



# CHAPTER 24

# The West Between the Wars 1919–1939

**Section 1** The Futile Search for Stability

**Section 2** The Rise of Dictatorial Regimes

**Section 3** Hitler and Nazi Germany

**Section 4** Cultural and Intellectual Trends

### MAKING CONNECTIONS

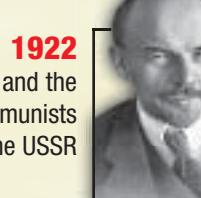
### How can politics be reflected in sports?

Nazi leader Adolf Hitler wanted to use the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin to show the superiority of the Aryan (German) race. However, African-American athlete Jesse Owens of the United States shattered that plan by winning four gold medals. In this chapter you will learn how Hitler and other leaders created totalitarian states.

- In the photograph, why is Jesse Owens (at center) saluting and why is Lutz Long (at right) extending his arm?
- Do you think national pride and politics or individual accomplishments are more important to Olympic athletes today?



### EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES ►



**1922**  
Lenin and the Communists create the USSR

**1926**

Mussolini establishes a Fascist dictatorship in Italy

**1929**

U.S. stock market crashes; Great Depression begins

**1919**

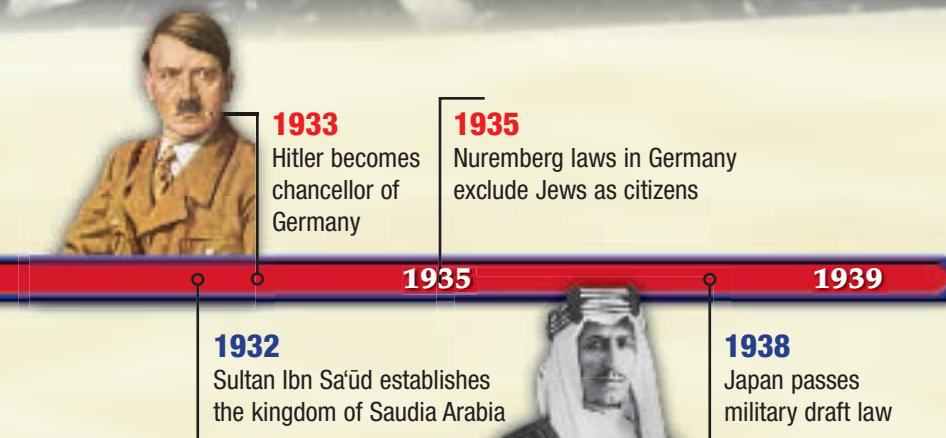
**1925**

**1930**

### THE WORLD ►

**1923**

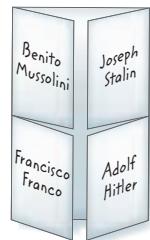
Nationalists and Communists in China form an alliance



## FOLDABLES™

### Study Organizer

**Comparing and Contrasting** Make a Four-Door Book to record the differences and similarities of the dictatorships of Mussolini, Stalin, Franco, and Hitler.



## History ONLINE

Chapter Overview—Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) to preview Chapter 24.



## SECTION

# 1

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

### 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.



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.

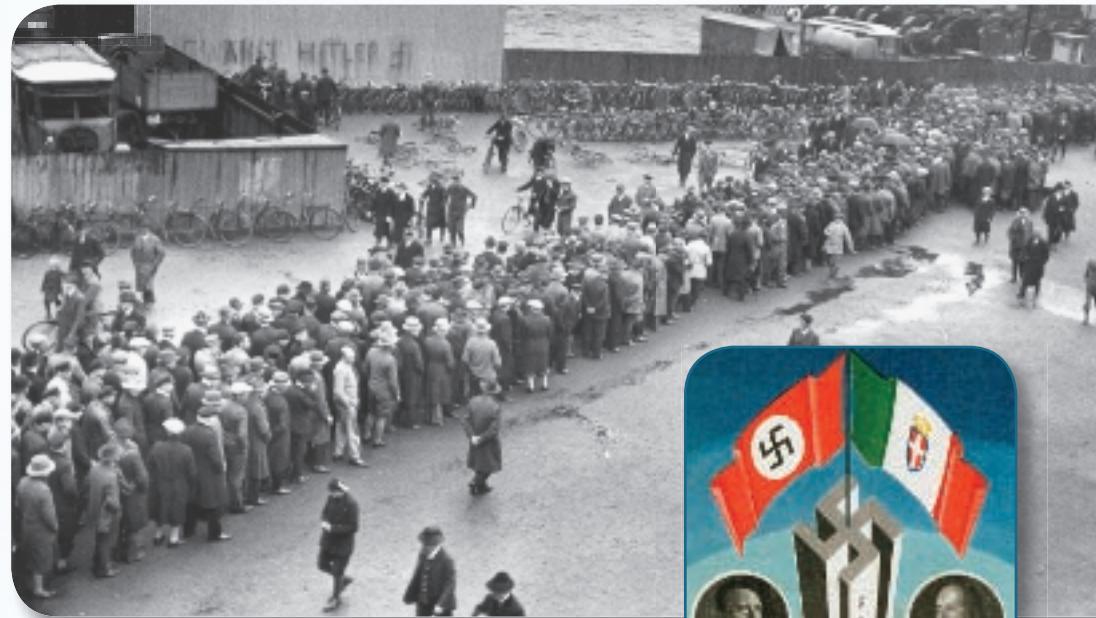
**Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the results of the Great Depression?



## POLITICAL EFFECTS OF ————— THE GREAT DEPRESSION

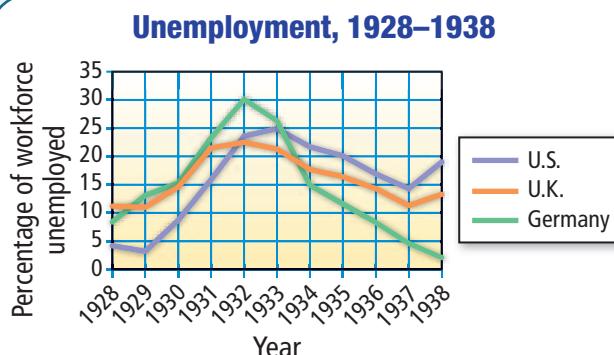
The Great Depression left millions of people unemployed—and national economies in crisis. As government attempts to solve the economic problems failed, popular morale waned. Many people turned to Marxism for answers. Extremist political parties gained support by promising better times ahead. These results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



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. ►



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

- CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS**
- Identifying** Name three political effects of the Great Depression.
  - 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 homework 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** (VY•MAHR) **Republic** 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.

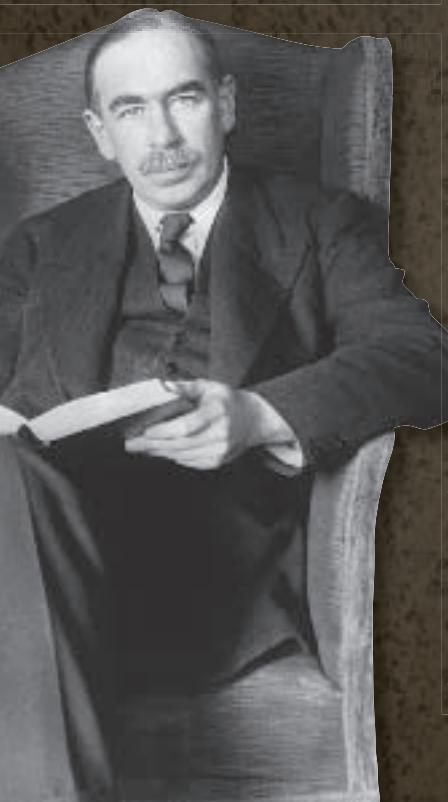
Because it had a more balanced economy than other nations, France did not begin to feel the full effects of the Great Depression until 1932. The economic instability it then suffered soon had political effects. During a 19-month period in 1932 and 1933, six different cabinets were formed as France faced 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 in 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

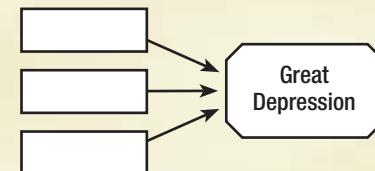
## REVIEW

### 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.



## SECTION

## 2

# 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

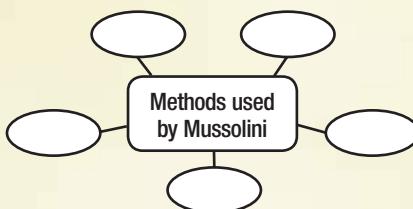
- unprecedented (p. 796)
- media (p. 799)

#### People, Places, and Events

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



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•suuh•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

- Explaining** How does Mussolini describe the role of the individual in the Fascist state?
- 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 horse-flesh. 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** (PAH•luht•BYUR•OH)—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.

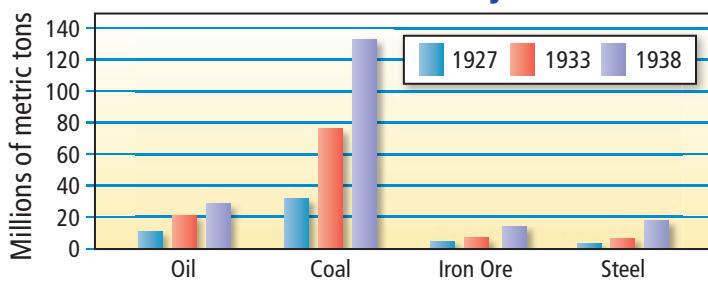
The peasants resisted by hoarding crops and killing livestock. In response, Stalin stepped up the program. By 1930, 10 million peasant households had been collectivized. By 1934, 26 million family farms had been collectivized into 250,000 units.

NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC

## SOVIET UNION BY 1939



### Soviet Industry



### 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?



## 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."

- Explaining** What effect did new war technology have in the battle at Guernica?
- 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.





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.



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

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## SECTION

## 3

# 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•buhnz•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**

- Explaining** Based on the excerpt, what is the meaning of the swastika?
- 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?

**Kristallnacht or “Night of Shattered Glass”**

Still visible in this burned synagogue is a *bimah*, a raised platform from which the Torah is read.

*Kristallnacht* was named for the shattered windows resulting from violence against Jews.

Although anti-Semitic policies had been in effect in Germany since the Nazi takeover in 1933, the events of *Kristallnacht* signaled the start of a more violent era of anti-Semitism. Businesses could not reopen unless managed by non-Jews. Jews were banned from schools and most public places.

“Regards: Measures against Jews tonight. . . .

“a) Only such measures may be taken which do not jeopardize German life or property (for instance, burning of synagogues only if there is no danger of fires for the neighborhoods).

“b) Business establishments and homes of Jews may be destroyed but not looted. . . .

“c) In business streets special care is to be taken that non-Jewish establishments will be safeguarded at all cost against damage. . . .

“As soon as the events of this night permit the use of the designated officers, as many Jews, particularly wealthy ones, as the local jails will hold, are to be arrested in all districts.”

—Directive from SS officer Reinhard Heydrich,  
November 10, 1938

**DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS**

- Hypothesizing** Why do you think Heydrich said that Jewish-owned stores and homes could be destroyed but not looted?
- Organizing** Research and create a time line of anti-Semitic Nazi policies in the years before *Kristallnacht*.

## Economics and Spectacles

In the economic sphere, Hitler used public works projects and grants to private construction firms to put people back to work and end the Depression. A massive rearmament program, however, was the key to solving the unemployment problem.

Unemployment, which had reached more than 5 million people in 1932, dropped to 2.5 million in 1934 and less than 500,000 in 1937. The regime claimed full credit for solving Germany’s economic woes. The new regime’s part in bringing an end to the Depression was an important

factor in leading many Germans to accept Hitler and the Nazis.

In addition, the Nazis used mass demonstrations and spectacles to make the German people an instrument of Hitler’s policies. These meetings, especially the **Nuremberg** party rallies that were held every September, usually evoked mass enthusiasm and excitement.

The Nazi totalitarian state also controlled institutions, which included churches, schools, and universities. In addition, Nazi professional organizations and youth organizations taught Nazi ideals.



## Women and Nazism

Women played a crucial role in the Aryan state as bearers of the children who, the Nazis believed, would bring about the triumph of the Aryan race. The Nazis believed men were destined to be warriors and political leaders, while women were meant to be wives and mothers. By preserving this clear distinction, each could best serve to "maintain the whole community."

Nazi ideas determined employment opportunities for women. Jobs in heavy industry, the Nazis thought, might hinder women from bearing healthy children. Certain professions, including university teaching, medicine, and law, were also considered unsuitable for women, especially married women. The Nazis instead encouraged women to pursue other occupations, such as social work and nursing. The Nazi regime pushed its campaign against working women with poster slogans such as "Get ahold of pots and pans and broom and you'll sooner find a groom!"

## Anti-Semitic Policies

From its beginning, the Nazi Party reflected the strong anti-Semitic beliefs of Adolf Hitler. Once in power, the Nazis translated anti-Semitic ideas into anti-Semitic policies, including anti-Jewish boycotts and other measures.

In September 1935, the Nazis announced new racial laws at the annual party rally in Nuremberg. These **Nuremberg laws** defined who was considered a Jew—anyone with even one Jewish grandparent. They also excluded Jews from German citizenship, stripped Jews of their civil rights, and forbade marriages between Jews and German citizens. Jews could neither teach nor take part in the arts. Eventually, German Jews were also **required** to wear yellow Stars of David and to carry identification cards saying they were Jewish.

A more violent phase of anti-Jewish activity began on the night of November 9, 1938—**Kristallnacht**, or the "night of shattered glass." In a destructive rampage, Nazis burned synagogues and destroyed some 7,000 Jewish businesses. At least 100 Jews were killed. Thirty thousand Jewish males were rounded up and sent to concentration camps.

*Kristallnacht* led to further drastic steps. Jews were barred from all public transportation and all public buildings, including schools and hospitals. They were **prohibited** from owning, managing, or working in any retail store. The Jews were forced to clean up all the debris and damage due to *Kristallnacht*. Finally, under the direction of the SS, Jews were encouraged to "emigrate from Germany." The fortunate Jews were the ones who managed to escape from the country.

**✓ Reading Check Summarizing** What steps did Hitler take to establish a Nazi totalitarian state in Germany?

## SECTION

# 3

## REVIEW

### Vocabulary

- Explain the significance of: Adolf Hitler, Munich, Nazi, Reichstag, Enabling Act, concentration camps, Aryan, Heinrich Himmler, Nuremberg, Nuremberg laws, require, *Kristallnacht*, prohibit.

### Main Ideas

- Summarize the steps that Hitler took to become the sole ruler of Germany.
- Describe the policies and programs that the Nazis used to create a Third Reich. Using a table like the one below, identify the goals for each policy or program.

Policy/Program	Goals

- List the rights that the Nazi government took from the Jews.

### Critical Thinking

- The BIG Idea Determining Cause and Effect** How did mass demonstrations and meetings contribute to the success of the Nazi Party?
- Drawing Conclusions** Why were the methods used by Himmler's SS effective in furthering Nazi goals?
- Analyzing Visuals** Examine the poster on page 805. Why is East Prussia shown as being separated from the rest of Germany?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Find a library book by a German who lived under Nazism. Read about the author's life. Write a report about whether that person could have resisted the government and why or why not.

### 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.



# Social History

Stapleton Collection/CORBIS

## The Hitler Youth

In a totalitarian state, every individual serves the state—there is no society apart from it. Just as there were Nazi organizations for teachers, farmers, and other groups, Hitler established an organization for young people between the ages of 10 and 18—the Hitler Youth. It was formed even before the Nazis gained power because Hitler recognized the importance of winning young people over to his ideas. Upon joining, a young person took an oath: "In the presence of the blood banner [Nazi flag] which represents our Führer, I swear to devote all my energies and my strength to the saviour of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God."



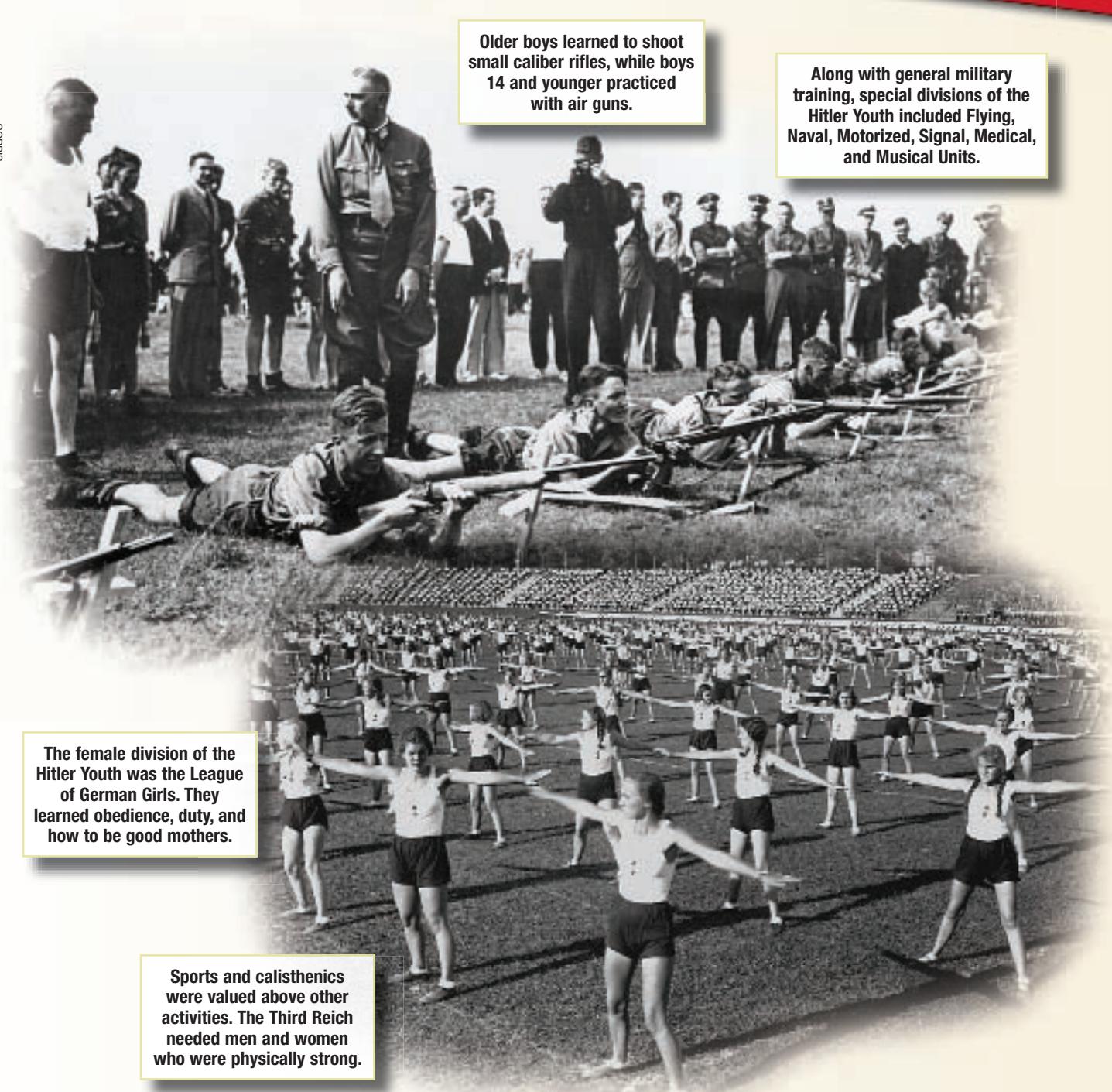
The Hitler Youth copied military discipline and stressed absolute obedience to the party.

### MEMBERSHIP INCREASES

The Hitler Youth had 100,000 members when Hitler took power in January 1933. Membership jumped to 2 million by the end of the year and to 5.4 million by December 1936. The Nazis later banned competing youth organizations and, in March 1939, issued a decree requiring all German youths aged 10 to 18 to join the Hitler Youth. By the early years of World War II, about 90 percent of the country's young people belonged to the Hitler Youth.



CORBIS



## SERVING THE REICH

The goal of the Hitler Youth was to indoctrinate young Germans with Nazi ideology—hatred of Jews, glorification of the German nation, and worship of Hitler. Hitler Youth members participated in party rallies and parades, distributed party literature, and kept an eye on teachers and their curriculum for the Nazi party. The success of the organization was proven in World War II as young men eagerly signed up for the military, while youth on the home front collected scrap metal, served as air raid wardens, and helped wounded soldiers.

### ANALYZING VISUALS

- Speculating** What elements in German society might have inspired young Germans to join the Hitler Youth before it became mandatory?
- Interpreting** How does the Hitler Youth organization reflect totalitarian ideas?



## SECTION

## 4

# Cultural and Intellectual Trends

### GUIDE TO READING

#### The BIG Idea

**Ideas, Beliefs, and Values** The destruction of World War I and the turmoil of the Great Depression profoundly affected the work of artists and intellectuals.

#### Content Vocabulary

- photomontage (*p. 814*)
- uncertainty principle (*p. 815*)
- surrealism (*p. 815*)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- assembly (*p. 813*)
- trend (*p. 814*)

#### People and Places

- Salvador Dalí (*p. 815*)
- Hermann Hesse (*p. 815*)
- James Joyce (*p. 815*)
- Dublin (*p. 815*)

#### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing Information** As you read, use a table like the one below to list literary works by Hesse and Joyce. Describe the techniques used in each work.

Literary Works	Techniques

Mass communications as a propaganda tool was born during World War I as governments worked to win citizen support for the war. In the 1920s and 1930s, people worldwide felt the effects of the Great Depression and political instability. The arts and sciences reflected the changes occurring in people's ideas about the world.

## Mass Culture and Leisure

### MAIN IDEA

Hitler used radio and movies as propaganda tools to promote Nazism.

**HISTORY & YOU** How would you compare advertising in a democracy to propaganda in a totalitarian state? Read to find out how Hitler used movies to promote his beliefs.

A series of inventions in the late 1800s had led the way for a revolution in mass communications. Especially important was Marconi's discovery of wireless radio waves. A musical concert transmitted in June 1920 had a major impact on radio broadcasting. Broadcasting facilities were built in the United States, Europe, and Japan during 1921 and 1922. At the same time, the mass production of radios began. In 1926 there were 2.2 million radios in Great Britain. By the end of the 1930s, there were 9 million.

Although motion pictures had first emerged in the 1890s, full-length features did not appear until shortly before World War I. The Italian film *Quo Vadis* and the American film *Birth of a Nation* made it apparent that cinema was an important new form of mass entertainment.

By 1939, about 40 percent of adults in the more developed countries were attending a movie once a week. That figure had increased to 60 percent by the end of World War II.

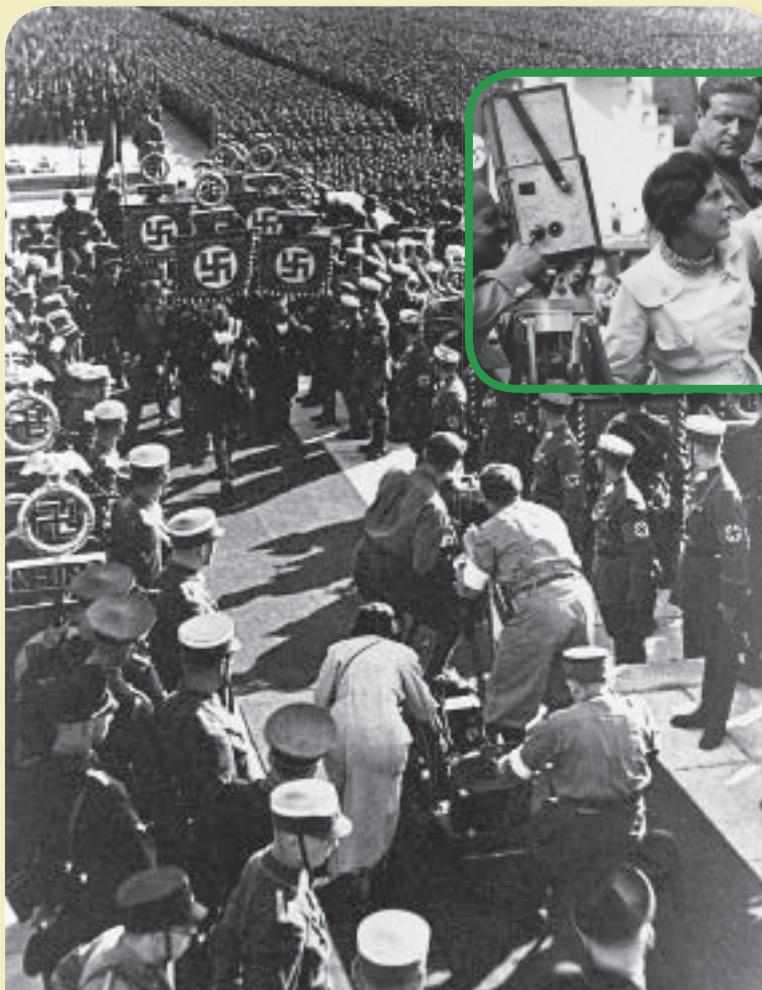
## Use of Radio and Movies for Propaganda

Of course, radio and the movies could be used for political purposes. Radio offered great opportunities for reaching the masses. This became obvious when it was discovered that Adolf Hitler's fiery speeches made just as great an impact on people when heard over the radio as they did in person. The Nazi regime encouraged radio listening by urging manufacturers to produce inexpensive radios that could be bought on an installment plan.

Film, too, had propaganda potential, a fact not lost on Joseph Goebbels (GUHR•buhlz), the propaganda minister of Nazi Germany. Believing that film was one of the "most modern and scientific



## Nazi Propaganda Film



Director Leni Riefenstahl filming *Triumph of the Will* at the Luitpoldhain Arena in Nuremberg, 1934



In 1934 Adolf Hitler commissioned Leni Riefenstahl to film the 1934 Nazi party rally in Nuremberg. The resulting film, *Triumph of the Will*, is considered one of the greatest documentary films of all time—and a chilling piece of Nazi propaganda.

Riefenstahl later said of the film, "It reflects the truth that was then, in 1934, history. It is therefore a documentary, not a propaganda film." It is true that the film is the record of an actual event that happened at a specific time. In that respect, it is a documentary. However, Riefenstahl's

powerful and positive images of Hitler as a kind of savior make it propaganda. For example, at the beginning of the film, Hitler's plane descends from the sky almost like the chariot of a god coming to visit Earth. The film was edited and set to the music of Richard Wagner, building to a climax when Hitler takes the stand. In this way, it attempts to influence the audience's attitude toward the Nazis—which is the goal of propaganda.

Today many of Riefenstahl's films are considered masterpieces, in spite of the fact that they glorify the Nazis.

## DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

1. **Identifying** How can you tell from the photo that this is a huge Nazi rally?
2. **Making Connections** How can a film be both a documentary and propaganda?

means of influencing the masses," Goebbels created a special film division in his Propaganda Ministry. The film division supported the making of both documentaries—nonfiction films—and popular feature films that carried the Nazi message.

## The Uses of Leisure

After World War I, the assembly line and mass production took hold in industry. More consumer goods were available, and more people could buy them because they had more income or credit. By 1920, the eight-hour day had been established for many workers. Gradually, it became the norm.

This new work pattern meant more free time for the leisure activities that had

emerged by 1900. Professional sporting events were an important part of mass leisure. Travel was another favorite activity. Trains, buses, and cars made trips to beaches or holiday resorts popular and affordable.

Mass leisure offered new ways for totalitarian states to control the people. The Nazi regime, for example, adopted a program called *Kraft durch Freude* ("Strength through Joy"). The program offered a variety of leisure activities to fill the free time of the working class. These activities included concerts, operas, films, guided tours, and sporting events.

✓ **Reading Check** **Examining** How did the "Strength through Joy" program help support the Nazi regime?



## Arts and Science

### MAIN IDEA

The art, literature, and scientific breakthroughs produced after World War I both embraced the past and reflected uncertainty for the future.

**HISTORY & YOU** Can you think of a song, book, or movie that reflects the attitudes of your friends? Read to learn what art, literature, and science revealed about society in the years after World War I.

Four years of devastating war had left many Europeans with a profound sense of despair. The Great Depression and the growth of violent fascist movements only added to the despair created by the war. Many people began looking at themselves differently; their future seemed uncertain.

With political, economic, and social uncertainties came intellectual uncertainties. These were evident in the artistic, intellectual, and scientific achievements of the years following World War I.

## Art: Nightmares and New Visions

After 1918, artistic **trends** mainly reflected developments made before the war. Abstract art, for example, became ever more popular. In addition, a prewar fascination with the absurd and the unconscious content of the mind seemed even more appropriate in light of the nightmare landscapes of the World War I battlefronts. “The world does not make sense, so why should art?” was a common remark. This sentiment gave rise to both the Dada movement and surrealism.

The dadaists were artists who were obsessed with the idea that life has no purpose. They were revolted by what they saw as the insanity of life and tried to express that feeling in their art. Dada artist Hannah Höch, for example, used **photomontage** (a picture made of a combination of photographs) to comment on women’s roles in the new mass culture.

A more important artistic movement than dadaism was **surrealism**. By portraying the

## CONNECTING TO THE UNITED STATES

### MASS CULTURE THEN AND NOW

By 1920, shorter workdays gave rise to mass culture. Huge movie palaces were built, and radio brought the world into people’s homes. Magazines helped spread trends.

Today’s mass culture often focuses more on private entertainment. People watch movies and television on tiny portable screens and listen to music through earbuds. Cultural trends spread over the Internet. American mass culture is exported around the world, where it is often embraced, but it has also provoked negative responses.

- Mass culture is a by-product of industrialization.
- Mass culture may have a public or private focus.
- Mass culture is worldwide.

### CONNECTING TO TODAY

1. **Contrasting** What is the biggest difference between early mass culture and mass culture today?
2. **Making Inferences** Why would some cultures react negatively to the Americanization that comes with the spread of American mass culture?





unconscious—fantasies, dreams, and even nightmares—the surrealists sought to show the greater reality that exists beyond the world of physical appearances. One of the world's foremost surrealist painters, the Spaniard **Salvador Dalí**, placed recognizable objects in unrecognizable relationships. Dalí created a strange world in which the irrational became visible.

Not everybody accepted modern art forms. Many people denounced what they saw as decay in the arts. In Germany, Hitler and the Nazis believed that they were creating a new and genuine German art to glorify heroic Germans. What the Nazis developed, however, was actually derived from nineteenth-century folk art and emphasized realistic scenes of everyday life.

## Literature: The Search for the Unconscious

The interest in the unconscious also appeared in new literary techniques. "Stream of consciousness" was a technique used by writers to show the innermost thoughts of each character. The most famous example is the novel *Ulysses*, published by the Irish writer **James Joyce** in 1922. *Ulysses* tells the story of one day in the life of ordinary people in **Dublin**.

The novels of German writer **Hermann Hesse** reflect the influence of both Freud's psychology and Asian religions. His works often focus on the spiritual loneliness of modern human beings in a mechanized urban society. In *Siddhartha* and *Steppenwolf*, Hesse uses Buddhist ideas to show the psychological confusion of modern existence. Hesse's novels had a great impact on German youth in the 1920s. He won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1946.

## The Heroic Age of Physics

The prewar physics revolution begun by Albert Einstein continued in the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, Ernest Rutherford, one of the physicists who showed that the atom could be split, called the 1920s the "heroic age of physics."

The unfolding new physics undermined the classical physics of Newton. Newtonian physics had made people believe that all phenomena could be completely defined and predicted. In 1927 German physicist Werner Heisenberg's **uncertainty principle** shook this belief. Physicists knew that atoms were made up of smaller parts (subatomic particles). The unpredictable behavior of these subatomic particles is the basis for the uncertainty principle. Heisenberg's theory essentially suggests that all physical laws are based on uncertainty. The theory's emphasis on randomness challenged Newtonian physics and, in a way, represented a new worldview. Thus, the principle of uncertainty fit in well with the other uncertainties of the interwar years.

**✓ Reading Check** **Explaining** How did Heisenberg's uncertainty principle challenge the Newtonian worldview?

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

- Explain the significance of: assembly, trend, photomontage, surrealism, Salvador Dalí, James Joyce, Dublin, Hermann Hesse, uncertainty principle.

### Main Ideas

- Describe the method the Nazi regime used to encourage radio listening.
- Identify the artistic movements of this period, using a chart like the one below.

Artistic Movement	Description
	life has no purpose; expresses the insanity of life
	seeks a reality beyond the material world

- List the qualities that the Nazis wanted German art to glorify.

### Critical Thinking

- The BIG Idea Evaluating** What impact did technological advances in transportation and communication have on Western culture between the wars?
- Making Generalizations** Why do you think Hitler was so concerned with issues such as the content and style of art?
- Analyzing Visuals** Examine the Nazi rally photograph on page 813. Is this photograph a credible historical source? Why or why not?

### Writing About History

- Informative Writing** Prepare a poster that shows the development of mass communication from the radio to modern technological advances in computers. Include photos and illustrations in your poster. Write a brief paragraph that summarizes twentieth-century innovations.

### 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.

# CHAPTER 24 Visual Summary

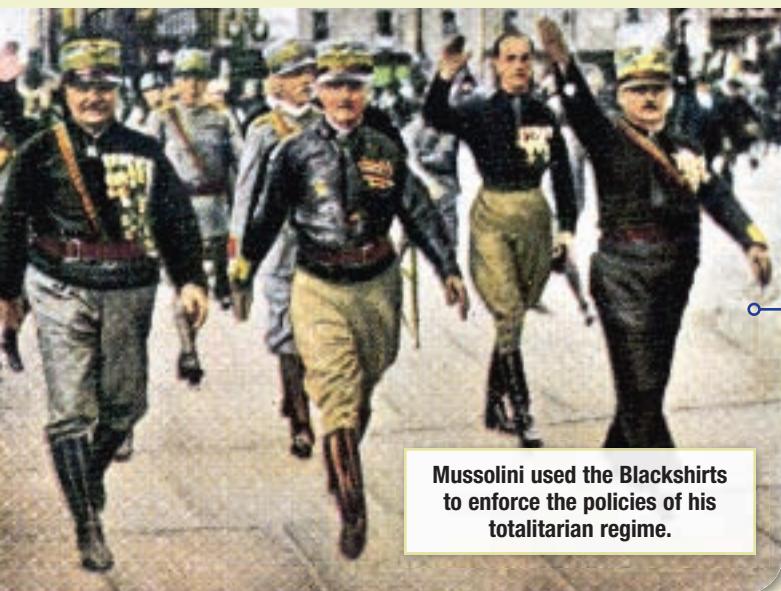


You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flash cards to your PDA from [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## The AFTERMATH OF WAR and Impact of GLOBAL DEPRESSION

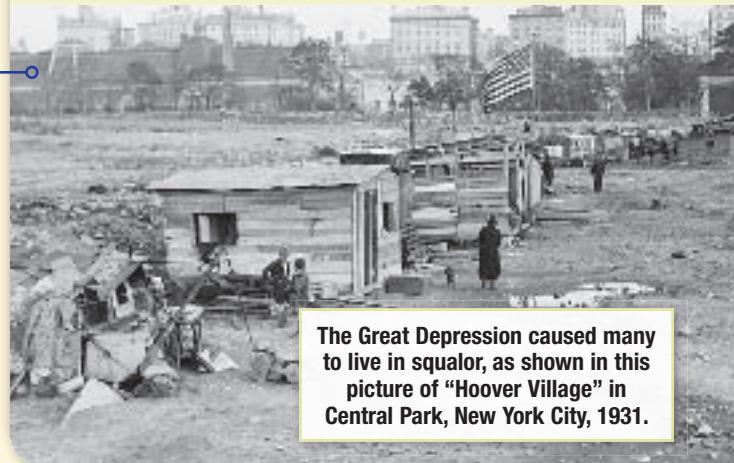
- Many nations were unhappy with the peace settlement after World War I.
- The crash of the U.S. stock market triggered a worldwide financial crisis and a global depression.
- The Great Depression made people doubt democracy and look to authoritarian leaders for simple solutions to problems.

MUSSOLINI'S BLACKSHIRTS MARCH THE STREETS OF ROME ON OCTOBER 28, 1922



Mussolini used the Blackshirts to enforce the policies of his totalitarian regime.

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION



The Great Depression caused many to live in squalor, as shown in this picture of "Hoover Village" in Central Park, New York City, 1931.

## TOTALITARIAN AND AUTHORITARIAN Governments in Europe Take Power

- Some nations in Europe replaced democracy with totalitarian governments.
- Mussolini's Fascist regime in Italy controlled citizens with mass propaganda.
- In the Soviet Union, Stalin gained control of the Communist Party, arresting or killing those who opposed him.

## The Rise of NAZI GERMANY

- Losses in World War I and economic devastation led to political struggles in Germany.
- Hitler's Nazi Party created a totalitarian state based on racism and German nationalism.
- The Nazis enforced their will through secret police and concentration camps.



This anti-Semitic banner hung outside Nazi headquarters in Nuremberg in 1935. It reads: "By resisting the Jews, I fight for the Lord."

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

### TEST-TAKING **TIP**

If you do not know the right answer to a question, use common sense to eliminate answer choices that do not make sense. Recall the context in which the topic was discussed in class or in the textbook. This may help you eliminate incorrect answer choices.

### Reviewing Vocabulary

*Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.*

1. The Nazis imprisoned Jewish people in \_\_\_\_\_.

- A Reichstags
- B concentration camps
- C totalitarian states
- D Politburos

2. \_\_\_\_\_ is the term for a period of low economic activity and rising unemployment.

- A Collectivization
- B Inflation
- C Deficit spending
- D Depression

3. A picture made of a combination of photographs is known as a \_\_\_\_\_.

- A photomontage
- B propaganda film
- C mural
- D collage

4. \_\_\_\_\_ glorifies the state above the individual.

- A Racism
- B Fascism
- C Dadaism
- D Surrealism

### Reviewing Main Ideas

*Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.*

#### Section 1 (pp. 790–795)

5. Why was the League of Nations weak?

- A It had too many members.
- B It had too few members.
- C The United States did not join it.
- D The Nazis took control of it.

6. Which of the following was a factor in triggering the Great Depression?

- A Economic downturns in individual nations
- B Renewed interest in Marxism among Germans
- C The policies of the New Deal
- D The rise of the Nazis and Fascists

#### Section 2 (pp. 796–803)

7. Who led the Fascist movement in Italy?

- A Adolf Hitler
- B Leon Trotsky
- C Francisco Franco
- D Benito Mussolini

8. What Soviet economic plan allowed some capitalism, with the state controlling large industries?

- A Fourteen Points
- B Five-Year Plans
- C New Economic Policy
- D New Deal

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go to Page . . .	806	792	814	797	790	792	797	799

**GO ON** 

# CHAPTER 24

9. In what country did Hitler test the new weaponry of Germany's air force?

- A France
- B Spain
- C Italy
- D Russia

## Section 3 (pp. 804–809)

10. What group did Hitler claim would dominate Europe and the world?

- A Aryans
- B Socialists
- C Semites
- D Communists

11. What was the name of the Nazi attacks that destroyed some 7,000 Jewish businesses and burned synagogues?

- A *Nazionalnacht*
- B *Kristallnacht*
- C Weimar
- D *Mein Kampf*

## Section 4 (pp. 812–815)

12. What was the Nazi "Strength through Joy" program?

- A A self-paced physical fitness program
- B A benefit for joining the SS
- C A use of religious experience to promote Nazi ideology
- D A variety of leisure activities for the working class

13. Who was the author of *Ulysses*?

- A Hermann Hesse
- B Salvador Dalí
- C James Joyce
- D Joseph Goebbels

## Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Use the following map to answer question 14.



14. Based on the map, what territory did the Republicans control?

- A Several Mediterranean Sea ports
- B Several Pacific Ocean ports
- C A land route to Europe
- D Territory on the Atlantic coast

15. Which of the following is a true statement about industrialization in Stalinist Russia?

- A It emphasized consumer products over capital goods.
- B It was directed by the government.
- C It emphasized agricultural production over heavy industry.
- D It depended on technological innovations of the time.

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions ...	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Go to Page ...	803	806	809	813	815	803	800

GO ON

# Assessment

16. What is one reason why the German people supported the Nazis?
- A The Nazis promised peace in a time of turmoil.
  - B The Nazis emphasized personal happiness.
  - C The Nazis brought an end to the Depression.
  - D The Nazis preached acceptance and toleration.
17. Whose work influenced the literary technique known as "stream of consciousness"?
- A Werner Heisenberg
  - B Albert Einstein
  - C Adolf Hitler
  - D Sigmund Freud

In the cartoon below, the character on the left is British prime minister Neville Chamberlain. The character on the right is Benito Mussolini. The caption says, "Would you oblige me with a match, please?" Base your answer to question 18 on the cartoon.



—David Low, *London Evening Standard* (February 25, 1938)

18. What is the message of the cartoon?
- A Chamberlain realizes that Mussolini is about to trick him.
  - B Chamberlain is a more generous person than Mussolini.
  - C Chamberlain is afraid to deny any request Mussolini makes.
  - D Chamberlain is unaware of the danger Mussolini poses.

## Document-Based Questions

*Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short answer questions that follow the document. Base your answers on the document and on your knowledge of world history.*

The following passage comes from the writing of Adolf Hitler before he rose to power.

*"The power which has always started the greatest religious and political avalanches in history rolling has from time immemorial been the magic power of the spoken word and that alone. The broad masses of the people can be moved only by the power of speech. All great movements are popular movements, volcanic eruptions of human passions and emotional sentiments, stirred either by the cruel goddess of distress or by the firebrand of the word hurled among the masses."*

—Adolf Hitler, as quoted in *The Rise of the Nazis*,  
Charles Freeman, 1988

19. Consider Germany's economic condition following World War I. To what does Hitler refer when he says "the cruel goddess of distress"?
20. How did Hitler plan to create a movement?

## Extended Response

21. The Great Depression threw the world into a downturn as inflation and unemployment rose. Imagine that you are living in 1928. Assume that you know everything that is going to occur because of the Great Depression and that you have the ability to move to any major country in the world. Where would you go and why? Would being part of a particular social class influence your decision?

### History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—  
Chapter 24 at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20	21
Go to Page . . .	808	815	819	805	805	792

