

# **The Interwar Years and the Rise of Totalitarianism**

**Teacher:**

**Student:**

**Wellesley High School  
Social Studies Dept.  
Academic Year 2014-2015  
Modern World History ACP**



### Unit Questions

- How did different political systems respond to economic, political, and social disorder?
- What role did international forces have in shaping a national identity?
- If 19th and early 20th century reform movements advocated for the expansion of individual rights, then why were individuals willing to sacrifice their voice in government and/or their free will in the interwar period?
- What are the connections between technological change, nationalism, and the growth of totalitarianism?

### Focus Questions

*Write the focus questions below.*



Name: \_\_\_\_\_



## Big Era Eight

A Half Century of Crisis  
1900 - 1950

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Why is  
Big Era Eight  
about crisis?

Because three major events shook up  
the modern world system that had  
been created during Big Era Seven.



World War I

The Depression



World War II

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Why do these specific events matter so much? Why  
are they each considered a crisis?



They could upset  
the balance of  
political and economic  
forces in the  
modern world.



This is a scale. It measures weight against another object.

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Before we go any further,  
how was the world tied  
together at the start of the  
20<sup>th</sup> century?

- Communications networks made possible by the telegraph, telephone, and undersea cable.
- Transportation networks made possible by the railway, steamship, and (soon to come) airplane.
- Trade and financial networks.
- Diplomatic relations and alliances.
- Relations between imperial powers and the colonial peoples they ruled.

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Did an equal balance of  
political and military power  
exist among world regions  
in Big Era Eight?

Oh, no.  
I like to throw  
my weight  
around.



At the start, European countries dominated Big Era Eight. By the end...and these 3 crisis change all that. For now, let's pick up where Big Era Seven left off to get some context.

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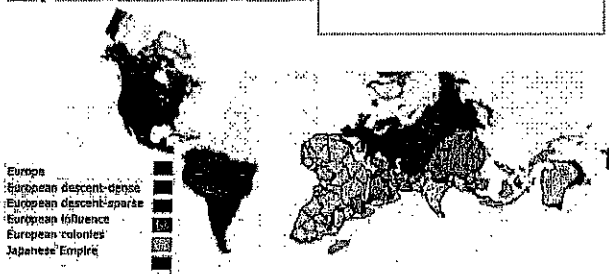
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You already know that  
Europeans got the upper  
hand in the modern world  
system during the later part  
of Big Era Seven through  
imperialism.

- Many European governments and businesses wanted more overseas markets and raw materials.
- Western European military forces had big world leads in military technology.



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Also...

The last quarter of the 19th century saw great droughts and famines in many parts of the world.

These disasters were connected to El Niño climatic conditions.

These disasters caused economic, social, and political disruption in African and Asian societies just when European power was strongest.



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Were there any negatives to these interactions between European countries?

Yes.

Europe's leaders competed with each other to dominate the modern world. Their competition helped cause World War I, the first crisis of Big Era Eight.

Also, many workers in Europe felt that their political and business leaders treated them poorly.



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And, the Japanese government seized an empire in East Asia

Also, while Europe was "occupied" Americans expanded their opportunities at home and abroad.



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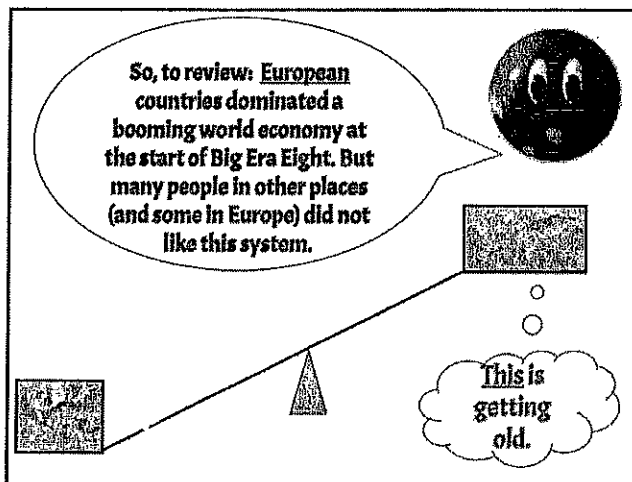
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**1. Two wars and a worldwide economic collapse weakened European dominance as we knew it.**

World War I

The Depression

World War II

**2. But some countries (in Europe) saw these crises as opportunities to gain new influence or take over parts of the system.**

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World War I was fought in several parts of the world, though the longest and biggest battles took place in Europe. The war killed both soldiers and civilians, and it devastated both towns and countryside.

**20,000,000 people died in connection with the war, far more than in any earlier war in world history.**

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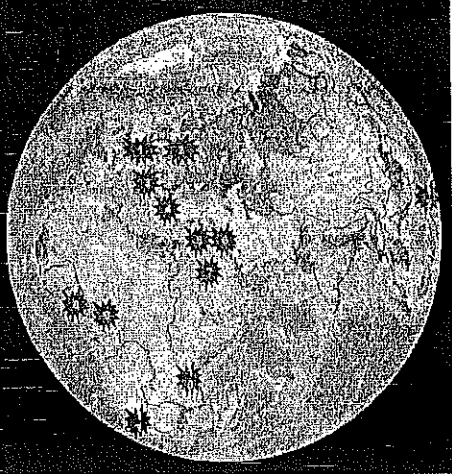
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# Regions where fighting took place in World War I

- 1 Western European Front
- 2 Eastern European Front
- 3 Italian Front
- 4 Balkan Front
- 5 Palestine/Syria
- 6 Iraq
- 7 Arabia
- 8 German Togoland
- 9 German Cameroons
- 10 German East Africa
- 11 German Southwest Africa
- 12 German Pacific Islands




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How did World War I weaken Europe's global dominance?

## INFOGRAPHIC

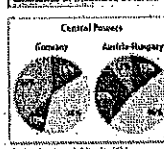
### The Costs of World War I

The war ended in 1918, but its effects would be felt for decades to come. More than 15 million men had died in battle, twice that number had been wounded, many of them disabled for life. The economic devastation that drove 6 to 15 million dollars also lost their lives as a result of the war. Many of the combatant nations had drawn 30% of their resources into the fight, leaving them with which to rebuild. Below an American nurse tends to soldiers in France in 1918.

Estimated Costs of the War	
United Kingdom	\$5,500,000,000
France	\$3,500,000,000
Russia	\$5,500,000,000
United States	\$5,500,000,000
Germany	\$5,500,000,000
Austria-Hungary	\$5,500,000,000
* Represents \$10 billion	

Source: The House of Representatives, Military and Naval Appropriations Committee, 1919. \* includes but not limited to property losses, and property costs.

#### Capabilities of Mobilized Soldiers



#### Wounded and maimed



#### Allies



SOURCE: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1918

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If World War I weakened European power, how did it affect everyone else?

Hey! How'd I get off the ground?



It's about time some more of us made our weight felt.

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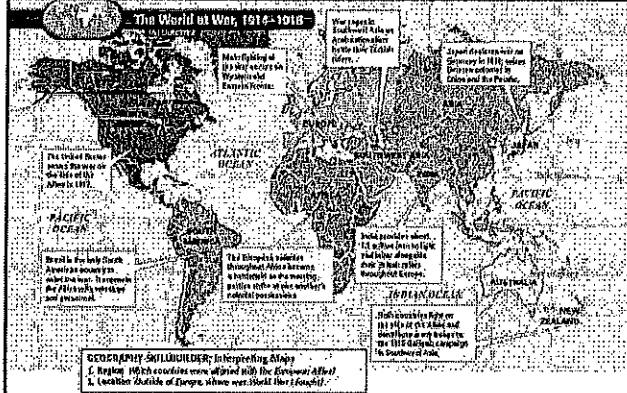
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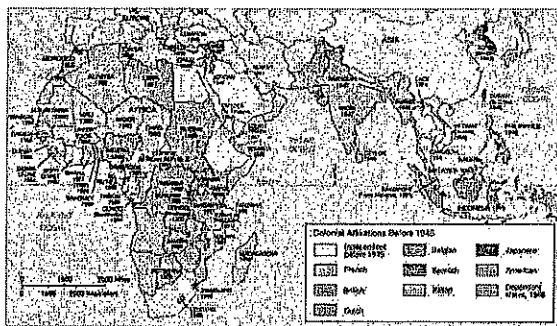
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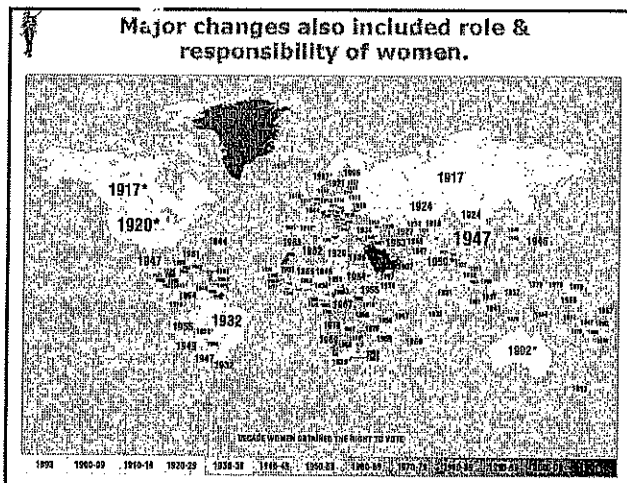
## The World at War (1914-1918)



**Colonial soldiers became more confident in their own abilities and less awed by their foreign rulers.**



Major changes also included role & responsibility of women.

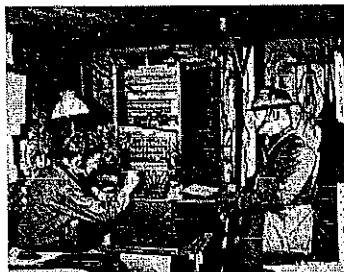


## The Russian Revolution

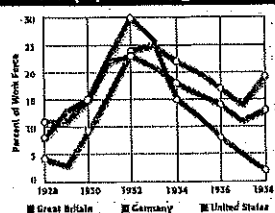


Therefore, after World War I, the modern world became more closely tied together than ever before.

Along with global trade and finance, sounds from radios and images from movies and magazines helped knit a modern global culture.

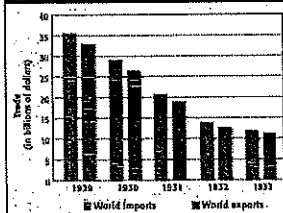


Unemployment Rate, 1928-1938



Sources: European Historical Statistics 1750-1975; Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1975.

World Trade, 1929-1933



Source: Kenneth Oye, Economic Discrimination and Political Exchange

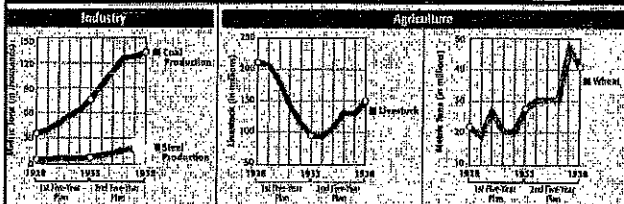
The Depression put another dent in the sense of progress and possibility that many people had felt. The global economy spread misery as well as wealth and prosperity.





Did the Depression in the modern world system affect everyone the same way?

The Buildup of the Soviet Economy, 1928-1938



How did the Depression and the challenge of Communism add to the crisis in the modern world?

By the mid-1930s, there was a three-way struggle for control of modern world's future.

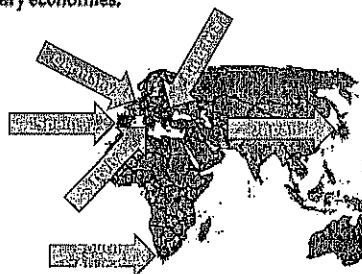
Along with Communism's challenge to liberal capitalism, a new challenger appeared: Fascism.



Fascist leaders used nationalism and state control of industries and cultural life to unite people of all classes.

These leaders blamed national troubles on foreigners and communists.

Some fascist-run countries recovered quickly from the Depression, partly by expanding their military economies.



Major countries with Fascist-style governments by the 1940s



## The League of Nations

The League of Nations was created in 1919 by the peace treaties which ended the Great War. It had two aims: to keep peace between nations and to make the world a better place for all people.

To help achieve the aim of keeping world peace, countries which joined the League had to sign a promise not to go to war with any other member of the League. They also agreed that if any member did attack another, the other members would join forces to defend the country which was under attack. This idea for keeping peace was called **collective security**.

The rules of the League stated that it would take 'any action' to keep the peace between nations. There were, however, only three peace-keeping actions that the League could realistically consider taking. One was to deal with a dispute by legal means, in the League's Permanent Court of International Justice. Another was to impose economic **sanctions** on an attacker; this meant that all other League members would refuse to trade with the attacker, thus threatening it with economic ruin if it did not stop the attack. The third and most extreme course of action would be to impose military sanctions against the attacker. This would mean forming a League of Nations army from the armies of League members and using it to fight off the attacker.

During its first ten years, the League was asked to deal with nine disputes between member countries. In all but two cases it settled the disputes without even having to use sanctions. Also to its credit, the League had a number of special departments which by 1929 were doing valuable work to improve international relations. One of these was the **Disarmament Commission** which tried to persuade member nations to reduce their weapon stocks and to rely instead on collective security for their defence. Great hopes were aroused when the Commission announced that sixty nations would meet in Geneva in 1932 for the world's first ever disarmament conference.

## The limitations of the League

Although the League achieved much in its first ten years, even its supporters admitted that it had some serious limitations.

First and most important, not every nation belonged to the League. The United States of America was not a member, for the US governments of the 1920s followed a 'policy of isolation' from the affairs of Europe, and did not want to get involved in unnecessary foreign affairs. The USSR was not a member because its communist leaders saw the League as a club of 'capitalist' countries opposed to communism. Although there were only ten non-members in 1929, the fact that these two major powers did not belong to the League was a serious weakness.

A second problem was that some members lacked enthusiasm for the League. Germany, beaten in the Great War, was excluded until 1926; and even after being admitted, many Germans looked on the League as a 'club of victors' – the countries which had beaten them in 1918.

A third problem was that the League's ability to keep the peace had never been fully tested by 1929. Although it had solved many of the disputes brought before it, none had involved the world's major powers and none had required the use of sanctions. There was no proof as yet that the League could settle a dispute between two major powers and there was no proof that sanctions could stop a war.

Despite its limitations, the League was an established feature of the world scene by 1929 and was highly regarded by people all over the world. In Britain alone, 400,000 people showed their support for it by joining the League of Nations Union, a body which aimed to promote the League's work in the country. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Britain in that year, summed up many of their feelings when he said:

- B. 'The League of Nations' . . . frowns will soon be more dreaded than a nation's arms, and when that happens you and I shall have security and peace.'

*If the League of Nations failed - then who does it matter?*



# The Futile Search for Stability

## GUIDE TO READING

### The BIG Idea

#### Competition Among Countries

Peace and prosperity were short-lived after World War I as a global depression weakened Western democracies.

#### Content Vocabulary

- depression (p. 792)
- deficit spending (p. 795)
- collective bargaining (p. 794)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- annual (p. 791)
- ratio (p. 792)

#### People, Places, and Events

- Ruhr Valley (p. 791)
- John Maynard Keynes (p. 795)
- Dawes Plan (p. 792)
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt (p. 795)
- Treaty of Locarno (p. 792)
- New Deal (p. 795)
- Switzerland (p. 794)
- Weimar Republic (p. 794)

#### Reading Strategy

**Comparing and Contrasting** As you read, use a table like the one below to compare France's Popular Front with the New Deal in the United States.

Popular Front	New Deal



*The peace settlement of World War I left many nations unhappy, and the League of Nations proved unable to deal with the crises following the war. The brief period of prosperity that began in Europe during the early 1920s ended in 1929 with the beginning of the Great Depression. This economic collapse shook people's confidence in political democracy and paved the way for fear and the rise of extremist parties that offered solutions to the hardships that many were enduring.*

## Uneasy Peace, Uncertain Security

**MAIN IDEA** Discontent with the Treaty of Versailles and a weak League of Nations opened the door to new problems in the interwar years.

**HISTORY & YOU** Imagine how your life would change if the price of everything doubled each day. Read to learn how runaway inflation affected Germany after World War I.

The peace settlement at the end of World War I tried to fulfill nineteenth-century dreams of nationalism. It created new boundaries and new states. From the beginning, however, the settlement left nations unhappy. Border disputes poisoned relations in eastern Europe for years. Many Germans vowed to revise the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

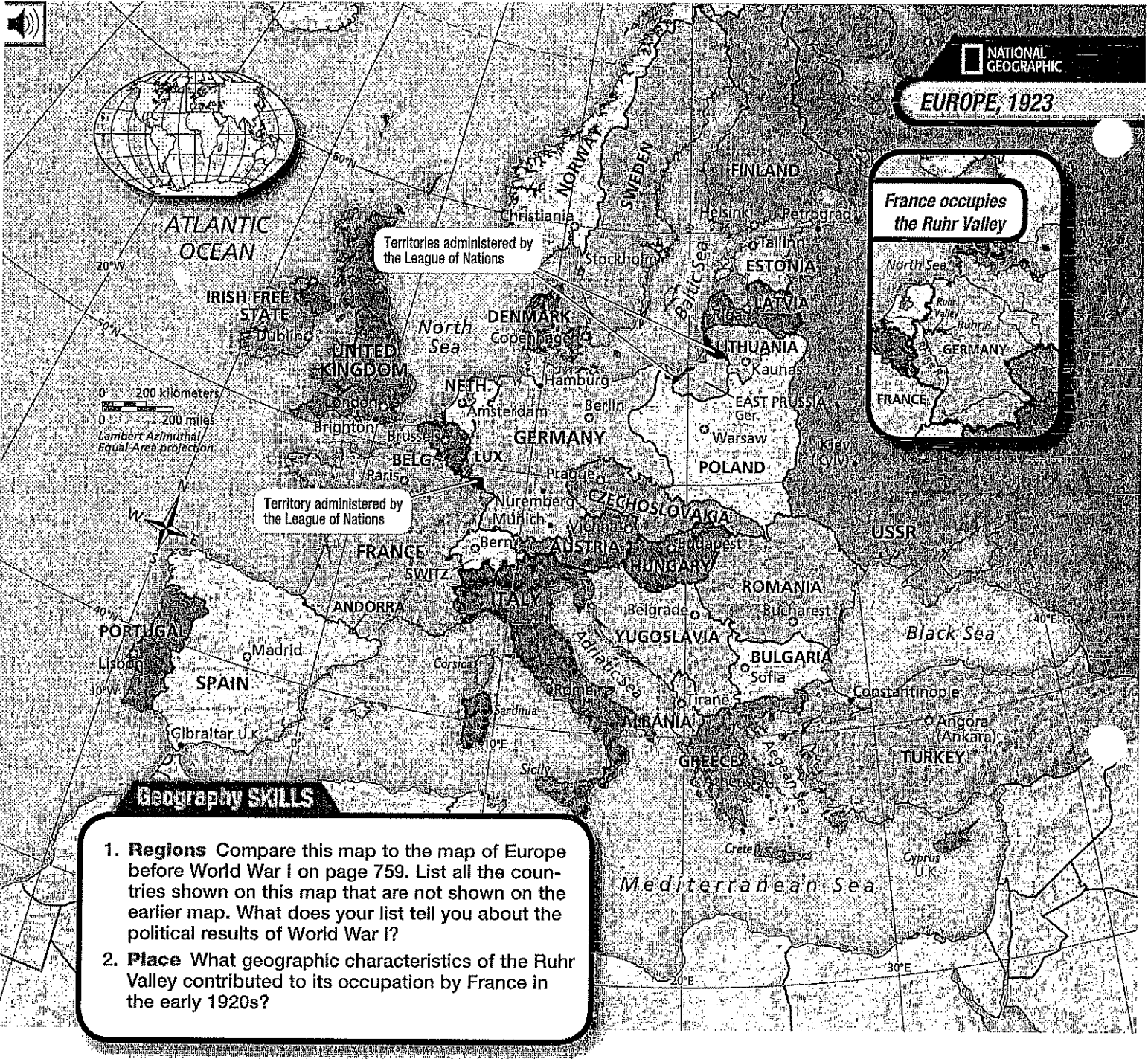
## A Weak League of Nations

President Woodrow Wilson had realized that the peace settlement included unwise provisions that could serve as new causes for conflict. He had placed many of his hopes for the future in the League of Nations. This organization, however, was not very effective in maintaining the peace.

One problem was the failure of the United States to join the League. Most Americans wanted to avoid involvement in European affairs. The U.S. Senate, in spite of President Wilson's wishes, refused to ratify, or approve, the Treaty of Versailles. That meant the United States could not join the League of Nations. Without the United States, the League of Nations' effectiveness was automatically weakened. As time would prove, the remaining League members could not agree to use force against aggression.

## French Demands

Between 1919 and 1924, desire for security led the French government to demand strict enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles.



- Regions** Compare this map to the map of Europe before World War I on page 759. List all the countries shown on this map that are not shown on the earlier map. What does your list tell you about the political results of World War I?
- Place** What geographic characteristics of the Ruhr Valley contributed to its occupation by France in the early 1920s?

This tough policy began with the issue of reparations (payments) that the Germans were supposed to make for the damage they had done in the war. In April 1921, the Allied Reparations Commission determined that Germany owed 132 billion German marks (33 billion U.S. dollars) for reparations, payable in annual installments of 2.5 billion marks.


The new German republic made its first payment in 1921. By the following year, however, the German government faced a

financial crisis and announced that it could not pay any more reparations. Outraged, France sent troops to occupy the **Ruhr Valley**, Germany's chief industrial and mining center. France planned to collect reparations by using the Ruhr mines and factories.

### Inflation in Germany

The German government adopted a policy of passive resistance to this French occupation. German workers went on strike.





The German government mainly paid their salaries by printing more paper money. This only added to the inflation (rise in prices) that had already begun in Germany by the end of the war.

The German mark soon became worthless. In 1914, 4.2 marks equaled 1 U.S. dollar. By November 1, 1923, it took 130 billion marks to equal 1 dollar. By the end of November, the ratio had increased to an incredible 4.2 trillion marks to 1 dollar.

Economic adversity led to political upheavals. Both France and Germany began to seek a way out of the disaster. In August 1924, an international commission produced a new plan for reparations. The **Dawes Plan**, named after the American banker who chaired the commission, first reduced reparations. It then coordinated Germany's annual payments with its ability to pay.

The Dawes Plan also granted an initial \$200 million loan for German recovery. This loan soon opened the door to heavy American investment in Europe. A brief period of European prosperity followed, but it only lasted from 1924 to 1929.

## The Treaty of Locarno

With prosperity came a new European diplomacy. The foreign ministers of Germany and France, Gustav Stresemann and Aristide Briand, fostered a spirit of cooperation. In 1925 they signed the **Treaty of Locarno**, which guaranteed Germany's new western borders with France and Belgium.

Many viewed the Locarno pact as the beginning of a new era of European peace. On the day after the pact was concluded, headlines in the *New York Times* read "France and Germany Ban War Forever." The *London Times* declared "Peace at Last." The new spirit of cooperation grew even stronger when Germany joined the League of Nations in March 1926.

Two years later, the Kellogg-Briand Pact brought even more hope. Sixty-three nations signed this accord and pledged "to renounce war as an instrument of national policy." Nothing was said, however, about what would be done if anyone violated the pact.

 **Reading Check** Explaining Why was the League of Nations unable to maintain peace?

## The Great Depression

**MAIN IDEA** Underlying economic problems and an American stock market crisis triggered the Great Depression.

**HISTORY & YOU** The U.S. stock market plunged in 2001 after terrorist attacks, but what would have happened if it had collapsed? Read to find out the consequences of the 1929 stock market crash.

The brief period of prosperity that began in Europe in 1924 ended in an economic collapse that came to be known as the Great Depression. A **depression** is a period of low economic activity and rising unemployment.

## Causes of the Depression

Two factors played a major role in the start of the Great Depression. First was a series of downturns in the economies of individual nations in the second half of the 1920s. Prices for farm products, especially wheat, fell rapidly due to overproduction.

The second factor that triggered the Great Depression was an international financial crisis involving the U.S. stock market. Much of the European prosperity between 1924 and 1929 was built on U.S. bank loans to Germany. Germany needed the U.S. loans to pay reparations to France and Great Britain. During the 1920s, the U.S. stock market boomed. By 1928, American investors pulled money out of Germany to invest it in the stock market. Then, in October 1929, the U.S. stock market crashed. Stock prices plunged.

In a panic, U.S. investors withdrew even more funds from Germany and other European markets. This withdrawal made the banks of Germany and other European states weak. The well-known Creditanstalt Bank in Vienna collapsed in May 1931. By then, trade was slowing, industrial production was declining, and unemployment was rising.

## Responses to the Depression

Economic depression was not new to Europe. However, the extent of the economic downturn after 1929 truly made this the Great Depression. During 1932, the worst



year of the Depression, nearly 1 in every 4 British workers was unemployed. About 5.5 million Germans, or roughly 30 percent of the German labor force, had no jobs. The unemployed and homeless filled the streets.

Governments did not know how to deal with the crisis. They lowered wages and raised tariffs to exclude foreign goods from home markets. These measures made the crisis worse and had serious political effects.

One effect of the economic crisis was increased government activity in the economy. Another effect was a renewed

interest in Marxist ideas. Marx's prediction that capitalism would destroy itself through overproduction seemed to be coming true. Communism thus became more popular, especially among workers and intellectuals.

Finally, the Great Depression led masses of people to follow political leaders who offered simple solutions in return for dictatorial power. Everywhere, democracy seemed on the defensive in the 1930s.

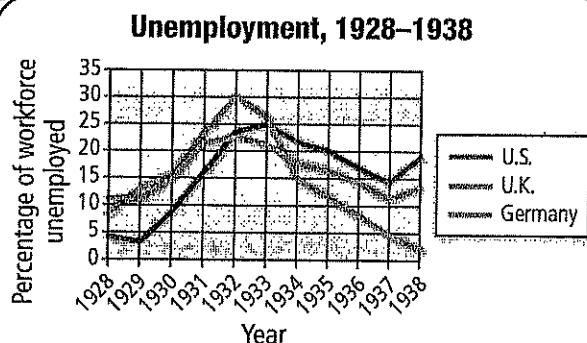
**✓ Reading Check** Summarizing What were the results of the Great Depression?

## TURNING POINT

## POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The Great Depression left millions of people unemployed—and national economies in crisis. As government attempts to solve the economic problems failed, popular morale waned. Many people turned to Marxism for answers. Extremist political parties gained support by promising better times ahead. These results of the Great Depression were major factors leading to World War II.

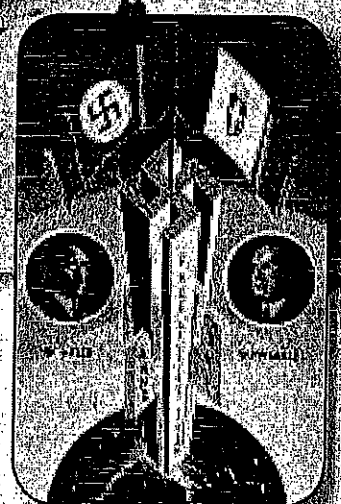
Long lines of unemployed German workers seeking food or jobs bore witness to the misery of the Great Depression. ►



Sources: *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1970*; *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

In Germany and Italy, extremist leaders rose to power by promising to return their nations to greatness.

The monument in the poster indicates that Hitler and Mussolini have dedicated their nations to peace, civilization, and work. ►



### CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS

- 1. Identifying** Name three political effects of the Great Depression.
- 2. Predicting** How might post-Depression political developments have led nations to war?



## Democratic States

**MAIN IDEA** Although new democracies were established in Europe after World War I, the Depression shook people's confidence in political democracy.

**HISTORY & YOU** When you get stuck on a home-work problem, do you look for help? Read about economic problems that sent desperate Europeans searching for answers.

President Woodrow Wilson claimed that World War I had been fought to make the world safe for democracy. In 1919 his claim seemed justified. Most European states, both major and minor, had democratic governments.

In a number of states, women could now vote. Male political leaders had rewarded women for their contributions to the war effort by granting them voting rights. (However, women could not vote until 1944 in France, 1945 in Italy, and 1971 in Switzerland.)

In the 1920s, Europe seemed to be returning to the political trends of the prewar

era—parliamentary regimes and the growth of individual liberties. This was not, however, an easy process. Four years of total war and four years of postwar turmoil made a “return to normalcy” difficult.

## Germany

Imperial Germany ended in 1918 with Germany's defeat in the war. A German democratic state known as the **Weimar Republic** (VY•MAHR) was then created. The Weimar Republic was plagued by serious economic problems.

Germany experienced runaway inflation in 1922 and 1923. With it came serious social problems. Families on fixed incomes watched their life savings disappear.

To make matters worse, after a period of relative prosperity from 1924 to 1929, Germany was struck by the Great Depression. In 1930, unemployment had grown to 3 million people by March and to 4.38 million by December. The Depression paved the way for fear and the rise of extremist parties.

## France

After the defeat of Germany, France became the strongest power on the European continent. However, France, too, suffered financial problems after the war. It needed to rebuild the areas that had been devastated in the war.

Because it had a more balanced economy than other nations, France did not begin to feel the full effects of the Great Depression until 1932. The economic instability it then suffered soon had political effects. During a 19-month period in 1932 and 1933, six different cabinets were formed as France faced political chaos. Finally, in June 1936, a coalition of leftist parties—Communists, Socialists, and Radicals—formed the Popular Front government.

The Popular Front started a program for workers that some have called the French New Deal. This program was named after the New Deal in the United States (discussed later in this section). The French New Deal gave workers the right to **collective bargaining** (the right of unions to negotiate with employers over wages and hours), a 40-hour workweek in industry, a two-week paid vacation, and a minimum wage.

## PEOPLE & HISTORY

**John Maynard Keynes**  
1883–1946 British Economist



Few economists have had more influence than John Maynard Keynes. His 1936 book, *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, offered a new view of how economies work. Keynes believed government should take an active role in stimulating the economy by creating jobs, even if it had to borrow money to do it. Workers would then have money to spend, stimulating demand for products. Keynes's theories created a new school of thought. Until Keynes, most economists believed Say's Law that “supply creates demand.” Keynes reversed this law. He maintained that “demand creates supply.” By the 1970s, the two sides of the issue were clearly defined as “supply side” and “demand side.” Economists still debate the pros and cons of both. **How was Keynes's theory different from Say's Law?**



## Great Britain

Industries such as coal, steel, and textiles declined after the war, leading to a rise in unemployment. Two million Britons were out of work in 1921.

Britain experienced limited prosperity from 1925 to 1929. However, by 1929, Britain faced the growing effects of the Great Depression. The Labour Party failed to solve the nation's economic problems and fell from power in 1931. A new government, led by the Conservatives, claimed credit for bringing Britain out of the worst stages of the Depression by using the traditional policies of balanced budgets and protective tariffs.

Political leaders in Britain largely ignored the new ideas of a British economist, **John Maynard Keynes**, who published his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* in 1936. He condemned the old theory that, in a free economy, depressions should be left to resolve themselves without governmental interference. Keynes argued that unemployment came from a decline in demand, not from overproduction. Demand, in turn, could be increased by putting people back to work building highways and public buildings. If necessary, governments should finance such projects with **deficit spending**, or going into debt.

## The United States

After Germany, no Western nation was more affected by the Great Depression than the United States. By 1932, U.S. industrial production had fallen almost 50 percent from its 1929 level. By 1933, there were more than 12 million unemployed.

Under these circumstances, the Democrat **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** won a landslide victory in the 1932 presidential election. Believing in free enterprise, Roosevelt believed that capitalism had to be reformed to save it. He pursued a policy of active government intervention in the economy, known as the **New Deal**.

The New Deal included an increased program of public works. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), established in 1935, was a government organization employing about three million people at its peak. Workers built bridges, roads, post offices, and airports.

The Roosevelt administration was also responsible for new social legislation that began the U.S. welfare system. In 1935 the Social Security Act created a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

The New Deal's reforms may have prevented a social revolution in the United States. However, it did not solve the unemployment problems. In 1938 American unemployment still stood at more than 10 million. Only World War II and the growth of weapons industries brought U.S. workers back to full employment.

**✓ Reading Check** Summarizing How did the German people respond to the Great Depression?

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: annual, Ruhr Valley, ratio, Dawes Plan, Treaty of Locarno, depression, Switzerland, Weimar Republic, collective bargaining, John Maynard Keynes, deficit spending, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, New Deal.

### Main Ideas

2. List the provisions of the Dawes Plan.
3. Summarize the causes of the Great Depression by using a diagram like the one below.



4. Explain the intent of the Roosevelt administration's New Deal.

### Critical Thinking

5. **The BIG Idea: Determining Cause and Effect** Explain how the Great Depression weakened Western democracies.
6. **Making Inferences** Why did the American public mostly oppose joining the League of Nations after World War I?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the photograph on page 793. What does it tell you about conditions in Germany during the Great Depression?

### Writing About History

8. **Informative Writing** Research and write an essay that explains how the Great Depression caused extremist political parties to emerge throughout the world.

## History ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click Study Central.





# The Rise of Dictatorial Regimes

## GUIDE TO READING

### The BIG Idea

**Human Rights** By 1939, many European countries had adopted dictatorial regimes that aimed to control every aspect of their citizens' lives for state goals.

### Content Vocabulary

- totalitarian state (p. 796)
- collectivization (p. 800)
- fascism (p. 797)

### Academic Vocabulary

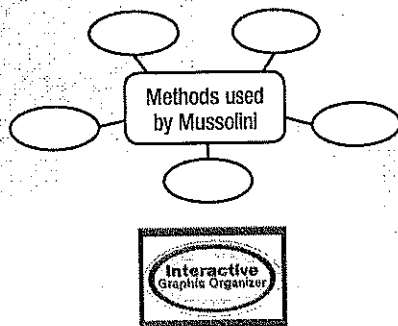
- unprecedented (p. 796)
- media (p. 799)

### People, Places, and Events

- Russia (p. 796)
- Joseph Stalin (p. 800)
- Benito Mussolini (p. 797)
- Five-Year Plans (p. 800)
- New Economic Policy (p. 799)
- Francisco Franco (p. 803)
- Politburo (p. 800)
- Madrid (p. 803)

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing Information** As you read, use a web diagram like the one below to list methods Mussolini used to create a Fascist dictatorship.



*After World War I, European democracy was under threat. France and Britain remained democratic, but in Italy and Russia, a new kind of dictatorship emerged with Mussolini's fascist state in Italy and Stalin's totalitarian rule in Russia. Other Western states like Spain tried to keep old elites in power with authoritarian regimes.*

## The Rise of Dictators

**MAIN IDEA** The totalitarian states did away with individual freedoms.

**HISTORY & YOU** What if you could listen only to government-sponsored programs? Read to learn about a form of government that controls all aspects of people's lives.

The apparent triumph of democracy in Europe in 1919 was very short-lived. By 1939, only two major European states—France and Great Britain—remained democratic. Italy, the Soviet Union, Germany, and many other European states adopted dictatorial regimes. These regimes took both old and new forms.

A new form of dictatorship was the modern totalitarian state. In a **totalitarian state**, the government aims to control the political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural lives of its citizens. New totalitarian regimes pushed the central state's power far beyond what it had been in the past. These regimes wanted more than passive obedience. They wanted to conquer the minds and hearts of their subjects. They achieved this goal through mass propaganda techniques and high-speed modern communication. Modern technology also gave totalitarian states an **unprecedented** ability to impose their wishes on their subjects.

The totalitarian states were led by a single leader and a single party. They rejected the ideal of limited government power and the guarantee of individual freedoms. Instead, individual freedom was subordinated to the collective will of the masses. The leader determined that collective will, however. The masses were expected to be actively involved in achieving the state's goals. Those goals might include war, a socialist state, or a thousand-year empire like the one Adolf Hitler wanted to establish.

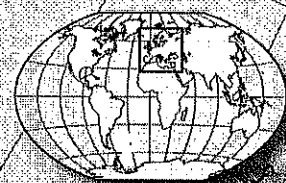
## Fascism in Italy

Like other European countries, Italy experienced severe economic problems after World War I. Inflation grew, and both industrial and agricultural workers staged strikes. Socialists spoke of





## POLITICS IN EUROPE, 1930s



ATLANTIC OCEAN



### Geography Skills

- Regions** Which countries shown on the map switched from democratic to some form of nondemocratic government in the 1930s?
- Regions** In what way did the political divisions of the 1930s suggest possible trouble ahead?

Maps in Motion

See StudentWorks™ Plus or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).



0 200 kilometers  
0 200 miles  
Lambert Azimuthal Equal-Area projection

- Authoritarian
- Communist
- Fascist
- Democratic
- Democratic, became Authoritarian
- Democratic, became Fascist

revolution. The middle class began to fear a Communist takeover like the one that had recently occurred in **Russia**. Industrial and agricultural strikes created more division. From this background of widespread unrest emerged Mussolini.

In the early 1920s, **Benito Mussolini** (MOO•suh•LEE•nee) set up the first European fascist movement in Italy. Mussolini began his political career as a Socialist. In 1919 he created a new political group, the *Fascio di Combattimento*, or League of Combat. *Fascism* comes from that name.

As a political philosophy, **fascism** (FA•shih•zuhm) glorifies the state above the individual by emphasizing the need for a strong central government led by a dictatorial ruler. In a fascist state, the government controls the people and stifles any opposition.

By 1922, Mussolini's movement was growing quickly. The middle-class fear of socialism, communism, and disorder made the Fascists increasingly attractive to many people. Mussolini knew that many Italians were still angry over the peace settlement.





The failure to receive more land under the treaty was a deep source of resentment. He knew nationalism was a powerful force and demanded more land for Italy. Mussolini converted thousands to the Fascist Party with his nationalistic appeals.

In 1922 Mussolini and the Fascists threatened to march on Rome if they were not given power. Victor Emmanuel III, the king of Italy, gave in and made Mussolini prime minister.

Mussolini used his position as prime minister to create a Fascist dictatorship. New laws gave the government the right to stop any publications that criticized the Catholic Church, the monarchy, or the state. The prime minister was made head of the government with the power to make laws by decree. The police were given unrestricted authority to arrest and jail anyone for either political or nonpolitical crimes.

In 1926 the Fascists outlawed all other political parties in Italy and established a secret police, known as the OVRA. By the

end of the year, Mussolini ruled Italy as *Il Duce* (eel DOO•chay), "The Leader."

## The Fascist State

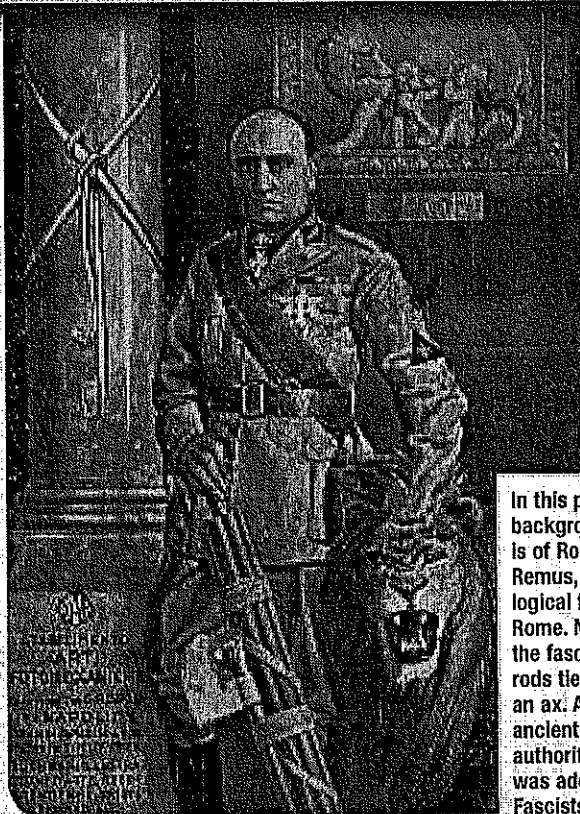
Believing that the Fascist state should be totalitarian, Mussolini used various means to establish complete control over the Italian people. The OVRA watched citizens' political activities and enforced government policies. Police actions in Italy, however, were never as repressive or savage as those in Nazi Germany (discussed later in this chapter).

The Italian Fascists also tried to exercise control over all forms of mass media, including newspapers, radio, and film. The media was used to spread propaganda. Propaganda was intended to mold Italians into a single-minded Fascist community. Most Italian Fascist propaganda, however, was fairly basic and mainly consisted of simple slogans like "Mussolini Is Always Right."

### INFOGRAPHICS

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Fascism in Italy



In this poster, the background engraving is of Romulus and Remus, the mythological founders of Rome. Mussolini holds the fasces, a bundle of rods tied together with an ax. A symbol of ancient Rome's authority, the fasces was adopted by the Fascists as their symbol.



"Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State. . . . War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those people who have the courage to face it."

—Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism," in *Italian Fascisms*, Adrian Lyttleton, ed., 1973

### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

1. **Explaining** How does Mussolini describe the role of the individual in the Fascist state?
2. **Making Connections** What is the significance of the background engraving in the poster?



The Fascists also used organizations to promote the ideals of fascism and to control the population. For example, by 1939, Fascist youth groups included about 66 percent of the population between the ages of 8 and 18. These youth groups particularly focused on military activities and values.

With these organizations, the Fascists hoped to create a nation of new Italians who were fit, disciplined, and war-loving. In practice, however, the Fascists largely maintained traditional social attitudes. This is especially evident in their policies regarding women. The Fascists portrayed the family as the pillar of the state. Seen as the foundation of the family, women were to be homemakers and mothers. According to Mussolini, these roles were “their natural and fundamental mission in life.”

In spite of his attempts, Mussolini never achieved the degree of totalitarian control seen in Hitler’s Germany or Stalin’s Soviet Union (discussed later in this chapter). The Italian Fascist Party did not completely destroy the country’s old power structure. Some institutions, including the armed forces, managed to keep most of their independence. Victor Emmanuel III was also retained as king.

Mussolini’s compromise with the traditional institutions of Italy was especially evident in his dealings with the Catholic Church. Mussolini’s regime recognized the sovereign independence of a small area within Rome known as Vatican City. The Church had claimed this area since 1870. In return, the pope recognized the Italian state. Mussolini’s regime also gave the Church a large grant of money and recognized Catholicism as the “sole religion of the state.” In return, the Catholic Church urged Italians to support the Fascist regime.

In all areas of Italian life under Mussolini and the Fascists, a large gap existed between Fascist ideals and practices. The Italian Fascists promised much but delivered considerably less. They would soon be overshadowed by a much more powerful fascist movement to the north—that of Adolf Hitler, a student and admirer of Mussolini.

**✓Reading Check** **Examining** How did Mussolini gain power in Italy?

## A New Era in the USSR

**MAIN IDEA** In the Soviet Union, Stalin maintained total power by murdering his political opponents.

**HISTORY & YOU** If a U.S. president dies in office, how is he or she replaced? Read to find out the difficulties for succession when Lenin died.

As discussed earlier, Lenin followed a policy of war communism during the civil war in Russia. The government controlled most industries and seized grain from peasants to ensure supplies for the army.

Once the war was over, peasants began to sabotage the Communist program by hoarding food. The situation became even worse when drought caused a terrible famine between 1920 and 1922. As many as 5 million lives were lost. With agricultural disaster came industrial collapse. By 1921, industrial output was only 20 percent of its 1913 level.

Russia was exhausted. A peasant banner proclaimed, “Down with Lenin and horseflesh. Bring back the czar and pork.” As Leon Trotsky said, “The country, and the government with it, were at the very edge of the abyss.”

### Lenin’s New Economic Policy

In March 1921, Lenin pulled Russia back from the abyss. He abandoned war communism in favor of his **New Economic Policy** (NEP). The NEP was a modified version of the old capitalist system. Peasants were allowed to sell their produce openly. Retail stores, as well as small industries that employed fewer than 20 workers, could be privately owned and operated. Heavy industry, banking, and mines, however, remained in the hands of the government.

### The Soviet Union

In 1922 Lenin and the Communists formally created a new state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The state is also known as the USSR (by its initials) or as the Soviet Union (by its shortened form). By that time, a revived market and a good harvest had brought an end to famine. Soviet agricultural production climbed to 75 percent of its prewar level.



Overall, the NEP saved the Soviet Union from complete economic disaster. Lenin and other leading Communists, however, intended the NEP to be only a temporary retreat from the goals of communism.

## Industrialization

Lenin died in 1924. A struggle for power began at once among the seven members of the **Politburo** (ПАИ•луи•БЮР•он)—the Communist Party's main policy-making body. The Politburo was severely divided over the future direction of the Soviet Union.

One group, led by Leon Trotsky, wanted to end the NEP and launch Russia on a path of rapid industrialization, chiefly at the expense of the peasants. This group also wanted to spread communism abroad. It believed that the revolution in Russia would not survive without other communist states.

Another group in the Politburo rejected the idea of worldwide communist revolution. Instead, it wanted to focus on building a socialist state in Russia and to continue Lenin's NEP. This group believed that rapid industrialization would harm the living standards of the Soviet peasants.

## The Rise of Stalin

These divisions were further strained by an intense personal rivalry between Leon Trotsky and another Politburo member, **Joseph Stalin**. In 1924 Trotsky held the post of commissar of war. Stalin held the bureaucratic job of party general secretary. The general secretary appointed regional, district, city, and town party officials. Thus this bureaucratic job actually became the most important position in the party.

Stalin used his post as general secretary to gain complete control of the Communist Party. The thousands of officials Stalin appointed provided him with support in his bid for power. By 1929, Stalin had removed the Bolsheviks of the revolutionary era from the Politburo and had established a powerful dictatorship. Trotsky, pushed out of the party in 1927, eventually made his way to Mexico. There he was murdered in 1940, probably on Stalin's orders.

## Five-Year Plans

The Stalin Era marked the beginning of an economic, social, and political revolution that was more sweeping in its results than were the revolutions of 1917. Stalin made a significant shift in economic policy in 1928 when he ended the NEP. That year he launched his First Five-Year Plan. The **Five-Year Plans** set economic goals for five-year periods. Their purpose was to transform Russia virtually overnight from an agricultural into an industrial country.

The First Five-Year Plan emphasized maximum production of military equipment and capital goods (goods devoted to the production of other goods, such as heavy machines). The plan quadrupled the production of heavy machinery and doubled oil production. Between 1928 and 1937, during the first two Five-Year Plans, steel production in Russia increased from 4 million to 18 million tons (3.6 to 16.3 million t) per year.

## Costs of Industrialization

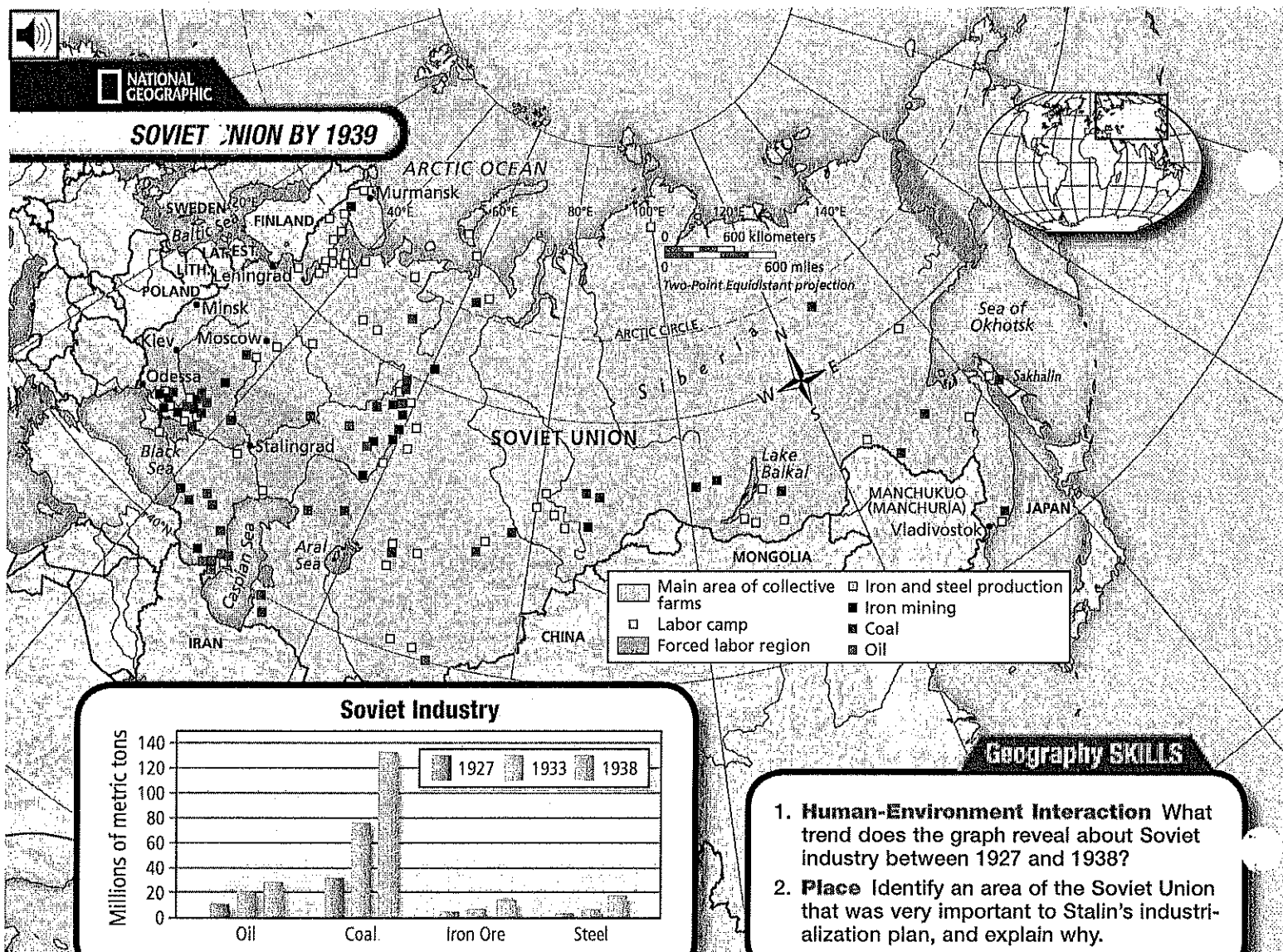
The social and political costs of industrialization were enormous. Little thought was given to caring for the expanded labor force in the cities. The number of workers increased by millions between 1932 and 1940. However, total investment in housing actually declined after 1929. The result was that millions of workers and their families lived in miserable conditions. Real wages in industry also declined by 43 percent between 1928 and 1940. Strict laws even limited where workers could move. To keep workers content, government propaganda stressed the need for sacrifice to create the new socialist state.

With rapid industrialization came an equally rapid collectivization of agriculture. **Collectivization** was a system in which private farms were eliminated. Instead, the government owned all of the land, and the peasants worked it.

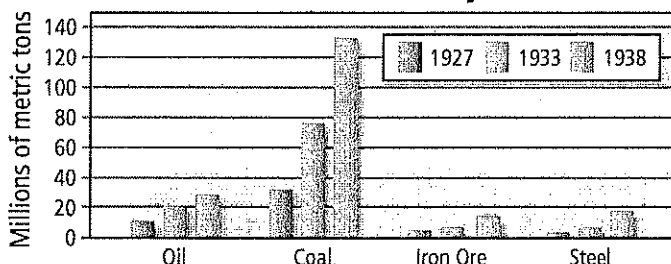
The peasants resisted by hoarding crops and killing livestock. In response, Stalin stepped up the program. By 1930, 10 million peasant households had been collectivized. By 1934, 26 million family farms had been collectivized into 250,000 units.



## SOVIET UNION BY 1939



### Soviet Industry



Source: *Statistical Yearbooks of the League of Nations*, 1932 ed. / 1940 ed.

### Geography SKILLS

- Human-Environment Interaction** What trend does the graph reveal about Soviet industry between 1927 and 1938?
- Place** Identify an area of the Soviet Union that was very important to Stalin's industrialization plan, and explain why.

## Costs of Stalin's Programs

Collectivization was done at tremendous cost. The hoarding of food and the slaughter of livestock led to widespread famine. Stalin himself is supposed to have said that 10 million peasants died in the famines of 1932 and 1933. Stalin gave the peasants only one concession. Each collective farm worker could have one tiny, privately owned garden plot.

Stalin's programs had other costs as well. To achieve his goals, Stalin strengthened his control over the party. Those who resisted were sent into forced labor camps in Siberia.

Stalin's desire to make all decisions led to purges, or removal, of the Old Bolsheviks. These people had been involved in the early days of the movement. Between 1936 and 1938, the most prominent Old Bolsheviks were put on trial and condemned to death.

During this time, Stalin purged army officers, diplomats, union officials, intellectuals, and ordinary citizens. An estimated 8 million Russians were arrested. Millions were sent to labor camps in Siberia; they never returned. Others were executed.

The Stalin era also overturned permissive social legislation enacted in the early 1920s. To promote equal rights for women, the Communists had made the divorce process easier. They had also encouraged women to work outside the home. After Stalin came to power, the family was praised as a small collective. Parents were responsible for teaching the values of hard work, duty, and discipline to their children.

### ✓ Reading Check

**Summarizing** What was Lenin's New Economic Policy?

Powerful landowners, the churches, and even some members of the small middle class feared land reform. They also feared communist upheaval and ethnic conflict. These groups looked to authoritarian governments to maintain the old system. Only Czechoslovakia, which had a large middle class, a liberal tradition, and a strong industrial base, maintained its political democracy.

## Spain

In Spain, too, political democracy failed to survive. Although the middle class and intellectuals supported the Second Republic, the new government began falling apart shortly after it was created in 1931. Rivalries between political parties and personal rivalries between their leaders tore Spain apart. Spain's Second Republic lasted only five years, three months, and three days.

**Francisco Franco** rose rapidly within the military ranks. He became Europe's youngest general. When chaos swept Spain, the Spanish military forces under Franco's leadership revolted against the democratic government in 1936. A brutal and bloody civil war began.

Foreign intervention complicated the Spanish Civil War. The fascist regimes of Italy and Germany aided Franco's forces. They sent him arms, money, and soldiers. Hitler used the Spanish Civil War as an opportunity to test the new weapons of his revived air force. German bombers destroyed the city of Guernica in April 1937. Spanish artist Pablo Picasso immortalized the horrible destruction in his mural *Guernica*.

The Spanish republican government was aided by 40,000 foreign volunteers. The Soviet Union sent in trucks, planes, tanks, and military advisers.

The Spanish Civil War came to an end when Franco's forces captured **Madrid** in 1939. In April of that year, Franco issued a statement:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"Today, the Red Army having been disarmed and captured, the National troops have reached their final military objectives. The war is over.—Burgos, April 1, 1939, the Year of Victory—Generalissimo Franco."

—*Portrait of Spain*, Francisco Franco, as quoted in Tad Szulc, 1972

Franco established a dictatorship that favored large landowners, businesspeople, and the Catholic clergy. Because Franco's dictatorship favored traditional groups and did not try to control every aspect of people's lives, it is an example of an authoritarian rather than a totalitarian regime.

**✓Reading Check** Explaining How did Czechoslovakia maintain its political democracy?

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

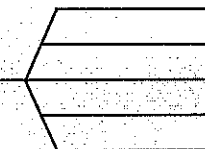
1. **Explain** the significance of: totalitarian state, unprecedented, Russia, Benito Mussolini, fascism, media, New Economic Policy, Politburo, Joseph Stalin, Five-Year Plans, collectivization, Francisco Franco, Madrid.

### Main Ideas

2. **Describe** the methods used by a totalitarian state to control its people.
3. **Summarize**, by using a diagram like the one below, how Stalin changed the Soviet Union. Include the economic, social, and political results of his programs.



How Stalin Changed the Soviet Union



4. **List** the countries that participated in the Spanish Civil War.

### Critical Thinking

5. **The BIG Idea Analyzing** Why do you think people supported dictatorial regimes?
6. **Evaluating** What was the goal of the Five-Year Plans during the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the painting *Guernica*, shown on page 802. How does the painting's abstract form help convey its message?

### Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a middle-class Italian in the 1920s who is concerned about society. Write a letter to the editor of the local paper supporting Mussolini's new government.

### History ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click Study Central.





## Authoritarian States in the West

**MAIN IDEA** Authoritarian governments in the West worked to preserve the existing social order.

**HISTORY & YOU** If you were living in a new nation, what kind of government would you want? Read to learn about the types of governments adopted by new states in eastern Europe after World War I.

A number of governments in the Western world were not totalitarian but were authoritarian. These states adopted some of the features of totalitarian states, in particular, their use of police powers. However, these authoritarian governments did not want to create a new kind of mass society. Instead, they wanted to preserve the existing social order.

## Eastern Europe

At first, it seemed that political democracy would become well established in eastern Europe after World War I. Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia (known as the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes until 1929), Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary all adopted parliamentary systems. However, authoritarian regimes soon replaced most of these systems.

Parliamentary systems failed in most eastern European states for several reasons. These states had little tradition of political democracy. In addition, they were mostly rural and agrarian. Many of the peasants were illiterate (could not read or write). Large landowners still dominated most of the land, and they feared the peasants. Ethnic conflicts also threatened these countries.

### HISTORY & ARTS

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### *The Destruction of Guernica*

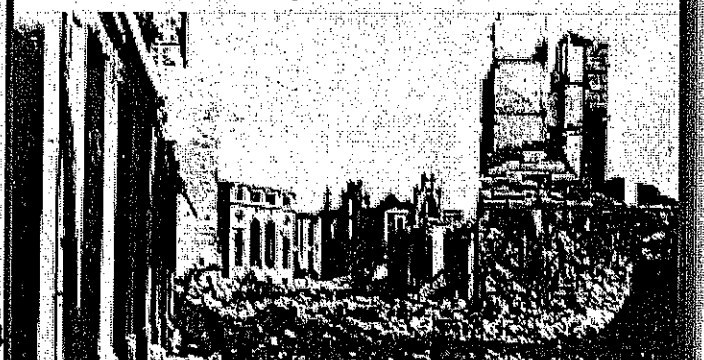


#### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

Pablo Picasso created his famous mural *Guernica* for the 1937 World's Fair in Paris. "[In *Guernica*,] I clearly express my loathing for the military caste that has plunged Spain into a sea of suffering and death."

1. **Explaining** What effect did new war technology have in the battle at Guernica?
2. **Analyzing** What one word best describes your response to *Guernica*? Use details from the painting to explain how the artist creates this feeling.

German airplanes equipped with machine guns and bombs completely destroyed the small village of Guernica in April 1937 during the Spanish Civil War.



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

### **A & E Biography: Mussolini - Italy's Nightmare**

1. Describe the environment Mussolini grew up in. What was his life like? What was he like in school?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
2. How did Mussolini use the media to help control the population?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
3. How did Mussolini describe the Fascist party?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
4. How did Mussolini describe himself? What was he called?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
5. Why did King Victor Emmanuel III give into Mussolini so easily?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
6. Why was Mussolini not content with seizing power peacefully?

7. As a leader, how did Mussolini gain popularity?

Please note - the following two questions will be a running list for the remainder of the video.

What positive changes did Mussolini bring to life in Italy?	What negative changes did Mussolini bring to life in Italy?



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

11

Italy

## BATTLES AND CORPORATIONS: ECONOMIC POLICIES

As you know, Italy was a poor country. One of Mussolini's great ambitions was to make it rich. This meant tackling all sorts of major economic problems which no previous government had been able to solve.

### Economic battles

Mussolini liked to tackle economic problems by declaring war on them. The worst economic problem facing him when he came to power was the terrible poverty of southern Italy and Sicily. He therefore launched the 'battle over the Southern Problem' in 1924 and went in person to Sicily where he laid the foundation stone of a new village named Mussolinia. It was to be the first of thousands of new villages which would transform the lives of the poor.

In 1925 he started the 'battle for wheat'. His aim was to get farmers to grow more wheat so that Italy would not have to spend money on importing it from abroad. The farmers who grew most wheat each year were awarded gold, silver or bronze medals in special ceremonies. Mussolini regularly appeared on farms, usually stripped to the waist, helping to bring in the harvest. Newspapers had to give massive coverage of such events.

In 1926 war was declared on waste land. The 'battle for land' meant draining marshes and swamps, ploughing bare hillsides and clearing woodlands so as to increase the amount of farming land. The greatest effort was put into draining the Pontine Marshes, a huge mosquito-infested swamp near Rome.

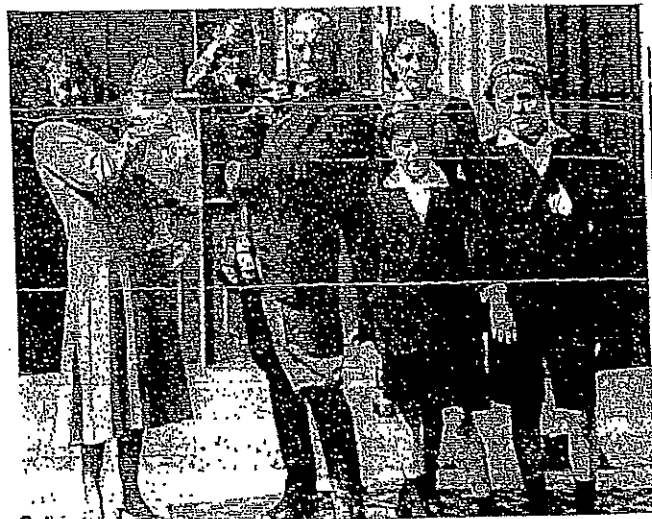
Mussolini fought hardest to increase the size of Italy's population. The 'battle for births' was an attempt to increase the number of Italians from 40 to 60 million by 1950. More people meant more soldiers. Mothers were therefore given generous maternity benefits. Couples with six children or more did not have to pay any tax while bachelors had to pay supplementary taxes which were especially high for those between the ages of 35 and 50. Newly married couples were given cheap railway tickets so that they could go on honeymoon. Every Christmas Eve the 93 mothers (one from each province of Italy) who had borne most children during their lives were given prizes. In the record year of 1934 the 93 award-winning mothers had borne a total of 1300 children between them!

Mussolini had a battle plan for just about every kind of economic problem. When the value of the Italian currency dropped in 1926 he began the 'battle for the lira' to restore its value. There were even battles against sparrows, mice and flies.



*Above: Mussolini encouraging farmers to work harder in the 'battle for wheat'*

*Below: Mussolini and his wife Rachele set an example in the 'battle for births': their children Anna Maria, Romana, Edda, Bruno and Vittorio*



Mussolini never really won any of his 'battles'. The town of Mussolinia was never heard of again, none of the thousands of villages planned for Sicily was built, and the South remained very poor. His only real achievement there was to put many of the *Mafia*, a secret criminal organisation, in prison after trying them in the special courts he set up in 1926.

The 'battle for wheat' was more successful, for wheat production nearly doubled by 1939. But so much extra land was used for growing it that the output of fruit, olives and other crops went down. In winning one battle Mussolini simply created another problem.

The 'battle for land' was mostly a failure. Only one area of waste land was properly reclaimed – the Pontine Marshes – and this was done in order to impress tourists visiting Rome as much as to create extra farming land.

The 'battle for births' failed disastrously. Despite the prizes and the propaganda and the tax incentives, the number of births each year fell steadily during the 1930s.

## The Corporate State

Mussolini's favourite economic achievement had nothing to do with battles, however. It was the creation of what he called the Corporate State. He began building it in 1925 when he abolished trade unions and employers' organisations. In their place he eventually set up twenty-two 'Corporations'. Each was designed to bring together workers and bosses in similar types of work. The Timber Corporation, for

example, included everybody who made a living by working with wood – carpenters, tree fellers, joiners, timber merchants, match makers, and so on.

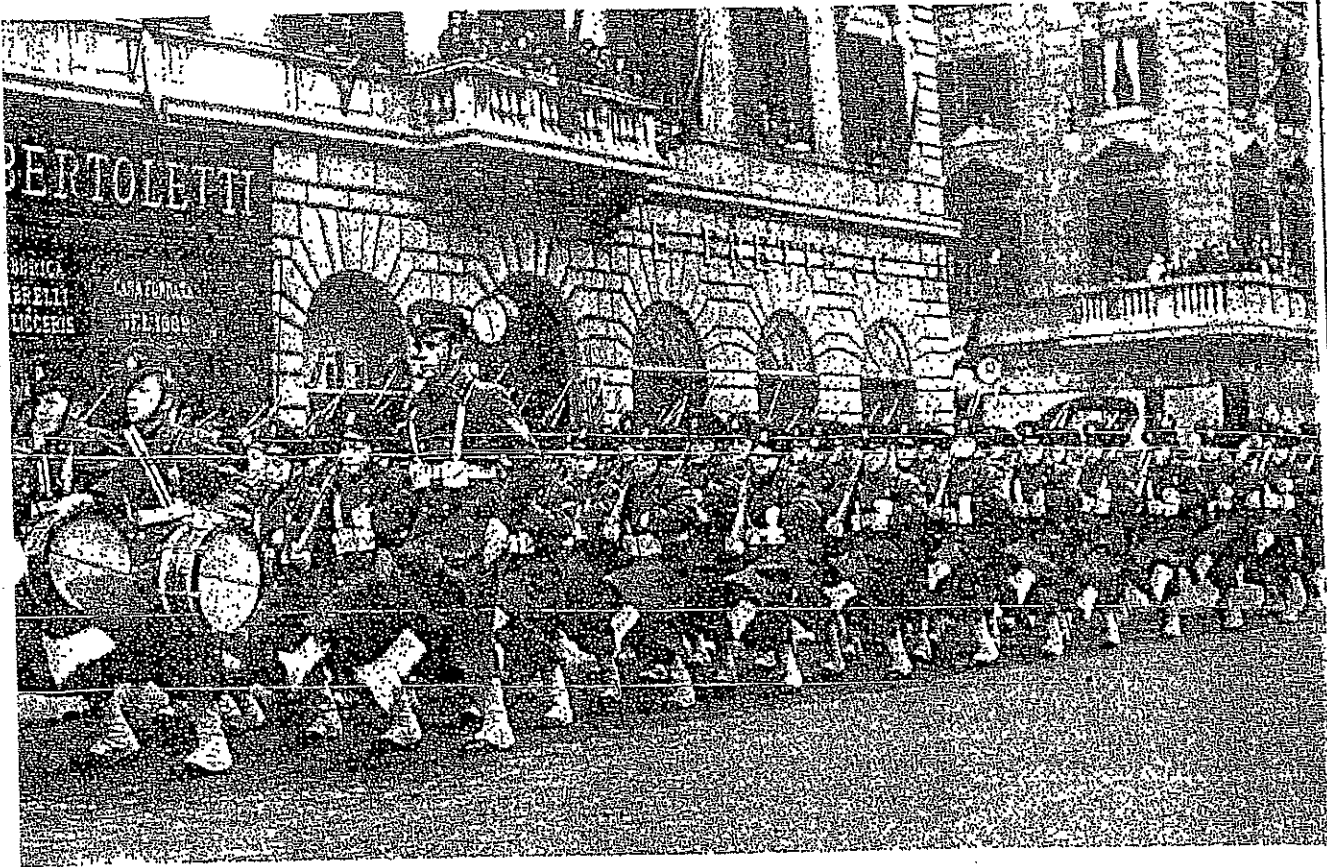
Each of the twenty-two Corporations was headed by representatives of the workers and the bosses – five members of the Fascist Party to keep an eye on them. They then sent delegates to the General Assembly of Corporations which was headed by Mussolini himself, for he had made himself Minister of Corporations. This Assembly was supposed to make important decisions about the country's economic policy and about wages and prices. In this way Mussolini hoped to get rid of class differences and make every Italian into a willing servant of the state, working hard to make Italy rich and strong.

It never worked. Mussolini usually ignored the Assembly's advice and took the important decisions himself. The bosses in each Corporation always had a bigger say than the workers because experienced trade unionists who knew how to argue with them were mostly in prison or in hiding. And the system was corrupt. Friends and relatives of Mussolini and high-up Party officials got all the best jobs in the Corporations, and used their positions to line their own pockets.

Mussolini tried to make the Corporate State more meaningful in 1938. He abolished parliament and replaced it with a 'Chamber of Fasci and Corporations'. This was a new kind of parliament which represented people according to the type of work they did rather than according to where they lived. But like everything else in the Corporate State was dominated by the Fascists and had no real power.

# 12

## CONTROLLING PEOPLE'S MINDS



*A group of Balillos parading through Rome*

'MUSSOLINI IS ALWAYS RIGHT.' This slogan could be seen and heard everywhere in Fascist Italy. To make sure that Italians really believed that Mussolini could never be wrong, the Fascist Party had to control the way in which people thought and acted. This meant controlling all aspects of their lives.

### Controlling the young

The minds of young people were particularly important. If Fascism was to last, the young must grow up loyal to Mussolini and to the Party. So schools taught them Fascist ideas from a very early age. Infants began their school day by saying this prayer:

'I believe in the genius of Mussolini . . .  
in the conversion of Italians and in  
the resurrection of the Empire. Amen.'

Older children learned about Fascism from specially written textbooks. This story is from the textbook

written for eight-year-olds:

"Teacher", said Bruno to the mistress as she entered the class, "yesterday Daddy bought a new flag. . . . Tomorrow we are going to put it on the balcony so that everybody in the street will be able to see it."

"I'm sure you will! But tomorrow all the balconies and all the windows will have flags. And do you know why?"

"Yes teacher!" cried the children, jumping to their feet.

"Good all of you! But let only Bruno speak. What is it tomorrow?"

"THE TWENTY-EIGHTH OF OCTOBER".

"And what is the twenty-eighth of October?"

"It is the anniversary of the March on Rome. The Fascists in their Black Shirts enter Rome and put everything in order. Then the Duce arrives and says 'Go away all nasty Italians who do not know how to do things for the good. Now

I will see to putting everything right. Long live Italy!"

"Good!" said the mistress. . . .

Out of school, young people were expected to join youth organisations run by the Party. At the age of four a boy joined the group called Sons of the She-Wolf, and was given his first black shirt. At eight, he joined the most important of the youth groups, the *Balilla*, named after an Italian boy who threw a rock at an Austrian policeman in the eighteenth century. The *Balilla* was similar to the Boy Scout movement, which Mussolini abolished in 1927, but the difference was that the boys carried guns and did military training. The *Balilla* code described the ideal young Fascist like this:

'He tempers all enthusiasm with iron discipline . . . despises fear, loves the hard life and serves with faith, passion and happiness the cause of Fascism.'

Girls joined similar organisations which trained them to believe that the ideal woman stayed at home and brought up the children.

## Controlling adults

Adults as well as the young were bombarded with Fascist propaganda. Everywhere the walls were plastered with slogans like these:

'BELIEVE! OBEY! FIGHT!'

'BETTER TO LIVE ONE DAY LIKE A LION THAN A HUNDRED YEARS LIKE A SHEEP!'

'NOTHING HAS EVER BEEN WON IN HISTORY WITHOUT BLOODSHED!'

'WAR IS TO THE MALE WHAT CHILDBEARING IS TO THE FEMALE!'

If they went to the cinema or opened a newspaper they would often see long reports of Mussolini's speeches. These always appeared to be exciting occasions, for he took 'applause squads' with him to whip up enthusiasm in his audiences.

Even leisure was firmly controlled. An organisation called *Dopolavoro* (After work) arranged sporting activities and provided workers with cheap package

holidays. *Minculpop* (Ministry of Popular Culture) made sure that films, plays, radio programmes and books glorified Mussolini and Fascism. The Party tried especially hard to control sport, for victory in international matches would show the strength of Fascism. Football was therefore brought under Party control and a Chief Referee with a gold whistle was appointed. Tennis players had to play in black shirts and give the Fascist salute at the end of matches instead of shaking hands.

The Fascist Party controlled time itself. A new calendar was introduced in 1933. New Year's Day was to be on 29 October each year and Year One began in 1922, making 1933 the eleventh Fascist Year.

## Religion

Only one area of the life of Italians remained outside Party control, and that was religion. Mussolini needed and wanted the support of the Pope for his dictatorship so, although he did not believe in Christianity, he set about improving relations with the Roman Catholic church. He had his children baptised in church and then married their mother in church. He made swearing in public a crime, shut down many wine shops and night clubs, and allowed the cross to be hung up in school rooms and in government offices. Then he began secret talks with Cardinal Gasparri, a leading Vatican official.

In 1929 Mussolini and Gasparri signed a treaty in the Lateran, the Pope's cathedral in Rome. The Lateran Treaty gave the Pope 1,750,000 lire in compensation for the land taken from him when Italy was united. It made the Vatican City where he lived into an independent state with its own small army, police force, law courts, post office and railway station. It made religious education compulsory in all schools and allowed the 'Italian Catholic Action', an organisation for spreading Catholic ideas, to carry on its work.

Mussolini thought of the Lateran Treaty as his finest achievement. He had healed the split between church and state which had lasted for over sixty years. This delighted Italian Catholics and made them more loyal to Fascism. It also meant that Mussolini could count on the Pope's support.

## Benito Mussolini FASCIST DOCTRINES

Ten years after he seized power, Mussolini, assisted by philosopher Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944), contributed an article to the *Italian Encyclopedia* in which he discussed fascist political and social doctrines. In this piece, Mussolini lauded violence as a positive experience; attacked Marxism for denying idealism by subjecting human beings to economic laws and for dividing the nation into warring classes; and denounced liberal democracy for promoting individual selfishness at the expense of the national community and for being unable to solve the nation's problems. The fascist state, he said, required unity and power, not individual freedom. The following excerpts are from Mussolini's article.

... Above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of Pacifism—born of a renunciation of the struggle and an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. All other trials are substitutes, which never really put men into the position where they have to make the great decision—the alternative of life or death. Thus a doctrine which is founded upon this harmful postulate of peace is hostile to Fascism. And thus hostile to the spirit of Fascism, though accepted for what use they can be in dealing with particular political situations, are all the international leagues and societies which, as history will show, can be scattered to the winds when once strong national feeling is aroused by any motive—sentimental, ideal, or practical. This anti-pacifist spirit is carried by Fascism even into the life of the individual; the proud motto of the *Squadrista*, "Me ne frego" [It doesn't matter], written on the bandage of the wound, is an act of philosophy not only stoic, the summary of a doctrine not only political—it is the education to combat, the acceptance

of the risks which combat implies, and a new way of life for Italy. Thus the Fascist accepts life and loves it, knowing nothing of and despising suicide: he rather conceives of life as duty and struggle and conquest, life which should be high and full, lived for oneself, but above all for others—those who are at hand and those who are far distant, contemporaries, and those who will come after. . . .

... Fascism [is] the complete opposite of . . . Marxian Socialism, the materialist conception of history; according to which the history of human civilization can be explained simply through the conflict of interests among the various social groups and by the change and development in the means and instruments of production. That the changes in the economic field—new discoveries of raw materials, new methods of working them, and the inventions of science—have their importance no one can deny; but that these factors are sufficient to explain the history of humanity excluding all others is an absurd delusion. Fascism, now and always, believes in holiness and in heroism; that is to say, in actions influenced by no economic motive, direct or indirect. And if the economic conception of history be denied, according to which theory men are no more than puppets, carried to and fro by the waves of chance, while the real directing forces are quite

# Fascism

As you read the documents, record the fascist view of the following concepts:

The State	Democracy	Communism	The Leader	The People
The Individual	Liberty	Pacifism	War	Human History/Human Nature

Modern World History  
Heideman/Hemond

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Class Color: \_\_\_\_\_

**Marxism: The Theory that Split a World ( 26 minutes)**

1) How did industrialization lead to Marxism?

2) Explain Marx's theory:

a. What does Marx say is the "basic law of history"?

b. Why are the bourgeoisie/ middle class doomed to be overthrown and by whom?

c. What will the role of the state be under Marx's final stage of the revolution?

3) What happened to capitalism in Europe and how did it affect the attractiveness of Marx's theory?

4) What factors led to Marxism's appeal in Russia? List at least 3.

*Turn over*

5) If Communism did not give workers civil liberties, why do you think it spread world wide after the Russian Revolution? (Film says in 1967, one third of world had Communist rulers.)



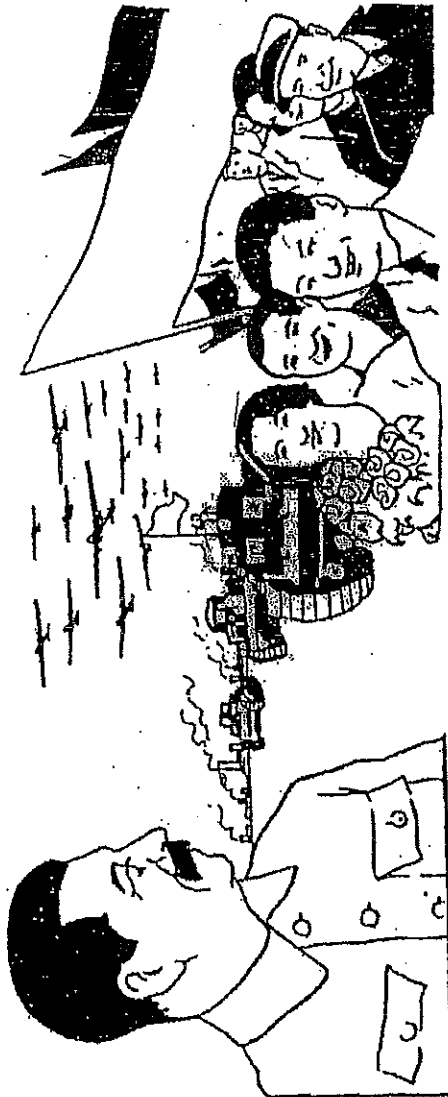
## Stalin's Economic Vision

### A Centralized Economy

- Stalin decided the state would take control of the economy
- Government decided what would be produced and by whom in five-year plans
- First five-year plan, in 1929, set production quotas, or targets
- Plan called for construction of massive industrial centers to produce materials for tractors, tanks, airplanes, and ships

### Stalin's Plan to Industrialize

- Wanted to create a new Soviet Economy to catch up with the West.
- Wanted to transform the agricultural Soviet Union into an industrial power
- Believed it needed to happen quickly
- Resolved to build industries to support military buildup and a strong economy



### The Socialist Ideal

- All Soviet citizens worked not for individual gain but for the overall good of the working class

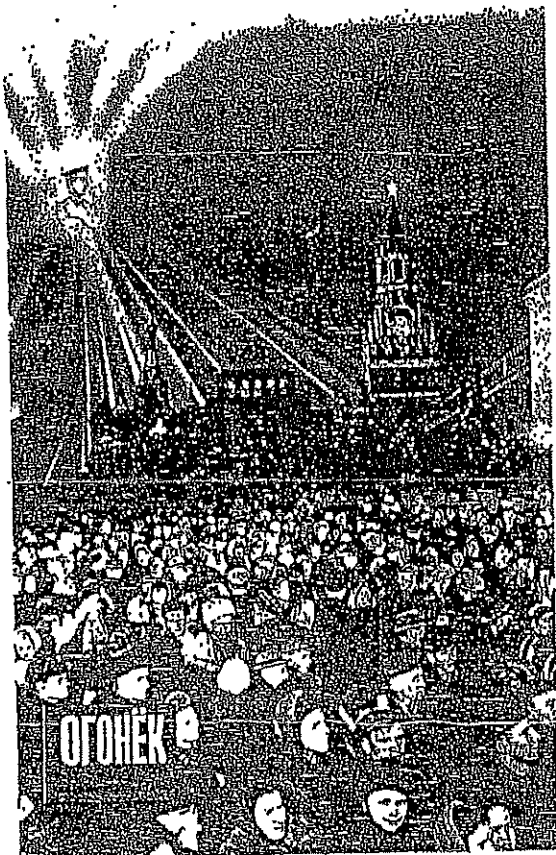
### Agricultural Production

- Needed to increase food production to support workers in growing cities and industrial centers
- Grain was needed to trade abroad for tools and money
- Peasants were forced to give up small plots and were collectivized onto state-owned farms
- Farms were subject to quotas in five-year plans

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

9

## LIFE UNDER STALIN'S RULE



*Red Square, Moscow, Christmas 1949. The head of Stalin is projected on to the underside of the clouds*

What was it like to live and work in the Soviet Union under the rule of Stalin?

### The cult of Stalin

To start with, everybody – no matter who or where they were – knew that Stalin was the leader. They could hardly fail to know it, for walls, hoardings, whole buildings were covered with huge portraits of his face. Every shop window displayed his bust. In offices, factories and even in private homes, 'red corners' containing busts of Lenin and Stalin were set up. Towns and cities, rivers and canals, schools and hospitals, mountains and lakes, were named after him. Newspapers referred to him as 'Man of Steel', 'Iron Soldier', 'Universal Genius', 'Shining Sun of Humanity', 'Granite Bolshevik', and dozens of other similar names. Audiences at meetings applauded

whenever his name was mentioned – which was often. Films, plays, poems, stories and novels celebrated every detail of his life. Stalin, it seemed, could even improve a person's love life, as this extract from a speech in the 1935 Congress of Soviets suggests:

- A. 'All thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. I love a young woman with a renewed love and shall perpetuate myself in my children – all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. I shall be eternally happy and joyous, all thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. Everything belongs to thee, chief of our great country. And when the woman I love presents me with a child the first word it shall utter will be: Stalin.'

### Religion

Worship of Stalin was encouraged but religious worship was strongly discouraged. Nearly 40,000 Christian churches and 25,000 mosques were closed down and converted into clubs, cinemas, schools, and warehouses. Church bells were removed and melted down as scrap metal. In Muslim areas, women were forbidden to wear the veil and pilgrimages to Mecca were banned. Church leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Those who escaped arrest were forbidden to organise any religious activity in public.

To weaken the religious faith of the Soviet people, the Communist Party had set up a League of Militant Atheists back in 1924. By 1933 it had 5.5 million members, whose job was to try to turn people away from religion. They set up anti-religious museums in former cathedrals. They burnt icons and other religious objects. They organised anti-religious propaganda campaigns. This extract from their training handbook gives us an idea of their views:

- B. 'Q. How do you reply to a priest who says "your communism is just another religion"?'  
A. All religions involve belief in the supernatural. Communism does not.  
Q. How did Karl Marx describe Christianity?  
A. As the Executive Committee of the bourgeoisie.'

### Education

Under Stalin's rule, school life and education became stricter. An education law of 1935 allowed teachers to use strict methods of discipline. Report cards and

test marks, which had been abolished in the 1920s, were reintroduced. School uniforms were restored – including compulsory pigtails for girls. In history lessons, kings, battles, dates – especially Russian ones – became the staple diet of pupils.

The aim of education was summed up in Rule One of twenty rules of behaviour that all pupils had to learn by heart:

- C. 'It is the duty of each school child to acquire knowledge persistently so as to become an educated and cultured citizen and to be of the greatest possible service to his country.'

One result of these education policies was the almost total disappearance of illiteracy. By 1939, of people aged 9 to 49, 94 per cent in towns and 86 per cent in the countryside could read and write.

## Culture and censorship

The Communist Party kept a strict watch on the Soviet Union's creative artists – its writers, painters, composers, etc – to make sure that they supported the Party and the government. All writers had to belong to the Union of Soviet Writers, and members were expected to follow a policy of 'socialist realism' in their writings. This meant that novels, filmscripts, poems, plays and journalism had to deal with the lives of ordinary working people and to show the progress of Communism. The same applied to painters, composers and any other creative artist. Soviet people were therefore able to read only books that supported the ideas of Communism.

What about books that had already been written but which did not support the Party? Nadezhda Mandelstam, a Soviet writer, tells us in her memoirs, published in 1970, what happened in such cases:

- D. 'Varia . . . showed us her school textbooks where the portraits of Party leaders had thick

pieces of paper pasted over them as one by 36 – one they fell into disgrace – this the children had to do on instructions from their teacher . . . With every new arrest people went through their books and burned the works of disgraced leaders in their stoves. In new apartment buildings, which had central heating instead of stoves, forbidden books, personal diaries, correspondence and other "subversive literature" had to be cut up in pieces with scissors and thrown down the toilet.'

## Family life

During the 1920s the Soviet government had tried to weaken the family as a unit of society because it believed it exploited women. Wedding rings were abolished. Abortion became available on demand. Marriages were performed in brief ceremonies only in register offices. Divorce could be obtained simply by one partner in the marriage requesting it. By 1934 there were 37 divorces for every 100 marriages, while there were 154,000 abortions for every 57,000 live births in Moscow.

In 1936 a new family law aimed to reverse these trends. Divorce was made more difficult, abortion became a criminal offence except when it was necessary on medical grounds, and wedding rings were restored. And to try to increase the birth rate, tax exemptions were given to families with large numbers of children.

Families received a range of new benefits under Stalin. There was a free health service for all, there were holidays with pay for many workers, and an insurance scheme against accidents at work. But, as you have read, little new housing was built, so families often had to share flats, one family to a room, in the cities. And because the Five-Year Plans concentrated on building up heavy industry, there were few consumer goods – clothes and domestic appliances, for example – on sale in the shops.

Following 2 readings:

Joseph Stalin

## THE HARD LINE

Perry, Marvin, et al. Sources of Western Tradition: Vol I: From the Renaissance to the Present. Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1994.

Firmly entrenched in power by 1929, Stalin started a second revolution (called the Stalin revolution), mobilizing at top speed the potential of the country, however limited the human and material resources available, whatever the obstacles, and whatever the human price. The alternative, he was sure, was foreign domination that would totally destroy his country's independence. In this spirit, he addressed a gathering of industrial managers in 1931, talking to them not in Marxist-Leninist jargon, but in terms of hard-line Russian nationalism.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo a bit, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered for falling behind, for her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol Khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her—for her backwardness: for military backwardness; for cultural backwardness, for political backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity. Do you remember the words of the pre-revolutionary poet [Nikolai Nekrassov]: "You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia." These words of the old poet were well learned

by those gentlemen. They beat her, saying: "You are abundant," so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her, saying: "You are poor and impotent," so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters—to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak—therefore you are wrong; hence, you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty—therefore you are right; hence, we must be wary of you.

plunder to be robbers of good

That is why we must no longer lag behind.

In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in the hands of the working class, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist system of economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said during the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries."

We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us.

This is what our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

impunity: exemption from punishment, w/o punishment

impotent: lacking physical strength

## A. O. Avdienko THE CULT OF STALIN

Among a people so deeply divided by ethnicity and petty localism and limited by a pervasive narrowness of perspective, building countrywide unity and consensus was a crucial challenge for the government. In the Russian past the worship of saints and the veneration of the tsar had served that purpose. The political mobilization of the masses during the revolution required an intensification of that tradition. It led to the "cult of personality," the deliberate fixation of individual dedication and loyalty on the all-powerful leader, whose personality exemplified the challenge of extraordinary times. The following selection illustrates by what emotional bonds the individual was tied to Stalin, and through Stalin to the prodigious transformation of Russian state and society that he was attempting.

prodigious =  
enormous,

Thank you, Stalin. Thank you because I am joyful. Thank you because I am well. No matter how old I become, I shall never forget how we received Stalin two days ago. Centuries will pass, and the generations still to come will regard us as the happiest of mortals, as the most fortunate of men, because we lived in the century of centuries, because we were privileged to see Stalin, our inspired leader. Yes, and we regard ourselves as the happiest of mortals because we are the contemporaries of a man who never had an equal in world history.

The men of all ages will call on thy name, which is strong, beautiful, wise and marvelous. Thy name is engraven on every factory, every machine, every place on the earth, and in the hearts of all men.

Every time I have found myself in his presence I have been subjugated by his strength, his charm, his grandeur. I have experienced a great desire to sing, to cry out, to shout with joy and happiness. And now see me—me!—on the same platform where the Great Stalin stood

grandeur =  
size +  
glory  
thereof

a year ago. In what country, in what part of the world could such a thing happen.

I write books. I am an author. All thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. I love a young woman with a renewed love and shall perpetuate myself in my children—all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. I shall be eternally happy and joyous, all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. Everything belongs to thee, chief of our great country. And when the woman I love presents me with a child the first word it shall utter will be: Stalin.

perpetuate  
to prolong  
the existence  
of

O great Stalin, O leader of the peoples,  
Thou who broughtest man to birth.  
Thou who fructifiest the earth,  
Thou who restorest the centuries,  
Thou who makest bloom the spring,  
Thou who makest vibrate the musical  
chords. . .

Thou, splendour of my spring, O Thou,  
Sun reflected by millions of hearts. . .

*Joseph Stalin "The Hard Line"*

1. Why did Joseph Stalin argue that the tempo of industrialization could not be slowed down?
2. How important is the idea of "fatherland" to Stalin?
3. Why does Stalin place such importance on the "fatherland"?
4. Why does the USSR need to be strong, what theory that we've previously studied does Stalin's concern play into?

*A.O Avdienko "The Cult of Stalin"*

1. Based on this reading, how would you say Communists were supposed to feel about Stalin?

2. Explain how the poem demonstrates about the scope of Stalin's power.









# Hitler and Nazi Germany

## GUIDE TO READING

**The BIG Idea**  
**Human Rights** Hitler's totalitarian state was widely accepted, but German Jews and minorities were persecuted.

- Content Vocabulary**
- Nazi (p. 804)
  - Aryan (p. 806)
  - concentration camps (p. 806)

- Academic Vocabulary**
- require (p. 809)
  - prohibit (p. 809)

- People, Places, and Events**
- Adolf Hitler (p. 804)
  - Nuremberg (p. 809)
  - Munich (p. 804)
  - Nuremberg laws (p. 809)
  - Reichstag (p. 805)
  - Kristallnacht (p. 809)
  - Enabling Act (p. 806)
  - Heinrich Himmler (p. 807)

**Reading Strategy**  
**Categorizing Information** As you read, use a chart like the one below to list anti-Semitic policies enforced by the Nazi Party.

Anti-Semitic Policies



*Recovering from the humiliating loss of World War I and from the Great Depression, Germans found extremist parties more attractive. Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party promised to build a new Germany, and his party's propaganda appealed to the German sense of national honor. The new Germany that Hitler envisioned did not include any group the Nazis considered inferior, especially the Jewish people.*

## Hitler and His Views

**MAIN IDEA** Adolf Hitler's ideas were based on racism and German nationalism.  
**HISTORY & YOU** What would you say if you were asked whether you valued all types of people? Read on to learn about Hitler's ideology.

**Adolf Hitler** was born in Austria on April 20, 1889. Unsuccessful in school, he traveled to Vienna to become an artist but was rejected by the academy. Here he developed his basic social and political ideas. At the core of Hitler's ideas was racism, especially anti-Semitism (hostility toward Jews). Hitler was also an extreme nationalist who understood how political parties could effectively use propaganda and terror.

Hitler served four years on the Western Front during World War I. At the end of the war, Hitler remained in Germany and decided to enter politics. In 1919 he joined the little-known German Workers' Party, one of several right-wing extreme nationalist parties in **Munich**.

By the summer of 1921, Hitler had taken total control of the party. By then the party had been renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP, an abbreviation of the German name), or **Nazi**, for short. Within two years, party membership had grown to 55,000 people, with 15,000 in the party militia. The militia was variously known as the SA, the Storm Troops, or the Brownshirts, after the color of their uniforms.

An overconfident Hitler staged an armed uprising against the government in Munich in November 1923. This uprising, called the Beer Hall Putsch, was quickly crushed, and Hitler was sentenced to prison. During his brief stay in jail, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*, or *My Struggle*, an account of his movement and its basic ideas.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler links extreme German nationalism, strong anti-Semitism, and anticommunism together by a Social Darwinian theory of struggle. This theory emphasizes the right of superior nations to lebensraum (LAY•buhn•z•rowm)—“living space”—through expansion. It also upholds the right of superior individuals to gain authoritarian leadership over the masses.

*The Message of Nazism*

Nazi banners adorn Nuremberg's medieval imperial castle. Below it is a map of Germany, with East Prussia separated from the rest of the country by Poland.



This poster commemorates the 1934 Nuremberg Rally. Hitler considered Nuremberg to be "the most German of all cities." Starting in 1933, the year Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany, annual Nazi Party rallies were held at Nuremberg.

The following excerpt is from the introductory chapter of a handbook given to Hitler Youth boys between the ages of 10 and 14. Nearly every German boy would have received a copy.

"Our beloved swastika flag appears at this time too. The Führer himself designed it. For us, it is more than an outward symbol. We National Socialists [Nazis] see our program in our flag. We see the social in the red, the movement's national thinking in the white, and in the swastika we see the symbol of the victory of Aryan humanity and the victory of productive humanity, which was always anti-Semitic and will always be anti-Semitic. When this flag flies, it is a parable of our desires: We think of national freedom and social justice, of racial purity and the victory of Nordic humanity. The swastika reminds us of the time when Nordic farmers and warriors marched to Italy and Greece. It was borne at the front of the soldiers as a holy symbol of the Germanic-German spirit."

—*The Life of the Führer*

The Nazi eagle perched on a swastika was the formal symbol of the Third Reich. Behind it is the Third Reich battle flag.

## DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

1. **Explaining** Based on the excerpt, what is the meaning of the swastika?
2. **Making Connections** Why does the excerpt refer to "Nordic farmers and warriors"?

**Rise of Nazism**

While in prison, Hitler realized that the Nazis would have to attain power by legal means, not by a violent overthrow of the Weimar Republic. Hitler knew that the Nazi Party would have to be a mass political party that could compete for votes with the other political parties.

Once out of prison, Hitler expanded the Nazi Party in Germany. By 1929, it had a national party organization. Three years

later, it had 800,000 members and had become the largest party in the **Reichstag**—the German parliament.

No doubt, Germany's economic difficulties were a crucial factor in the Nazi rise to power. Unemployment had risen dramatically, growing from 4.35 million in 1931 to about 5.5 million by the winter of 1932. The Great Depression made extremist parties more attractive.

Hitler promised a new Germany that appealed to nationalism and militarism.



These appeals struck an emotional chord in his listeners. After attending one of Hitler's rallies, a schoolteacher in Hamburg said, "When the speech was over, there was roaring enthusiasm and applause. . . . How many look up to him with touching faith as their helper, their saviour, their deliverer from unbearable distress."

## The Nazis Take Control

After 1930, the German government ruled by decree with the support of President Hindenburg. The Reichstag had little power. More and more, the right-wing elites of Germany—the industrial leaders, landed aristocrats, military officers, and higher bureaucrats—looked to Hitler for leadership. Under pressure, Hindenburg agreed to allow Hitler to become chancellor in 1933 and create a new government.

Within two months, Hitler had laid the foundation for the Nazi Party's complete control over Germany. The crowning step of Hitler's "legal seizure" of power came on March 23, 1933, when a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag passed the **Enabling Act**. This law gave the government the power to ignore the constitution for four years while it issued laws to deal with the country's problems. The Enabling Act also gave Hitler's later actions a legal basis. He no longer needed the Reichstag or President Hindenburg. In effect, Hitler became a dictator appointed by the parliamentary body itself.

With their new power, the Nazis quickly brought all institutions under their control. They purged the civil service of Jews and democratic elements. They set up prison camps called **concentration camps** for people who opposed them. Trade unions were dissolved. All political parties except the Nazis were abolished.

By the end of the summer of 1933, only seven months after being appointed chancellor, Hitler had established the basis for a totalitarian state. When Hindenburg died in 1934, the office of president was abolished. Hitler became sole ruler of Germany. People took oaths of loyalty to their *Führer* (FYUR•uhr), or "Leader."

**✓ Reading Check** Examining Why was the Enabling Act important to Hitler's success?

## The Nazi State, 1933–1939

**MAIN IDEA** Hitler used anti-Semitism, economic policy, and propaganda to build a Nazi state.

**HISTORY & YOU** What if the U.S. president declared, "The time of personal happiness is over"? Read to learn how the German people reacted to a similar statement by Hitler.

Hitler wanted to develop a totalitarian state. He had not simply sought power for power's sake. He had a larger goal—the development of an **Aryan** racial state that would dominate Europe and possibly the world for generations to come. (*Aryan* is a term used to identify people speaking Indo-European languages. The Nazis misused the term by treating it as a racial designation and identifying the Aryans with the ancient Greeks and Romans and twentieth-century Germans and Scandinavians.)

Nazis thought the Germans were the true descendants and leaders of the Aryans and would create another empire like the one ruled by the ancient Romans. The Nazis believed that the world had already seen two German empires, or *Reichs*: the Holy Roman Empire and the German Empire of 1871 to 1918. It was Hitler's goal to create a Third Reich, the empire of Nazi Germany.

To achieve his goal, Hitler needed the active involvement of the German people. Hitler stated:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"We must develop organizations in which an individual's entire life can take place. Then every activity and every need of every individual will be regulated by the collectivity represented by the party. There is no longer any arbitrary will, there are no longer any free realms in which the individual belongs to himself. . . . The time of personal happiness is over."

—Adolf Hitler

The Nazis pursued the creation of the totalitarian state in a variety of ways. They employed economic policies, mass spectacles, and organizations—both old and new—to further Nazi goals. They also freely used terror. Policies toward women and, in particular, toward Jews reflected Nazi aims.



## The State and Terror

Nazi Germany was the scene of almost constant personal and institutional conflict. Struggle was a basic feature of relationships within the party, within the state, and between party and state. Hitler, of course, was the ultimate decision maker and absolute ruler.

The *Schutzstaffeln* ("Guard Squadrons"), known simply as the SS, were an important force for maintaining order. The SS was originally created as Hitler's personal

bodyguard. Under the direction of **Heinrich Himmler**, the SS came to control not only the secret police forces that Himmler had set up, but also the regular police forces.

The SS was based on two principles: terror and ideology. Terror included the instruments of repression and murder—secret police, criminal police, concentration camps, and later, execution squads and death camps (concentration camps where prisoners are killed). For Himmler, the chief goal of the SS was to further the Aryan master race.

### INFOGRAPHICS

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Himmler and the SS



▲ Heinrich Himmler at Nuremberg, mid-1930s

"We have to know that the enemy during war is not only the enemy in the military sense, but also the ideological enemy. When I speak of enemies, I of course mean our natural enemy—Bolshevism led by international Jewry and Free Masons. . . . [Bolshevism] is the exact opposite of all which the Aryan people loves, cherishes and values. . . . We [Aryans] are more valuable because our blood enables us to be more inventive than the others, to lead our people better than the others, because we have better soldiers, better statesmen, a higher culture, a better character. We have better quality, if I now turn to your area, because the German soldier is more devoted to his duty, more decent and intelligent than the soldier of the other people."

—Heinrich Himmler, "Lecture on the Nature and Tasks of the SS," January 1937

### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

With the feared SS under his control, Heinrich Himmler pursued the Nazi goal of an Aryan master race.

1. **Specifying** According to Himmler, what political ideology was linked to Jews?
2. **Analyzing Primary Sources** How did Himmler use Nazi ideology to motivate the SS in this speech?

### **Connections: Fascism and Nazism**

Benito Mussolini and his Fascists ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943. Adolf Hitler's Nazi party held power in Germany from 1933 to 1945. Nazism and Fascism were two of the most destructive dictatorships the world has ever known. For propaganda purposes, both of these 20th-century political systems employed symbols and ideas used by people of ancient times.

Mussolini promised to restore to Italy the ancient glory of the Roman Empire. As the emblem of the Fascist Party, he used the *fascies*, a symbol of authority in ancient Rome. (The *fascies* was a bundle of elm or birch rods bound tightly around an axe. It symbolized the authority of the government.) Mussolini's foreign policy was directed at gaining control of lands that were once part of the Roman Empire. For example, he wanted to turn the Mediterranean Sea into an "Italian Lake."

Hitler went even further. As the emblem of his party, he used the *swastika* (it was a cross with the ends of the arms extended clockwise at right angles). The early Mesopotamians used the swastika on their coins. The early Christians, the Byzantines, the Navahos in North America, and the Mayans in Central and South America, all used the swastika. To those peoples, it was the symbol of good fortune, prosperity, or the continuation of life. Under the Nazis the swastika became a symbol of terrorism and death.

Hitler encouraged the Germans to identify with the legendary gods and heroes of their early tribal history. To recreate the spirit of the ancient age, Hitler organized huge pageants and parades. Thousands of followers marched to the pounding of drums and the blaring of horns, carrying banners and standards of medieval design. Hitler favored the music dramas of Richard Wagner. To the Nazis, Wagner's medieval themes and heroic music inspired their dreams of conquest.

More than any other 20th-century political philosophies, Nazism and Fascism were rooted in the distant past.

- Why do you think Benito Mussolini was so interested in the Roman Empire?

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The greatest medieval German ruler was the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa (Red Beard). He ruled from 1152 to 1190. According to legend, Frederick never died. Instead, he sleeps inside a mountain. The legend says that at Germany's time of greatest need, Frederick will awaken and rule again.

- Why do you think Adolf Hitler was fascinated by this legend?

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Name: \_\_\_\_\_

# 3 Life in Nazi Germany

## THE NAZI POLICE STATE

All dictators risk being overthrown by their opponents. Dictators therefore need large police forces to protect them. For this reason a dictatorship is often called a police state. This chapter shows you how Hitler's police state was organised.

The most important job of any police force is to investigate crimes and then to catch the people who have committed them. The police in Nazi Germany were different: their job was to arrest people before they committed crimes.

The method was simple. All local police units had to draw up lists of people who might be 'Enemies of the State'. They gave these lists to the Gestapo, the Secret State Police. This organisation was a branch of the SS, and it had the power to do exactly as it liked.

Imagine that your name is on a list of 'Enemies of the State'; this is what is likely to happen to you. You

are woken at three in the morning by a violent knocking at the door. When you open it, two men in black uniforms tell you that you have three minutes to pack a bag. Then they take you to the nearest police station where you are shut in a cell.

Some time later – it may be days, weeks or months – you are brought up from the cells and told to sign Form D-11, an 'Order for Protective Custody'. By signing it, you are agreeing to go to prison, but you are too scared to refuse to sign it. Without being given a trial you are then taken to a **concentration camp** where you will stay for as long as the Gestapo pleases.

How have you come to be in this terrible situation? A former prisoner of Buchenwald concentration camp described to the British Foreign Office in 1939 the kinds of people who ended up there in 'protective custody':

A. 'How is the population of a concentration camp in present-day Germany brought together? In Buchenwald there were 8000 of us, 2000 Jews and 6000 non-Jews.

Our 8000 prisoners included first of all the "politicals" (as, for example, the Communist members of the Reichstag), many of whom have been in various concentration camps ever since 1933. . . . In addition to the genuine political prisoners there are many poor devils at Buchenwald accused of having spoken abusively of the sacred person of the Fuehrer. . . .

After the "political", the category of the so-called "work-shy" is the largest. Anyone who imagines that this group has to do with tramps and vagabonds is grossly deceived. An example. A business employee lost his position and applied for unemployment relief. One fine day he was informed by the Labour Exchange that he could obtain employment as a navvy on the new motor roads. This man, who was looking for a commercial post, turned down the offer. The Labour Exchange then reported him to the Gestapo as being "work-shy", and he was then arrested and sent to a concentration camp.

The next group were the "*Bibelforscher*" a religious sect taking its doctrine from the bible. . . but proscribed [*banned*] by the Gestapo since its members refuse military service.

The fourth category consisted of the homosexuals. . . . To charge those it dislikes with this offence is a favourite tactic of the secret police. . . .

The last class of prisoners were the professional criminals. . . .

*Germany's police chiefs: left, Heinrich Himmler, Reichsfuehrer SS and Chief of German Police; right, Reinhard Heydrich, Chief of the Gestapo, and Himmler's second in command*







*Roll-call in Oranienburg concentration camp, Berlin, in April 1933*

The concentration camps were run by another branch of the SS, the Deaths Head Units, who wore skull and crossbone badges on their uniforms. This account, by 'Herr X', of how they treated prisoners was written down for him in 1938 by a charity organisation working in Germany:

- B. 'Herr X, a well-to-do Jewish business man, was for six weeks in the concentration camp at Buchenwald. . . . Herr X said that the working hours were sixteen per day, Sundays and week-days alike. During these hours it was forbidden to drink, even in the hottest weather. The food in itself was not bad, but quite insufficient. Weak coffee at dawn and a half litre of soup at midday; bread allowance for the whole day 250 grammes. . . . While he was there the work of the Jewish prisoners was doubled, and their rations halved. The work, of course, consists of moving heavy stones, often far beyond the

strength of a normal well-fed man.

The men were kept standing to attention for many hours on end. Floggings were very frequent, for such small offences as drinking water during working hours. The usual punishment was twenty-five strokes given alternately by two guards. This often produced unconsciousness, but the Jews were told that the Fuehrer had himself given orders that the Jews might receive up to sixty strokes.

Herr X was in a group of 480 men who had only one tap at which to wash and drink for a quarter of an hour on getting up. Later even this was stopped. During the six weeks he was in the camp, Herr X saw neither soap nor toothbrush.

Deaths took place daily in the camp. (Their relatives were often first informed of this by a call from an official who said they could have the ashes on payment of three marks). . . .

## Work section

- A. Test your understanding of this chapter by explaining what each of the following means: Gestapo, Protective Custody, concentration camps, Deaths Head Units.
- B. Study document A on the opposite page. Make a detailed list of the kinds of people who were likely to be arrested as 'Enemies of the State' in Nazi Germany.
- C.
  1. Judging by the evidence of document B, above, what do you think were the purposes of concentration camps?
  2. Suggest why the prisoners were treated so badly.
- D. Study the photograph above, noting the date when it was taken.
  1. For what reason might the people have been imprisoned in the concentration camp?
  2. How long do you think they have been in this camp?
  3. What sort of experiences do you think they have had since being arrested?

# 8

## 3,740 HOURS: LEISURE IN NAZI GERMANY

Hitler and the Nazi Party aimed to control every part of people's lives, and that included their free time. A huge party organisation called Strength through Joy (*Kraft Durch Freude* - KDF) had the job of organising leisure activities for the people.

The KDF was run by Doctor Robert Ley, leader of the German Labour Front. He worked out that there are 8,760 hours in a year, and that the average German spent one third of them sleeping and a quarter of them at work. That left nearly half the time - 3,740

*The maiden voyage of a Strength Through Joy liner, the Robert Ley, 1939*



hours – free for leisure. Doctor Ley wanted to be sure that these leisure hours were not wasted: people with nothing to do in their free time would get bored and frustrated, and this would make them into bored and frustrated workers. Happy people with plenty to do in their free time would be more likely to work hard at their jobs.

So Doctor Ley and the KDF drew up massive leisure programmes for working people. The biggest programme provided workers with cheap holidays. Doctor Ley had two 25,000 tonne liners built to take workers on ocean cruises at bargain prices. A cruise to the Canary Islands, for example, cost 62 marks, the equivalent of two weeks' wages. Although most workers could afford this, it was only loyal and hardworking members of the Nazi Party who were given places on the cruise liners.

For those who could not get a place on a cruise ship, there were walking holidays in the mountains for 28 marks a week or, in winter, skiing holidays in Bavaria. The price of 28 marks included travel, board and lodging, the hire of skis, and lessons from an instructor. People with a taste for foreign travel could have two weeks in Switzerland for 65 marks, or a tour of Italy for 155 marks.

The KDF controlled most forms of entertainment. Each year, around seven million people took part in KDF sports matches. The KDF arranged mass outings to the theatre and the opera. It had its own symphony orchestra which toured the country playing music in areas not usually visited by orchestras. It laid on evening classes for adults.

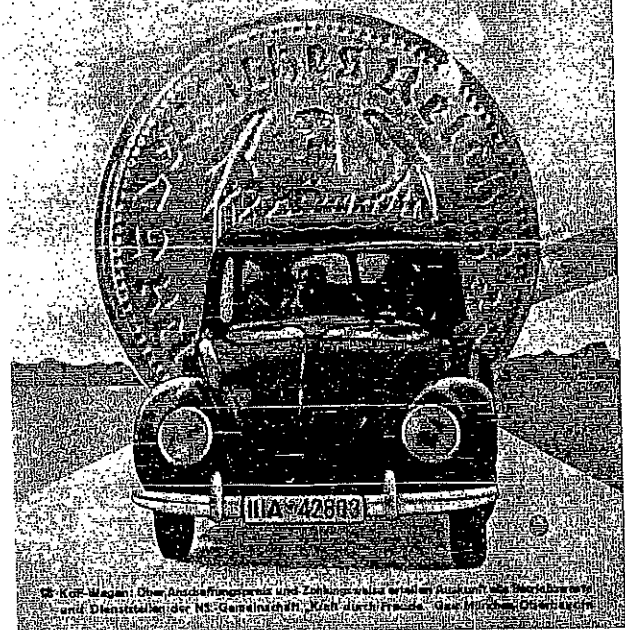
The KDF was also involved in a plan to provide workers with cheap cars. Hitler ordered that a 'People's Car' – a Volkswagen – must be built at a price that anyone could afford. It was designed by an Austrian engineer, Ferdinand Porsche, who was told by Hitler that it 'should look like a beetle'.

The price of a 'beetle' was set at 990 marks – the equivalent of thirty-five weeks wages. To help workers buy a car, Doctor Ley started a hire-purchase scheme. Workers paid 5 marks a week until 750 marks were in the bank; then they would be given an order number

*In fact,*

entitling them to a car as soon as it was made. the whole scheme was a swindle. Not a single Volkswagen was made for a German customer. Although workers paid millions of marks into the hire-purchase scheme, the Volkswagen factory was turned into a weapons factory as soon as the Second World War started in 1939.

*5 Mark die Woche mußt Du sparen –  
wirst Du im eignen Wagen fahren!*



A poster encouraging workers to save up for a 'Volkswagen'. It says 'You must save five marks a week if you want to ride in your own car'

## Work section

A. Look at the photograph of the Strength Through Joy liner, then answer these questions.

1. Where might this liner have been going?
2. What do you think the people in this photograph all had in common?
3. Roughly how much did it cost to go on trips like this?
4. This photograph was taken in 1943; Germany had been at war since 1939. Why do you think the Nazis were building liners like this rather than more warships?
5. For what purpose do you think this photograph was taken? Explain your answer.

B. Read this joke which went around Germany in 1939.

A car worker at the Volkswagen factory cannot afford to buy his own car, so he steals the pieces one by one, and takes them all home to put together in his garage. When he has all the pieces together, he finds he has built a machine gun carrier.

1. Using the information you have read in this chapter, explain what this joke means.
2. What does this joke tell you about the attitude of German people towards the government?

## WORKERS AND WORK IN NAZI GERMANY

When Hitler came to power in 1933, six million Germans were out of work. His most urgent task was to find them jobs, for during the election campaigns he had promised the voters 'work and bread' if he ever became leader.

### The RAD

Hitler's first action was to set up a National Labour Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst* or RAD). This organisation gave men jobs in public works schemes – digging drainage ditches on farms, planting new forests, building schools and hospitals. The biggest public works scheme was the building of a network of motorways. Men in the RAD had to wear military uniform and live in camps, and they were given only pocket money as wages. But for many thousands of men, that was better than life with no work at all – and they got free meals.

*Men of the National Labour Service march past Hitler in a parade in July 1938*



### The attack on unemployment

The results of Hitler's attack on unemployment look impressive at first sight:

#### Unemployment in Germany

January 1933	6,014,000
January 1934	3,773,000
January 1935	2,974,000
January 1936	2,520,000
January 1937	1,853,000
January 1938	1,052,000
January 1939	302,000

In fact, the drop in unemployment was not all due to the creation of new jobs. As you know, many Jews and women were forced out of their jobs soon after Hitler came to power. Although their jobs were given to unemployed people, the names of the Jews who became unemployed were not then recorded in the unemployment registers.

The most important reason for the fall in unemployment during these years was rearmament. As we shall see, Hitler planned to make Germany a strong and independent country, and that meant building up the size and strength of the army. In March 1935 he started compulsory military service for young men, and set up an air force. The army quickly grew from 100,000 men in 1933 to 1,400,000 in 1939. Of course, the men doing their military service did not count as unemployed, so this took 1,300,000 off the registers. And to equip this new army, 46 billion marks were spent on weapons and equipment, so many thousands of people were given work in making the tools of war.

Because Hitler wanted a strong, independent Germany, he had to make the country self-sufficient in food and materials. He ordered Germany's scientists to find artificial substitutes for food and materials imported from other countries. They quickly developed all sorts of substitutes; wool and cotton were made from pulped wood, coffee from acorns, petrol from coal, make-up from flour, and so on. As all these things were made in Germany in place of imported goods, many of the unemployed found work in new industries.

### The German Labour Front

What was work like for the people who found jobs? One new feature of work in Nazi Germany was that there were no trade unions. Within months of coming to power, Hitler abolished all trade unions and set up



the German Labour Front in their place. It was run by a former chemist, Doctor Robert Ley. He said this in a speech in 1933, the day after the trade unions were abolished:

'Workers! Your institutions are sacred to us National Socialists. I myself am a poor peasant's son and understand poverty. . . . Workers! I swear to you we will not only keep everything which exists, we will build up the rights and protection of the workers even further.'

Doctor Ley did make some improvements in the life of workers. He made sure, for example, that bosses could not sack workers on the spot. But he also made sure that workers could not leave a job without the

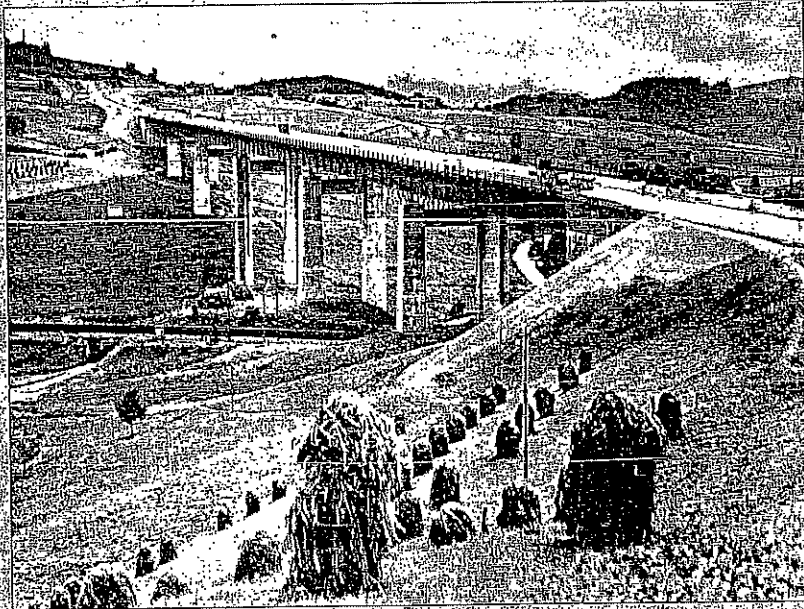
only government's permission, and that government-run labour exchanges could arrange new jobs.

Worse, Doctor Ley abolished the right of workers to bargain for higher wages, and he made strikes illegal. He also got rid of the limitations on the number of hours a person could be made to work. By 1939, many Germans found themselves working 60 to 72 hours a week.

Not many workers complained, however. This was not just because they were afraid of what might happen if they did complain. By 1936 the average factory worker was earning 35 marks a week – ten times more than the dole money which six million people were receiving in 1932.

## Work section

- A. Study this photograph of a motorway in Germany in the 1930s. Make a list of the jobs that are created by this sort of building programme. Before making your list, think about the materials needed for construction as well as about the actual construction work.



- B. Study the unemployment figures for 1933–9, then answer these questions:
1. Which year shows the greatest fall in unemployment? How do you explain this fall?
  2. Which year shows the smallest fall in unemployment? Why do you think this was such a small drop in comparison to previous years?
- C. 'History will judge us according to whether we have succeeded in providing work' (Adolf Hitler). What is your judgement? Complete these statements for and against the argument that Hitler succeeded in providing work, then give your opinion.

### Successful

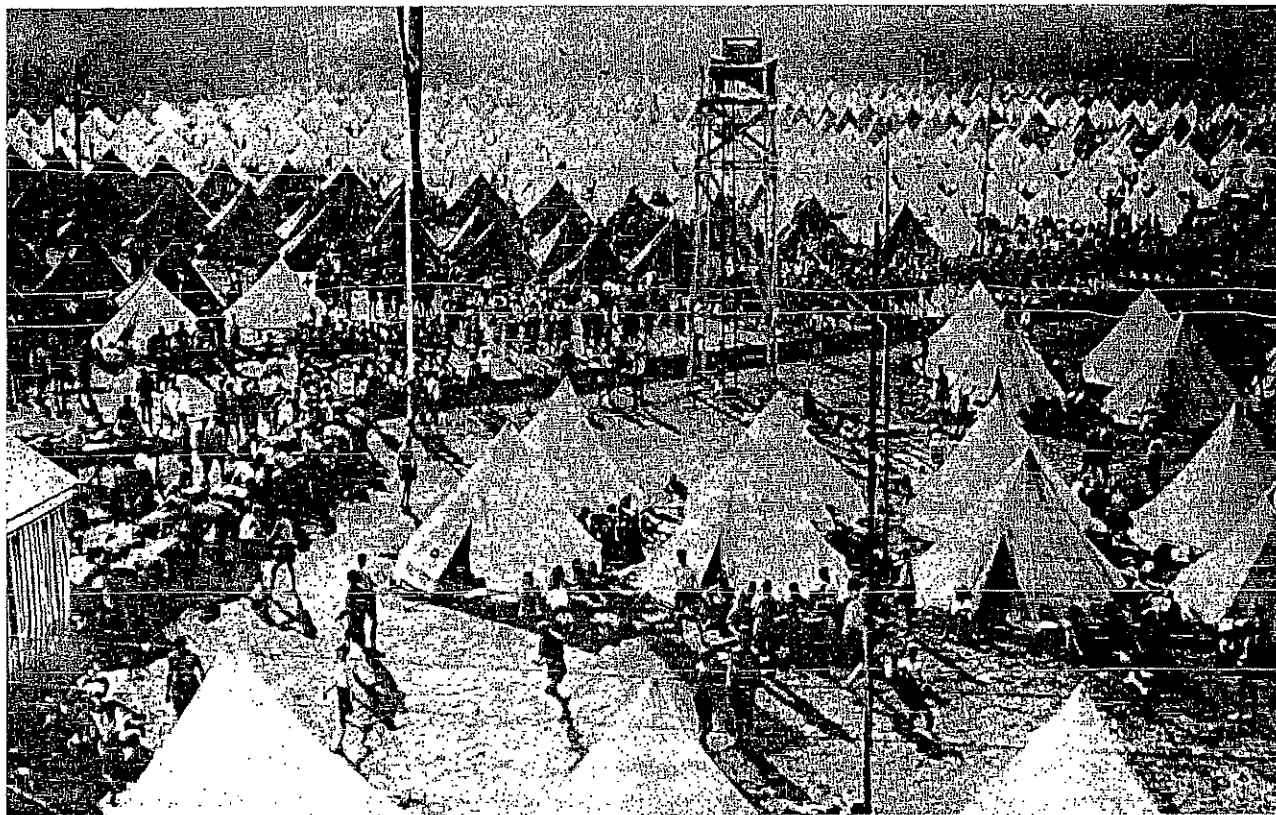
Before Hitler came to power in 1933, \_\_\_\_\_ Germans were unemployed. By 1939 only \_\_\_\_\_ were 'out of work'. This means that Hitler created \_\_\_\_\_ jobs in seven years.

### Not successful

Many of the jobs that Hitler provided were taken away from \_\_\_\_\_ and from \_\_\_\_\_, so he wasn't actually creating new jobs.

There were disadvantages in many of the jobs that Hitler created. Men in the RAD were not paid wages: they got only \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. Workers in factories were not allowed to belong to \_\_\_\_\_ of the unemployed joined the army to do compulsory military service. Although their names were removed from the unemployment registers, these men did not have jobs.

## YOUNG PEOPLE IN NAZI GERMANY



*A Hitler Youth camp at Nuremberg in the Summer of 1934. Note the loudspeaker on the tower in the centre of the camp*

Hitler took great trouble to make sure that young people were loyal to him and to the Nazi Party.

In schools, textbooks were rewritten to paint a good picture of the Nazis. Teachers had to belong to the German Teachers League and were made to put across Nazi ideas in their lessons. To make sure they knew exactly what to do, teachers had to go on compulsory training courses during school holidays.

As a result of such measures, German schoolchildren were not so much educated as indoctrinated. Indoctrination means getting people to believe in a set of ideas. You can judge for yourself how this was done at school in this extract from a school mathematics textbook:

'A bomber aircraft on take-off carries twelve dozen bombs, each weighing ten kilos. The aircraft takes off for Warsaw, international centre of Jews. It bombs the town. On take-off with all bombs on board and a fuel tank containing 100 kilos of fuel, the aircraft weighed about eight tons. When it returns from the crusade, there are still 230 kilos of fuel left. What is the weight of the aircraft when empty?'

Outside school, young people had to belong to youth organisations which taught them loyalty to Hitler and trained them in military skills. There were five organisations for youngsters to join. Together they made up the **Hitler Youth Movement**:

### The Hitler Youth Movement

Age	Boys	Girls
6 - 10	The Pimpfen (The Little Fellows)	
10 - 14	The Jungvolk (The Young Folk)	The Jungmadel (Young Girls)
14 - 18	The Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth - HJ)	The Bund Deutsche Madchen (The German Girls League)

By 1939 some eight million young Germans belonged to the Hitler Youth Movement.

What was the purpose of the youth organisations? Hitler gave one answer to this question when he said:



*The Hitler Youth Movement involved girls as much as boys: this group of girls from the German Girls' League is on a day's march as part of the girls' training*

'The weak must be chiselled away. I want young men and women who can suffer pain. A young German must be swift as a greyhound, as tough as leather, and as hard as Krupp's steel.'

So when youngsters met in their youth groups they had to do hard physical training. A German mother described the training that her son had to do:

'A twelve mile march was considered nothing for boys who are trained until they can make a march of fifty miles without any food other than the concentrated rations they carry in their packs. Nupp was recovering from a heavy cold but he was not excused the hike. He had a severe relapse as a result. . . Later the doctor confided to me that often after one of these lengthy marches he had as many as thirty boys in hospital.'

Every year, Hitler Youth Members had to go to training camps where they learned how to read maps, did sports and gymnastics, and were taught Nazi

ideas. Camp training was taken very seriously. On one occasion, a fourteen-year-old sentry standing guard at the entrance to a camp shot a ten year old boy who could not remember the password.

Every youngster had a 'performance book' in which marks for athletics, camping and fighting skills were recorded. Those with the best marks were sent to special schools where they were trained to be the leaders of the future. The Adolf Hitler Schools took boys from the Jungvolk at the age of twelve and gave them six years of tough training before sending them on to university or the army. The very best of these pupils went on to schools called Order Castles where they were stretched to the limits of endurance. At one of them, students were woken in the middle of the night to do open air PT exercises during the winter. They played war games with live ammunition. They washed in an icy stream two kilometres away from their living quarters. Students who were not injured or killed by their training graduated to be the very models of Hitler's idea of youth – swift, tough and very hard.

## Work section

- A. Why do you think Hitler and the Nazis put so much effort into organising the lives of young people?
- B. Study the extract from a school mathematics textbook on the opposite page.
  1. In what ways does this extract differ from exercises in your own mathematics textbook?
  2. What do you think were the purposes of this exercise?
- C. Study the photographs in this chapter carefully. Then, using the information and evidence you have read about young people, write a diary of one day in a Hitler Youth camp.
- D. To help you remember what you have read, make revision notes on Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Use points C, D and E of the revision guide on page 20 to help you organise the information clearly.

## THE THREE Ks: WOMEN AND THE CHURCH

### The place of women

Shortly after coming to power in 1933, Hitler made a **Law for the Encouragement of Marriage**. It said that the government would give all newly married couples a loan of 1000 marks – the equivalent of nine months wages. When their first child was born they could keep a quarter of the money. On the birth of their second child they could keep the second quarter. They could keep the third quarter on the birth of a third child, and the entire amount on the birth of a fourth.

Ten years later, in 1943, the Nazi leaders planned another law to encourage people to have children – but this law was very different.

'All single and married women up to the age of thirty-five who do not already have four children should be obliged to produce four children by racially pure . . . German men. Whether these men are married is without significance. Every family that already has four children must set the husband free for this action.'

The new law never came into effect, but it shows us exactly what the Nazi leaders thought about women: their job was to bear as many children as possible. Hitler summed it up when he said that women should stick to the 'the three Ks' – *Kinder, Kirche und Küche*, Children, Church and Cooking.

Women in Nazi Germany therefore found themselves being forced to stay at home. Within months of Hitler coming to power, many women doctors and civil servants were sacked from their jobs. Then women lawyers and teachers were dismissed. By 1939 there were few women left in professional jobs.

Even at home, women were not free to do as they liked. The Nazi party tried to stop them from following fashions. Make-up and wearing trousers were frowned upon. Hair was to be arranged either in a bun or in plaits, but not dyed or permed. Slimming was discouraged because being slim was not thought to be good for childbearing.

The only thing that women were actively encouraged to do was to have children. Every 12 August, the birthday of Hitler's mother, the Motherhood Cross was awarded to the women who had most children.

The government also set up homes for unmarried mothers. These were called *Lebensborn* – The Spring of Life – and could be recognised by a white flag with a red dot in the middle. The unusual thing about these maternity homes was they were brothels as well. An unmarried woman could go there with the aim of



A Nazi poster of 1937 showing what Nazis thought a woman's role in life should be – a housewife and mother

becoming pregnant and would be introduced to 'racially pure' SS men.

### The Nazi Church

Although Hitler said that the church should be part of every woman's life, religion did not prosper under Nazi rule. Read, for example, what happened to Cardinal Innitzer, the Archbishop of Vienna, after he preached an anti-Nazi sermon in church in 1938:

'On Saturday evening, the 8th [October], at about 7.30 pm, groups of young men belonging to the SA and HJ, but not in party uniform, began to arrive at the Stephansplatz in parties of five, armed with ladders and bludgeons [*clubs*]. The ladders were planted against the cardinal's palace and the lads entered the first floor of the building after smashing in all the windows. Once inside,





*A religious procession organised by the National Reich Church*

they destroyed every religious picture to be seen . . . smashed the busts of several Popes, stole valuable chalices [cups] . . . and collected the robes of the Cardinal . . . which they threw into the courtyard with several items of furniture and set fire to them . . . A similar attack was made on the residence and officers of the dean of the cathedral, and a priest there was actually thrown out of the window and both his legs were broken.'

Protestant as well as Catholic churchmen were badly treated by the Nazis. One Protestant leader, Martin Niemöller, was arrested by the Gestapo after preaching an anti-Nazi sermon, and kept in solitary confinement in a concentration camp for the next seven years.

So what did Hitler mean when he said that the church should be an important part of a woman's life? He was thinking of a new Nazi church, the **National Reich Church**, set up in 1936. Judge for yourself the kind of religion it offered, by reading this extract from its rules:

'In the National Reich Church . . . only national 'Orators of the Reich' will be allowed to speak.

The National Reich Church demands an immediate stop to the printing and sale of the Bible in Germany.

The National Reich Church will remove from the altars of all churches the Bible, the cross and religious objects.

On the altars there must be nothing but *Mein Kampf*, and to the left of this a sword.'

## Work section

A Explain in your own words how the 'Law for the Encouragement of Marriage' tried to encourage married couples to have large families.

B Read this advertisement which appeared in a German newspaper in 1935.

52 year-old, pure Aryan physician, fighter at Tannenberg, wishing to settle down, desires male offspring through civil marriage with young, healthy virgin of pure Aryan stock, undemanding, suited to heavy work and thrifty, with flat heels, without earrings, if possible without money. No marriage-brokers. Secrecy guaranteed. Letters to box number AEH 151,094. C/o M. Neuest.

- 1 Describe in your own words the kind of woman this doctor wanted to marry.
- 2 For what reasons do you think the doctor wanted to be married?
- 3 Can you think of a reason why the doctor preferred his future wife to have no money?
- 4 How likely do you think the doctor was to find a wife through this advertisement?
- 5 Do you think this advertisement would be allowed in a newspaper today? Explain your answer.

C Study the photograph above and read the rules of the National Reich Church. Explain in your own words the kind of religion which the Nazis wanted Germans to follow.

## Fascism on the Political Spectrum

Left

Radical

Communism

Right

Reactionary

Fascism

Similarities





**Step 1**

Describe the actions/movement of each animal.

**Step 2**

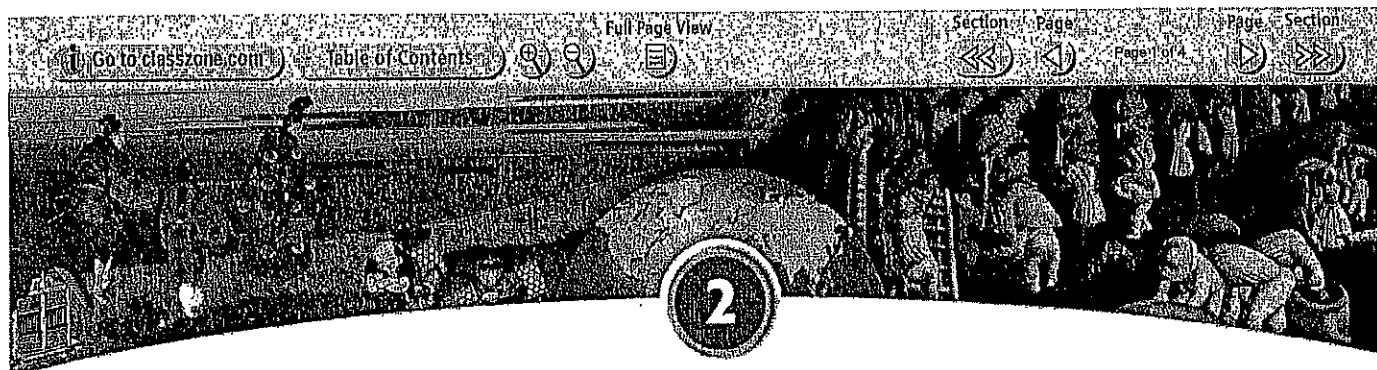
Identify what country each animal represents.

**Step 3**

What are the different definitions of the term "wake"?



What is this political cartoon about?



# Modernization in Japan

## MAIN IDEA

**CULTURAL INTERACTION** Japan followed the model of Western powers by industrializing and expanding its foreign influence.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Japan's continued development of its own way of life has made it a leading world power.

## TERMS & NAMES

- Treaty of Kanagawa
- Meiji era
- Russo-Japanese War
- annexation

**SETTING THE STAGE** In the early 17th century, Japan had shut itself off from almost all contact with other nations. Under the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns, Japanese society was very tightly ordered. The shogun parceled out land to the daimyo, or lords. The peasants worked for and lived under the protection of their daimyo and his small army of samurai, or warriors. This rigid feudal system managed to keep the country free of civil war. Peace and relative prosperity reigned in Japan for two centuries.

complete!

## TAKING NOTES

Analyzing Causes List the steps that Japan took toward modernization and the events that contributed to its growth as an imperialistic power.

Modernization
Imperialism

## Japan Ends Its Isolation

The Japanese had almost no contact with the industrialized world during this time of isolation. They continued, however, to trade with China and with Dutch merchants from Indonesia. They also had diplomatic contact with Korea. However, trade was growing in importance, both inside and outside Japan.

**The Demand for Foreign Trade** Beginning in the early 19th century, Westerners tried to convince the Japanese to open their ports to trade. British, French, Russian, and American officials occasionally anchored off the Japanese coast. Like China, however, Japan repeatedly refused to receive them. Then, in 1853, U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry took four ships into what is now Tokyo Harbor. These massive black wooden ships powered by steam astounded the Japanese. The ships' cannons also shocked them. The Tokugawa shogun realized he had no choice but to receive Perry and the letter Perry had brought from U.S. president Millard Fillmore.

Fillmore's letter politely asked the shogun to allow free trade between the United States and Japan. Perry delivered it with a threat, however. He would come back with a larger fleet in a year to receive Japan's reply. That reply was the **Treaty of Kanagawa** of 1854. Under its terms, Japan opened two ports at which U.S. ships could take on supplies. After the United States had pushed open the door, other Western powers soon followed. By 1860, Japan, like China, had granted foreigners permission to trade at several treaty ports. It had also extended extraterritorial rights to many foreign nations.

**Meiji Reform and Modernization** The Japanese were angry that the shogun had given in to the foreigners' demands. They turned to Japan's young emperor, Mutsuhito (moot•soo•HBE•toh), who seemed to symbolize the country's sense of

pride and nationalism. In 1867, the Tokugawa shogun stepped down, ending the military dictatorships that had lasted since the 12th century. Mutsuhito took control of the government. He chose the name *Meiji* for his reign, which means "enlightened rule." Mutsuhito's reign, which lasted 45 years, is known as the **Meiji era**.

The Meiji emperor realized that the best way to counter Western influence was to modernize. He sent diplomats to Europe and North America to study Western ways. The Japanese then chose what they believed to be the best that Western civilization had to offer and adapted it to their own country. They admired Germany's strong centralized government, for example. And they used its constitution as a model for their own. The Japanese also admired the discipline of the German army and the skill of the British navy. They attempted to imitate these European powers as they modernized their military. Japan adopted the American system of universal public education and required that all Japanese children attend school. Their teachers often included foreign experts. Students could go abroad to study as well.


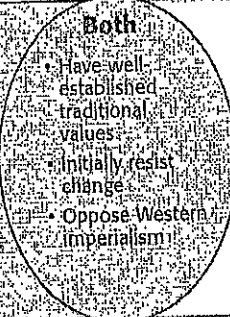

The emperor also energetically supported following the Western path of industrialization. By the early 20th century, the Japanese economy had become as modern as any in the world. The country built its first railroad line in 1872. The track connected Tokyo, the nation's capital, with the port of Yokohama, 20 miles to the south. By 1914, Japan had more than 7,000 miles of railroad. Coal production grew from half a million tons in 1875 to more than 21 million tons in 1913. Meanwhile, large, state-supported companies built thousands of factories. Traditional Japanese industries, such as tea processing and silk production, expanded to give the country unique products to trade. Developing modern industries, such as shipbuilding, made Japan competitive with the West.

## Imperial Japan

Japan's race to modernize paid off. By 1890, the country had several dozen warships and 500,000 well-trained, well-armed soldiers. It had become the strongest military power in Asia.

Japan had gained military, political, and economic strength. It then sought to eliminate the extraterritorial rights of foreigners. The Japanese foreign minister assured foreigners that they could rely on fair treatment in Japan. This was because its constitution and legal codes were similar to those of European nations, he explained. His reasoning was convincing, and in 1894, foreign powers accepted the

### China and Japan Confront the West

 <p><b>China</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remains committed to traditional values</li> <li>Loses numerous territorial conflicts</li> <li>Grants other nations spheres of influence within China</li> <li>Finally accepts necessity for reform</li> </ul>	 <p><b>Both</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have well-established traditional values</li> <li>Initially resist change</li> <li>Oppose Western imperialism</li> </ul>	 <p><b>Japan</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Considers modernization to be necessary</li> <li>Borrows and adapts Western ways</li> <li>Strengthens its economic and military power</li> <li>Becomes an empire builder</li> </ul>
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▲ The Dowager Empress Cixi (1862–1908)

**SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts**

- Contrasting According to the diagram, in what ways did China and Japan deal differently with Western influence?
- Comparing What similar responses did each country share despite the different paths they followed?

▲ The Meiji Emperor Mutsuhito (1867–1912)

abolition of extraterritorial rights for their citizens living in Japan. Japan's feeling of strength and equality with the Western nations rose.

As Japan's sense of power grew, the nation also became more imperialistic. As in Europe, national pride played a large part in Japan's imperial plans. The Japanese were determined to show the world that they were a powerful nation.

**Japan Attacks China** The Japanese first turned their sights to their neighbor, Korea. In 1876, Japan forced Korea to open three ports to Japanese trade. But China also considered Korea to be important both as a trading partner and a military outpost. Recognizing their similar interests in Korea, Japan and China signed a hands-off agreement. In 1885, both countries pledged that they would not send their armies into Korea.

In June 1894, however, China broke that agreement. Rebellions had broken out against Korea's king. He asked China for military help in putting them down. Chinese troops marched into Korea. Japan protested and sent its troops to Korea to fight the Chinese. This Sino-Japanese War lasted just a few months. In that time, Japan drove the Chinese out of Korea, destroyed the Chinese navy, and gained a foothold in Manchuria. In 1895, China and Japan signed a peace treaty. This treaty gave Japan its first colonies, Taiwan and the neighboring Pescadores Islands. (See the map on page 803.)

**Russo-Japanese War** Japan's victory over China changed the world's balance of power. Russia and Japan emerged as the major powers—and enemies—in East Asia. The two countries soon went to war over Manchuria. In 1903, Japan offered to recognize Russia's rights in Manchuria if the Russians would agree to stay out of Korea. But the Russians refused.

In February 1904, Japan launched a surprise attack on Russian ships anchored off the coast of Manchuria. In the resulting **Russo-Japanese War**, Japan drove

#### MAIN IDEA

##### Making Inferences

Why did Japan become imperialistic?

##### Vocabulary

*Sino*: a prefix meaning "Chinese"

## > Analyzing Political Cartoons

### Warlike Japan

Cartoonists often use symbols to identify the countries, individuals, or even ideas featured in their cartoons. Russia has long been symbolized as a bear by cartoonists. Here, the cartoonist uses a polar bear.

Prior to the Meiji era, cartoonists usually pictured Japan as a fierce samurai. Later, however, Japan often was symbolized by a caricature of Emperor Mutsuhito. Here, the cartoonist has exaggerated the emperor's physical features to make him look like a bird of prey.

#### SKILLBUILDER:

##### Interpreting Political Cartoons

1. **Clarifying** How does the cartoonist signify that Japan is warlike?
2. **Making Inferences** In their fight, Russia and Japan appear to be crushing someone. Who do you think this might be?





Russian troops out of Korea and captured most of Russia's Pacific fleet. It also destroyed Russia's Baltic fleet, which had sailed all the way around Africa to participate in the war.

In 1905, Japan and Russia began peace negotiations. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt helped draft the treaty, which the two nations signed on a ship off Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This agreement, the Treaty of Portsmouth, gave Japan the captured territories. It also forced Russia to withdraw from Manchuria and to stay out of Korea.

**Japanese Occupation of Korea** After defeating Russia, Japan attacked Korea with a vengeance. In 1905, it made Korea a protectorate. Japan sent in "advisers," who grabbed more and more power from the Korean government. The Korean king was unable to rally international support for his regime. In 1907, he gave up control of the country. Within two years the Korean Imperial Army was disbanded. In 1910, Japan officially imposed **annexation** on Korea, or brought that country under Japan's control.

The Japanese were harsh rulers. They shut down Korean newspapers and took over Korean schools. There they replaced the study of Korean language and history with Japanese subjects. They took land away from Korean farmers and gave it to Japanese settlers. They encouraged Japanese businessmen to start industries in Korea, but forbade Koreans from going into business. Resentment of Japan's repressive rule grew, helping to create a strong Korean nationalist movement. **B**

The rest of the world clearly saw the brutal results of Japan's imperialism. Nevertheless, the United States and other European countries largely ignored what was happening in Korea. They were too busy with their own imperialistic aims, as you will learn in Section 3.

**Vocabulary**  
protectorate: a country under the partial control and protection of another nation

#### MAIN IDEAS

##### Clarifying

**Q** How did Japan treat the Koreans after it annexed the country?

## Global Impact

### Western Views of the East

The Japanese victory over the Russians in 1905 exploded a strong Western myth. Many Westerners believed that white people were a superior race. The overwhelming success of European colonialism and imperialism in the Americas, Africa, and Asia had reinforced this belief. But the Japanese had shown Europeans that people of other races were their equals in modern warfare.

Unfortunately, Japan's military victory led to a different form of Western racism. Influenced by the ideas of Germany's Emperor Wilhelm II, the West imagined the Japanese uniting with the Chinese and conquering Europe. The resulting racist Western fear of what was called the **yellow peril** influenced world politics for many decades.

## SECTION 2

## ASSESSMENT

**TERMS & NAMES** 1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Treaty of Kanagawa
- Meiji era
- Russo-Japanese War
- annexation

### USING YOUR NOTES

**Q** Do you think that Japan could have become an imperialistic power if it had not modernized? Why or why not?

Moderatization
Imperialism

### MAIN IDEAS

- How was the Treaty of Kanagawa similar to the treaties that China signed with various European powers?
- What steps did the Meiji emperor take to modernize Japan?
- How did Japan begin its quest to build an empire?

### CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

- ANALYZING CAUSES** What influences do you think were most important in motivating Japan to build its empire?
- FORMING AND SUPPORTING OPINIONS** In your view, was Japan's aggressive imperialism justified? Support your answer with information from the text.
- ANALYZING BIAS** How did Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War both explode and create stereotypes?
- WRITING ACTIVITY [EMPIRE BUILDING]** In the role of a Japanese official, write a letter to the government of a Western power explaining why you think it is necessary for your country to build an empire.

### CONNECT TO TODAY CREATING A SYMBOL

Conduct research to discover the name that Akihito, the present emperor of Japan, chose for his reign. Then create a symbol that expresses the meaning of this name.



## The results of the First World War for Japan

At the Versailles Conference that followed the First World War, Japan secured the former German Pacific islands as a mandate and Germany's former economic privileges on the Shandong Peninsula of China. These gains firmly established Japan as an important economic power on the Asian mainland and as the main naval power in the Western Pacific.

However, Japan was reminded that it was not fully a member of the "Western Club" by its failure to get racial equality clauses included in the Charter of the League of Nations. This was because leaders in Britain and the USA were afraid of the implications this would have for Japanese immigration into their countries (see right for more details).

### ATL Social skills

Look back at the six factors, listed on page 15, that contributed to the growth of Japan's nationalism after 1853. In pairs or small groups, copy out the spider diagram and work together to add evidence from pages 15–21 to support these factors.

### Japanese immigration to the USA

The flow of Japanese immigrants to the USA increased substantially after 1900. They worked mainly in unskilled jobs and faced discrimination in all areas. A growing fear of "the yellow peril", perpetuated by the US press, drove various anti-Japanese laws; the Japanese were not allowed to become US citizens and in states such as California were prevented from owning land. The 1924 Immigration Act discriminated against Japan by making it the only country not to be allowed any quota of immigrants into the USA.

## Japan in the 1920s

### How peaceful was Japan in the 1920s?

Influenced by Shidehara Kijuro, who was ambassador to Washington in 1921 and foreign minister in 1924–27 and 1929–31, Japan changed to a foreign policy of internationalism during the 1920s. This aimed to develop Japan's economy via peaceful means: keeping good relations with the USA, a key trading partner, and continuing to seek economic advancement in China, but within the framework of international agreement.

Thus Japan was a signatory to several international agreements. At the Washington Conference of 1921, the Americans insisted that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 should be replaced by a Four-Power Treaty; in this treaty Britain, Japan, the USA and France agreed to confer should the rights or possessions of any of the four countries be threatened in the Pacific. A Nine-Power Treaty, signed by China, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal as well as the signatories of the Four-Power Treaty, was concluded in February 1922. This undertook to respect Chinese independence and integrity, and to respect the "sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China". Japan agreed to return the German concessions in Shandong seized during the First World War.

Meanwhile, the Five-Power Naval Treaty restricted competition in battleships and aircraft carriers by setting a ratio of 5:5:3 for Britain, the USA and Japan respectively. France and Italy would each be allowed a 1.75 ratio. This treaty required Japan's Imperial Navy to abandon its plans for a massive expansion and was deeply opposed by the Navy General Staff.

These treaties together formed the Washington Treaty System and indicated that Japan was committed to international cooperation in the 1920s.



▲ Shidehara Kijuro

## The Washington Treaty System

Four Power Treaty	Five Power Naval Treaty	Nine Power Treaty
It ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The US, Britain, France and Japan were to cooperate there was a crisis in the Pacific.	It limited the tonnage of the US, British, Japanese, French and Italian navies.	Japan, the USA, Britain, France, Italy, China, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands were to respect China's integrity and independence and abide by 'open door' principles.

This change to a more international approach in foreign affairs was supported by internal developments that seemed to point to a more liberal and more democratic Japan. The term "Taisho democracy" referred to a series of reforms instituted during the latter years of Emperor Taisho's reign. As part of Taisho democracy, it became common for the prime minister's position to be given to the leader of one of the two main political parties that controlled the Diet in the 1920s. This was significant because it meant that those now gaining political power were doing so because of their experience rather than because they were members of the elite. Meanwhile, the electorate was extended until, in 1925, all adult males were given the vote. Society became more open and mass media more influential.

Prime Minister Hara's government lasted from 1918 to 1921 and introduced social and economic reforms. The military was contained and Hara's government led Japan into the League of Nations, where its membership of the Council showed that it was accepted as one of the world's leading powers.

### What problems did Japan face in the 1920s?

Despite the moves towards democracy and internationalism in the 1920s, there were underlying problems in Japanese government and society, which came together in the 1930s to lead Japan towards a military dictatorship.

#### 1. A fragile democracy

Japan's democratic reforms remained fragile. Financial scandals and election law violations eroded public support for the political parties. The links of each party with either the country's big business in the cities or landlords in the countryside also deepened the public's suspicions. The system no longer inspired respect.

In addition, there was a fear of left-wing radicalism. The year that saw the extension of the franchise also saw the government, via the Peace Preservation Law, clamping down on anyone who opposed Japan's political structure. This was aimed particularly at the Communist Party, which had been established in 1920. The passing of these two laws, one extending the franchise and the other limiting the public's right to engage in open discussion, indicated a dilemma in the Meiji government's ruling circles as to how much political freedom to allow.



## 2. Opposition to Shidehara's internationalism and the growing influence of the military on foreign policy

Many Conservative groups in the government, along with the army, questioned Shidehara's approach to international relations, seeing it as a betrayal of Japan's interests. The Washington Treaty System, for example, was seen as "*an Anglo-Saxon 'iron-ring' preventing Japan from expanding abroad*" (Bix, 2001: 226). They continued to advocate an aggressive policy in China and to see Japan's destiny as being the leadership of Asia.

The conservatives' dislike of Shidehara's policies was confirmed when the USA passed a bill limiting immigration from all countries to 150,000 a year, and specifically excluding "Asiatics" from the quota (see information box on page 21). This was very offensive to the Japanese and provoked strong protest from the Japanese press who called it a "grave insult" and "deliberate slap in the face". It played into the hands of the military and other opponents of Shidehara's policies, who saw the immigration bill as provocation by the West.

When Emperor Taisho died, the coming of new Emperor Hirohito was celebrated with a revival of the idea of the emperor as a living god, along with the revival of nationalism and the idea of Japan's special destiny in the world.

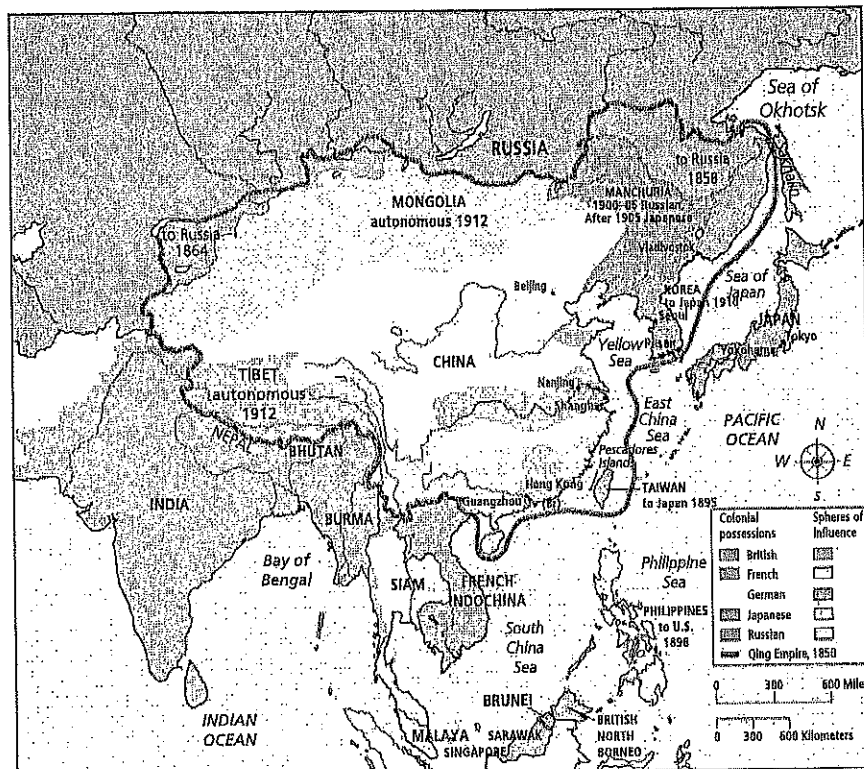
## 3. A growing economic crisis

The economic boom of the war years lasted only until the middle of 1921, when Europe began to revive and take back lost markets. Unemployment and industrial unrest developed and, in 1921, a bitter strike paralysed Japan's docks. There was a large divide between the cities and rural areas, and farmers suffered from the falling price of rice caused by good harvests and cheap imported rice. When farmers and workers tried to organize themselves politically, they were suppressed by the police. This again increased dissatisfaction with a political system that crushed the left and that seemed to be intimately associated with the *zaibatsu* (big business companies) and the landlords. The real economic crisis, however, came with the outbreak of the global depression following the Wall Street Crash in the USA in 1929.

Indeed, by the end of the 1920s, following a series of domestic and foreign crises, the Japanese government would come down on the side of repression rather than democracy.

## What was the role of political instability in China in encouraging Japanese nationalism before the 1930s?

China's political instability was key in encouraging imperial competition on its mainland and preventing Japanese expansion into Korea and Manchuria.



▲ A map depicting how colonial powers carved up China, 1850–1910

A French political cartoon from 1898.



First question, part b – 2 marks  
What is the message of this cartoon with regard to China in the 19th century?

During the course of the 19th century, as European powers competed to gain colonies, China had been forcibly opened up for trade by the West. Although this had also been the case for Japan, following Perry's arrival, it had managed to turn this situation to its advantage, borrowing Western ideas to become a strong country after 1868.

However, China went on to become a semi-colonial country. Following China's defeat by the British in the Opium Wars (1839–42 and 1856–60), European powers gained extraordinary economic, military and legal privileges on Chinese soil, especially along the coast in the treaty ports. Officially, the Chinese Empire was still an independent power, but in reality it was at the mercy of other powers and

their treaties, which were backed up by "gunboat diplomacy" or armed power. In addition, Christian missionaries flooded into the country

As we have seen, Japan wished to achieve equality with the West which, of course, also meant acquiring colonies. The Meiji ambition to be a "first-class country" helped to encourage the drive for expansion on the mainland. Naturally, this would also help provide economic benefits: the raw materials and the markets of East Asia. Japan could see the European powers sharing out the spoils of China and they were concerned that they would lose out if they did not also stake claims on the mainland. Strategically, Japan was also alarmed at the possibility of other powers having political control in Korea (seen as "a dagger thrust at the heart" of Japan) and China; it believed that Japan's security depended on it having a dominant influence in such areas. The Sino-Japanese War (see page 18) was fought over influence in Korea, and China's weakness compared to the newly modernized Japan was evident in its quick defeat. A revolution in China in 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty. However, the country remained weak and divided. It was dominated by warlords who had fought among themselves and prevented any kind of national unity.

By the 1920s, the main political force in China was the Guomindang Nationalist Party (GMD) which, after 1925, was led by General Jiang Jieshi. However, the Communist Party of China (CCP) had been set up in 1921. The rivalry between these two political groups was to cause further instability in China in the late 1920s and 1930s, as you will read in the next chapter.



### ATL Research and thinking skills

1. Add more evidence to your spider diagram (see page 16) on factors that had contributed to the growth of Japanese nationalism by the end of the 1920s. Which of these factors do you consider to be the most important?
2. Identify the factors that encouraged the influence of the military to grow in Japan during this period.
3. In pairs, discuss the role of China in encouraging Japanese expansionism in this period. Be ready to feed back your discussion to the class.

### TOK

After you have discussed the review questions consider the following:

Did your class agree on which events were most significant? How might your choice of events impact the conclusions you draw about historical events?

Now discuss more generally who decides which events are historically significant and how this impacts our understanding of the past.

### Source help and hints

You need to find three clear points to answer part a of Question 1 on the document paper. When reading through the source it is a good idea to first underline or highlight these points before writing them out.

#### First question, part a – 3 marks

(See page 17.)

According to Source A, why were the Japanese so excited about the victory over China in 1895?

#### Source A

An extract from a memoir, written in 1931, by Ubukata Toshiro, a journalist-novelist, who was a teenager at the start of the Sino-Japanese War.

Everybody agreed that it would be very difficult to capture Pyongyang, since the city held huge British cannons. However, in August, the Japanese army overpowered Pyongyang with so little effort that it almost was disappointing – and the Japanese people were enraptured. My home town had no telephone system back then. News of victories came to the police before the newspaper received it, thanks to a telegraph line between the post office and police station. All news was put upon the message board in front of the police station, and we children ran to check it several times a day. The excitement of the Japanese people was beyond imagination. After all, China was thirty times as big as Japan, and its population was over 200 million, compared

to our 30 million. It had such a competent leader in Li Hongzhang... and this was our first war with a foreign country, a country supported moreover by the British. Everyone – adults, children, the aged, the women – talked about war and nothing else, day and night ... no one ever had been as happy, as when we learned of the fall of Pyongyang.

Cited in *Modern Japan, A History of Documents*.  
J.L. Huffman, OUP, 2004

Once you have found three clear points, it is an easy process to write your answer:

#### Example answer

Firstly, according to Source A, the Japanese were excited about the victory over China because the capture of Pyongyang was achieved very easily, "with so little effort", despite the fact that they had thought it would be "very difficult". Secondly, the Japanese were excited because China was so much bigger than Japan and had a good leader; this made the victory seem even more remarkable. Finally, they were excited because they had been successful in their first war with a foreign country.

**Examiner's comment:** This answer would be likely to achieve three marks because there are three clear points. Note the brief quotes to support points, though you do not need to quote the sources directly. Make sure that you do not repeat the same point.





## Political instability in China

By the late 1920s, a new situation had emerged in China. It was this situation, combined with the growing strength of the military and the economic crisis in Japan, that precipitated the Manchurian crisis of 1931.

Encouraged by public outrage concerning the behaviour of foreigners in China, Chinese nationalism had grown. The Nationalist Party in China, the Guomindang (GMD), led by Jiang Jieshi, began a campaign of national unification. This included anti-foreigner rhetoric and demands to end the unequal treaties that the great powers, including Japan, had forced China to sign.

By 1921, a new political party, the Communist Party, had been set up in China. Initially, the Communists, led by Mao Zedong, joined with Jiang Jieshi to form the United Front. The United Front launched a "Northern Expedition" to consolidate central government control and wrest power from the **warlords**. However, ultimately, the Nationalists and the Communists were to clash in an all-out civil war which, from 1927, directed the energies and focus of Jiang towards defeating the Communists rather than the Japanese.

This changing situation in China was to have an impact on the actions of the Japanese government and military.

### The warlords

The warlords were local or regional military leaders that had their own armies. They would rule areas of China as their own territories. Rivalries and competition between warlords meant that at times they were at war with each other.

## Japanese domestic issues before 1932: Political crises and the growing influence of the military

The Northern Expedition, which had been launched by Jiang Jieshi with the Communists, was regarded with some degree of concern by the Japanese government. The Japanese had backed the warlord in Manchuria, Zhang Zuolin. However, Zhang had become very powerful and attempted to expand into Northern China, which made him a target for Jiang. If Jiang defeated Zhang, this could impede Japan's special interests in Manchuria.

The Japanese government planned to use its army in Manchuria, the Kwantung Army, to disarm Zhang and to force him to retreat back to Manchuria before he was defeated by Jiang. The policy was to let Jiang's GMD have China while Japan focused on its interests in Manchuria. However, some Kwantung leaders thought that Zhang should not be treated so leniently and decided to take action themselves. First, they forced Jiang's Northern Expedition to halt at Jinan. They then assassinated Zhang on 4 June 1928. Some of the Kwantung assassins believed that the fallout from this act would provide the excuse they wanted to conquer Manchuria.

Japan's Prime Minister Tanaka was instructed by the emperor to enforce discipline in the army. However, despite Tanaka's anger at this interference by the Kwantung Army in government policy, the General Staff were unwilling to punish the perpetrators as they claimed it would weaken the prestige of the army. In July 1929, Tanaka was forced to resign as he was unable to implement the emperor's wishes. Therefore, as early as the summer of 1929, it was clear that the army could ignore

### The Kwantung Army

Since 1906, the southern Manchurian railway had been guarded by the Kwantung garrison, which in 1919 developed into the Kwantung Army. The Kwantung Army became a stronghold of the radical Kodo-ha or "Imperial Way" faction, with many of its leaders advocating the violent overthrow of the civilian government to bring about a military dictatorship (see page 39). They also advocated a more aggressive and expansionist foreign policy.

the government with impunity. This fundamentally undermined liberal democracy in Japan.

The leader of the Minseito Party, Hamaguchi Yuko, became prime minister but had to call an election in 1930 as he did not have a majority in parliament. He won a sound majority from the public on his manifesto of good relations with China, disarmament and an end to corruption. However, his government soon faltered as the impact of the Great Depression started to affect the economy (see below). Hamaguchi did not have the funds to help industry and so he cut government salaries for both the civil and military sectors. The military were unhappy with this move, but were then outraged when Hamaguchi agreed to the decisions made at the London Naval Disarmament Conference to limit Japan's naval growth. Criticism of the government, particularly in military circles, grew. In November 1930, things came to a head when Hamaguchi was shot by a right-wing radical. His injuries forced him to resign in April 1931 and he died in August.

### Japanese domestic issues: Economic crisis

The global economic crisis which started in 1929 following the Wall Street Crash in the USA called into question the whole international economic order. This, in turn, cast doubts on the trustworthiness of the USA and other democratic nations, and on Japan's own parliamentary government.

Japan was dependent on world trade and its exports fell drastically as countries put up tariffs to protect their own industries. The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, signed into law by President Herbert Hoover in 1930, brought in the highest protective tariffs in US peacetime industry. Duties on Japanese goods rose by as much as 200%.

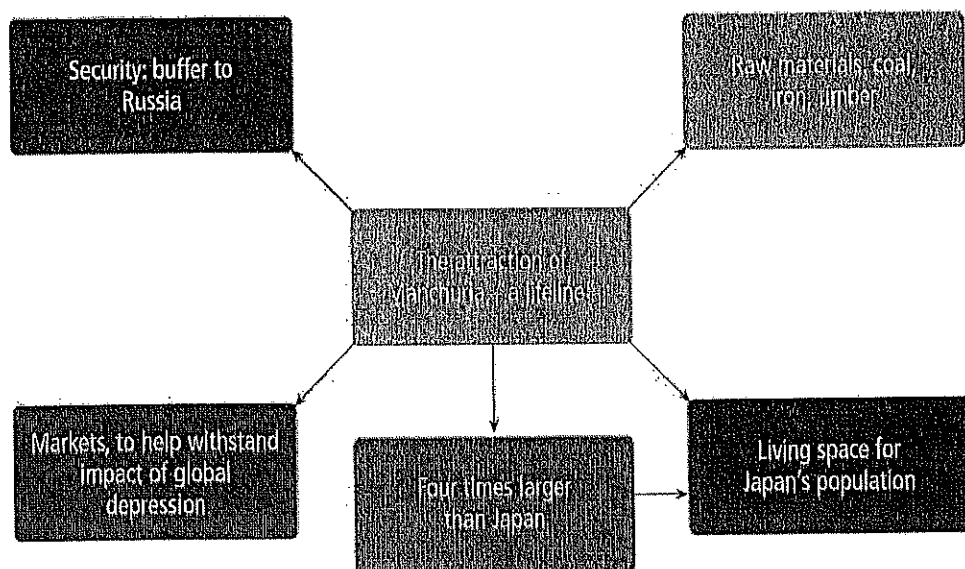
The worst hit industry was the silk industry. By 1932, the price of silk had fallen to less than one-fifth of what it had been in 1923. Farmers were hit particularly badly since over half of them relied on silk production. The result was desperate poverty as unemployment rose to 3 million.

*The responsibility for Japan's plight was placed squarely on the shoulders of the liberal reforms of the 1920s. Taisho democracy and Taisho internationalism, never very robust and possibly doomed anyway, were about to become two more victims of the world depression. — Boyle, 1993*

In this dire economic situation, Manchuria became even more important to Japan's interests. As you have read in Chapter 1.1, Japan had gained control of Port Arthur, as well as control of railway and mineral rights, when it defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. Manchuria's wealth of resources (coal, iron and timber) were increasingly enticing to a Japan suffering the deprivations of the depression. If Japan took over Manchuria it would control these resources and also gain a market for its manufactured goods.

Manchuria could also provide living space for an over-populated Japan. In fact, Manchuria was depicted by the diplomat Yosuke Matsuoka (who became Foreign Minister in 1940) as a "lifeline" and "our only means of survival".

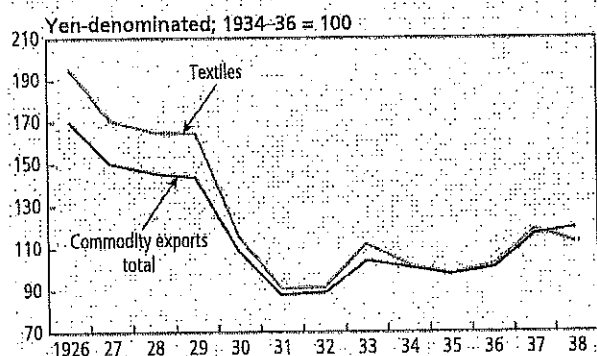




### Source skills

#### Source A

A graph showing Japanese exports 1926–38.



I. Yamazawa and Y. Yamamoto. 1978. *Estimates of Long-term Economic Statistics of Japan since 1868*. 14: Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments.

#### Source B

Contemporary observation, 1929.

In this climate of economic despair and political decline, the military emerged as a seemingly shining and pure example of the true spirit of the nation. Aided in part by decades of indoctrination, the military found its most fervent support in the down-trodden

rural areas. For many rural youths, military service was their escape from poverty and degradation. Military leaders and organizations such as the Imperial Reservists' Association promoted the idea that the "soldiers were the arms and legs of the empire ..." and better than civilians. It stated that young peasant men struggling to survive "consider it to be the greatest honour attainable, once they enter the army to become a private superior class."

#### Source C

Herbert Bix, an American historian who specialises in Japanese history, in an academic book *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (2000).

Thus ideas advanced by Japan's leaders to justify their actions in Manchuria gained reinforcement from the breakdown of global capitalism, emergent monetary and trade blocs, and contending domestic systems of politics and ideology. In a lecture delivered at court before Hirohito and his entourage on 28 January, 1932, former army minister General Minami emphasized national security, raw materials, and the need for territory to explain the army's creation of an independent

Manchurian state. "Japan-Manchuria joint management", he told the emperor, would enable Japan to "withstand an economic blockade from abroad" and continue "indefinitely as a great power". The acquisition of Manchuria in its entirety would also solve the Japanese "population problem" by providing space for Japan's rapidly increasing people, whose numbers by the end of the decade were expected to reach 70 million.

### First question, part a – 3 marks

According to Source B, why did the military have a particular appeal for the Japanese peasants?

### First question, part a – 3 marks

According to Source C, why was Manchuria important for Japan?

### First question, part b – 2 marks

What is the message of Source A?

### Second question – 4 marks

With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the values and limitations of Source C for historians studying the Manchurian crisis.



Despite Japan's plans for Manchuria, it became clear that, given the aims of the Northern Expedition, China would fight for Manchuria. The Kwantung Army's hope that the assassination of Zhang would destabilize the situation and allow for Japan to seize control was not fulfilled, as the warlord was succeeded by his son, Zhang Xueliang, who allied himself with Jiang. Indeed, the Chinese Nationalists rallied behind anti-Japanese propaganda. While the Japanese government still aimed to follow peaceful principles to maintain Japan's position in the North-East of China, militants in the Kwantung Army were concerned that their objective of taking over Manchuria would become more difficult to achieve.

Thus, a group of Kwantung Army officers hatched a plot to seize Manchuria once and for all, against the policies of their own government. Prime Minister Wakatsuki was warned of the plan by Japanese consul officials in Manchuria. He informed the emperor, who ordered the minister of war, General Minami, to restrain the Kwantung Army.

Minami responded by writing an urgent letter to the commander of the Kwantung Army, but this letter was intentionally held back by the general tasked with delivering it. The plotters therefore executed their plan before receiving the emperor's command to cancel any action against the Chinese. As the historian Herbert P. Bix writes: "[Emperor] Hirohito and his top palace advisers ... never imagined that the Kwantung army would seize the initiative, completely overturn the Minseito cabinet's policies, and undermine the emperor's authority" (Bix, 2000).

### ATL Social skills

In pairs or groups, use the sources and the information in this section to assess the impact of the economic crisis on

- the political situation in Japan
- the position of the military
- the overall foreign policy of Japan.

## Events in Manchuria, 1931

### The impact of nationalism and militarism on Japan's foreign policy

On the evening of 18 September 1931, near Mukden, there was an explosion on a section of the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway. Immediately afterwards, officers of the Kwantung Army claimed that the railway had been blown up by the Chinese. However, there is evidence that the perpetrators were members of the Kwantung Army.

**Source skills**

Saburo Ienaga, a Japanese historian, in an academic book *The Pacific War (Taiheiyo Senso) 1931–45*, page 129 (1968).

The Imperial Army's march into Manchuria was presented as an act of self-defence to guard "Japan's lifeline", which had been acquired at great cost in blood and treasure in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. Next, North China and Inner Mongolia had to be controlled to guard Manchuria. Protecting these areas required further advances into the heartland of China. This pattern of ever-expanding military operations confirmed a truism about international conflict: once

started, a war escalates uncontrollably in the quest for elusive victory.

How could China be brought to its knees? That was an intractable problem.

**First question, part a – 3 marks**

What points are made by Ienaga regarding the impact of Japan's takeover of Manchuria?

**Second question – 4 marks**

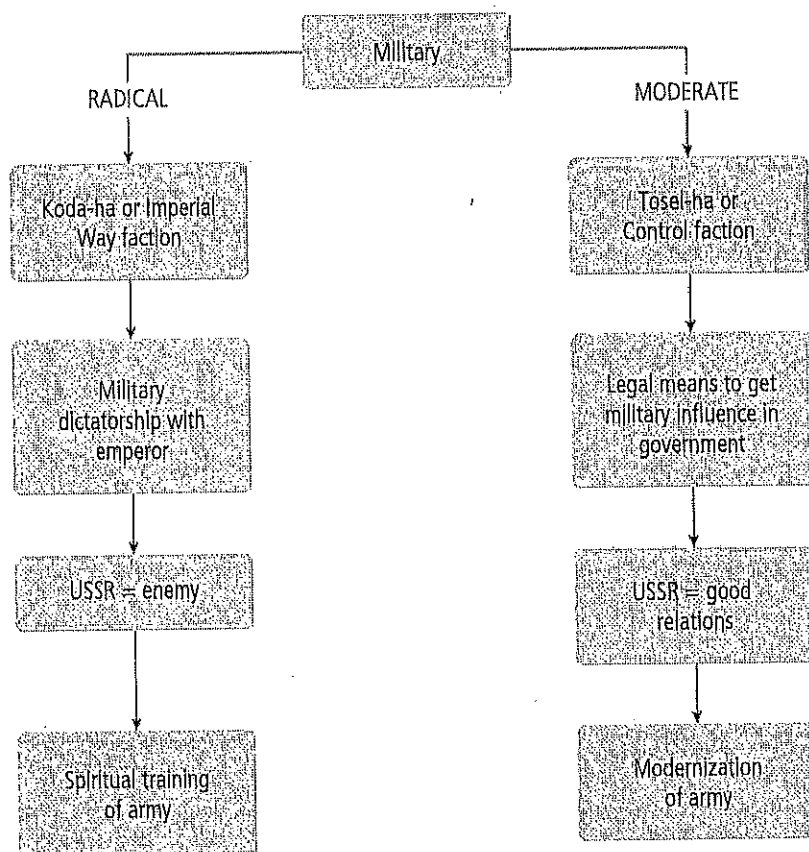
With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the values and limitations of this source for historians studying the Manchurian crisis.

**Years of turmoil: The descent into "the Dark Valley"**

After 1932, there was division not only between the military and the politicians but within the military itself. This further destabilized the political situation at the time and would ultimately lead to the establishment of a military government and the descent into what the Japanese call "the Dark Valley".

**Japanese domestic issues after 1932****Political crises and the growing influence of the military**

Although some generals did not want to replace the government with a military junta, there was growing momentum behind the militarist groups that did. There were two key groups that wanted more influence for the military: the Koda-ha or Imperial Way faction, and the Tosei-ha or Control faction. Both groups were imperialist and wanted Japanese expansion. However, the Koda-ha was generally the more radical of the two. The Koda-ha faction believed in a military dictatorship that would deliver state socialism. Its leading officers viewed the Soviet Union as Japan's main enemy. They saw war with the Soviet Union as inevitable and the conquest of Manchuria as the first step towards this. They emphasized national "spirit" over material force.



The Tosei-ha were against terrorism and the use of force to remove the government. They wanted to use legal means to foster military power and influence over the government. They did not see war with the Soviet Union as inevitable and wanted to maintain good relations with the Soviets. Their objective was conquest in China, which would require the modernization of the army and industry as well as the mobilization of the whole nation.

As part of this internal contest for power in Japan, three major assassination plots destabilized the government between 1932 and 1936. One of these took place in May 1932, when a number of army and navy officers attacked banks, party officers and the police headquarters in Tokyo. Prime Minister Inukai was shot and killed.

The trial of the conspirators demonstrated widespread support for their actions and a general disillusionment with the ruling political parties. Therefore, the "May 15th Incident", as it became known, enhanced the influence of the army and further undermined the democratic government. The subsequent governments of Admiral Saito and Admiral Okada were interim governments, during which the army played out its power struggle between the Kodo-ha and the Tosei-ha factions.

Admiral Saito's government (May 1932–July 1934) seemed to favour the Kodo-ha faction, as it appointed three of its leaders into high positions. However, Saito took a firm stance against the Kodo-ha's radical factions and, after a plot against him was discovered, he promoted a member of the Tosei-ha to minister of war.

Admiral Okada took over in July 1934. During his leadership, the Kodo-ha produced a publication promoting the idea that the army should control the economy. When a Kodo-ha minister was sacked for not keeping control of his young officers, a Kodo-ha officer assassinated the leader of the Tosei-ha, General Nagata.

There was sympathy for the assassin, Aizawa, at his trial but he was found guilty and executed. In response, a group of young Kodo-ha officers attempted a revolt to seize power in February 1936. 1,500 soldiers marched into Tokyo and took over the parliament buildings, the war office, police headquarters and the prime minister's residence. They brutally murdered many officials. News of their attempted and bloody coup went around the world.

Fifteen of the key conspirators were tried in secret and shot. The Kodo-ha faction was discredited. From then on, members of the Tosei-ha faction were most important in developing army planning, and this meant that the army would now take firmer control of the country.

Admiral Okada resigned after the attempted coup and Hirota Koki became prime minister. From the start, he was weak and had to make compromises with the military, including agreeing to pursue a strong foreign policy. In May 1936, he agreed that the ministers for the army and navy had to be serving officers. He later agreed to a seven-point programme from the army, which basically handed control of the government to the military. Hirota agreed to expand arms production and support the army in Manchuria. He also signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Hitler in November, 1936. When the National Diet declared its alarm

#### ATL Communication skills



Go to: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDv8NxGv9Yg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDv8NxGv9Yg), or search for "The Road to War – Japan".

Watch the Pathé News clip, starting 22.30 minutes into the video. Make notes on how the coup was reported.



at the direction the military was taking, the government was brought down.

The government of General Hayashi was in power between February and June 1937. The Diet was the only instrument of power left that attempted to limit the military's power. However, its politicians were divided. In June, Prince Konoye Fumimaro took over as prime minister and it was hoped that, with his long political experience, he could unite the nation politically.

Konoye wanted to restrain the army, but it was soon apparent that he would not be able to; the Tosei-ha faction was dominant in the government and expansion in China was their objective. A leading Tosei-ha general, General Tojo Hideki, became Chief of Staff to the Kwantung Army in July 1937. Within six weeks of Konoe taking power, Japan's army commanders had ordered the invasion of China. Konoe was powerless to halt it.

#### Class discussion

Discuss possible reasons for Japan's decision to sign the Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany in November, 1936.

Year	Prime Minister	Features of the period
1931	Wakatsuki	Party Cabinet, undermined by the Kwantung Army taking over Manchuria
1931–32	Inukai	Party Cabinet, assassinated in 1932
1932–34	Admiral Saito	Moderate admirals; power struggle between Tosei-ha and Kodo-ha factions, which resulted in the supremacy of the Tosei-ha and paved the way for more military control over government
1934–36	Admiral Okada	
1936–37	Hirota Koki	Growing militarism; concessions to the army
1937	General Hayashi	Unable to control the military; war with China starts
1937–39	Prince Konoe	
1939	Baron Hiranuma	
1939–40	General Abbe	Japanese expansion in China and South-East Asia
1940	Admiral Yonai	Tripartite Pact
1940–41	Prince Konoe	Diplomatic activity with the USA, fails to control militarists
1941	General Tojo	Attack on Pearl Harbor

▲ Summary of the political changes, 1931–41

#### Source skills

##### Source A

Watch a 1936 Japanese anti-American cartoon, *Evil Mickey attacks Japan*:

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcVu-acHlpU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcVu-acHlpU).

##### Source B

Hirota Koki's government adopted the following principles of national policy:

Japan must become the stabilising force in East Asia both in name and in fact so as to contribute to the peace and welfare of mankind and at the same time manifest the

ideals of the nation ... The fundamental principles are described below:

1. Japan must strive to eradicate the aggressive policies of the great powers, and share with East Asia the joy which is based on the true principle of co-existence and co-prosperity. This is the spirit of the Imperial Way ...
2. Japan must complete her national defence and armament to protect her national security and development. In this way, the position of the Empire as the stabilizing

Source E

**Primary Source Document  
with Questions (DBQs)**

**"ILLUSIONS OF THE WHITE RACE" (1921)  
By Ōkuma Shigenobu**

**Introduction**

Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) was one of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration and a leading statesman in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan. Ōkuma served as Japan's Minister of Finance, Foreign Minister, and (on two occasions, in 1898 and 1914-16) as Prime Minister. He also was the founder of Waseda University, a prestigious private institution in Tokyo.

In this piece, written not long before his death, Ōkuma captures long-standing Japanese resentments of racially motivated discrimination at the hands of the Western powers. The recent Versailles Peace Conference (1919) is certainly fresh in Ōkuma's mind, as the Japanese delegates there had proposed a racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations, only to be rebuffed by Australian, American, and European resistance. In the 1920s, anger over American racism would flare once again, especially in the wake of the Immigration Act of 1924 (often called the Asian exclusion act), which sought to block Japanese migration to the United States.

**Document Excerpts with Questions** (Longer selection follows this section)  
From *What Japan Thinks*, edited by K. K. Kawakami (New York: Macmillan, 1921).

**"Illusions of the White Race" (1921)  
By Ōkuma Shigenobu**

The Renaissance during the Middle Ages stimulated the progress of the material civilization in Europe and helped the Europeans to grow richer and stronger than the Asiatic races who kept on slumbering in their old civilization. Being seized by an insatiable, aggressive desire, the Europeans took full advantage of their lethargy and swooped down on India and other parts of Asia. They either conquered the Asiatic people by force, or dominated them by dint of superior economic organization, or cheated them out of their territories. The ascendancy of the white races is due to the fact that they came into the possession of material civilization a little earlier than their non-white brothers.

The white are obsessed with the mistaken theory that they are superior to all other races. This is the most serious obstacle in the way of the realization of racial equality.

Now the Japanese, the Chinese, the Mongolian, the Turks, the Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, the Arabs, the Malaysians, the American aborigines, and the African peoples are all non-white. They are all held in contempt by the whites. And it is the common belief among the whites that the darker the skin, the more inferior is the race. It is based neither upon science, nor upon any positive experience. It is mere superstition backed by historical prejudices.

The whites are of the conviction that they are too superior a people to be governed by their non-white fellows. Therefore, they demand the privilege of extraterritoriality in the countries of the Asiatic races. They establish their own courts and trample under foot the laws and courts of Asiatic countries ...

Of all the non-white countries, Japan had taken the lead in adopting the best parts of European civilization — including its military side. She codified her laws, and reformed her police and judicial systems, her military and naval forces, thus placing herself almost on an equal footing with that of the European countries. Therefore, the Europeans were compelled to withdraw their extraterritorial rights from Japan ...

Some whites regard the development of Japan as an unjustifiable encroachment upon their own rights. They either instigate a non-white race against Japan or plan to organize a league of the white nations to perpetuate a white supremacy in the world. Be it remembered, however, that no unjust and unreasonable agitation against this country will ever succeed, as God never sides with an unjust cause.

It is, of course, true that there are still peoples in this world who are so backward in civilization that they cannot at once be admitted into the international family on an equal footing. But it will never do to give discriminatory treatment to them. What is needed by them is proper guidance and direction. And when they have reached a certain stage of civilization, they should be given an equal place and rank in the comity of the nations. Although most Asiatic nations are fully peers of European nations, yet they are discriminated against because of the color of the skin. The root of it lies in the perverted feeling of racial superiority entertained by the whites. If things are allowed to proceed in the present way, there is every likelihood that the peace of the world will be endangered. It, therefore, behooves all well-wishers of mankind to exert their utmost to remove this gross injustice immediately.

**Questions:**

1. What are Ôkuma's main arguments here? What kind of evidence does he use to support his points? Do you agree with him?
2. Does Ôkuma himself see all races and nationalities as equal? Where does he believe Japan stands in the world? What yardstick does he use for measuring Japan's status?
3. How do you think you would have responded to this piece as an American political leader at the time?
4. Does it change your opinion of Ôkuma and this document to know that Ôkuma himself was a nobleman, holding the elevated title of marquis, one of the highest ranks in the Japanese ~~peerage~~ <sup>rankings</sup>?





### Terms for Primary Source “Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan”, 1937

- Evocative - bringing strong images, memories, or feelings to mind.
- Essence - spirit
- Meiji - the period when Japan was ruled by the emperor Meiji Tenno, marked by the modernization and westernization of the country.
- Virtue - behavior showing high moral standards.
- Intrinsically - in an essential or natural way.
- Occidental - relating to the countries of the West.
- Conglomerations - a number of different things, parts or items that are grouped together; collection.
- August - respected and impressive.
- Filial Piety - filial piety is a virtue of respect for one's parents, elders, and ancestors
- Martial - of or appropriate to war; warlike.
- Self-Effacement - not claiming attention for oneself.
- Oriental - of, from, or characteristic of Asia, especially East Asia.
- Aesthetic - concerned with beauty or the appreciation of beauty.
- Polity - an organized society; a state as a political entity

### Document 20.2

## The Japanese Way

In the Japanese language the word *kokutai* is an evocative term that refers to the national essence or the fundamental character of the Japanese nation and people. Drawing both on long-established understandings and on recently developed nationalist ideas, the Ministry of Education in 1937 published a small volume, widely distributed in schools and homes throughout the country, entitled the *Kokutai No Hongi* (*Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*). That text, excerpted in Document 20.2, defined the uniqueness of Japan and articulated the philosophical foundation of its authoritarian regime. (See pp. 999–1002 for the background to this document.) When the Americans occupied a defeated and devastated Japan in 1945, they forbade the further distribution of the book.

- According to *Cardinal Principles*, what was *kokutai*? How did the document define the national essence of Japan? How did its authors compare Japan to the West?
- What was the ideal role of the individual in Japanese society?
- To whom might these ideas have been attractive? Why?
- How might this document have been used to justify Japan's military and territorial expansion?
- Why do you think the American occupation authorities banned the document?



## *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*

1937

The various ideological and social evils of present-day Japan are the result of ignoring the fundamental and running after the trivial, of lack of judgment, and a failure to digest things thoroughly; and this is due to the fact that since the days of Meiji so many aspects of European and American culture, systems, and learning, have been imported, and that, too rapidly. As a matter of fact, the foreign ideologies imported into our country are in the main ideologies of the [European] Enlightenment that have come down from the eighteenth century, or extensions of them. The views of the world and of life that form the basis of these ideologies...lay the highest value on, and assert the liberty and equality of, individuals....

We have already witnessed the boundless Imperial virtues. Wherever this Imperial virtue of compassion radiates, the Way for the subjects naturally becomes clear. The Way of the subjects exists where the entire nation serves the Emperor united in mind....That is, we by nature serve the Emperor and walk the Way of the Empire....

We subjects are intrinsically quite different from the so-called citizens of the Occidental countries....

When citizens who are conglomerations of separate individuals independent of each other give support to a ruler,...there exists no deep foundation between ruler and citizen to unite them. However, the relationship between the Emperor and his subjects arises from the same fountainhead, and has prospered ever since the founding of the nation as one in essence....

Our country is established with the Emperor.... For this reason, to serve the Emperor and to receive the Emperor's great august Will as one's own is the rationale of making our historical "life" live in the present....

Loyalty means to reverence the Emperor as [our] pivot and to follow him implicitly....Hence, offering our lives for the sake of the Emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice, but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State....An individual is an existence belonging to the State and her history, which forms the basis of his origin, and is fundamentally one body with it....

We must sweep aside the corruption of the spirit and the clouding of knowledge that arises from setting up one's "self" and from being taken up with one's "self" and return to a pure and clear state of mind that belongs intrinsically to us as subjects, and thereby fathom the great principle loyalty....

Indeed, loyalty is our fundamental Way as subject, and is the basis of our national morality. Through loyalty are we become Japanese subjects; in loyalty do we obtain life and herein do we find the source of all morality....

In our country filial piety is a Way of the highest importance. Filial piety originates with one's family as its basis, and in its larger sense has the nation for its foundation....

Our country is a great family nation, and the Imperial Household is the head family of the subjects and the nucleus of national life. The subjects revere the Imperial Household, which is the head family, with the tender esteem they have for their ancestors; and the Emperor loves his subjects as his very own....

When we trace the marks of the facts of the founding of our country and the progress of our history, what we always find there is the spirit of harmony....The spirit of harmony is built upon the concord of all things. When people determinedly count themselves as masters and assert their egos, there is nothing but contradictions and the setting of one against the other; and harmony is not begotten....That is, a society of individualism is one of the clashes between [masses of]

Source: J. O. Gauntlett, trans., and R. K. Hall, ed., *Kokutai No Hongi* (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 53-183.

people... and all history may be looked upon as one of class wars....

And this, this harmony is clearly seen in our nation's martial spirit. Our nation is one that holds bushido<sup>9</sup> in high regard, and there are shrines deifying warlike spirits.... Bushido may be cited as showing an outstanding characteristic of our national morality.... That is to say, though a sense of obligation binds master and servant, this has developed in a spirit of self-effacement and meeting death with a perfect calmness. In this, it was not that death was made light of so much as that man tempered himself to death and in a true sense regarded it with esteem. In effect, man tried to fulfill true life by the way of death....

To put it in a nutshell, while the strong points of Occidental learning and concepts lie in their analytical and intellectual qualities, the characteristics of Oriental learning and concepts lie in their intuitive and aesthetic qualities. These are natural tendencies that arise through racial and historical differences; and when we compare them with our national spir-

its, concepts, or mode of living, we cannot help recognizing further great and fundamental differences. Our nation has in the past imported, assimilated, and sublimated Chinese and Indian ideologies, and has therewith supported the Imperial Way, making possible the establishment of an original culture based on her national polity....

Since the *Meiji* restoration our nation has adapted the good elements of the advanced education seen among European and American nations, and has exerted efforts to set up an educational system and materials for teaching. The nation has also assimilated on a wide scale the scholarship of the West, not only in the fields of natural science, but of the mental sciences, and has thus striven to see progress made in our scholastic pursuits and to make education more popular....

However, at the same time, through the infiltration of individualistic concepts, both scholastic pursuits and education have tended to be taken up with a world in which the intellect alone mattered....

In order to correct these tendencies, the only course open to us is to clarify the true nature of our national polity, which is at the very source of our education, and to strive to clear up individualistic and abstract ideas.

<sup>9</sup>bushido: the way of the warrior.

Source: Robert W. Strayer, Jay P. Harman, "Ways of the World: a  
Boston, Bedford St / St. Martins pub. global history with sources"  
2013... Pgs 999-1000, 1021-1023



