned to carry out genocide” is clearer than “The Nazis considered killing many people.” *Which sentence in each pair uses more precise language?*

1.
  - a. Germany, Japan, and Italy made a military agreement because of similar interests, and they became the Axis Powers.
  - b. Germany, Japan, and Italy created military pacts based on shared financial and political goals, which resulted in the formation of the Axis Powers.
2.
  - a. In 1942, the Allied Powers defeated the Axis Powers in the Pacific Theater, North Africa, and Stalingrad, marking this year as a turning point of the war.
  - b. In 1942, the Axis Powers were beaten by the Allies in several battlefields, which made this year an important one.
3.
  - a. The Yalta Conference amalgamated the three leaders of Russia, England, and the United States, but relationships became precarious due to Stalin’s suspicions of injustices.
  - b. The Yalta Conference brought together Russia, England, and the United States, but they did not get along as well because some were distrustful with others.

## The Cold War Era

*Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war.*

—Bernard Baruch, 1947

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as the globe's two superpowers, locked in an ideological battle over the direction the world should take. The Soviets feared capitalism, while the Americans feared Communism. The former allies began to move farther apart as the war ended in 1945. The Soviets were determined to continue their occupation of Eastern Europe in order to create a buffer between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe. Therefore, they remained in the region, supporting national Communists in their efforts to gain control of one country after another. The United States opposed the occupation since it hindered the ability of these nations to hold elections that would allow them to determine freely their form of government. This state of hostility between the two rivals became known as the *Cold War*, because the tensions never resulted in direct fighting between the United States and the Soviet Union. Instead, proxy states did the fighting. In the Vietnam War (1964–1975), for example, the United States supported South Vietnam in its fight against North Vietnam, which was supplied with support and armaments by the Soviet Union. And in the newly independent *Angola* in southwest Africa, a civil war broke out between the Soviet-backed government and U.S.-backed rebels (1975–1991).

### The United Nations: A Structure for Peace

Despite ideological differences, the Allies shared a commitment to preventing conflicts from escalating into war. The League of Nations had not worked well, but countries hoped that a new, more powerful organization would help keep the peace. This time around, all the major powers realized they would need to belong for the organization to have any chance of success. In 1943, leaders of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China discussed the idea of the *United Nations (UN)*. The UN was born on October 24, 1945, a day still honored as United Nations Day. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph comparing the United Nations with the League of Nations. See pages 499–500.)

The United Nations was carefully designed with several parts, each of which has its own duties. The *General Assembly*, with one vote for each member nation, discusses and votes on issues. The *Security Council* acts on these issues and may even use military force against a troublemaking country.

The Security Council is comprised of five permanent members—the United States, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—and ten who are elected on a rotating basis. The five permanent members have veto power in the Security Council. Allowing these five nations to have veto power was quite controversial in 1945. Other nations resented giving so much power to five countries. Further, conflicts among these five often stymied UN, preventing it from taking action to confront problems.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights** Since its creation, the United Nations has taken many actions toward its goals. One of these goals is the promotion of *human rights*, basic protections common to all people. As part of its humanitarian work, the UN created the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 1946 to provide food for children in Europe who were still suffering more than a year after the end of World War II. In 1948, the UN formalized its position on human rights in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Since that time, the UN has investigated abuses of human rights, such as genocide, war crimes, government oppression, and crimes against women.

**International Court of Justice** The *International Court of Justice* is a judicial body set up by the original UN charter. It settles disputes over international law brought to it by countries.

**Protection of Refugees** Another main aim of the UN is to protect *refugees*, people who have fled their homes. In times of war, famine, and natural disasters, people often leave their country and seek refuge in a safe location. Working through sub-agencies such as NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and the agency of UNHCR (The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), the UN provides food, medicine, and temporary shelter. Among the earliest refugees that the UN helped were Palestinians who fled the disorder that occurred when the UN partitioned Palestine to create the state of Israel in 1948.

**Peacekeeping** The United Nations is also well known for its *peacekeeping* actions. The organization frequently sends peacekeeping forces, consisting of civilians, police, and troops from member countries, to try to ease tensions in trouble spots. The first peacekeeping mission was also related to the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict in Palestine. Since then, UN peacekeepers have served in such places as the Congo, Lebanon, East Timor, and the Balkans.

Working through agencies such as the *IMF* (*International Monetary Fund*) and the *World Bank*, the UN provides technical advice and loans to developing nations. Other international organizations and treaties, such as the *World Trade Organization* (*WTO*) and the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (*GATT*) work to promote free trade worldwide.

## **Containment Policy vs. World Revolution**

The existence of the United Nations did not prevent tensions from growing worse between the Soviet Union and the West. Winston Churchill’s March 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri, symbolized the beginning of the Cold War. In the speech, Churchill said that “an iron curtain has descended across the

Continent” of Europe. The metaphor of the *Iron Curtain* described the split between Eastern and Western Europe. The Soviets were determined to make the governments of Eastern Europe as much like the Soviet government as possible. They therefore directed the countries of Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania to develop five-year economic plans focused on developing industry and collective agriculture at the expense of consumer products. All political parties other than the Communists were outlawed. These actions allowed the U.S.S.R. to exploit the Eastern European nations to benefit the Soviets rather than to help the countries grow. The *satellites*, small states that are economically or politically dependent on a larger more powerful state, were forced to import only Soviet goods and to export only to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the governments of these countries were just as dictatorial as the Soviet government. (Test Prep: Create a graphic comparing Communist imperialism with earlier Western imperialism. See page 465–477.)

A U.S. diplomat, George Kennan, had extensive experience with the Soviet Union. He worked in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during the 1930s and in 1944. After World War II he kept a close eye on Soviet actions. He believed that the Soviet Union would continue to expand its borders and its influence abroad. He advocated a policy of *containment*, holding communism where it was and not letting it spread farther. Some politicians criticized Kennan for accepting the status quo. They argued for a more aggressive policy of overthrowing existing regimes in order to “rollback” the spread of Communism.

**Truman Doctrine** President Harry Truman was influenced by Kennan’s reports. A speech in 1947 outlined the *Truman Doctrine*, a strong statement that the United States would do what it had to do to stop the spread of Communist influence, specifically in Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union wanted to put military bases in Turkey so it could control the Dardanelles, the strait between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. In Greece, left-wing groups controlled by Communists were close to gaining control of the government. Truman pledged U.S. economic and military support to help the two countries resist these Communist designs that threatened their stability.

**The Marshall Plan** After World War II, the United States was deeply concerned about rebuilding Europe. The United States spent about \$12 billion to provide relief and to rebuild infrastructure.

However, many U.S. leaders thought that was not enough. Based on the belief that a Communist revolution occurred only in economically unstable nations, the new goal was to rebuild Europe into a prosperous and stable region. The *Marshall Plan*, enacted in June 1947, was designed to offer \$13 billion more in aid to *all* nations of Europe, including Germany. This money would be used to modernize industrial and business practices and reduce trade barriers.

The plan seemed to work: economic output in the countries aided was 35 percent higher in 1951 than it had been in 1938. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites refused to participate in the plan. Instead, in 1949, the Soviets developed their own plan to help rebuild Eastern Europe—the *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)*.





Source: Wikimedia Commons / USGOV-PD

For nearly a year in 1948 and 1949, the people of West Berlin relied upon supplies flown in daily by the air forces of the United States, Great Britain, and their allies.

## Rivalry in Germany

When World War II ended, the four main allied nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union—divided Germany into four zones. In a similar way, they divided *Berlin*, the German capital located within the Soviet zone, into four zones. In 1948, the three Western allies proposed to combine their zones into a new nation, West Germany. Because they viewed this move as a threat to their power in Germany, the Soviets set up a blockade around Berlin to prevent food and other supplies from entering the city. In response, the United States and Great Britain instituted the *Berlin Airlift*. About one million tons of supplies, including food, clothing, medicine, and fuel were airlifted into the city until the Soviets finally ended the blockade in May 1949. The Soviet Union recognized it could not win this battle, and the West deemed the airlift operation a success.

With the end of the blockade, the United States, Great Britain, and France went ahead with their plan and in September 1949 combined their occupied zones of Germany into one nation, the Federal Republic of Germany, also known as *West Germany*. The capital of the new nation was located in Bonn. The Soviets followed this action in October with the creation of the German Democratic Republic, or *East Germany*, in the zone they had occupied. The Soviet zone in Berlin became the capital of East Germany and was known as East Berlin.

## The Arms Race

During the late 1940s and 1950s tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union increased. When Chinese Communists gained control of China's government in 1949 and Communist North Korea attacked democratic South Korea in 1950, the United States saw further evidence of the Soviet intention

to spread Communism throughout the world. Further, the two countries entered an nuclear arms race with each other. Each developed a *hydrogen bomb* by 1952 that was much more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan.

In the United States, the arms race fostered close ties between the government and the private companies that developed weapons. President Dwight Eisenhower warned against allowing this *military-industrial complex* too much power.

**Sputnik** In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first artificial satellite, called *Sputnik*, into orbit around Earth, inaugurating what become known as the Space Race. The United States launched its first satellite in January 1958. Then the two nations competed to become the first with a manned satellite orbiting Earth and later the first to land a human on the moon. Their mutual theme seemed to be “anything you can do, I can do better.”

**Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)** Early in 1959, the Soviets tested the first *intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)* capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into U.S. territory. The United States tested a similar missile later that same year. Both countries realized that they had become so powerful that they had reached a point of *Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)*. That is, regardless of who started a war, both would be obliterated by the end of it. Since neither side could win a nuclear war, neither side had an incentive to start one. As long as both sides kept improving their technology, the balance of terror between them would keep the peace—unless something unpredicted happened.

**Antinuclear Weapon Movement** The nuclear arms race spawned a reaction known as the *antinuclear weapons movement*. One of the first such movements developed in Japan in 1954 in opposition to U.S. testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean. In 1955, more than one-third of Japan’s population signed a petition against nuclear weapons. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the antinuclear weapons movement expanded to other countries, particularly to the United States and Western Europe. On June 6, 1982, some one million people demonstrated in New York City.

## New Treaties and Treaty Organizations

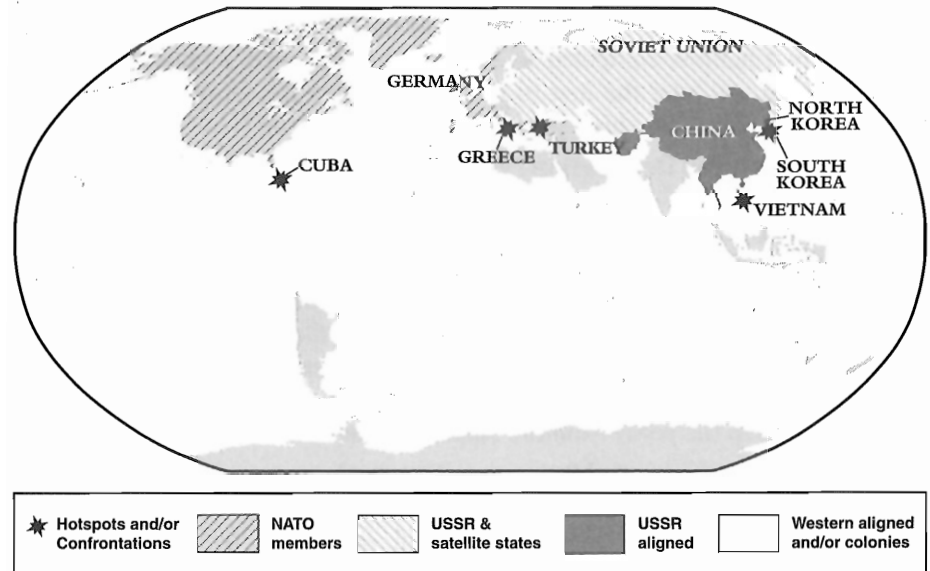
With the advent of the Cold War, new military alliances for mutual protection were formed in different parts of the world. In April 1949, several Western nations created the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)*, pledging mutual support and cooperation. Original members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. Membership in this Brussels-based organization has since expanded considerably.

The Soviet Union’s response was the *Warsaw Pact*, created in 1955, with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union as the original members. Warsaw Pact nations combined their armed forces and based their army leaders in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. These nations were known as the *Communist bloc*.

Yugoslavia provided a special case. Although it had a Communist government under Marshal Tito after World War II, it pursued domestic and

foreign policies independent of the Soviet Union. Moreover, it did not join the Warsaw Pact. Unlike other Eastern European nations, Yugoslavia had *not* been occupied by Soviet troops. While Stalin tried to have Tito overthrown, Western nations provided Yugoslavia with aid. Albania also came to act independently of Soviet influence. When China and the Soviet Union had a falling out in 1961, Albania took China's side. It withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968.

COLD WAR BLOCS, C. 1960



Additional treaty organizations were formed in an attempt to halt the spread of Communism in other regions. In 1954, Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States formed the *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)*. The *Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)* was an anti-Soviet treaty organization formed by Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey to prevent the spread of Communism in the Middle East. The United States was not a full member, but it joined CENTO'S military committee. During the Cold War era, the United States formed alliances with more than 40 nations.

**The Non-Aligned Movement** The majority of countries in the world were not aligned with either the Soviet Union or the United States. They might have good relations with one power or the other or with both. Many developing countries played the superpowers against one another in a bid to receive foreign aid from both. Tito's Yugoslavia was a non-aligned nation. Others included Jawaharlal Nehru's India, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt, and Sukarno's Indonesia. These leaders set up the *Non-Aligned Movement* in the 1950s. Most of the member nations were developing countries of Asia and Africa that wished to avoid becoming involved in the Cold War and wanted to work for world peace and cooperation as well as their own nation's best interests.

Despite attempts to remain neutral, non-aligned nations found themselves used as pawns in the Cold War. For example, when war broke out between non-aligned Somalia and Ethiopia in the Ethio-Somali War (1977–1978), the Soviet Union supplied aid to Ethiopia, prompting the United States to supply aid to Somalia. The superpowers also meddled in the internal affairs of non-aligned nations. Alarmed by land reforms instituted by Jacobo Árbenz, the Communist leader of Guatemala, the United Fruit Company lobbied friends in the U.S. government to have him removed. In 1954, the Eisenhower administration ordered the CIA execute a coup d'état to replace the Árbenz government with one aligned with U.S. interests.

## Communism in Asia

In China, the Communists won the civil war against the Nationalists in 1949 and set up the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong, the head of the Chinese Communist Party, ordered the nationalization of Chinese industries and created five-year plans on the Soviet model. As the Soviets had done in the 1930s, the Chinese plans emphasized heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods.

**Great Leap Forward** In 1958, as part of the policy called the *Great Leap Forward*, peasant lands were organized into *communes*, large agricultural communities where land was held by the state rather than by private owners. The communes were similar to the collectives established by Stalin in the Soviet Union. Peasants were not allowed to own land, and some protested against the policy. Those who did were either sent to “reeducation camps” or killed. The Great Leap Forward failed massively—some 20 million Chinese died from the resulting famines.

**Cultural Revolution** In 1966, Mao embarked upon what he called the *Cultural Revolution*—a way to lead Chinese society to a Communist future. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was a plan to silence critics and to ensure Mao's hold on power similar to the purges carried out by Stalin for the same reason. He ordered the *Red Guards*, groups of revolutionary students, to seize local and national authorities, school teachers, other students, bureaucrats, and party leaders and send them to the Chinese countryside for reeducation.

**Relations with the Soviets** Although China and the Soviet Union were both Communist states, they did not always get along. Indeed, from 1961 onward, the two countries skirmished over their common border. They also competed for influence around the world. For example, Albania, a Soviet satellite, took advantage of the split by taking China's side against the Soviet Union, thereby receiving more autonomy and additional financial aid from China.

**Reform under Deng Xiaoping** Mao died in 1976. In 1981, *Deng Xiaoping* became the Chinese leader, instituting a series of reforms including the replacement of communes with peasant-leased plots of land where the peasants could grow their own crops and sell part of them in markets. This reform led to agricultural surpluses instead of the famines of the past. Also, factories could now produce more products for consumers. Foreign companies were allowed to set up factories in special economic zones in coastal areas of China.

Some Chinese thought that these economic reforms should be accompanied by political reforms, such as freedom of speech and the press and the end of the Communist Party's monopoly on political power. Indeed, political discussions did become somewhat freer than in the past. In 1989, however, a large but peaceful student-led demonstration in *Tiananmen Square* in Beijing was met by force from the government. Soldiers using guns and tanks broke up the demonstrations, killing hundreds of people. The government's suppression of information about the incident makes it impossible to determine exact casualty figures. (Test Prep: Create a table comparing reforms in Communist China with reforms in the Ottoman Empires. See pages 443–445.)

**Korean War** Similar to the division of Germany after World War II, the Korean Peninsula was divided between northern territory held by the Soviet Union and southern territory held by the United States and its allies. The *Korean War* (1950–1953) was fought to prevent Communist North Korea from taking over the government of South Korea. The Soviet Union did not veto the UN Security Council resolution supporting South Korea because the Soviet representative was absent when the vote was taken. Although the UN forces in Korea came from 16 UN member countries and South Korea, most of them were Americans and they were commanded by a U.S. general, *Douglas MacArthur*. The Soviet Union did not send troops, but sent money and weapons to North Korea. China, an ally of North Korea, did send troops. After three years of fighting, and some four million civilian and military casualties, the war ended in a stalemate. The two parts of Korea remained divided, with a demilitarized zone in between.

**Vietnam War** Following the same policy of containment, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent “military advisers” to South Vietnam to prevent a Communist takeover by North Vietnam. His successor, President John F. Kennedy increased the number of advisers from 1,000 to 16,000. The number was large enough that many in the United States felt that Vietnam had become a conflict that America could not afford to lose: a Communist victory would weaken U.S. prestige around the world. However, the United States was supporting an undemocratic and unpopular South Vietnamese ruler, *Ngo Dinh Diem*. In 1963 a Buddhist monk, *Thich Quang Duc*, set himself on fire in Saigon to protest the government's favoring of Roman Catholics over Buddhists. Other protests followed, and an army coup soon overthrew Diem.

In 1964, President *Lyndon Johnson* increased the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam. Johnson believed in the *domino theory*, the belief that if one country in the region fell to the Communists, other countries would soon follow, just as one falling domino causes a whole string of the game pieces to fall. Johnson also feared that China and the Soviet Union were working together to bring all of Southeast Asia under Communist control.

During the war, North Vietnamese leader *Ho Chi Minh* appealed to nationalist feelings to oppose United States troops and to unite the country under a single Communist government. South Vietnamese who supported the Communists, known as *Viet Cong*, fought a guerilla war against U.S. troops.

As American military involvement and casualties grew, an antiwar movement in the United States strengthened and became more vocal. A 1968 attack by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops known as the *Tet Offensive*, though not a military success, demonstrated that the United States was having difficulty winning the war. President Richard Nixon began to withdraw U.S. troops in 1971, and the final troops pulled out in 1975. North Vietnam quickly gained control of South Vietnam.

The Vietnam War resulted in the deaths of between one and two million people, including about 58,000 Americans. It had also destabilized all of Southeast Asia. Communists also won control of Laos and Cambodia, but the spread of Communism stopped there. Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia often had authoritarian governments, but all remained non-Communist nations with free-market economies.

## Developments in Iron Curtain Countries

In the 1950s and 1960s, Eastern European satellites of the Soviet Union who sought a certain level of independence achieved only limited success.

**Poland** In 1956, Polish workers demonstrated against Soviet domination for better living conditions. As a result, a new secretary of the Polish Communist Party, *Wladyslaw Gomulka*, came to power. He decided to pursue an independent domestic policy in Poland but continue to be loyal to the Soviet Union. The forced collectivization of farms ended at this time.

**Hungary** In that same year, Hungarian protesters convinced the country's political leader *Imre Nagy* to declare Hungary's freedom from Soviet control and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Nagy also vowed to support free elections and allow non-Communist parties to participate. He announced Hungary's neutrality in the Cold War and the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. Soviet leaders responded to these actions with force, invading Hungary and gaining control of Budapest in November 1956. The Soviets captured Nagy and executed him. Many Hungarians fled to the West as refugees.

**Czechoslovakia** The movement for reform in Czechoslovakia reached a peak in the *Prague Spring* of 1968. *Alexander Dubcek*, first secretary of the Communist Party, acceded to the demands of the people by increasing freedom of speech and the press and allowing greater freedom to travel. In addition, he agreed to make the political system more democratic.

As with Hungary, Soviet leaders considered the Prague Spring movement to be too independent, and soon the armies of four Warsaw Pact nations moved in and crushed it. In 1968, the Soviet Union used the *Brezhnev Doctrine* to justify its actions. This doctrine claimed that the Soviet Union and its allies had the right to intervene if an action by one member threatened other socialist countries.

## Developments in Western Europe

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new world order as the nations of Western Europe no longer dominated the world stage. The United

States and the Soviet Union took over as the superpowers. In Western Europe, however, countries were free from domination by a superpower and retained their political independence and democratic governments. The Marshall Plan had helped them rebuild and achieve a level of economic prosperity that was unknown among the countries of Eastern Europe.

In 1957, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany signed the Rome Treaty as a step toward a united Europe. The treaty created the *European Economic Community (EEC)* or *Common Market*. The EEC allowed for free trade among the members, providing a number of economic benefits. Over time, the EEC grew to be a world leader in both exports of finished goods and imports of raw materials.

Other nations joined the EEC in later years, including Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland in 1973; Greece, Portugal, and Spain in 1986; and Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995. In 1993, the EEC became the *European Union (EU)*. The EU ended internal tariffs and migration restrictions. It set up an EU parliament that could pass laws on a variety of issues, including environmental policy. In 2002, the EU instituted a common currency, the *euro*; although not all members of the EU have adopted the currency. While Western Europe was enjoying unprecedented levels of economic output and consumption, some aspects of life in the region were more problematic.

**Conflict in Northern Ireland** Most of Ireland, the portion dominated by Roman Catholics, gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1922. However, Northern Ireland, which was dominated by Protestants, remained part of the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland Catholics suffered discrimination, and many wanted their region to join the rest of Ireland. Northern Ireland Protestants fiercely refused. The Catholics-Protestants conflict in Northern Ireland became more violent in 1960s, with Catholics fighting in *Irish Republican Army (IRA)* and Protestants in the *Ulster Defence Association*. Between 1969 and 1994, some 3,500 people died in the conflict. Some members of the IRA took their campaign to England itself by engaging in acts of *terrorism*, using violence to achieve political ends. These acts included the explosion of bombs in London and other cities. In 1994, a cease-fire was reached, and later the IRA renounced the use of violence and turned to the political system to achieve its goals.

**Separatists in Spain** Another group that used terrorist tactics to advance a political agenda was the *Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)*, which wanted the independence of the Basque region from Spain. ETA became active in 1959. Actions by ETA claimed the lives of more than 800 individuals and inflicted injuries to many others. In 1973, for example, members of ETA killed the hand-picked successor to longtime dictator Francisco Franco. Over the years, ETA announced several cease-fires, and, in 2011, declared an end to violent actions and promised to work within the political system to achieve Basque independence.

**1968: The Year of Revolt** After World War II, higher education opened up for more people in Western society. Universities and colleges allowed for larger class sizes to bring in more students. This meant that facilities were crowded

and professors provided less attention to each individual student. As a result, discontent was high among the student population by the 1960s, resulting in a call for reform of the university systems. Protests peaked in 1968.

The student movement reached epic proportions in Paris, France. Hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets, resulting in violence when police forces moved in. In sympathy, some 10 million French workers went on strike. It was the largest general strike in French history. President Charles de Gaulle called new elections in France and was able to remain in office when his party emerged victorious. The forces of law and order prevailed. In Mexico City, Berlin, Rome, and Prague, student protests were considerable but not so large.

Uprisings of 1968			
Country	Specific Locations	Participants	Causes of Protest
France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Paris: Stock Exchange and Sorbonne University</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Unions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>University policies</li> <li>High unemployment and low wages</li> </ul>
Northern Ireland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Londonderry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anti-Catholic discrimination by the Protestant government</li> </ul>
Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mexico City: Tlatelolco Plaza</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political prisoners</li> <li>Police violence</li> </ul>
Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rio de Janeiro</li> <li>Osaco</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Unions</li> <li>Religious leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lack of free public education</li> <li>Unfair labor practices</li> </ul>
England	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>London</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Unions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic policies</li> <li>Vietnam War</li> </ul>
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>West Berlin</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Unions</li> <li>Writers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shooting of leader Rudie Dutschke</li> <li>Policies of the ruling Social Democrats</li> </ul>
Czechoslovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prague</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Intellectuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Authoritarian government</li> </ul>
Yugoslavia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>University of Belgrade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Authoritarian government</li> <li>Lack of free speech</li> </ul>
United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chicago</li> <li>Columbia University in New York</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> <li>Black activists</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>University ties to weapons research</li> <li>The Vietnam War</li> <li>Assassination of Dr. King</li> </ul>
Russia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Moscow</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intellectuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Imprisonment of dissident writers and other protesters</li> </ul>
Poland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Warsaw</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communism</li> <li>Anti-Semitism</li> </ul>
Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tokyo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>University policies</li> <li>The Vietnam War</li> </ul>



In the United States, students and others focused protests on the U.S. war in Vietnam, but also demonstrated for rights for women and African-Americans. It was only after members of the Ohio National Guard killed four unarmed students during an antiwar demonstration at *Kent State University* on May 4, 1970, that students and faculty at hundreds of U.S. colleges and universities went on strike.

## Other Crises of the 1960s

**The Berlin Wall** As citizens of East Germany saw the more prosperous and democratic lifestyle enjoyed by the people of West Germany, many wanted to move to the West. About 2.5 million East Germans fled between 1949 and 1961. However, the East German and Soviet governments were determined to keep people in East Germany. They knew that the exodus to the West reflected poorly on the Communist system, and it was hard on their economy. They first set up barbed-wire fences patrolled by guards along the perimeter of East Germany and between East and West Berlin. In August 1961, they began replacing the fences in Berlin with a stronger, more permanent wall, which became known as the *Berlin Wall*. Between 1961 and 1989, when the Berlin Wall was opened, around 150 were killed as they tried to escape over it.

**The Bay of Pigs Crisis** *Fidel Castro* and other Communist revolutionaries overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Castro soon set up a dictatorship in Cuba that started to nationalize foreign-owned industries, including the vast sugar cane plantations mainly owned by Americans. The United States broke off trade with Cuba and cut diplomatic ties. Castro in turn accepted Soviet aid and aligned Cuba's foreign policy with that of the Soviet Union. In 1961, newly-elected U.S. President *John F. Kennedy* had grave concerns about the presence of a Communist country located only 90 miles from the coast of Florida. A group of Cuban exiles who opposed Castro proposed an invasion of Cuba at the *Bay of Pigs* to overthrow Castro. Kennedy gave his support. The invasion was a total failure, and it cemented the Cuba-Soviet alliance.

**Cuban Missile Crisis** In response to the Bay of Pigs, the Soviets began to support Cuba with arms and military advisors. Khrushchev escalated Soviet involvement in 1962 by starting to send nuclear missiles to Cuba. Khrushchev felt justified in his actions because the United States had placed nuclear missiles in Turkey, a U.S. ally that shared a border with the Soviet Union. In October 1962, U.S. intelligence learned that additional missiles were on their way to Cuba. Kennedy ordered the U.S. Navy to quarantine Cuba so that the additional missiles could not be delivered. Kennedy called his action a "quarantine," because a blockade was technically an act of war. Whatever term used, the two superpowers were on a collision course that threatened nuclear war.

Ultimately, the two leaders pulled back from the brink. Khrushchev called back the Soviet ships and removed the missiles that had been delivered to Cuba in return for a secret pledge from the United States to remove its missiles

from Turkey. After this incident, leaders of both countries realized that better communication between their countries was needed. In 1963, a *Hot Line*, a direct telegraph/teleprinter link, was set up between the U.S. and Soviet leaders' offices.

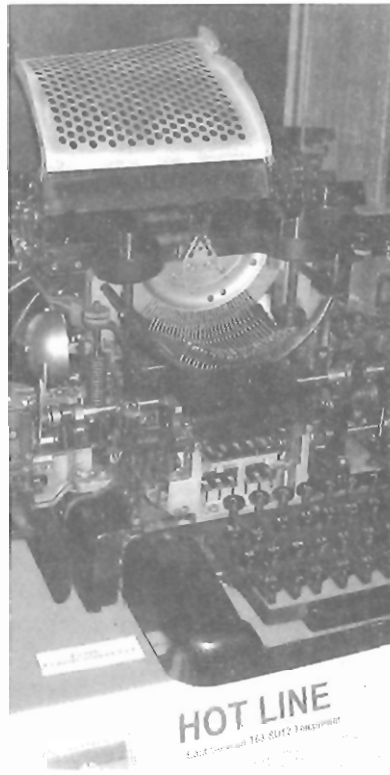
In 1963, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom, along with more than 100 other nations, signed the *Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty*. France and China were conspicuous among larger nations in their failure to sign it. This agreement outlawed the testing of nuclear weapons above ground, underwater, and in space. The idea behind the agreement was to cut down the amount of radiation that people would be exposed to as a result of the testing of these weapons. Underground testing remained legal. Another agreement, in 1968, the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*, called on nuclear powers to prevent the spread of military nuclear technology or materials to non-nuclear countries.

## The Final Decades of the Cold War Era

Agreements to limit nuclear weapons were important steps toward ending the Cold War. However, the path to a thaw was not always steady.

**Détente and a Colder War** After resolving the crises of the 1960s, the relationship between the superpowers improved in the following decade. This period of time was called *détente*, which means a relaxation of strained relations between nations. One symbol of *détente* was the visit of President Richard Nixon to the Soviet Union in 1972. Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the *Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)*, designed to freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles that each power could keep. To play one power against the other, Nixon also visited China that year, the first such visit in the existence of Communist China.

As a result of *détente*, the United States started to sell excess stores of American grain to the Soviet Union, where drought had created a shortage. However, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, relations turned decidedly chilly once again. President Jimmy Carter's halt to the grain shipments marked the official end of *détente*.



Source: Austin Mills / National Cryptologic Museum / Wikimedia Commons

The Hot Line was set up to improve communications between the two rival superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

During the presidency of *Ronald Reagan* (1981–1989), tensions between the Americans and the Soviets increased even further. Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” and sent military aid, including weapons, to support the Afghans, who were rebelling against Soviet power. The Soviet Union resented this overtly militaristic move. In addition, by the early 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union had more than 12,000 nuclear missiles, each one pointed at the other side. Not only would the superpowers destroy each other with a nuclear exchange, but the rest of the world would be destroyed seven times over. In light of this situation, Reagan declared that the United States would create a missile defense program he called the “Strategic Defense Initiative,” or SDI. Dubbed “*Star Wars*” by critics, the system would supposedly destroy any Soviet nuclear missiles that targeted the United States or its allies. Lacking such a system, the Soviets would be unable to keep U.S. missiles from hitting targets in the Soviet Union. The Soviets saw this move as the beginning of an arms race in space. Not having enough money to match U.S. “*Star Wars*” research and development, the Soviets objected loudly to Reagan’s plan.

**The Thaw** The increase in tensions during the 1980s led to other nations feeling that they must choose sides between the superpowers. Non-aligned nations hoped they would not experience a nuclear holocaust caused by the two nations.

In this tense atmosphere, *Mikhail Gorbachev*, a more progressive Communist than previous Soviet leaders, came to power in 1985. He favored *perestroika*, attempts to restructure the Soviet economy to allow elements of free enterprise, and *glasnost*, the policy of opening up Soviet society and the political process by granting greater freedom. In 1987, under Gorbachev’s leadership, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed on a new nuclear arms treaty. Under the terms of the *INF Treaty*, restrictions were placed on intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Decreasing the level of nuclear threat allowed Gorbachev to implement economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

**The End of the Soviet Union** One aspect of Gorbachev’s reform program was an end to economic support for the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. He also implied that the Soviet Army would no longer come to the rescue of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In effect, economic reform in the Soviet Union provided greater freedom to other Communist countries.



Source: Edmund S. Valtman / Library of Congress

The man is Mikhail Gorbachev, who looks on sadly at a symbol of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle, broken into pieces.

Once people in these countries got a small taste of freedom, they wanted more. As a result, democratic reform movements swept through Eastern European nations in 1989. The Berlin Wall was torn down. In October 1990, East and West Germany reunited as one country.

With most of the Eastern European nations caught up in democratic reforms, it was not long before the Soviet Union was also swept into the movement. Lithuania, Georgia, and other Soviet republics began to overthrow their rulers and declare independence. The Warsaw Pact dissolved. Gorbachev's reforms ultimately led to his political downfall and the end of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Among the former Soviet republics that became independent countries, Russia emerged as the strongest. The Cold War had ended.

#### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE UNITED NATIONS EFFECTIVE IN THE COLD WAR?**

Scholars have long debated whether the United Nations was an effective organization during the Cold War and afterwards. One core issue was whether a multinational organization could exert power in a world shaped by a rivalry between two superpowers.<sup>t</sup>

**The Example of Korea** When the Korean War ended in a stalemate in 1953, leaving the north and south divided, the UN was hailed for taking a tough stance against an aggressor nation. It was credited with saving South Korea and stopping the spread of Communism. In a 2009 article, Ruth Wedgwood argued that the UN's promise of collective security was successful in South Korea's defense.

In contrast, the historian James I. Matray concluded that, given the fact the United States acted prior to the passage of UN resolutions, the idea the war was an example of collective security is simply untrue. Moreover, he claimed that the United States, and not the UN, supplied the weapons, equipment, and support needed for South Korea to regain its independence. Korea demonstrated the weakness of the UN.

**Beyond Korea** While praising the UN for its actions in Korea, Wedgwood also believed the UN proved ineffectual in numerous crises after that conflict. It lacked the military power it needed to implement its own recommendations to maintain peace.

Another scholar, Nicola-Ann Hardwick, contended that the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union impeded efficient UN action. Further, she pointed out that the UN didn't live up to its primary mandate of peacekeeping. The organization failed to prevent terrible genocides in Cambodia (1975–79) and Guatemala (1981–83). Hardwick did highlight UN successes in other fields: the UN played a critical role in supporting the spread of decolonization, human rights, and the right to self-determination, and it established agencies such as UNICEF, UNESCO, and the World Food Program that accomplished humanitarian work.

## KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES</b></p> <p>Deng Xiaoping Ngo Dinh Diem Lyndon Johnson Ho Chi Minh Alexander Dubcek Douglas MacArthur Wladyslaw Gomulka Imre Nagy Nikita Khrushchev Fidel Castro John F. Kennedy Ronald Reagan Mikhail Gorbachev</p> <p><b>STATE-BUILDING: TREATIES &amp; ORGANIZATIONS</b></p> <p>United Nations (UN) General Assembly Security Council international Court of Justice Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Warsaw Pact Communist bloc Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) European Union (EU) Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Strategic Arms Limita- tion Treaty (SALT) INF Treaty</p>	<p><b>STATE-BUILDING</b></p> <p>Cold War Angola peacekeeping satellites containment Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan Berlin Berlin Airlift West Germany East Germany military-industrial complex Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) Non-Aligned Movement Red Guards Tiananmen Square Korean War Vietnam War Viet Cong Tet Offensive "Prague Spring" Brezhnev Doctrine Irish Republican Army (IRA) Ulster Defence Association terrorism Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA) Kent State University Berlin Wall Bay of Pigs Cuban Missile Crisis Hot Line détente "Star Wars" glasnost</p>	<p><b>CULTURE</b></p> <p>human rights Universal Declaration of Human Rights Iron Curtain Cultural Revolution Thich Quang Duc domino theory</p> <p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b></p> <p>refugees hydrogen bomb intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) <i>Sputnik</i> antinuclear weapons movement</p> <p><b>ECONOMICS</b></p> <p>International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Bank World Trade Organiza- tion (WTO) General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Great Leap Forward communes European Economic Community (EEC)/ Common Market euro perestroika</p>
--	--	--

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Question 1 refers to the table below.

Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 1945 to 2015								
	1945	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005	2015
United States	6	3,057	31,982	27,826	24,237	12,144	10,295	7,100
Soviet Union	0	200	6,129	19,055	39,197	27,000	17,000	7,700

Source: Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "Global Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945–2006," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 1, 2006; Data for 2015 from Arms Control Association, armscontrol.org.

- 1.1 Which conclusion is best supported by the data in the table?
- (A) The arms race ended when the United States had so many more weapons that the Soviets had to concede.
  - (B) The United States and the Soviets engaged in mutual-assured destruction for several decades.
  - (C) The Soviet Union had more nuclear weapons during most years.
  - (D) The U.S. nuclear stockpile decreased faster after 2005.
- 1.2 What explains the change in the Soviet stockpile from 1975 to 1985?
- (A) President Reagan proposed building the Strategic Defense Initiative, an antinuclear missile system to destroy approaching missiles.
  - (B) The Soviet Union was enjoying relative peace and could concentrate on winning the nuclear arms race against the United States.
  - (C) The United States shared nuclear weapon information with the Soviets, allowing them to build nuclear weapons more efficiently.
  - (D) The Soviet Union elected hard-line leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who promised to strengthen Russia militarily.
- 1.3 Which accurately describes an effect of the changes shown in the table?
- (A) Both countries saw little change in their leadership as a result of the increase in the number of nuclear weapons during this period.
  - (B) People around the world were supportive of the buildup of nuclear weapons and agreed it was the best way to ensure peace.
  - (C) The stockpiling of nuclear weapons actually strengthened the economies of both the United States and the Soviet Union.
  - (D) The arms race was distressing to many around the world, and a strong antinuclear movement was established.

Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the table below.

China's Economic Output During Its First Five-Year Plan				
Category	Value in 1956 Chinese Currency	1952	Value in 1956 Chinese Currency	1957
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing	43 billion	58%	48 billion	48%
Industry and Construction	11 billion	16%	24 billion	24%
Government	4 billion	6%	4 billion	4%
Other	14 billion	20%	23 billion	24%

Source: "Comparison of the First Five Year Plans of Communist China and the USSR," Central Intelligence Agency, June 1959

- 2.1 Which row in this table most clearly supports the conclusion that China's Five-Year Plan from 1952 to 1957 was successful?
- (A) Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing
  - (B) Industry and Construction
  - (C) Government
  - (D) Other
- 2.2 The size of China's government between 1952 and 1957 became
- (A) smaller in absolute size
  - (B) smaller as a percentage of the economy
  - (C) larger in absolute size
  - (D) larger as a percentage of the economy
- 2.3 Which statement provides the context for understanding this table?
- (A) China was following the path of the Soviet economic development.
  - (B) China viewed the United States as an economic model to follow.
  - (C) China wanted consumer spending to lead economic growth.
  - (D) China believed that it would soon move away from communism.

Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the map below.

NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT, 1956



- 3.1 The map above is best understood in the context of the
- (A) Marshall Plan to rebuild Western European economies
  - (B) United States' policy of containment of communism
  - (C) European Economic Union for a unified European economy
  - (D) United States' attempts to improve relations with the Soviet Union
- 3.2 Which best describes the Warsaw Pact bloc shown on the map?
- (A) a Soviet-led government headquartered in the city of Warsaw, the capital of Poland
  - (B) a military alliance created in response to NATO by the Soviet Union and other Communist nations
  - (C) an economic union between Soviet-bloc nations created to counter the economic power of the European Economic Community (EEC)
  - (D) a military alliance comprised of the non-aligned nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa



## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

---

1. Answer parts A and B.

- A. Provide and explain TWO actions or positions by the Soviet Union during the Cold War that help explain its refusal to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.
- B. Provide and explain ONE action or position by the United States during the Cold War that helps explain its decision to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

**Question 2 refers to the passage below.**

“Imperialism is weakening. Colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality. . . .

The Governments of countries participating in the Conference resolutely reject the view that war, including the ‘cold war,’ is inevitable as this view reflects a sense both of helplessness and hopelessness and is contrary to the progress of the world. They affirm their unwavering faith that the international community is able to organize its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history.”

Belgrade Declaration, the first Non-Aligned Movement Conference,  
Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1961

2. Answer parts A and B.

- A. Identify and explain ONE goal of the Non-Aligned Movement as expressed in the passage.
- B. Identify and explain TWO examples of ways the Non-Aligned Movement did not achieve the goal stated in the passage.

## THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE COMPARE AND CONTRAST IN A SUMMARY

In an essay using the historical thinking skill of comparison and contrast, make the similarities and differences between the topics clear and direct. If readers need to infer what you think, they might miss your points. *Which TWO of the concluding paragraphs most clearly express comparisons or contrasts?* \_

1. The clash between the Soviets and the Americans after World War II was not the result of a simple rivalry for power or diplomatic mistakes. Rather, it reflected deep ideological differences. The Soviets feared capitalism; the Americans loathed Communism. The Soviets wanted to occupy Eastern Europe; the Americans wanted to free it. The Soviets mandated collective agriculture; the Americans lauded the family farm. With such profound differences, it is not surprising that many who lived through that era feared an outbreak of World War III.
2. World War II demonstrates the irony of history. It shows how the suffering and destruction of World War II resulted in a period of great prosperity in Western Europe. In particular, the horrors of war led to a desire for peace, which produced the European Economic Community and other multilateral organizations. The U.S.-Soviet rivalry that emerged after the war produced the Marshall Plan and NATO. The fear of political extremism produced a commitment to social democracy. Together, the EEC, the Marshall Plan, NATO, and social democracy combined to create a Golden Age in postwar Europe.
3. While the wars in Korea and Vietnam were quite similar, the difference between them is more significant than any similarity. Both were land wars in East Asia. Both were part of the larger ideological conflict between the Soviet bloc and the American bloc. Both were roughly the same size, with each resulting in around 2 million deaths. Yet, the outcomes of the two wars were strikingly different. In Vietnam, the war ended with a clear victor. In Korea it did not. As a result, Vietnam has reunited and is moving ahead, but Korea remains divided and its future is uncertain.
4. Mikhail Gorbachev was a hero—and a failure. He took office as the Soviet Union was falling apart. Economic stagnation was undermining support for the government, and a tradition of political repression made debate of new ideas difficult. Gorbachev heroically attacked these problems, loosening economic restrictions and opening up political dialogue. However, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the new state of Russia soon returned to stagnation and repression. Gorbachev's reforms ultimately failed.

### WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: USE ACTIVE VOICE

In your writing, you should usually use the active voice, which means you should state clearly who is doing an action. “Gorbachev supported reforms in the Soviet Union” is active. “Reforms were supported in the Soviet Union” is not. You can practice using active verbs by beginning with the subject performing the action and ending with the subject acted upon. *For each topic, choose the sentence written in active voice.*

**1. Topic: Soviet and U.S. Influence**

- a.** The Soviet Union urged governments around the world to adopt Communism.
- b.** Governments around the world were urged to adopt Communism.

**2. Topic: Nationalism and North Vietnam**

- a.** Nationalist sentiment was used to win support for the fight against the United States.
- b.** The North Vietnamese leaders appealed to nationalism to persuade people to fight against the United States.

**3. Topic: Prosperity and the European Economic Community**

- a.** A Buddhist monk was killed in a protest against the government of South Vietnam.
- b.** A Buddhist monk killed himself in a protest against the government of Vietnam.

**4. Topic: Eastern Europe under the Soviets**

- a.** Gomulka, Nagy, and Dubcek attempted to reduce Soviet influence over their countries.
- b.** Attempts were made to reduce the Soviet influence over countries in Eastern Europe.

## Decolonization

*In the waning days of Britain's rule in India, its last viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, turned to the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi and said in exasperation, "If we just leave, there will be chaos." Gandhi replied, "Yes, but it will be our chaos."*

—Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, 2008

“Our chaos” is indeed a theme of the period of decolonization as empires broke apart and even relatively small states began to break away and re-form. People felt a new sense of nationalism following World War II. Independence and self-determination created a multitude of new countries in Asia and Africa, some of which had no tradition of being countries, such as Bangladesh and Nigeria, and some of which had long struggled to maintain autonomy, such as Vietnam. In Europe, areas that for centuries had been under first the Ottoman Empire and then under other countries' control became independent states, including Croatia and Slovenia in 1991. States that had been put together by the Versailles treaty in 1918 began to break apart. For example, Czechoslovakia divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993.

### The Breakdown of Empires

The high point of empires and colonization was World War I. The British, the French, and other Europeans had colonized almost all of Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, and they dominated China. The Turkish Ottoman Empire controlled the Middle East. But the desire for self-government that had fueled colonial rebellions throughout the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as national independence movements in Europe in the nineteenth century spread throughout the world in the twentieth century.

The two world wars crystallized the opposition to the empires. World War I resulted in the breakup of two large multiethnic empires, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey. World War II accelerated the dismantling of global colonial empires. Between the end of World War II in 1945 and the year 2000, the number of independent states more than doubled, going from around 75 to around 190. Many of the countries formed consisted of combinations of ethnic groups that had never been united in independent states before. Without a common heritage, many of these countries found developing national unity a challenge.

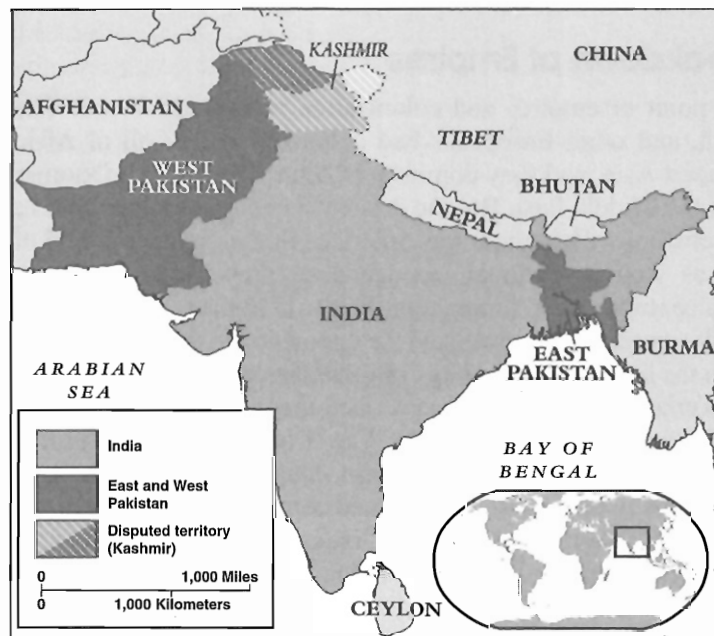
## Indian Independence

The drive for Indian self-rule began in the nineteenth century with the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Its leader in 1920 was Mohandas Gandhi. Earlier, while living in South Africa, Gandhi had experienced racial discrimination, and become an advocate of civil disobedience and *passive resistance* to unjust power. (His ideas and actions would later inspire U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. and South African leader Nelson Mandela.) In 1930, Gandhi protested against the British monopoly on salt production by leading a 240-mile-long walk to the sea, where the marchers deliberately broke the law by making salt and others broke the law by buying it. Police beat marchers and arrested 60,000 people. In the end, the British did little to change the salt law, but they realized how weak their control was.

The independence movement in South Asia was supported by Hindu and Muslim groups, united by their desire to get rid of the British. Although not all Indian leaders agreed with Gandhi, they put aside their differences until after World War II (1939–1945). Immediately following the war, leaders again demanded independence. Britain was ready to negotiate independence in South Asia, just as it would later do in West Africa with the colony of the Gold Coast.

**Division and Conflict** However, before winning independence, Muslims decided that they feared living in an independent India dominated by Hindus. Distrust between Muslims and Hindus dated back centuries to the Umayyad Caliphate in the eighth century, when Muslims destroyed Hindu temples. Muslims campaigned for an independent Muslim country—Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah led the *Muslim League* in this quest.

SOUTH ASIA IN 1950



In 1947, the British divided colonial India into two independent countries: a mostly Hindu India and a mostly Muslim Pakistan. India's population was about ten times larger than Pakistan's. The *partition* of the colony into two countries was chaotic and violence broke out along religious lines. Nearly ten million Hindus and Sikhs fled their homes in Pakistan to resettle in India and over seven million Muslims fled India for Pakistan. In the turmoil, between 500,000 and one million people died.

**Assassination of Gandhi** To add to the confusion and heartache, Gandhi, a Hindu, was assassinated in 1948. The killer was a right-wing Hindu upset with Gandhi's willingness to accommodate the concerns of Muslims and to support a secular government.

**Creation of Bangladesh** The partition was further complicated by geography. Pakistan itself consisted of two distinct sections separated by India: *West Pakistan* was west of India and *East Pakistan* was east of India. For nearly 25 years, West and East Pakistan struggled to form one country. Besides the roughly 1,000 miles between them, the two areas were divided by language. West Pakistanis spoke Urdu or one of several other languages while most East Pakistanis spoke Bengali. After a violent Pakistani civil war in 1971 in which hundreds of thousands died and millions became refugees in India, East Pakistan became the independent country of *Bangladesh*.

**Indian-Pakistani Relations** Meanwhile, distrust between Pakistan and India grew. While India evolved into a democracy, Pakistan had a mixture of elected leaders and authoritarian military rulers. Moderate leaders in both countries confronted powerful conservative religious movements that opposed compromise with the other country. One persistent tension between India and Pakistan was over Kashmir, a border region in the mountainous north. At the time of partition, most people in Kashmir were Muslims, but the leader was a Hindu. Hence, both Pakistan and India claimed it. At times the rivalry there broke out into armed conflict. The tension between the two countries became more significant after each began developing nuclear weapons.

**Steps Toward Gender Equality** Both India and Pakistan gave women the right to vote in 1947. India elected its first female prime minister in 1966, Indira Gandhi. Though not related to Mohandas Gandhi, she was the daughter of Nehru. Pakistan elected its first female prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, in 1988. Her father had also served as prime minister.

**Emigration** The emigration of large numbers of refugees and immigrants from Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh to London illustrated the movement of former colonial subjects to imperial *metropolises*, large cities in the home country. (Similarly, Vietnamese, Algerians, and West Africans migrated to Paris and other cities in France, and Filipinos migrated to the United States.) Called "British Asians" in Great Britain, these immigrants had actually begun to arrive in large numbers following the chaos of World War II. Many found employment in the medical field. Others took jobs as manual workers, particularly on railroads and in foundries and airports.

To reduce the number of people coming from South Asia, the British Parliament passed more restrictive immigration legislation and developed a policy called “managed migration.” This system of immigration control allowed the entrance into Great Britain of highly skilled workers, semiskilled workers to fill temporary labor shortages, and students. Today, approximately 4 percent of the British population is British Asian.

## Post-Colonial Struggles in Southeast Asia

France claimed control of Vietnam in the 1860s and Cambodia in the 1870s. The region was known as French Indochina during the twentieth century. The two French colonies began to fight for autonomy during the Cold War era.

**Vietnam** Following World War II, the Vietnamese Communists, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed the country’s independence. Ho, like leaders in China, Cuba, and Yugoslavia, created a powerful political movement by combining country-specific nationalism with the internationalist idea of communism.

France responded by attempting to re-establish its colonial rule, sparking a Vietnamese war of independence that lasted until 1954. The peace treaty at the end of the war split the country into North and South Vietnam, with elections planned for 1956 that would reunite the country. However, many in South Vietnam, along with the United States, opposed the Communists and feared Ho would win the election. No election was held. War broke out between the Communist North and the South, which was supported by U.S. military troops. After the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1973, the fighting between North and South Vietnam continued until the North’s victory in 1975. A Communist government ruled the reunited Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and South Vietnamese fled to other countries. More than one million people, including 58,000 Americans, died in the fighting.

Beginning in the 1980s, Vietnam introduced some market-based economic reforms. In following years, Vietnam and the United States reestablished trade and diplomatic relations. (Test Prep: Write an outline connecting Vietnam’s fight for independence with the Vietnam War. See pages 558–559.)

**Cambodia** After World War II, Vietnam’s neighbor Cambodia pressured France into granting independence in 1953. Cambodia’s royal family continued to head the government and tried to maintain its status as a nonaligned nation during the first two decades of the Cold War. However, Cambodia was eventually drawn into the Vietnam War.

Following the Vietnam War, a Communist guerilla organization called the *Khmer Rouge*, under the leadership of *Pol Pot*, fought and overthrew the right-wing government of Cambodia. Once in power, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge imposed a ruthless form of communism with a Chinese-model “cultural revolution” that targeted intellectuals and dissenters. The slaughter and famine that followed took more than two million lives, about one-quarter of the population of the country. Mass graves of victims from the “killing fields”

of Cambodia continued to be discovered in the countryside and jungles for decades afterward. (Test Prep: Create a graphic organizer comparing the Cambodian genocide with the Holocaust. See page 542.)

In 1977, Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia to support opponents of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. At the end of the ensuing war, the Vietnamese took control of the government in Cambodia and helped the country to regain some stability, even as some fighting continued and hundreds of thousands of refugees left the country. In 1989, Vietnamese forces completed their withdrawal from Cambodia. A peace agreement reached in 1991 allowed free elections, monitored by the United Nations. Prince Sihanouk became a constitutional monarch, and the country developed a democratic government with multiple political parties. Economic reforms in the 1980s allowed aspects of a market economy to develop.

## Israelis and Palestinians

The breakup of the Ottoman Territory after World War I created several new countries in the Middle East and the Balkans. However, many were unstable. One of the most difficult issues was the conflict between the new country of Israel and the Palestinians.

**Zionism** The *Zionist movement* gained its initial impulse in the 1890s from reaction to the Dreyfus Affair. Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian Jewish intellectual and journalist, used the affair as evidence that assimilation of Jews into European society was failing as a strategy to provide safety and equal opportunity. At the First Zionist Congress in 1897, he urged the creation of a separate Jewish state. (See page 412 for more on the birth of Zionism.)

**Birth of Israel** Zionists hoped that the new state could be established in Palestine because that was where their ancestors had lived. In modern times, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and most of its inhabitants were Arabs who practiced Islam. In a new state, Zionists argued, Jews could be free of persecution. In 1917, in the midst of World War I, the British government issued the *Balfour Declaration*, which favored the establishment in Palestine of a “national home” for the Jewish people:

His Majesty’s government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

—Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour, writing to Baron Rothschild,  
a leader of the British Jewish community

The situation was complicated because a British officer T. E. Lawrence, known as “Lawrence of Arabia,” promised certain Arabs an independent state



as well. The British Foreign Office hoped that Arabs would rise up against the Ottoman Empire, which would make it easier to defeat during World War I. The Balfour Declaration promised civil and religious rights to non-Jews in Palestine, but the supporters of the Arabs did not trust the British.

Following the end of World War I in 1918, Britain was given a mandate over former Ottoman lands in the Middle East. Soon Zionists began to immigrate to Palestine from Europe and from other Middle Eastern areas. As immigration increased, the Arabs in the area protested their loss of land and traditional Islamic way of life. World War II and the death of six million Jews in the Holocaust provided another impetus for Jewish immigration. The fate of the European Jews brought worldwide sympathy for the survivors. Britain, trying to hold the line on Jewish immigration in the face of Arab opposition, turned the matter over to the UN General Assembly. As in India, leaders hoped that partition would bring peace and stability. In 1948, after the UN divided Palestine into Jewish and Arab sections, the Jewish section declared itself to be a new country: Israel.

**Repeated Wars** War broke out immediately between Israel and the Palestinians, who were supported by neighboring Arab countries. Arab forces from Syria, Jordan (then called Transjordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. After several cease-fires, the Israeli army defeated the Arab forces and an armed truce was declared. Immediately following the truce, about 400,000 Palestinians became refugees, living in camps near the Israeli border.

Three other Israeli-Palestinian wars followed. In 1956, Israel, with support from France and Great Britain, invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, in part to liberate the Suez Canal, which had been nationalized by the Egyptian government. Following international protests, Israel and its allied forces were ordered to withdraw from Egypt. In the 1967 war, also known as the Six-Day War, Israel fought on three fronts against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, gaining the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. In the 1973 war, also known as the Yom Kippur War, Israel repelled a surprise invasion by Egypt and Syria.

**Israeli-Egyptian Peace** After 30 years of conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, U.S. President *Jimmy Carter* mediated the *Camp David Accords*, a peace agreement between Prime Minister *Menachem Begin* of Israel and President *Anwar Sadat* of Egypt. However, the 1979 peace treaty was rejected by the Palestinians and several Arab states. The *Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)* and its longtime leader *Yasser Arafat* wanted the return of occupied lands and the creation of an independent nation of Palestine.

**Ongoing Violence** In the twenty-first century, the peace process became more complicated when the Palestinians split into two factions. One, *Fatah*, controlled the West Bank. The other, *Hamas*, controlled Gaza.

Security concerns led the Israeli government to implement tighter border controls on the West Bank and on Gaza. These controls, amounting to economic sanctions, severely restricted normal activity for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and fomented anger. There was ongoing violence between the

two sides, with mortar attacks from Palestinian territory on civilian targets in Israel followed by Israeli military incursions against militant targets. Between 2000 and 2014, there were 8,166 conflict-related deaths, 7,065 of which were Palestinian and 1,101 of which were Israeli.

## Egypt

Having long been under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt became a nominally independent kingdom in 1922. However, the British retained some of the same treaty rights there that they had held under their mandate following World War I. A 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty allowed more Egyptian autonomy. Still, it also allowed the British to keep soldiers in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal. The British army continued to influence Egyptian internal affairs.

**Nasser** Following World War II in 1945, Egypt became one of 6 founding members of the *Arab League*, which grew to 22 member states. In 1952, General *Gamal Abdel Nasser*, along with Muhammad Naguib, overthrew the king and established the Republic of Egypt. Naguib became its first president; Nasser, its second. Nasser was a great proponent of *Pan-Arabism*, a movement promoting the cultural and political unity of Arab nations. Similar transnational movements would attempt to unite all Africans (Pan-Africanism) and all working people (communism).

Nasser's domestic policies blended Islam and socialism. He instituted land reform, transforming private farms into socialist cooperatives that would maintain the existing irrigation and drainage systems and share profits from crops. He *nationalized* some industries and businesses, including foreign-owned banks, taking them over and running them as state enterprises. However, Nasser touched off an international crisis when he nationalized the Suez Canal.

**The Suez Crisis** Built with Egyptian labor—thousands of whom died while working on the project—and French investment between 1859 and 1869, the Suez Canal had been under lease to the French for a period of 99 years. To the Egyptians, this lease symbolized colonial exploitation, which Nasser pledged to fight. In addition, the British owned interests in the canal, which they administered jointly with the French. In 1956, Nasser seized the canal, and Israel invaded Egypt at the behest of Britain and France. The two European countries then occupied the area around the canal, claiming they were enforcing a UN cease-fire. However, the United States and the Soviet Union opposed British and French actions and used the United Nations to broker a resolution to the conflict, which is known as the *Suez Crisis*.

The removal of foreign troops was followed by an agreement for the canal to become an international waterway open to traffic of all nations under the sovereignty of Egypt. UN peacekeepers were deployed to the Sinai Peninsula. Britain, France, and Israel were not happy with the interference of the United States in the Suez Crisis, but U.S. efforts led to a peaceful compromise solution. The incident also served as an example of a nation maintaining a nonaligned position between the United States and the Soviet Union—the two superpowers in the Cold War.

**Sadat and Peace with Israel** President Anwar Sadat, who ruled Egypt from 1970 to 1981, participated in the peace negotiations with U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin that led to the 1979 Camp David Accords. Egypt agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, while Israel agreed to pull out of the Sinai Peninsula. The agreement was a first step in achieving peace between Israel and its neighbors.

However, the deal was unpopular with most of Egypt's Arab allies. Within Egypt, conservatives and fundamentalist Muslims strongly opposed it. On October 6, 1981, one of these fundamentalists, an Egyptian army officer, assassinated Sadat. Like Gandhi, Sadat was killed by a right-wing member of his own religion.

Following the death of Sadat, hopes for peace in the Middle East vanished for several years. However, Egypt upheld its agreement with Israel. As incentive to Egypt to maintain its peace with Israel, the United States gave Egypt more military aid than it gave to any other country except Israel and the two countries where it was fighting a war—Iraq and Afghanistan.

This money provided Egypt with some stability. However, the government was repressive and corrupt. The popular reform movement that swept through North Africa and the Middle East beginning in 2011, known as the Arab Spring, brought down Egypt's government.

## Iran

The modern country of *Iran* is the descendant of the Persian and Safavid empires. Although not technically a colony, it fell under foreign domination in the late nineteenth century. Britain and Russia fought to control the area in a rivalry nicknamed “the Great Game.” The competition grew even keener when oil was discovered in Iran in the early twentieth century.

**Shah Reza Khan** In 1921, *Reza Khan* seized power and within a few years declared himself *shah*, hereditary ruler. He modernized the country's infrastructure, abolished extraterritoriality, and tried to curb the power of the *mullahs*, men educated in Islamic law who held most official posts in the overwhelmingly Shia country. Reza Khan flirted with Hitler's Nazi regime during World War II, prompting Russia and Britain to invade Iran in 1941. The two countries forced him to abdicate power to his young son, *Muhammad Reza Pahlavi*, and they kept their forces in Iran until the end of the war.

**Shah Muhammad Reza** Iranian nationalists viewed the new shah as a puppet of Western powers, particularly of the United States. In 1951, under direction from the nationalist prime minister, the Iranian parliament voted to nationalize the oil industry, which was controlled by a British-owned oil company. Muhammad Reza was forced to flee Iran when it was discovered that he had asked the CIA to replace the prime minister in a failed coup. In 1953, the U.S. orchestrated the removal of the prime minister and Muhammad Reza was able to return to power. He instituted several progressive reforms, such as giving women the right to vote, creating a social welfare system, and

modernized the educational system. However, he ran an authoritarian and oppressive regime, making extensive use of secret police. By 1979, he had alienated both religious conservatives and advocates for greater democracy.

**The Iranian Revolution** In 1979, a revolution toppled the shah, who was forced to leave Iran permanently. The new government was a *theocracy*, a form of government in which religion is the supreme authority. The Shia cleric *Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini* became the Supreme Leader. The new government established a Guardian Council, a body of civil and religious legal experts who were responsible for interpreting the constitution and making sure all laws complied with shariah (Islamic law). The clergy was given the right to approve or disapprove anyone who ran for office. Iran became the leading anti-Western, and particularly anti-Israel, government in the Middle East.

At the same time Iran was opposing the West and Israel, it had tense relations with several neighbors. Iran, as a non-Arab and Shia country, was culturally very unlike its Arab, Sunni neighbors. In 1980, these differences led to a major war between Iran and Iraq. Fighting lasted eight years, and ended with neither side able to claim a clear victory.

**Nuclear Program** Iran's program to develop nuclear technology to generate electrical energy and for medical uses created the fear that it would use the program to also develop nuclear weapons. To pressure Iran to take steps to show it was not developing such weapons, a U.S.-led coalition imposed sanctions on Iran that devastated its economy. In 2016, the coalition reached an agreement with Iran that required Iran to take steps to make building a nuclear bomb more difficult. For example, Iran agreed to ship nearly all of its enriched uranium out of the country, dismantle equipment that could be used to build a bomb, and submit to inspections. In return, the coalition lifted the sanctions.

## Turkey

Turkey was founded as a secular republic in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, and its military took on the role of protecting that status. In 1960, 1971, and 1980, the army temporarily took control of the government when it felt it needed to protect this heritage. And in 1997 and 2007, the army issued statements of support for secular government against the growing threat from Islamic extremists.

**Turkey and Europe** Beginning in the days of Ataturk, Turkey fostered close economic and political ties with Europe. Because of Turkey's key strategic location in the Middle East, Europe and the United States were equally eager to have Turkey as an ally. Turkey joined NATO in 1955 and became an associate member of the European Union in 1987.

However, three issues complicated the relationship between Turkey and Europe in the late twentieth century. One was religion. While Europe had a Christian heritage and was becoming increasingly secular, Turkey was an Islamic country with a growing fundamentalist movement.

A second issue was the status of Cyprus, an island nation in the eastern Mediterranean and an EU member. While the island was dominated by Greek Cypriots, Turkey recognized a breakaway region of Turkish Cypriots. No other European country recognized this region as independent.

A third issue was the status of the *Kurds*, an ethnic minority living in eastern Turkey and in parts of Syria, Iraq, and Iran. In the 1970s, Kurdish nationalists formed the *Kurdistan Workers' Party*, or PKK, and began an armed struggle against the Turks to win cultural and political rights. Turkey, and its ally the United States, labeled the PKK a terrorist organization. However, Turkey's harsh efforts to crush the PKK drew international criticism.

Comparing Iran and Turkey		
Category	Iran	Turkey
<b>Major Ethnic Groups</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mostly Persians</li> <li>• Some Kurds</li> <li>• Few Arabs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mostly Persians</li> <li>• Some Kurds</li> <li>• Few Arabs</li> </ul>
<b>Dominant Religion</b>	Shia Islam	Sunni Islam
<b>Government</b>	Became an Islamic republic under a theocracy in 1979	Became a secular republic in 1923
<b>Relationship with the United States</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. helped overthrow Iran's elected government in 1953</li> <li>• The Shah was a U.S. ally, 1953 to 1979</li> <li>• Very poor since 1979</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joined NATO in 1955</li> </ul>
<b>Important Leaders</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shah Muhammad Reza: authoritarian and pro-Western</li> <li>• Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: leader of the 1979 Revolution</li> </ul>	Mustafa Kemal: led country to independence and supported secularism
<b>Status of Women</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women won the right to vote in 1963</li> <li>• Restrictions relaxed in the 1960s</li> <li>• Restrictions increased after 1979</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women won the right to vote in 1934</li> <li>• Restrictions relaxed in the 1960s</li> </ul>

## African Nationalism Following World War II

At the end of World War II, movements for independence gained momentum in Africa as Africans tried to end exploitation of their lands and resources. Many Africans resented that colonization had placed them under white European

administrators. African newspapers and radio stations began encouraging nationalism and independence. Communist leaders, including those educated abroad in the Soviet Union or other new Communist countries, made use of the media to condemn imperialism while promoting independence and state-run economies. Unlike other Communist regimes, African versions of socialism usually retained elements of capitalism.

**Ghana** Great Britain agreed to negotiate independence for its West African colony of the *Gold Coast*, just as it had for its colonies in South Asia. The Gold Coast combined with the former British Togoland to form Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in the twentieth century. The new country of Ghana was smaller in area than the historic kingdom by the same name. Ghana's independence in 1957 was achieved through negotiations led by the United Nations. Its first president, *Kwame Nkrumah*, took office in the newly established republic in 1960. He was responsible for numerous public works and development projects, such as hydroelectric plants. He was also accused of running the country into debt and allowing widespread corruption, an economic pattern that would often be seen in subsequent African dictatorships. In 1964, he claimed dictatorial powers when the voters agreed to a *one-party state* with Nkrumah as party leader.

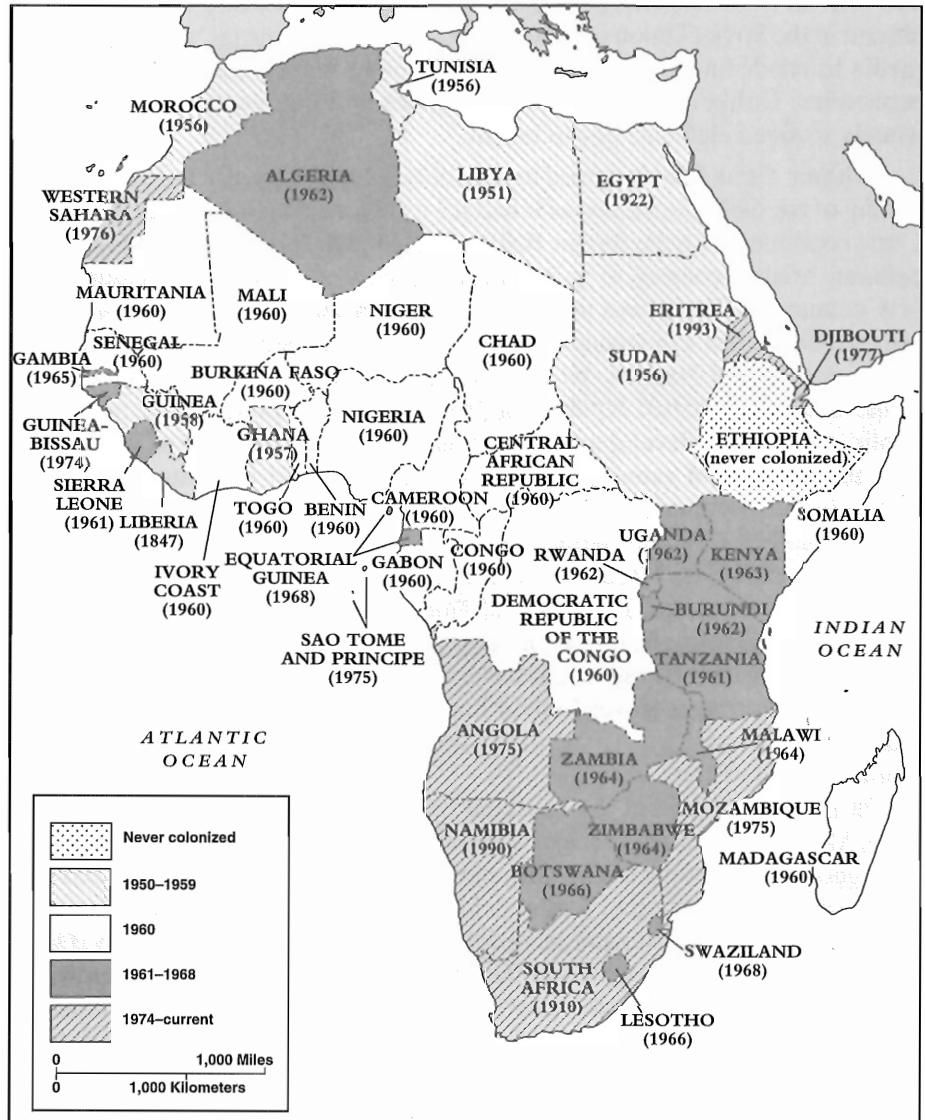
Nkrumah was a vocal promoter of *Pan-Africanism*, a term that had been in use with different implications for some two centuries. American and British abolitionists, in their opposition to slavery in the nineteenth century, had formed plans to return former slaves to their homes in Africa, calling their ideas Pan-Africanism or Africa for Africans. The country of Liberia was founded on this Pan-Africanist vision.

In the second half of the twentieth century, for some Africans, the term "Pan-Africanism" came to mean a celebration of unity of culture and ideas throughout the continent. The movement also made it clear that it did not welcome the intervention of former colonial powers. In keeping with his vision of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah founded the *Organization of African Unity (OAU)* in 1963. However, three years later the Nkrumah government was overthrown in a military coup, during which many foreigners were expelled from the country. Not until 2000 would Ghana witness a peaceful transfer of civilian power from one elected president to another.

**Africa Union** A specific political objective for Africa that developed in the late twentieth century was the formation of an organization of African states that would be similar to the European Union. In 2002, the OAU was replaced by the *African Union (AU)*, with membership numbering 53 African nations. AU leaders shared hopes for closer cooperation, but they disagreed on where or whether the organization should intervene in the affairs of member states. (Test Prep: Create a chart showing details of regional organizations such as the NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, CENTO, the European Union, and NAFTA. See pages 555–556, 588, and 599.)

**Algeria** In northern Africa, the French colony of Algeria followed a path similar to the British lands that became Ghana. It won independence but fell

## INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA SINCE 1910



under the control of a strong leader and became a single-party state. However, Algeria endured far more violence before becoming independent.

The *Algerian War for Independence* began in 1954, although many Algerians had been campaigning for independence since World War II. The war was a complicated affair with many groups involved. Since so many French people lived in Algeria as settlers, the French government considered Algeria a part of France and was adamant that it could not become a separate country. But the French in Algeria were a minority. The Algerian movement for independence was led by the *FLN (National Liberation Front)*, which

used effective guerrilla techniques against half a million French forces sent to Algeria. While French military casualties were relatively low, hundreds of thousands of Algerians died in the war. The violence of the street-by-street battles in the conflict was captured by the 1966 film *The Battle of Algiers*.

The Algerian conflict caused sharp divisions in France. The French Communist Party, quite powerful at the time, favored Algerian independence. Violence broke out in urban areas throughout France. In 1958, French President Charles De Gaulle, with a new mandate for expanded presidential power under the constitution of the new *Fifth Republic*, planned the steps through which Algeria would gain independence. He then went straight to the people of France and Algeria to gain approval of his plan in a referendum, thereby bypassing the French National Assembly.

**Independence and War** However, with the coming of independence in 1962, war broke out again in Algeria. Thousands of pro-French Algerians and settlers fled the country. The large influx of these refugees into France created housing and employment problems as well as an increase in anti-immigration sentiment. The violence that followed in Algeria left between 50,000 and 150,000 dead at the hands of FLN armies and lynch mobs. The first president of the new Algerian Republic was overthrown in 1965 in a military coup led by his former ally. The National Liberation Front continued in power under different leadership, making Algeria a single-party state for a number of years. The NLF maintained a socialist authoritarian government that cracked down on dissent. Meanwhile, the government led a drive for modernization of industry and collectivization of agriculture.

**Algerian Civil War** In 1991, violence again surfaced in Algeria, this time in reaction to one-party rule. The Islamic Salvation Front won the first round in an election that was then canceled. A bloody *Algerian Civil War* followed (1991–2002), during which the FLN continued in control. President Abdulaziz Bouteflika was chosen by the army in 1999. In his second term, he attempted to be more inclusive of insurgents, although suicide bombings continued. In 2011, the military state of emergency, in place since 1992, was lifted in response to protests in the wake of major uprisings in nearby states, including Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.

**Comparing Ghana and Algeria** Both Ghana and Algeria experienced growing pains under military rule. The main struggles were between those who favored multiparty states and those who favored single-party socialism. In Ghana, a new constitution was written in 1992, easing the transfer of power between elected governments. One point of national pride was that a Ghanaian leader *Kofi Annan* became UN Secretary General in 1997. In Algeria, by contrast, religious tensions grew worse. As in other countries in North Africa and the Middle East, a growing right-wing Islamist movement that was willing to use violence challenged the power of mainstream Muslims. In 1992, an Islamist assassinated Algeria's president. As in Egypt and Turkey, the military responded by repressing Islamic fundamentalists. In 1997, Algeria banned political parties based on religion.



**Kenya** On the eastern side of Africa bordering the Indian Ocean, *Kenya* was—like its neighbors Uganda, Somalia, and Tanzania—home to large populations of Asians as well as tribal groups. Many of the Asians in Kenya were merchants and professional people, forming much of the middle class. Britain had been the colonial power, and Swahili and English were the official languages.

Before independence, there was resistance in Kenya against the white occupiers. A group called the *Mau Mau* carried out terror campaigns in 1952 in protest against economic conditions as well as British colonialism. The central government, with British support, attempted to put down the Mau Mau rebellion, but the fighting escalated into a civil war and the Mau Mau gained support throughout Kenya. The British ultimately gave up the area, granting independence in 1963. The first election resulted in the presidency of *Jomo Kenyatta* (1964–1978), an advocate for independence who had served a prison term for supporting the Mau Mau.

Progress in Kenya was slowed because of differences between the Kikuyu, Kuyha, and Luo tribes. Tensions were also heightened by the existence of a large Asian community, which had its roots in the colonial period when the British brought 35,000 Indian workers into the area to build the Mombassa-Kisumu Railway (1886–1901). After completion of the railway, these workers received permission from the government to settle on unoccupied lands. The number of South Asians gradually grew, along with their prosperity, gained through agriculture and retail establishments. Their relative prosperity along with antifeign sentiments made the Asians targets for violence.

Independent Kenya had only one political party, the *Kenyan African National Union (KANU)*. Following the death of Kenyatta in 1978, Vice President *Daniel Moi* took over and ruled for 24 years while Kenyan stability disintegrated in the face of increasing corruption. Finally, the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* threatened to withdraw loans if the corruption continued. In the 2000s, the government pledged to clean up bribery government kickbacks. Violence between tribes was common, especially during elections. After the 2007 presidential elections, for example, supporters of the losing candidate refused to accept the results, prompting violence that killed about one thousand people and displaced some six hundred thousand Kenyans. The formation of a coalition government brought some measure of peace. However, attacks on Asians, particularly Indians, continued.

**Angola** The Portuguese colony of Angola in southwest Africa won its independence in 1975, after 14 years of armed struggle. Like the Algerians and the Vietnamese, the Angolans had to fight to end their colonial status. However, Angola faced greater ethnic conflict than did Algeria or Vietnam. The borders of Angola, like the borders of many newly independent African countries, had been set by European colonial powers with little regard for the makeup of the ethnic groups thrown together under one government. In terms of European history, Angola was more like a small empire, consisting of three distinct and rival cultural groups, than a nation-state in which everyone shared a common

culture. Each group had fought for independence. Each wanted to control the country's lucrative diamond mines. And each was supported by other countries:

- The Mbundu tribe was back by the U.S.S.R. and Cuba.
- The Ovimbundu tribe was back by South Africa.
- The Bankongo tribe was backed by the United States.

Upon independence, civil war broke out. In 2002, after 27 years of fighting, the rivals agreed on a cease-fire. However, threats of violence from militant separatist groups remained.

**Nigeria** The western Africa country of *Nigeria*, the most populous state on the continent, gained independence from Britain in 1960. The *Biafran Civil War* began in 1967 when the *Igbos*, a Westernized, predominately Christian tribe in the southeastern oil-rich *Niger River Delta* area attempted to secede from the northern-dominated government. The *Igbos* sought autonomy because of pogroms against them by the Hausa-Fulani Islamic group in the north. The *Igbos'* secession movement failed. At the conclusion of the war in 1970, a majority of *Igbo* generals were granted amnesty, but civilian government did not return. A series of military coups with generals in command of the government continued until the 1999 election of Olusegun Obasanjo, who presided over a democratic civilian government called the Fourth Republic of Nigeria.

In an effort to prevent tribalism from destroying the country, the government established a federation of 36 states with borders that cut across ethnic and religious lines. Friction continued, however, between Christian Yoruba, *Igbo* groups in the south, and Islamic groups in the northern states. The Nigerian Constitution permitted states to vote for a dual legal system of secular law and shariah. Eleven states voted for this option. In an additional effort to discourage ethnic strife, the constitution encouraged intermarriage among the ethnic groups.

Problems remained in the Niger River Delta due to rich oil deposits there. People there complained that the national government exploited oil resources without returning wealth to the region. Also, they complained that the oil companies had polluted their lands and rivers. Militants set fire to oil wells and pipelines in protest.

## Modern Mexican Culture and Politics

The Mexican revolution, which ended in 1917, saw the emergence of one strong political party, the *Institutional Revolutionary Party* or *PRI*. This party dominated Mexican politics for most of the twentieth century. Despite the assassinations of several presidents, the basic principles of the 1917 constitution stayed in place, and Mexico remained stable, although people suspected government officials of corruption.

**Student Uprisings** By the 1960s, Mexico had become prosperous enough to support a middle class that sent its children to universities. In the summer of 1968, an incident sparked by a fight after a soccer game led to a siege and the death of some preparatory school students at the hands of riot police. In the

days that followed, university students protested and battled with the police and the army, resulting in about forty more deaths. The official account of the events of 1968 stated that the students, infiltrated by Communist forces, fired first on the soldiers, who then fired back in self defense. Other accounts said that the authorities overreacted and used excessive force. The protests continued for months.

Despite this controversy, the PRI remained firmly in power in Mexico until the election of President Vicente Fox in 2000. The Mexican political system has often been called *corporatist* since the ruling PRI party claimed favors, such as access to primary education and jobs created through improvements to infrastructure, for its constituents. During PRI's rule, there was a vast improvement in the economy, especially in the period from 1930 to the 1970s. In 1938, for example, the government nationalized the country's mostly foreign-owned oil industry. This company, *PEMEX*, became the second largest state-owned company in the world.

**Cultural and Economic Trends** Mexican culture and economy in the twenty-first century exhibited the following trends:

- Poverty remained high, in spite of a rich oil industry, a vast tourism business, and a constitutional ban on foreign ownership of land.
- There was large-scale immigration to the United States, both legal and illegal. While many Mexican immigrants planned to stay in the United States, others saw their stay there as temporary. Many Mexicans living and working in the United States sent much-needed cash back to their relatives in Mexico.
- *NAFTA*, the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement, encouraged U.S. and Canadian industries to build *maquiladoras* (factories) in Mexico that used low-wage Mexican labor to produce tariff-free goods for foreign export. Oppressive working conditions were discovered in factories that hired large numbers of young women. Labor unions in the United States complained that *NAFTA* led to the export of thousands of U.S. jobs to Mexico, where wages and benefits were lower and safety and environmental standards were weaker.
- The Mexican economy was affected by the fluctuating price of oil and worldwide economic trends, such as the global recession of 2007–2010.
- While the majority of Mexicans were Roman Catholic, constitutional restrictions on the church and its priests kept them from exercising rights such as free speech. Civil rights were restored in 1992, but the Roman Catholic Church still had no special standing with the secular government.
- *Drug cartels*, large criminal organizations engaged in drug trafficking, promoted violence against government officials and private citizens. Frequent kidnappings, massacres in drug rehabilitation centers, and execution-style killings took place. Some observers wondered if Mexico was on the road to becoming a failed state, one in which the cartels use

the government as their tool. The drug wars frequently crossed over the border into the United States. When U.S. officials complained about this, Mexican officials noted that the weapons used by the drug cartels came from the United States, as did much of the demand for drugs.

## Political Trends in Latin America

Latin America included a mix of countries. However, several trends were common throughout the region in the decades following 1945.

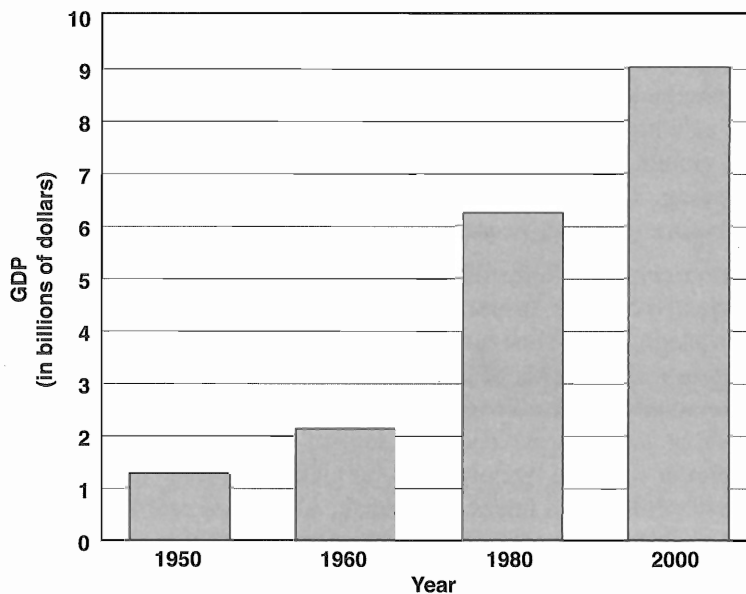
- *Dependence on State-Run Industries* Since World War II, Latin American governments ran industries because there was a shortage of capital in the private sector or because they wished to avoid dependence upon foreign investors. For example, the Argentine government owned an airline; the government of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela nationalized the cement industry along with other industries; President Morales of Bolivia nationalized the hydrocarbon industries; and in Ecuador the government owned much of the oil industry.
- *High Government Debt* Global economic recession and a financial crisis of the 1980s put many countries into serious debt. By 2005, some countries had structured successful debt management programs.
- *Political Dictatorships* Many countries suffered under authoritarian rulers that abused human rights. Often, these rulers were chosen by the military and they remained in power by torturing and “disappearing” opposition leaders. For example, in Chile in 1973, Augusto Pinochet took power in a U.S.-backed coup against a democratically elected socialist government led by Salvador Allende. Pinochet reigned from 1974 to 1990, at which time he was ousted by a coalition of citizens opposed to his violent tactics and his privatization of the economy. Indicted for kidnapping, torture, money laundering, and murder, Pinochet died in 2006 before he could be convicted on the charges.
- *Debates over Land Reform* In addition to Mexico, other Latin American countries, including Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Venezuela, tried land reform programs. In Venezuela, for example, the government redistributed some five million acres of land. Some of the land was state-owned and not previously under cultivation, while other pieces of land were seized from large landowners. The land reform, begun with a 2001 law, was not popular with the landowners who claimed that the state seized their property while it was under cultivation. Additional problems arose from illegal squatters who moved in to settle on lands that were not scheduled for land reform. Land reform efforts had political repercussions as well; those who benefitted were more willing to vote for the government instituting the reforms, while those from whom land was confiscated tended not to support the states that appropriated their land.

- *Reflecting on the Distribution of Wealth* An ideology called liberation theology, which combined socialism with Catholicism, spread through Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s. It interpreted the teachings of Jesus to include freeing people from the abuses of economic, political, and social conditions. Part of this liberation included redistributing some wealth from the rich to the poor. In many countries, military dictators persecuted and killed religious workers who embraced liberation theology.

Advocates of liberation theology had a few notable successes. In Nicaragua, they helped a rebel movement topple a dictator and institute a socialist government. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez was deeply influenced by the movement. Then, in 2013, the Roman Catholic Church selected a cardinal from Argentina as pope, the first one from Latin America. The new leader, who took the name Pope Francis, reversed the Vatican's opposition to liberation theology.

The long-term changes in Latin America in the early twenty-first century paralleled ones in East Asia and parts of Africa. Governments were generally becoming more democratic and less authoritarian. Their economic systems were based on the principles of free enterprise and included a strong role for government in promoting growth.

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA  
1950 TO 2000



GDP stands for "gross domestic product." It is a commonly used measure of the wealth of a country.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY ARE SOME COUNTRIES WEALTHY?

In 1776, Adam Smith published the first modern, in-depth look at why some countries are wealthier than others, *The Wealth of Nations*. While arguing for an active government role, he emphasized the benefits of free trade against those who defended mercantilism.

**Modernization** Following World War II, Western Europe and the United States grew wealthier so rapidly that it seemed natural. Scholars in these regions, such as American political scientist David Apter who studied the relative wealth of nations, developed *modernization theory*. The problems of poor, newly emerging countries were seen as the natural by-products of the transition from a traditional, agrarian society to a modern, developed society. Developed countries could provide economic and technological assistance to help in this transition.

**Self-Reliance** In the 1970s, a new generation of scholars, who had grown up during colonial independence movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, saw developed countries as the problem, not the solution. They rejected modernization theory, arguing that it mistakenly placed the blame for poverty on poor countries, when it should be placed on the former colonial powers. According to this *dependency theory*, former colonies were the victims of the international marketplace. In this theory, the way out of poverty was to become more self-reliant.

**Globalization** Recent writers, such as journalist Thomas Friedman, in his 2005 book *The World Is Flat* focused not on self-reliance but on *globalization*. Friedman saw the increasing interconnectedness of economies around the world as an opportunity for countries to prosper. His “flat world” referred to relatively inexpensive technologies that allowed developing nations to compete with the developed nations for jobs and the creation of innovative products everywhere.

In response, Canadian journalist Linda McQuaig attacked Friedman as an “apologist of globalization.” Friedman’s critics charged that he looked at the benefits of increased trade and investments without seeing the costs incurred in poor countries through these actions.

**Trade** Ha-Joon Chang, a British economist who was born and raised in South Korea, took a historical view. In *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategies in Historical Perspective* (2002), he evaluated the path to prosperity for today’s wealthy countries in Western Europe and the United States. All once had high tariffs and other trade barriers to protect their growing industries from foreign competition. Only after they became wealthy did they advocate for free trade. However, today wealthy countries press poor ones to open their borders economically. The lesson of history, he argued, was to let poor countries use the same protectionist methods that led to prosperity for other countries.

**KEY TERMS BY THEME**

<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES</b> General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Benazir Bhutto Idi Amin Pol Pot Jimmy Carter Menachem Begin Anwar Sadat Yasser Arafat Gamal Abdel Nasser Hosni Mubarak Shah Reza Khan Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini Abdullah Gul Kwame Nkrumah Charles De Gaulle Kofi Annan Jomo Kenyatta Daniel Moi</p>	<p>Bangladesh Kashmir Khmer Rouge Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)  Hamas Fatah Arab League Iran Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) Gold Coast Organization of African Unity (OAU) African Union FLN (National Liberation Front) Kenya Mau Mau Kenyan African National Union (KANU) Nigeria</p>	<p><b>CULTURE</b> passive resistance Zionist movement Theodore Herzl Pan-Arabism Pan-Africanism Igbo mullahs theocracy Kurds modernization theory Dependency theory</p>
<p><b>STATE-BUILDING: STATES, MOVEMENTS, &amp; ORGANIZATIONS</b> Muslim League West Pakistan East Pakistan</p>	<p><b>STATE-BUILDING</b> partition Balfour Declaration Suez Crisis Camp David Accords one-party state Algerian War for Independence Fifth Republic Algerian Civil War Biafran Civil War</p>	<p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b> metropolises Niger River Delta</p> <p><b>ECONOMICS</b> nationalized International Monetary Fund (IMF) corporatist PEMEX NAFTA <i>maquiladoras</i> drug cartels Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) globalization</p>

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

---

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the passage below.

“Under a major political union of Africa there could emerge a United Africa, great and powerful, in which the territorial boundaries which are the relics of colonialism will become obsolete and superfluous, working for the complete and total mobilization of the economic planning organization under a unified political direction. The forces that unite us are far greater than the difficulties that divide us at present, and our goal must be the establishment of Africa’s dignity, progress, and prosperity.”

Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana, *Africa Must Unite*, 1963

- 1.1 Which accurately describes the historical context in which Nkrumah wrote?
- (A) the rapid industrialization of several African nations
  - (B) the creation of a single, unified Pan-African nation
  - (C) the continuity of Europe’s direct rule of African colonies
  - (D) the independence of former European colonies in Africa
- 1.2 Which best exemplifies the “difficulties that divide” the people within and among African nations mentioned in the passage?
- (A) huge debts owed to larger African nations by smaller African nations
  - (B) pandemic health concerns, such as HIV/AIDS, cholera, and ebola
  - (C) tensions between various ethnic groups within several African nations
  - (D) significant environmental damage as a result of mining in Africa
- 1.3 The type of cooperation Nkrumah described in the passage, and which developed as the African Union in 2002, is most similar to what other multinational organization?
- (A) the European Union
  - (B) the Soviet Union
  - (C) the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
  - (D) the World Trade Organization



**Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the passage below.**

“For more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice. In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty.

They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center, and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

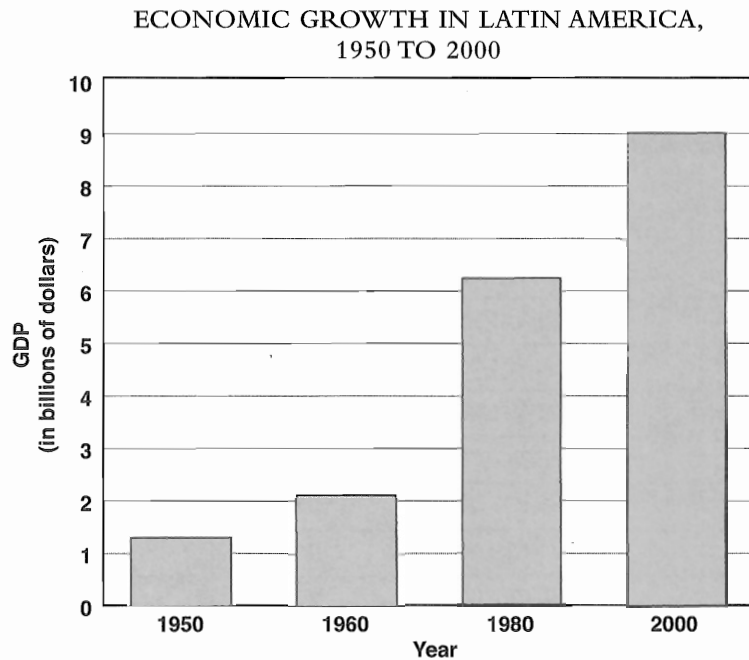
They have built more prisons than schools. . . . To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol.

In the fields of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.”

Ho Chi Minh, Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, 1945

- 2.1** Which words in the passage most directly reflect Marx’s fundamental criticism of capitalism?
- (A) “they set up three distinct political regimes”
  - (B) “They have built more prisons than schools.”
  - (C) “they have forced us to use opium and alcohol”
  - (D) “they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people”
- 2.2** Which movement would have most likely influenced Ho Chi Minh’s sentiments expressed in the passage?
- (A) the Enlightenment
  - (B) abolitionism
  - (C) mercantilism
  - (D) Social Darwinism
- 2.3** Ho Chi Minh’s eventual declaration of Vietnam’s independence most directly resulted in
- (A) a negotiated resolution that partitioned Vietnam into North and South Vietnam
  - (B) an election in France in which the majority of the people voted for Vietnam to be granted independence
  - (C) a war between South Vietnam and the United States, after which France only granted North Vietnam independence
  - (D) a war for independence from France, followed by an armed conflict involving the United States

Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the graph below.



GDP stands for "gross domestic product." It is a commonly used measure of the wealth of a country.

- 3.1 Which statement best explains the reason for the trend illustrated in the graph?
- (A) Foreign investment in Latin American industry and infrastructure dramatically increased.
  - (B) Large-scale migration of unskilled laborers to Latin America increased productivity.
  - (C) Latin American governments supported economic growth, and economic systems often reflected free enterprise ideas.
  - (D) The abolition of slavery allowed more unskilled workers to migrate into cities, where they could work in factories.
- 3.2 Latin American economic growth during this period most closely resembles economic patterns in which other world region?
- (A) East Asia
  - (B) Central Asia
  - (C) North Africa
  - (D) Oceania

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Question 1 refers to the table below.

Ten Countries with the Largest Number of Muslims			
	Muslim Population	Percentage of Population That Is Muslim	Percentage of World Muslim Population
Indonesia	221,147,000	87	13
Pakistan	189,111,000	96	11
India	165,624,000	13	11
Bangladesh	148,821,000	90	8
Nigeria	88,577,000	50	5
Egypt	86,895,000	100	5
Turkey	81,619,000	100	5
Iran	80,032,000	99	5
Algeria	38,424,000	99	2
Morocco	32,657,000	99	2

Source: World Factbook, CIA, cia.gov.

1. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Identify and briefly explain TWO additional types of information that could be added to the table to help readers understand the context for understanding the role of Islam in each country.
  - B. Identify and explain the significance of ONE generalization from the table about the global distribution of Muslims.
2. Answer parts A, B, and C.
  - A. Identify and explain ONE turning point in the movement to support the creation of Israel.
  - B. Identify and explain ONE turning point in Israeli-Arab relations.
  - C. Identify and describe ONE other example of a religion- or culture-based conflict in a former colony during the twentieth century.

### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: RECOGNIZING CONTINUITY OR CHANGE

For most of human history, continuity dominated and change occurred slowly. Today, change seems dominant, making continuity harder to see. *For each statement, decide if it represents change or continuity.*

1. “Our chaos” is indeed a theme of the period of decolonization as empires broke apart and . . . states began to break away and re-form.
2. During the 1960s, both Turkey and Iran relaxed restrictions on women and increased democratic freedoms.
3. Present-day Iran occupies much of the same territory that was held in its glorious past by the Persian Empire of 600 C.E.
4. Iran continued to be ruled by a repressive fundamentalist Islamic regime noted for its anti-Israel and anti-Western stance.
5. Zionists said that the land was where Israelites had lived thousands of years ago.
6. Turkey has been an associate member of the EU since 1987. If accepted as a full member, Turkey would become the only EU member whose population is largely Muslim.

### WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: GROUPING INFORMATION

To help readers follow the story, a good writer will group related facts together by time period, by region, or topic. *Group these statements into two sets of three related comments.*

1. Hindus and Muslims were united in one goal: to get rid of the British.
2. In 1979, the Shia cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini became the Supreme Leader.
3. Immigrants from Pakistan and India to London illustrated the movement of former colonial subjects to imperial *metropolises*.
4. Muslims decided that they did not want to live in an independent India dominated by Hindus.
5. Muhammad Reza was forced to flee Iran when it was discovered that he had tried to replace the prime minister in a failed coup.
6. In 1921, power in the Shia nation of Iran was seized by Reza Khan, who declared himself shah.

## Post-Cold War World, 1990–Present

*Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!*

—Ronald Reagan, speech in West Berlin, Germany, June 12, 1987

President Ronald Reagan’s appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came two years before the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. Two years after the fall, a coup ousted Gorbachev from power. The Soviet Union had officially collapsed. The Cold War was over. Communist governments remained in only a few countries, including China, North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam. For some 45 years, the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union had dominated the world stage. For much of that time, the threat of nuclear war loomed large. However, after 1991, the world was not free of problems.

The end of a bipolar world presented myriad opportunities, as well as several formidable challenges. Political alliances changed, and economic interactions among nations expanded. With this new openness, particularly with regard to trade, the world became more interconnected than ever before, which produced greater wealth for many, but hardships for others. The post-Cold War world had to grapple with new democracies, vast economic inequality, ethnic conflict and genocide, terrorism, environmental degradation, and global epidemics.

### Economic Globalization

Globalization is the process of interaction among peoples, governments, and companies of different nations around the world. Although the Indian Ocean trade and European imperialism are both examples of globalization, the term usually refers to the increased integration of the global economy since the 1970s. Global trade exploded with the end of the Cold War. The Eastern Bloc nations that had been under Soviet control suddenly could trade freely with capitalist democracies. India and other countries that had been nonaligned during the Cold War relaxed restrictions on trade in the 1990s. International trade agreements and organizations helped further integrate the world.

The new global economy was part of a renewed emphasis on market-oriented policy advocated by leaders such as *Ronald Reagan* in the United States and *Margaret Thatcher* in Great Britain. They advocated cutting taxes, regulations, and government assistance to the poor as a way to promote

economic growth. While Reagan and Thatcher were strongly nationalistic, corporations used the shift in emphasis to move jobs to countries with lower wages, lower taxes, and fewer regulations. Critics charged that the market was more powerful than any national government, and that globalization led to labor exploitation and environmental damage.

**Rise of Japan** Following the end of World War II, Japan implemented economic policies similar to eighteenth-century mercantilist policies designed to increase exports and decrease imports. To encourage exports, the government coordinated its finance and labor policies with large corporations and gave them subsidies to allow them to keep their costs low. To discourage imports, the government used high tariffs and other trade restrictions on goods made abroad. And to prepare its citizens to be productive workers, Japan emphasized rigorous education. These policies, aided by large investments from the United States and other countries, turned Japan into a manufacturing powerhouse, creating jobs and wealth.

However, Japan's impressive growth came at a high cost for its consumers. Low-wage workers producing items for foreign markets often could not afford to buy what they made. For example, Japanese-made cars were more expensive in Japan than they were in the United States. Over time, Japanese unions became strong enough to negotiate higher wages, and international pressure forced Japan to relax its trade restrictions. Japan's economy diversified and it became an international center of banking, finance, and information technology.

Japan's growth slowed after the 1980s. A weak government response to a financial panic in the 1990s and a combined earthquake and tsunami in 2011 created drags on growth. Despite problems, Japan remained the third largest economy in the world in 2014, behind only the United States and China.

**The Tigers and China** Closely following Japan's economic model were four smaller states known as the *Asian Tigers*—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan—and the world's most populous country, China. Like Japan, these five states prospered through government-business partnerships, high exports, intense education, and a low-wage workforce. China's growth began after Deng Xiaoping became the country's leader in 1978. Under him, the Communist government began enacting reforms. It reopened the Shanghai stock market and allowed private ownership of some businesses. These moves attracted investments by foreign firms, which rushed to build factories in China to take advantage of low wages and lax environmental laws. The success of the Asian Tigers and China raised hundreds of millions of people out of dire poverty.

**India, Brazil, and Russia** In the early 1990s, India opened its markets and allowed in more foreign imports. With its highly educated English-speaking workforce, India developed a software and information technology powerhouse, drawing investments from American and European companies who looked to outsource jobs and take advantage of lower labor costs. Multinational corporations, such as *Microsoft* and *Google*, also invested in the Indian economy. The influx of corporate wealth and foreign goods created

a thriving consumer culture among India's middle class, the ranks of which swelled tremendously after 2000. In 2014, the Indian middle class was estimated to be the largest of any country in the world, with more than 350 million people.

In spite of India's growing middle class, hundreds of millions of Indians remained in poverty. The government had not provided the basic infrastructure needed for growth, such as roads, clean water, health care, and education.

Brazil was another rapidly growing country starting in the 1990s. Its agribusinesses and steel industries brought considerable wealth to the nation. However, its urban poor continued to live in dire conditions in *favelas*, or slums, on the outskirts of major cities such as Rio de Janeiro.

Russia's oil wealth markedly expanded its economy after the end of the Cold War. In the early 1990s, Mercedes-Benz dealerships and high-fashion boutiques appeared in Moscow, and Russia's wealthier citizens became accustomed to luxury goods and prosperity. Russia and other oil-producing countries prospered as long as the price of oil stayed high. However, whenever the price of oil dropped, the economies of these countries declined rapidly. The number of homeless and unemployed in Russia, for example, rose astronomically when oil prices dropped in the early 2000s.

**Trade and Economic Development** Several organizations contributed to the growth of the global economy in the decades following World War II. Some countries joined regional organizations such as the European Economic Union, *Mercosur* (in South America), and the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)*. Many countries signed an international accord, the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*, which lifted restrictive barriers to trade. *Protective tariffs*, taxes on foreign imports, had been at a world average rate of 40 percent prior to GATT. By lowering and eliminating tariffs, the agreement promoted more international trade and helped restore economic prosperity to war-ravaged Europe. By the 1990s, average tariff rates had sunk below 5 percent, easing the movement of goods across national borders.

In 1995, the *World Trade Organization (WTO)* took over GATT's operations. The WTO made rules that governed more than 90 percent of all international trade. In part because of its power, the organization became very controversial. Its meetings were closed to the public, and its board members represented mostly corporate interests. Also, the organization's rules favored trade over considerations that many considered moral issues. For example, through strict application of WTO rules, a member nation that refused to purchase clothing made from sweatshop labor could suffer trade sanctions from the organization.

**Resistance to Globalization** Critics of globalization asserted that free trade was not always fair trade. Large global corporations often ignored the rights of workers, disregarded environmental impacts, and forced small businesses into bankruptcy. Developing nations complained that their economies could not grow properly when their businesses had to compete with established corporations from the developed world.

In 1999, the WTO's meeting in Seattle was shut down by a variety of interest groups, including labor unions, environmental groups, and family farmers.

Though the protests did not force the WTO to change its rules or to become a more inclusive organization, the WTO protests brought issues at the heart of the new global economy to the world's attention.

**Globalization and Technology** Globalization made the world feel smaller, as did advances in telecommunications technology. The *Internet*, first developed for the U.S. Defense Department during the Cold War, became a regular tool of communication for the public by the late 1990s. Not only had communication become easier, but information was also more abundant and accessible than ever before. Distance and national borders nearly disappeared as barriers to the flow of ideas. Theorists predicted that, just as nationalism had undermined multiethnic empires, an emerging global consciousness could undermine nation-states. As people built stronger ties to others around the world who shared their values, their identities based on where they lived would weaken. Maybe a new global consciousness—or a renewed regionalism—would replace nationalism.

**Technology and Revolution** Mobile technologies such as cellphones and other portable devices put the tools of information creation and dissemination into the hands of individuals around the world. Twitter, Facebook, and other social networking sites made the “fourth estate,” as the media was known in the United States, accessible to anyone anywhere. The impact of this revolution became apparent quickly. In the United States, videos taken on phones of police shooting or assaulting African American men sparked outrage, inquiries into racial profiling, and riots against injustices perceived in the justice system.

**Upheaval in Muslim Countries** December 2010 marked the beginning of a series of popular uprisings in many Arab countries known as the *Arab Spring*. The uprisings were sparked when a man in Tunisia set himself on fire to protest the confiscation of his fruit stand by police. Videos of the protests that followed the incident were shared on Facebook, disseminating the story to millions who would not have learned of the incident through official news channels. In Egypt, protests organized through social media soon erupted in Cairo and other cities against the regime of authoritarian President Hosni Mubarak. After a month of protests, Mubarak stepped down, handing power to his vice president.

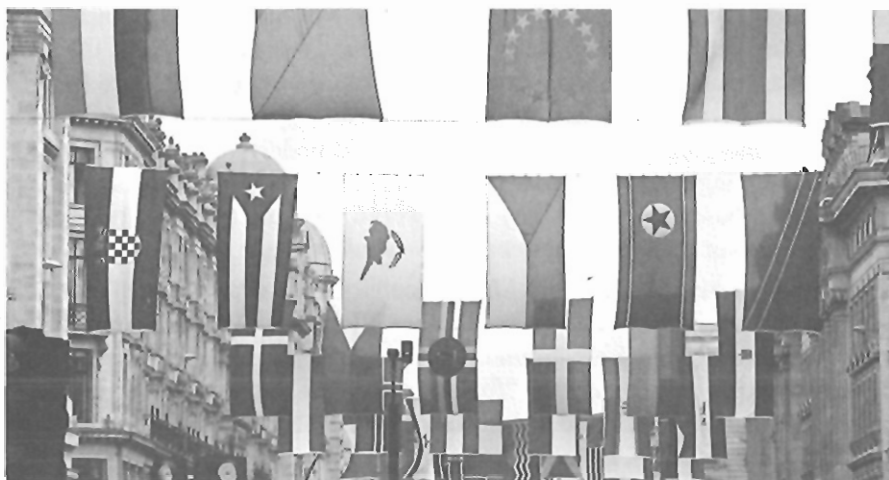
In February 2011 in Iran, thousands of people, prompted by messages on social media, went to the streets in rare protests against the government. These and other similar uprisings revealed the power of new social media technologies.

**Global Popular Culture** Globalization reshaped popular culture. As multinational corporations advertised and distributed their products around the world, people everywhere became familiar with *global brands*, such as Apple, Nike, and Rolex. Michael Jordan and other American celebrities became international superstars. After 2000, the cultural marketplace diversified. A style of Japanese animation known as *anime* became hugely popular among Western youth. And Indian musicals made in *Bollywood*, the popular name given to the film industry in Bombay (Mumbai), enjoyed popularity worldwide.

However, the United States remained the world's most influential culture. Through *Americanization*, people the world over learned more about the United



States than Americans learned of the rest of the world. Through the influence of American movies, corporations, and scientific research, English became a second language in much of the world. The dominance of the United States in globalization created resentment among those who felt that American popular culture diluted their unique cultural identity.



Source: Thinkstock

Since Olympic athletes represent their home nations, the games demonstrate the strength of nationalism. However, since the Olympics draws people together from nearly every country in the world, it is also an example of internationalism.

**Sports** The globalization of popular culture included sports as well. The establishment of the modern Olympic Games in 1896 reflected an early sense of internationalism. In 2012, the opening ceremonies of the Olympics attracted nearly 900 million television viewers. Soccer emerged as the most popular sport in the world, in part because it required so little equipment that it could be played anywhere. The World Cup soccer competition rivaled the Olympics as a global event. Basketball also became a global game. In 2014, the National Basketball Association included players from 30 countries or territories.

**Religion** Globalization promoted new religious developments. In the 1970s, former Beatles band member George Harrison released a song containing the words of a Hindu mantra, or sacred utterance. This launched the popularity of the Hari Krishna movement, which was based on traditional Hindu scriptures. It quickly gained popularity in the United States and Europe. In what some called New Age religions, forms of Buddhism, shamanism, Sufism, and other religious traditions were revived and adapted for a largely Western audience. In China in the 1990s, Falun Gong, a syncretic movement based on Buddhist and Daoist traditions, gained popularity. Although the movement was initially allowed by the Communist government, the Chinese authorities began to restrict it in 1999. The suppression prompted international protests against the Chinese regime for human rights abuses.

## Struggles for Democracy

The fight for civil rights was also a global effort. In India, the 1949 Constitution outlawed discrimination against the dalits, also known as untouchables. In the United States, African Americans won major victories against discrimination and segregation. Through the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which banned discrimination in voting, the federal government stepped in to protect the rights of all citizens.

**South Africa's Apartheid** South Africa's system of *apartheid*, instituted in 1948, tried to separate whites and blacks as much as possible. Although white South Africans made up only 15 percent of South Africa's population, apartheid reserved good jobs and other privileges for them. So-called *pass laws* required black South Africans to carry identity documents when entering white areas, which they often had to do when traveling to their jobs. They were banned from living in certain areas of the country. Mixed marriages were prohibited. For a while, schools for blacks were taught only in Afrikaans, the language of many of the white South Africans who ruled the nation. These dehumanizing decrees marginalized the 85 percent of South Africans who were black, South Asian, or mixed race. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting apartheid with South Africa's colonial past. See pages 471–474.)

**Challenges to Apartheid** In 1964, *Nelson Mandela*, a leader of the *African National Congress (ANC)*, was imprisoned for life for agitating against apartheid. The ANC's primary goals were to end white domination and create a multiracial South Africa. Mandela's imprisonment throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s inspired a global movement to end apartheid. Black protests in South Africa, which were often peaceful, were crushed violently by the government's forces. South Africa's reputation grew worse in the eyes of the global community. Musicians staged concerts calling for Mandela's release from prison, college students urged their universities and corporations to divest from South Africa, and many countries voted for strict economic sanctions against the country.

As South Africa became a pariah state (undesirable state) in the 1980s, its leadership began to notice. Mandela himself began negotiations with the government in 1986 while still in prison. In 1989, *F. W. de Klerk* became the nation's acting president. He recognized the need for change. Within six months, de Klerk announced Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

Although euphoria was high in the weeks following Mandela's release, apartheid remained the law of the land. Police violence against protesters persisted, which stalled negotiations between Mandela and de Klerk. However, a series of reforms in the 1990s ended apartheid. In 1994, South Africa held its first free elections. The African National Congress won the majority of the seats in the Parliament. The Government of National Unity was established with ANC members in the majority. On May 10, 1994, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as president, South Africa's first black leader.

**Uniting South Africa** Immediately the Government of National Unity set up the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC). Unlike the Nuremberg Trials that sought retribution for crimes against humanity committed by Nazis during World War II, the TRC sought to restore and establish an atmosphere of trust in the new multiracial South Africa. The TRC organized a series of 19 public hearings designed to expose the truth of human rights violations that had occurred during apartheid, while at the same time granting amnesty to members of the apartheid regime who agreed to testify.

**China's Citizens Protest for Freedom** After the economic reforms of the late 1980s and 1990s, China quickly became an economic powerhouse. The economic liberalization, however, was not matched by democratic reforms. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) ruled the People's Republic with an iron fist. It censored the news industry and controlled what students were taught in primary and secondary schools. Such practices limited freedom of speech and thought. The CCP also required all nonstate organizations and groups to register with the government. International nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were not free to operate in China unless they were willing to undergo strict regulation. Opposition political parties did not stand a chance in China's governing system, although some debate was allowed in the legislative process. Overall, however, the governing system was designed to thwart all challenges to the CCP's authority. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph connecting China's government in the 2010s with the development of the Communist Party in China. See pages 557–558.)

**Tiananmen Square** Chinese intellectuals and students had a history of protesting against their government based on the May Fourth Movement in 1919. In the spring of 1989, prodemocracy activists organized a public event mourning the death of a sympathetic high official. The protesters demanded a chance to speak with Chinese leaders about freedom of the press and other reforms. After the Chinese government refused to meet with the activists, citizens in more than 400 Chinese cities staged sit-ins, refused to attend classes, and began hunger strikes. Hundreds of thousands of students, professors, and urban workers staged a massive protest in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. After seven weeks of protests, the government decided to end the protest. It declared martial law and sent troops armed with tanks and assault weapons into Beijing. Citizens responded by setting up barricades to block the troops.

On June 4, 1989, the army arrived in Tiananmen Square and attacked the unarmed protesters. The Chinese government claimed that nobody died in Tiananmen Square that day. No mention of the event was included in school texts and all Web sites that discussed the Tiananmen Square incident and human rights abuses in China were blocked. However, estimates by *Amnesty International*, the *International Red Cross*, and the *New York Times* indicated that anywhere from several hundred to a few thousands civilians were killed.

**Minority Rights in China** The Communist government in China struggled with the demands of its 55 ethnic minorities. Some prominent examples were calls by Tibetans for more autonomy or independence and the complaints of

the Uighur people concerning religious and political discrimination in the northwest province of Xinjiang.

In 2011, some of the Mongolian people in China protested against the high number of Han who had moved into Inner Mongolia, an autonomous region of northern China, and disrupted their pastoral way of life. The Mongolians staged protests against the environmental damage that came with settled agriculture, strip-mining of coal, building of highways, damming of rivers, and overgrazing of land.

**Environmental Degradation in China** China's rapid industrialization and economic growth, combined with the impact of global warming, resulted in severe environmental problems beginning in the 1990s. Reduced rainfall led to the expansion of the Gobi Desert, which covers large parts of western China and Mongolia. At certain times of the year, Beijing's air filled with sand blowing in from the desert. All Chinese cities experienced *air pollution* resulting from the increased use of coal to run power plants and factories and the increased number of motor vehicles on the streets and roads. *Water pollution* was another serious problem. The Huang He, or Yellow River, was so polluted that it couldn't provide drinking water.

**Water Problems in China** Major construction projects in China had significant and widespread consequences. For example, the world's largest hydroelectric power station was built in the *Three Gorges Dam* on the Yangtze River. Its construction and the rising waters displaced some 1.3 million Chinese people. In the years after the dam was built, fears developed that the banks of the reservoir were collapsing and that earthquakes could cause landslides and massive flooding. The holding of so much water upstream deprived people who lived downstream of needed water for transportation and irrigation. Moreover, the building of the dam altered the ecosystem of the river.

Beijing and many other large cities used up the water in nearby aquifers, and water had to be shipped in from elsewhere. These cities called for the construction of one or more large canals to divert water from the Yangtze or the Huang He to more arid areas and cities in the north. This *South-North Water Diversion Project* would cost twice as much as the massive Three Gorges Dam and would require some 350,000 people to relocate.

## Global Security

In the early 1990s, after the fall of the Soviet Union, President George H. W. Bush declared a *New World Order*, one in which the United States would take the lead in creating a unified and secure world. He believed the United States could bring Russia into the free market economy and world economic organizations that were led by the wealthiest nations. Bush also used the term in describing the coalition of nations that joined in a war against Iraq in 1991 after Saddam Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait. This *Persian Gulf War* resulted in Hussein's forces being driven out of Kuwait. However, the coalition, fearing that deposing Hussein would destabilize the Middle East, did not drive him from power.

Despite the lack of enmity between Russia and the West in the early 1990s, anger toward the United States existed in many regions of the world. Part of the anger was political. Other countries opposed how the United States exerted its influence as the world's sole superpower. Part of the anger was toward the Americanization of popular culture. Clerics in socially conservative societies, particularly those in the Middle East, objected to American media's permissive attitudes toward sex and gender roles. Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran was one of the first such clerics to reject American popular culture for such reasons.

Many Muslim nations were hostile to the United States for more than Hollywood images or global brands. They criticized the United States for supporting Israel in the seemingly intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States donated millions of dollars to Israel every year, supplied its military with weapons, and did not stop its occupation of Palestinian territory.

**The Growth of Terrorism** In the post-Cold War period, large-scale open conflict between sovereign states was rare. Instead, individuals unaffiliated with any government formed *terrorist networks* that intimidated and murdered civilians. For example, in the United Kingdom, Roman Catholic militants carried out several bombings to protest Northern Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom rather than of the Republic of Ireland. In Spain, Basque separatists committed acts of violence to further their cause. In the United States, two right-wing extremists bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people.

Several terrorist groups used a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam to justify killing others. Among the deadliest of these groups was *al-Qaeda*. Financed by Saudi billionaire *Osama bin Laden*, al-Qaeda carried out devastating attacks on the United States on *September 11*, 2001. In these attacks, terrorists killed themselves and more than three thousand innocent people when they hijacked and crashed planes in New York City, near Washington, D.C., and in rural Pennsylvania. Most of the world, even bitter foes of the United States such as Iran, rallied to support the United States.

In the years following the September 11 attacks, al-Qaeda and similar groups carried out additional bombings and shootings that killed thousands of people. While high-profile attacks occurred in Madrid, London, and Paris, most victims were Muslims living in rural communities in countries such as Yemen, Nigeria, or other countries throughout the world.

**War in Afghanistan** The September 11 attacks had been orchestrated from bin Laden's camp in Afghanistan, which was under the control of another right-wing Islamic group, the *Taliban*. When the Taliban refused to extradite bin Laden to the United States, the U.S. Congress authorized the use of force to capture him. A U.S.-led coalition invaded Afghanistan and overthrew the Taliban. The Afghans formed a new government. U.S. troops remained in Afghanistan, but the country remained beset by violence and instability. In 2011, U.S. forces located bin Laden in a hideout in Pakistan, and killed him.

**War in Iraq** As war in Afghanistan heated up, the administration of President George W. Bush (the son of President George H. W. Bush) claimed

that Iraq's brutal dictator *Saddam Hussein* was connected to the September 11 terrorists and was stockpiling weapons of mass destruction. In May 2003, the United States and a few allied forces invaded Iraq, marking the beginning of the *Iraq War*. However, the invasion touched off massive protests in the United States and around the world. Opponents of the war charged that the Bush administration had provided no credible evidence to support its claims, so United States had no justification for attacking Iraq.

Early in the war, Hussein was captured. A special Iraqi tribunal prosecuted him for crimes against humanity and had him executed by hanging. The war continued until 2011 when a peace agreement was achieved. In that time, more than 4,000 U.S. soldiers and several hundred thousand Iraqi civilians died. After the peace agreement, Iraq soon returned to violence.

No links between Hussein and al-Qaeda were found, nor were any weapons of mass destruction located in Iraq. The war caused President Bush's popularity to plummet, and it tarnished the reputation of the United States throughout the world. It depleted much of the international community's post-September 11 sympathy for the United States.

**Confronting Terrorism** The defeat of the Taliban and the death of bin Laden did not end terrorism—other groups and leaders emerged. Many countries increased their military spending to counter the new threats. However, even the United States, with a defense budget more than triple the size of any other country's, continued to struggle to defeat terrorism.

Countries with the Largest Military Budgets, 2012	
Country	Total Military (U.S. Dollars)
United States	\$656 billion
China	\$126 billion
Japan	\$66 billion
United Kingdom	\$61 billion
Russia	\$59 billion

Source: "U.S. Leads Global Arms Exports Surge," CNN Money. June 27, 2013. [money.cnn.com](http://money.cnn.com).

## Genocide and Human Rights

The global community said "never again" to genocide after having seen the horrors of the Holocaust. However, genocides continued to occur.

**Bosnia** Ethnic conflict drove the genocide in *Bosnia*. The end of World War I brought with it the creation of several new nations in Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia. That country was home to Serbians, who were Eastern Orthodox Christians; Croats and Slovenes, who were Catholic; and Muslims in the regions of Bosnia and Kosovo. Marshall Tito led Communist Yugoslavia

## YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE 1992



from the end of World War II until his death in 1980. The dictatorial Tito managed to suppress separatist tendencies among the peoples of Yugoslavia.

After the Soviet Union collapsed, so did Yugoslavia. When Serbia, Slovenia, and Croatia declared independence, they each defined citizenship in terms of ethnic background and religion. Serbian nationalists led by the demagogue *Slobodan Milosevic* were particularly emphatic about ethnic purity. Serb forces, in attempts to dominate states such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, committed horrific acts of *ethnic cleansing* against Muslims from Bosnia and Kosovo, killing or driving people who were not part of the main ethnic group from their homes. Bosniaks, Kosovars, and Croats fought back, causing more casualties. Serb soldiers raped untold numbers of Muslim women. In total, more than 300,000 people in the region perished over the course of Yugoslavia's *balkanization*, or disintegration into separate states.

**Rwanda** One of the smallest countries in Africa, *Rwanda* was the site of one of the worst genocides in modern history. Ethnic hatred going back to the colonial era was behind the slaughter. Belgian colonizers had treated the minority *Tutsis* better than the majority *Hutus*. The latter group resented all the power that the Tutsis enjoyed. When Rwanda won independence from Belgium in 1962, the Hutu majority easily won control of the government and took revenge on the Tutsis by discriminating against them. In response, tens of thousands of Tutsis fled the country and formed a rebel army.

In 1993, Tutsi and Hutu forces in Rwanda began negotiations for a coalition government in which both ethnic groups would share power. The negotiations were cut short in 1994 when Rwanda's president, a Hutu, was killed in an airplane crash, supposedly shot down by rebel forces. This incident lit the flames of genocide. Over the next three months or so, between 500,000 and 1,000,000 civilians—mostly Tutsis and some moderate Hutus—were killed. Some sources estimate that casualties were even higher.

International responses ranged from insufficient to callous. United Nations peacekeepers were instructed *not* to use force to restore order. There were also too few peacekeepers to protect all Rwandans. Individual countries, including the United States, evacuated their personnel from the country after Belgian peacekeepers were killed. UN peacekeepers and individual nations failed to evacuate any Rwandans. The Rwandan genocide focused attention on the lack of leadership in the international community. It became clear that the United Nations needed to think seriously about its role in violent conflicts if it wanted to effectively protect human lives and human rights.

**Sudan** Another genocide erupted in 2003 in *Darfur*, a region located in western Sudan. The people involved were all Muslims, but some were nomads of Arab descent while others were non-Arab farmers. The government of *Sudan* was controlled by Arab Muslims. Two Darfur rebel groups composed of non-Arabs took up arms against the Sudanese government in response to attacks from nomads. In response, the Sudanese government unleashed Arab militants known as the *Janjaweed* on the region. Together with Sudanese forces, the Janjaweed attacked and destroyed hundreds of villages throughout Darfur, slaughtering more than 200,000 people, mostly non-Arab Muslim Africans. More than one million people were displaced, creating a refugee crisis that spilled into neighboring Chad. Despite negotiations, appeals, and the International Criminal Court charging Sudan's President *Omar al-Bashir* with war crimes, the genocide continued.

The genocides in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sudan became stains on the conscience of the world. International organizations and the broad global community were supposed to defend human rights after the Jewish Holocaust. Considering the millions of lives lost and human dignity shattered, the failure of the international community appeared obvious. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph comparing recent genocides with the Holocaust. See page 542.)

## Global Challenges

The global community also had to grapple with hunger, environmental damage, and global epidemics. Many of these problems continue today.

**Hunger** There had long been relief organizations, such as CARE and the UN's World Food Program, which distributed food to starving people in times of emergency. However, many people looked for more long-term solutions to the problem through economic development and better farming practices.

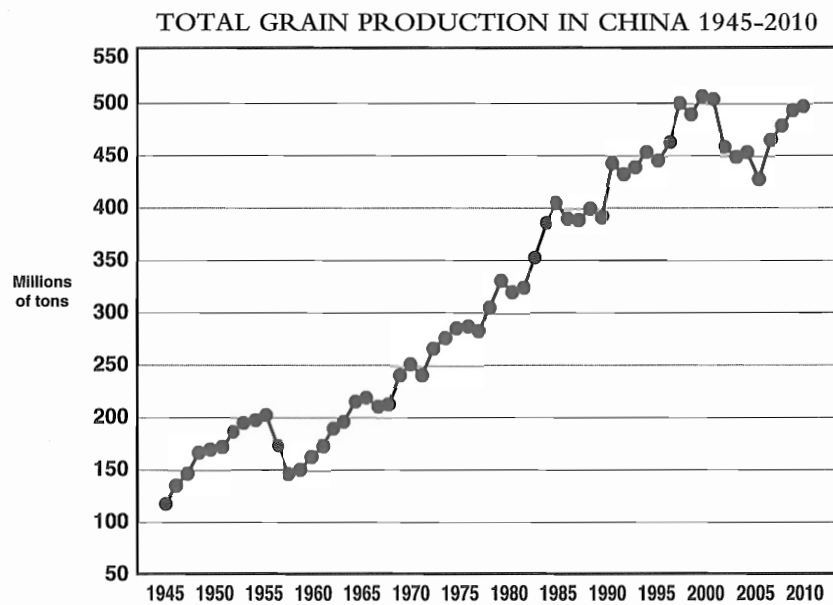


**The Green Revolution** In the mid-twentieth century, the *Green Revolution* emerged as a possible long-term response to hunger. Scientists developed new varieties of wheat, rice, and other grains that had higher yields and greater resistance to pests, diseases, and drought. The new varieties were first developed by *crossbreeding*—breeding two varieties of a plant to create a hybrid. More recently, scientists have used *genetic engineering*—manipulating a cell or organism to change its basic characteristics. Farmers also used more irrigation, fertilizers, and pesticides. In Brazil and elsewhere, forests were burned down and the land was plowed for agriculture. Acreage devoted to crops increased dramatically worldwide. Grain production increased sharply.

The Green Revolution solutions were not free of problems. Many small farmers could not afford the new fertilizers or pesticides, reducing their ability to compete with large landowners. Many small farmers were forced to sell their land, increasing the holdings of large landowners even more. Also, since some of the techniques developed in the Green Revolution involved the use of mechanized equipment, fewer jobs were available for farm laborers. Finally, the heavy applications of chemicals damaged the soil and the environment.

Genetic engineering created its own set of concerns as well. Some argued that a genetic modification designed to give a plant resistance to insects might inadvertently cause a decline in the population of pollinating insects, such as bees. Another problem was the loss of old seed varieties as new genetically engineered plants were adopted.

**Environmental Challenges** In the early twenty-first century, societies were confronted by many environmental problems, including global warming.



Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2009.

Scientists cited data showing that the emissions of carbon dioxide caused by the burning of *fossil fuels* were causing *global warming*, an increase in the average temperature of the world. If nations did not curb their *carbon footprint*—the amount of carbon dioxide that each person produces—global warming would produce catastrophes: more powerful hurricanes, more severe droughts, and rising sea levels that could flood islands and coastal areas.

**Efforts to Fight Global Warming** People agreed that global warming required a global response, but countries disagreed on how to reduce carbon emissions. Developed nations in Western Europe and the United States argued that developing countries, such as China, India, Russia, and Brazil, needed to curb their rapidly increasing output of carbon dioxide. For example, in 2007, China surpassed the United States as the world's biggest emitter of carbon dioxide. Developing countries responded that they were trying to provide electricity, automobiles, and a path out of poverty for their citizens, things developed countries had done by using immense quantities of coal and oil. They wanted the wealthier countries to make greater reductions.

The first major international agreement to reduce carbon emissions was the *Kyoto Protocol*, signed in 1997. However, the United States refused to ratify it, and China and India were not required to agree to the strictest terms of the protocol. A deal signed by 195 countries in 2015, the Paris Agreement, renewed hopes for progress against global warming. It was supported by the leaders of both the United States and China.

**Earth Day** Initiated in 1970, citizens in the United States designated April 22 each year as *Earth Day*, a day for people to focus on environmental themes. Organizers hoped to highlight recycling, developing alternative energy, eating locally grown and organic foods, and passing antipollution legislation.

**Greenpeace** Founded as an organization to advocate for the environment, *Greenpeace* grew into a multinational agency with offices in 40 countries. It battled deforestation, desertification, global warming, the killing of whales, and overfishing. Greenpeace engaged in lobbying and education, but it became famous for its direct actions, such as confronting whaling boats in the ocean.

**Green Belt Movement** In 1977, the National Council of Women of Kenya organized the *Green Belt Movement* to plant trees to stop deforestation, to reduce soil erosion, and to provide more fuel for home cooking. It then expanded its mission to encourage ecotourism and to set up Green Belt organizations in Tanzania, Uganda, Lesotho, Malawi, and Zimbabwe.

**Nonfossil Fuel Energy** As concerns about global warming increased, companies and nations began to invest in alternatives to coal and oil, such as wind, solar, tidal, and geothermal power. High costs initially slowed development of such sources. However, as new techniques and technology reduced costs, these sources became increasingly attractive options.

Nuclear power was a widely used replacement for fossil fuels. However, serious accidents at three nuclear power plants—Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania (1979), Chernobyl in Ukraine (1986), and Fukushima in Japan (2011)—caused people to consider how to make this energy source safe.

**Gender Issues** During the twentieth century, women made great strides toward equality. In the first part of the century, the percentage of women who could read and who attended college increased, and in country after country, women won the right to vote.

When Women Won the Right to Vote	
Country	Year
United States	1920
Brazil	1932
Turkey	1934
Japan	1945
India	1947
Morocco	1963

In 1979, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The treaty outlined many rights and protections, including the right to vote and to hold office, the right to freely choose a spouse, the right to access the same education as men, and the right to access family planning resources and birth control. The convention also outlined laws against sexual crimes against women. Much progress was made after the signing of the convention. The availability of microcredits allowed many women to start small businesses and to improve their economic condition and education. The spread of information about family planning improved the health of families. As of 2015, only two nations did not allow women to vote.

Challenges remain, however. According to a report issued by the World Health Organization on March 8, 2012, “In many countries, women are not entitled to own property or inherit land. Social exclusion, ‘honor’ killings, female genital mutilation, trafficking, restricted mobility and early marriage among others, deny the right to health to women and girls and increase illness and death throughout the life-course.”

## Medical Challenges and Breakthroughs

Advancements in science and medicine, combined with government-run public health measures, drastically reduced illnesses and death from many diseases. But other diseases persisted and new ones emerged. Some diseases were related to poverty, including malaria, tuberculosis, and cholera. Others emerged as new global epidemics, such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola. Yet others were known as lifestyle diseases, such as diabetes and heart disease. Some conditions, such as Alzheimer’s disease, afflicted mainly the elderly.

**Antibiotics** In 1928, Scottish biologist Alexander Fleming was working in his lab in London when he accidentally discovered that a particular fungus produced a substance that killed bacteria. He had discovered penicillin. Penicillin

became the first *antibiotic*, a useful agent in curing bacterial infections. During World War II, antibiotics saved the lives of soldiers who would have died in any previous war from a minor wound that became infected. After the war, antibiotics spread to civilian use, where they fought a range of illnesses.

However, the extensive use of antibiotics carried a risk. By killing off certain strains of a disease, antibiotics allowed the evolution of strains of the disease unaffected by them. These antibiotic-resistant strains could be untreatable, raising fears of renewed epidemics of diseases once under control.

**Malaria** A parasitic disease spread by mosquitoes in tropical areas, *malaria* killed more than 600,000 people per year, the majority of whom were young African children, in the early twenty-first century. The international NGO *Doctors Without Borders* treated about 1.7 million people annually with drugs. Preventative approaches were also developed, such as distributing mosquito nets treated with insecticide.

**Tuberculosis** A bacteria that affects the lungs causes *tuberculosis*. Before 1946, there was no effective drug treatment available, and many people died from the disease. A cure was developed involving antibiotics and a long period of rest. In the early twenty-first century, a strain of tuberculosis resistant to the usual antibiotics appeared. The number of patients increased, especially in prisons, where people live in close quarters. The *World Health Organization (WHO)* began a worldwide campaign against tuberculosis in the 2010s.

**Cholera** A bacterial disease that spreads through contaminated water, *cholera* caused more than 100,000 deaths per year, mostly in developing countries. Methods to counter cholera include boiling or chlorinating drinking water or pouring water through cloth filters, a less effective form of prevention. Like tuberculosis and malaria, cholera affects mainly poor people.

**Smallpox** The disease *smallpox* had plagued the ancient Egyptians and devastated the native population of the Americas and Australia. As recently as the 1960s, it killed millions of people a year. However, the WHO conducted a global vaccination campaign to eradicate the disease. In 1979, scientists declared success. In one of the greatest accomplishments in modern medicine, smallpox had been eliminated from the entire world.

**Polio** Caused by water contaminated by a virus transmitted in fecal matter, *polio* once infected 100,000 new people per year. It could result in paralysis and sometimes led to death. So the world cheered when an American researcher, *Dr. Jonas Salk*, announced on April 12, 1955, that an injectable vaccine against polio had proven effective. Six years later, an oral vaccine, developed by *Dr. Albert Sabin*, became available.

Vaccines became the centerpiece of a global public health campaign to eliminate polio. A joint effort by governments, private organizations, and United Nations agencies began in 1988. In less than thirty years, polio was eliminated in all but a few countries. In places where it still existed, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan, war made administering the vaccine difficult and religious fundamentalism made people fearful of programs advocated

by outsiders. Still, the success of the campaign demonstrated that coordinated global efforts could address global problems.

**HIV/AIDS** Between 1981 and 2014, *acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS)*, which is caused by the *human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)*, killed more than 25 million people around the world. HIV weakens the immune system, so people more easily succumb to other illnesses. The virus is contracted through the exchange of bodily fluids, usually through unprotected sex, blood transfusions, or sharing intravenous needles. By the mid-1990s medical researchers had developed ways to treat the disease, but not to cure it. *Antiretroviral drugs* could stop HIV from weakening the immune system, thus allowing a patient to live with the virus for many years. However, the drugs were very expensive, so access to treatment was difficult, particularly for patients in poor countries. After 2000, the WHO, the United States government, and private groups increased funding for AIDS prevention and treatment in Africa, but the disease remains a serious problem today.

**Ebola** Discovered in the Congo in 1976, *Ebola* is a deadly disease caused by a virus that infects the African fruit bat, humans, and other primates. Humans get the virus from exposure to fluids of infected people or animals. The disease causes extensive bleeding, organ failure, and, for the majority of infected people, death. In 2014, a massive outbreak in West Africa caused fear around the world. However, a coordinated, intensive public health effort contained and then ended the outbreak. As with polio, countries demonstrated their ability to work together to confront a danger.

**Diabetes** In 2015, almost 350 million people around the world had *diabetes*, a disease that affects how the body uses blood sugar. Considered a lifestyle disease, diabetes can damage a person's heart, kidneys, eyes, and extremities. The treatments included an improved diet, regular exercise, weight control, pills, and *insulin* injections.

**Heart Disease** Like diabetes, *heart disease* is associated with lifestyle changes, genetics, and increased longevity. One of the major discoveries in fighting heart disease was the *heart transplant*, first performed by the South African Christiaan Barnard in 1967. Robert Jarvik led a team that designed an *artificial heart*, which was used as a temporary device while the patient waited for a compatible human heart. Other researchers developed less invasive procedures, such as replacing valves, installing stents in arteries, and replacing the vessels leading to the heart, and medications to reduce blood conditions that led to heart disease. In the 2000s, people with heart disease lived longer than similarly affected people did in the 1970s.

**Alzheimer's Disease** As people lived longer, a form of dementia known as *Alzheimer's disease* that affected elderly and some middle-aged people became an increasing concern. Alzheimer's patients progressively lose their memory, eventually leading to a stage in which they do not recognize their loved ones. Since the disease undermines bodily functions, it leads to death. As of 2015, researchers continued to search for a cure.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT HAPPENS TOMORROW?

One reason people study the past is to provide insight into the future. And even though predictions are risky, people continue to make them.

**Optimism After Communism** Ending the Cold War permanently altered the global paradigm. Inspired by the fall of the Soviet Union, the decline of communism, and the spread of democracy throughout the world, some intellectuals felt hopeful. In his provocatively titled 1992 book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Francis Fukuyama posited that history as people knew it was over. He argued that democracy was the ideal form of government and capitalism was the best economic system, and they were spreading throughout the world. Eventually, all countries would adopt them and the political and economic conflicts that had driven wars in the past would vanish.

Critics pointed out that 150 years earlier, Karl Marx had reasoned that scientific socialism would be the final phase of history. His prediction had not come true.

**Cultural Conflict** One of Fukuyama's former teachers, Samuel Huntington, rejected the entire end-of-history argument. In response, he wrote *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996). While Fukuyama was influenced by the end of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, Huntington was struck by the increasing tensions around religion and culture. He claimed that people's beliefs and affiliations would draw the fault lines for conflicts in the post-Cold War world. Huntington cited several examples of cultural conflict, including Hindu and Muslim tensions in India and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and its hostility toward Western culture.

**Cultural Understanding** Critics asserted that Huntington's generalizations were oversimplified and reflected a pro-Western prejudice. One of these critics is Nobel prize-winning economist Amartya Sen. In his 2006 work, *Identities and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, Sen rejected Huntington's suggestion that people of different beliefs and ethnic groups could not get along, pointing to the existence of peaceful diverse societies around the world. Further, as globalization spread through all parts of life, people found many ways to identify themselves in the twenty-first century besides by religion and ethnicity.

**Hope in Technology** Debates over the post-Cold War world began before the Internet and smart phones were common. By 2011, technology was connecting people around the globe. When physicist Michio Kaku published *Physics of the Future* (2011), he was optimistic that technology and trade could break down the cultural barriers that divide people. He did not predict the end of history, but he did hold out hope for material abundance and greater peace.

**KEY TERMS BY THEME****ECONOMICS**

Asian Tigers  
Microsoft  
Google  
Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN)  
Mercosur  
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)  
Protective tariffs  
global brands

**CULTURE**

Internet  
anime  
Bollywood  
Americanization  
ethnic cleansing

**ENVIRONMENT: ISSUES**

favelas  
air pollution  
water pollution  
Three Gorges Dam  
South-North Water Diversion Project  
Green Revolution  
crossbreeding  
genetic engineering  
global warming  
carbon footprint  
fossil fuels  
Kyoto Protocol  
Earth Day  
Greenpeace  
Green Belt Movement  
alternative energy sources

**ENVIRONMENT:  
HEALTH ISSUES**

antibiotic  
malaria  
tuberculosis  
cholera  
smallpox  
polio  
Jonas Salk  
Albert Sabin  
Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)  
Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS)  
antiretroviral drugs  
Ebola  
diabetes  
insulin  
heart disease  
heart transplant  
artificial heart  
Alzheimer's disease

**STATE-BUILDING:  
HISTORICAL FIGURES**

Ronald Reagan  
Margaret Thatcher  
Nelson Mandela  
F. W. de Klerk  
Saddam Hussein  
Osama bin Laden  
Slobodan Milosevic  
Omar Al-Bashir

**STATE-BUILDING**

World Trade Organization (WTO)  
Arab Spring  
African National Congress (ANC)  
Tiananmen Square  
Amnesty International  
International Red Cross  
New World Order  
Persian Gulf War  
terrorist networks  
al-Qaeda  
9/11  
Mumbai  
Afghanistan  
Iraq War  
Bosnia  
balkanization  
Rwanda  
Tutsis  
Hutus  
Darfur  
Sudan  
Janjaweed  
World Health Organization (WHO)  
Doctors Without Borders  
UNICEF

**SOCIAL STRUCTURES**

apartheid  
pass laws

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

---

Questions 1.1 to 1.3 refer to the passage below.

“For the underprivileged billions in the forgotten world, hunger has been a constant companion, and starvation has all too often lurked in the nearby shadows. To millions of these unfortunates, who have long lived in despair, the Green Revolution seems like a miracle that has generated new hope for the future...

The Green Revolution has won a temporary success in man’s war against hunger and deprivation; it has given man a breathing space. If fully implemented, the revolution can provide sufficient food for sustenance during the next three decades. But the frightening power of human reproduction must also be curbed; otherwise the success of the Green Revolution will be ephemeral only.”

Norman Borlaug, agricultural scientist, 1970

- 1.1 Which most directly led to the increase in food supply as part of the Green Revolution?
- (A) the colonization of Africa by several European powers and subsequent control over food production
  - (B) the crossbreeding and genetic engineering of crops, such as wheat, rice, and other grains
  - (C) the decolonization of Africa and subsequent repurposing of arable farmlands for the production of cereal grains
  - (D) the domestication of new types of beasts of burden to assist farm laborers in cultivating land
- 1.2 According to this excerpt from his Nobel lecture, Dr. Borlaug feared that
- (A) the Green Revolution had not had success in alleviating world hunger
  - (B) scientists had gone too far in altering naturally occurring plant species
  - (C) the world’s population would begin to decline due to efforts to curb hunger
  - (D) global population could once again overtake the available food supply
- 1.3 One criticism of the Green Revolution is that
- (A) engineering cannot change a grain’s genetic characteristics
  - (B) it ignores new techniques of irrigating and fertilizing farmlands
  - (C) it could increase the number of pollinating insects, such as bees and beetles
  - (D) its costs make small farmers unable to compete with large-scale farming



Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the cartoon below.



Source: Harley Schwadron / Cartoonstock

- 2.1 Which economic change does this political cartoon most directly address?
- (A) the increasing influence of governments on economic decisions
  - (B) the expansion of global trade under the World Trade Organization
  - (C) the ability of companies to take advantage of low wage costs
  - (D) the transformation of the economies of India, Brazil, and other countries
- 2.2 Which trend most directly led to the shift identified in the cartoon?
- (A) the increasing competition among workers for employment
  - (B) the resurgence of indentured servitude
  - (C) the migration of laborers from urban to suburban areas
  - (D) the increasing isolation of developing countries from the global economy
- 2.3 How were the policies of the company described in the cartoon also followed in other countries?
- (A) China also used low-wage domestic labor.
  - (B) The Asian Tigers relied on illegal immigrant labor.
  - (C) India relied on outsourcing work to other countries.
  - (D) Russia prospered after it stopped outsourcing.

**Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the passage below.**

“The issue of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission has generated much public debate and some apprehension. The Minister of Justice is working to achieve broad agreement on this sensitive matter. In a nutshell, what this issue raises is how we deal with a past that contained gross violations of human rights—a past which threatens to live with us like a festering sore.

The question of amnesty for those who had done wrong is dealt with in the interim constitution. The challenge is to ensure that amnesty helps to heal the wounds of the past by also addressing the plight of the victims.”

Nelson Mandela, president of South Africa, speech to the South African Parliament, August 18, 1994

- 3.1** To what circumstance is Mandela referring when referencing “a past that contained gross violations of human rights”?
- (A) Political disenfranchisement of the Afrikaans minority at the hands of the ruling black majority.
  - (B) Strict segregation and political disenfranchisement of the black majority at the hands of the ruling white minority.
  - (C) Political disenfranchisement and repression of all South Africans, black and white, by British colonizers.
  - (D) The violent battles and the atrocities during the Boer War between British colonizers and Dutch settlers.
- 3.2** Based on the passage, what can you conclude about South Africa’s plan for moving beyond their past?
- (A) Black South Africans would get revenge against the repressive white minority that had instituted apartheid.
  - (B) Punishment of those who committed violence during apartheid was the new government’s top priority.
  - (C) Blacks and whites would seek ways to work together for the good of the whole nation.
  - (D) The white minority government’s repressive actions would be erased from history and not be spoken of.

## SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

---

Question 1 refers to the table below.

Attitudes Toward American Pop Culture (percentage of respondents who like American music, movies, and television)		
Country	People Ages 18–29	People Ages 50 or Over
Germany	94%	47%
Russia	69%	26%
Lebanon	82%	48%
Pakistan	10%	5%
China	56%	30%
Mexico	79%	57%

Source: Pew Research Center, "Attitudes Toward American Culture and Ideas,"  
June 13, 2012, [www.pewglobal.org](http://www.pewglobal.org).

1. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Identify ONE conclusion and ONE trend that this table shows about Americanization.
  - B. Identify ONE other example of pop culture from 1950 to the present, and analyze its impact on the development of global pop culture.
2. Answer parts A and B.
  - A. Briefly analyze the impact of TWO medical innovations on global populations in the twentieth century.
  - B. Identify and explain ONE continuity in global health concerns from 1800 to the present.

### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE SYNTHESIS IN A PARAGRAPH

When synthesizing information in a paragraph, the topic sentence should prepare the reader to see information from different sources or fields of study. Consider this sentence: “The conflict in Yugoslavia had religious, political, and historical roots.” It suggests that the writer will follow-up with examples of three types of information that help explain the conflict in Yugoslavia. *Which TWO of the following statements would make the best topic sentences for a paragraph that emphasizes synthesis?*

1. With the new openness of the post-Cold War era—created by changed borderlines, expanded trade among nations, and more—the world is more interconnected than ever before.
2. Russia’s oil wealth caused Mercedes-Benz dealerships and high-fashion boutiques to pop up in Moscow in the early 1990s.
3. Although the government claims to have built roads in India’s rural areas, many contracts exist only on paper.
4. Japan had an economic boom in the 1980s, but by the end of the 1990s, a financial panic, a severe earthquake, and a tsunami combined to present severe challenges that are still delivering aftershocks today.
5. The Chinese government claimed that no one died in the Tiananmen Square protest, but Amnesty International and the International Red Cross have reported otherwise.

## WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: USE COMMAS CORRECTLY

Commas provide guidance for natural pauses and breaks in the text. While writing essays, commas can help ensure that your sentences have rhythm and feel natural for readers. Using commas too often, however, can interrupt the fluidity of a passage. *Write down each word that should be followed by a comma. Not every sentence needs a comma.*

1. Although India has experienced economic success in the past twenty years several social and political problems still plague the nation through poverty and corruption.
2. The Internet has enabled convenient communication accessible information and globalization.
3. Crimes against humanity still occur in the twenty-first century despite the advancements in equal rights for all people.
4. Serbian nationalists sought to eradicate the people of states like Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina through ethnic cleansing.
5. If humans do not work to shrink our carbon footprint people will deplete the resources making the planet unsuitable for life.
6. The examples of two diseases small pox and polio demonstrate how when countries and international organizations work together people can make dramatic progress against terrible diseases.

One common use of commas is to separate items in a list of three or more items. The items might be single words, multiple-word phrases, or a mixture of the two. Lists are easiest for readers to follow if all items are the same part of speech. *Write down each word that should be followed by a comma.*

7. Countries that suffered from genocides in the 1990s or 2000s included Bosnia Rwanda and Sudan.
8. Subsidizing exports discouraging imports and keeping wages low were all part of the economic development strategy in many East Asia countries.

# PERIOD 6: Review

## LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

**Directions:** Write an essay to respond to either question 1 or question 2. State a thesis in the first paragraph, support it with specific historical evidence, and address the historical thinking skill in the question.

1. Analyze similarities and differences in the partition of India in 1947 and the partition of Palestine in 1948.
2. Analyze similarities and differences in the partition of Germany and the partition of Korea between 1945 and the present.

**Directions:** For additional preparation, write an essay to respond to each question.

3. Analyze continuities and changes in the nature of anti-Semitism in Europe from the Middle Ages through World War II.
4. Analyze the similarities and differences in the influenza pandemic of 1918–1919 and the HIV/AIDS epidemic that began in the 1980s.
5. Discuss at least two different historian’s perspectives about the success or failure of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference after World War I.

## TURNING POINT: IS TODAY A TURNING POINT?

Looking for turning points in the present, historians try to see when change seems to outweigh continuity as they consider what might happen in the future. Some might argue that the end of the Cold War in 1989–1991 was the start of a new era, since conflicts no longer revolved around two superpowers.

An event’s significance may appear differently to people living through it than it does to historians. For example, the September 11, 2001, attacks seemed like a turning point at the time. Yet within 10 years, some historians viewed that attack as just one more event in an era of extremist violence.

Identifying a turning point also reflects the observer’s point of view. Historians who focus on technology might point to 2002, the year mobile phone usage surpassed landline phones and ushered in a new era of global communication. Economic historians might point to 2011, the year China became the world’s second largest economy.

## DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

In your response you should do the following:

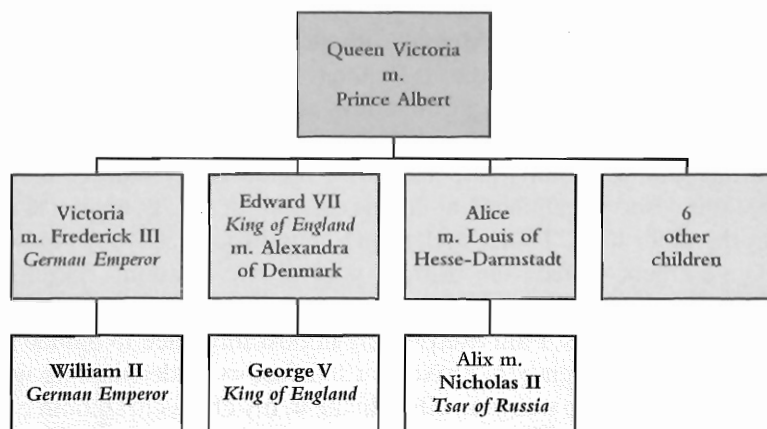
- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
- Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
- Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
- Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
- Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or accounts for contradictory evidence on the topic.

**Question 1.** Using the documents and your knowledge of world history, explain why Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser Wilhelm failed to prevent a regional conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand from becoming a general European war.

### Document 1

**Source:** Family tree for Kaiser Wilhelm II of Prussia and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia.

FAMILY CONNECTIONS AMONG WORLD WAR I RULERS  
(NOTE: NOT ALL CHILDREN AND SPOUSES ARE SHOWN)



### Document 2

**Source:** *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Tsar to Kaiser*; July 29, 1914: Am glad you are back. In this serious moment, I appeal to you to help me. An ignoble war has been declared to a weak country. The indignation in Russia shared fully by me is enormous. I foresee that very soon I shall be overwhelmed by the pressure forced upon me and be forced to take extreme measures which will lead to war. To try and avoid such a calamity as a European war I beg you in the name of our old friendship to do what you can to stop your allies from going too far.



### Document 3

**Source:** *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Kaiser to Tsar*, July 28, 1914 [this and the previous telegram crossed]: It is with the gravest concern that I hear of the impression which the action of Austria against Serbia is creating in your country. The unscrupulous agitation that has been going on in Serbia for years has resulted in the outrageous crime, to which Archduke Francis Ferdinand fell a victim. The spirit that led Serbians to murder their own king and his wife still dominates the country. You will doubtless agree with me that we both, you and me, have a common interest as well as all Sovereigns to insist that all the persons morally responsible for the dastardly murder should receive their deserved punishment. In this case politics plays no part at all.

On the other hand, I fully understand how difficult it is for you and your Government to face the drift of your public opinion. Therefore, with regard to the hearty and tender friendship which binds us both from long ago with firm ties, I am exerting my utmost influence to induce the Austrians to deal straightly to arrive to a satisfactory understanding with you. I confidently hope that you will help me in my efforts to smooth over difficulties that may still arise.

*Kaiser to Tsar*, July 29, 1914: I received your telegram and share your wish that peace should be maintained. But as I told you in my first telegram, I cannot consider Austria's action against Serbia an "ignoble" war. Austria knows by experience that Serbian promises on paper are wholly unreliable. . . . I therefore suggest that it would be quite possible for Russia to remain a spectator of the Austro-Serbian conflict without involving Europe in the most horrible war she ever witnessed.

### Document 4

**Source:** *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Tsar to Kaiser*, July 29, 1914: Thanks for your telegram conciliatory and friendly. Whereas official message presented today by your ambassador to my minister was conveyed in a very different tone. Beg you to explain this divergency! It would be right to give over the Austro-Serbian problem to the Hague conference. Trust in your wisdom and friendship.

*Tsar to Kaiser*, July 30, 1914: Thank you heartily for your quick answer. Am sending Tatischev this evening with instructions. The military measures which have now come into force were decided five days ago for reasons of defence on account of Austria's preparations. I hope from all my heart that these measures won't in any way interfere with your part as mediator which I greatly value. We need your strong pressure on Austria to come to an understanding with us.

## Document 5

Source: *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Kaiser to Tsar*, July 30, 1914: Best thanks for telegram. It is quite out of the question that my ambassadors language could have been in contradiction with the tenor of my telegram. Count Pourtalès was instructed to draw the attention of your government to the danger & grave consequences involved by a mobilisation; I said the same in my telegram to you. Austria has only mobilized against Serbia & only a part of her army. If, as it is now the case, according to the communication by you & your Government, Russia mobilizes against Austria, my role as mediator you kindly intrusted me with, & which I accepted at you[r] express prayer, will be endangered if not ruined. The whole weight of the decision lies solely on you[r] shoulders now, who have to bear the responsibility for Peace or War.

*Kaiser to Tsar*, July 31, 1914: On your appeal to my friendship and your call for assistance began to mediate between your and the Austro-Hungarian Government. While this action was proceeding your troops were mobilized against Austro-Hungary, my ally. Thereby, as I have already pointed out to you, my mediation has been made almost illusory.

I have nevertheless continued my action. I now receive authentic news of serious preparations for war on my Eastern frontier. Responsibility for the safety of my empire forces preventive measures of defence upon me. In my endeavours to maintain the peace of the world I have gone to the utmost limit possible. The responsibility for the disaster which is now threatening the whole civilized world will not be laid at my door. In this moment it still lies in your power to avert it. Nobody is threatening the honour or power of Russia who can well afford to await the result of my mediation. My friendship for you and your empire, transmitted to me by my grandfather on his deathbed has always been sacred to me and I have honestly often backed up Russia when she was in serious trouble especially in her last war.

The peace of Europe may still be maintained by you, if Russia will agree to stop the milit. measures which must threaten Germany and Austro-Hungary.

### Document 6

**Source:** *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Tsar to Willy*, July 31, 1914 (this and the previous telegram crossed): I thank you heartily for your mediation which begins to give one hope that all may yet end peacefully. It is *technically* impossible to stop our military preparations which were obligatory owing to Austria's mobilisation. We are far from wishing war. As long as the negotiations with Austria on Serbia's account are taking place my troops shall not make any *provocative* action. I give you my solemn word for this. I put all my trust in Gods mercy and hope in your successful mediation in Vienna for the welfare of our countries and for the peace of Europe.

*Tsar to Kaiser*, August 1, 1914: I received your telegram. Understand you are obliged to mobilise but wish to have the same guarantee from you as I gave you, that these measures **do not** mean war and that we shall continue negotiating for the benefit of our countries and universal peace.

### Document 7

**Source:** *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar*, Isaac Don Levine, ed.

*Kaiser to Tsar*, August 1, 1914: Thanks for your telegram. I yesterday pointed out to your government the way by which alone war may be avoided. Although I requested an answer for noon today, no telegram from my ambassador conveying an answer from your Government has reached me as yet. I therefore have been obliged to mobilise my army.