

PROMISES AND PERILS

A Half-Century of Crisis

1900–1950

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The units in this book are drawn from the Landscape Teaching Units of World History for Us All, a web-based model curriculum for world history (<http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu>). The website is continuously evolving with new content being added. If a topic is not included here, please visit the website to see if it is currently available.

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Publisher's Note

BACKGROUND

The Big Era lessons emphasize the relationships between particular subject matter and larger patterns of historical meaning and significance. This inclusive, context-focused approach is primarily concerned with forging connections on a global scale, thereby encouraging students to construct the globally integrated chronological framework essential to achieving deeper historical understanding. The lessons may be used flexibly, depending on interest, school curriculum requirements, and instructional time available.

This volume brings together the Landscape Teaching Units of Big Era Eight in World History for Us All, a web-based model curriculum for world history available online at <http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu>. The nine Big Eras constitute the periodization plan and the basic organizational structure of the World History for Us All curriculum. Many teachers have requested a printed version of the Big Era units, or lessons, to help guide them and their students in exploring historical developments, continuities, and turning points on a larger scale than textbooks or content standards lists offer.

GENERAL APPROACH

Chapters begin by explaining the educational value of their particular historical moment, identifying the topic's relevance and positioning it within the context of the global landscape. Outlining salient information in a written description and visually situating the era on a time line, the chapter's introductory section foreshadows the content and underlying themes of the chapter, preparing students to draw informed connections among historical events.

The Three Essential Questions and Key Themes encourage students to engage in critical, higher-order thinking as they solidify their comprehension of major world trends. (See below for further description.) Additional introductory material enumerates the chapter's learning objectives, estimates the time commitment required, and lists the materials necessary to complete the lessons.

The lessons offer a varied selection of activities, readings, primary source documents, discussion questions, assessments, and extension activities. The teacher's guides, containing instructions for lesson preparation, procedure, and background information, are followed by each lesson's reproducible student handouts. Charts, graphs, and maps referenced in the lesson are also provided.

Correlations to National History Standards are listed to enhance convenience for teachers designing their curricula to align with these content recommendations. All the lessons in this volume support learning and practice of critical-thinking skills. By teaching these lessons, instructors will help students develop the skills charted in both the Common Core State Standards Initiative and the *College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*. Extensive correlations for this volume to Common Core State Standards are found on the web-based product page at <http://www.socialstudies.com/c/product.html?record@TF45334>. The resource sections recommend books, articles, and digital content selected as means to further explore the chapter's historical concepts and expand the scope of understanding for both educators and students.

This book and the World History for Us All model curriculum use the secular designations BCE (Before the Common Era) and CE (Common Era) in place of BC and AD. This usage follows the format of the National Standards for History and the Advanced Placement World History course. It in no way alters the conventional Gregorian calendar. We also use BP (Before Present) for historical periods approximately prior to 10,000 BP.

GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

Afroeurasia

Afroeurasia is the landmass made up of Africa and Eurasia combined. Afroeurasia was formed during the last forty million years by the collision of the tectonic plates containing Eurasia and those containing Africa and Arabia. This geographical expression serves as a helpful tool in discussing large-scale historical developments that cut across the traditionally defined continental divisions of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Even though Africa is separated from both Europe and Asia by the Mediterranean and Red seas (except at the Isthmus of Sinai where modern Egypt meets Israel), these bodies of water have historically been channels of human intercommunication, not barriers to it. Therefore, we may think of both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea as “lakes” inside Afroeurasia.

America, the Americas

The Americas are made up of the continents of North America and South America, including neighboring islands, notably the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Until the twentieth century, most geography books classified North and South America together as a single continent, labeling them the “New World” (“new” to Europeans beginning in the late fifteenth century CE) as opposed to the “Old World,” that is, Afroeurasia. In the twentieth century, school children in the United States and most other countries (though not in some Latin American states) were taught to see the “Western Hemisphere” as comprising two distinct continents, joined only by the narrow Isthmus of Panama. However, humans in North and South America have never been entirely disconnected from one another. As far as we know, humans first migrated from North to South America 14,000 years ago, or longer, by advancing along either the Isthmus or its coastal waters. Also, it is not hard to perceive the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea as two “internal seas” of a single American landmass, much the way we may think of the Mediterranean and Red seas as “inside” Afroeurasia. The Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico are bounded on three sides by land and on the west by a long string of closely clustered islands.

Australasia

The continent of Australia, plus New Guinea, New Zealand, Tasmania, and other neighboring islands make up Australasia. During the last Ice Age, when sea levels were lower, Australia, New Guinea, and Tasmania comprised a single landmass known as Sahul. Human settlement of Australasia began as many as 60,000 years ago, although Polynesian mariners did not reach New Zealand until about 1000 CE.

Eurasia

Eurasia is the landmass made up of Asia and Europe. Today, this term is widely used in history and geography education. The idea that Europe and Asia are separate continents goes back many centuries, but scholars who accept the definition of a continent as “a large landmass surrounded, or nearly surrounded, by water” know that the definition applies to neither Europe nor Asia because these two landmasses are conjoined. Moreover, the Ural Mountains, designated by eighteenth century European geographers as the proper boundary between the European and Asian continents, have never been a serious obstacle to the flow of migrants, armies, trade goods, or ideas. In this book, Europe is defined as a subcontinent of Eurasia (or Afroeurasia), analogous to South Asia or the Indochinese peninsula.

Great Arid Zone

A climatic map of Afroeurasia shows that a good part of the landmass is a belt of dry or semi-dry country that extends all the way from the Atlantic coast of Africa in a generally northeasterly direction to the northern interior of China. This enormous tract comprises a chain of interconnected deserts, mountains, and semi-arid steppes. A steppe may be defined as flat or rolling grassland, equivalent to what Americans call “prairie” and Argentineans call “pampas.” The main climatic characteristic of the Great Arid Zone is low annual rainfall, which may range from an average of less than 5 inches in the driest of deserts to 20 inches or so in better watered steppes. For several millennia the Great Arid Zone has been home to pastoral nomadic peoples. Where water has been available from rivers, springs, or wells, it has also been home to farming societies and even large cities.

Indo-Mediterranea

The region of lands and seas extending from the Atlantic coasts of Europe and North Africa to North India is known as Indo-Mediterranea. This expression includes the Mediterranean basin as a whole and extends eastward across Southwest Asia to northern India as far as the Bay of Bengal. In the long term of human history from at least the third millennium BCE to modern times, this region has been characterized by a proliferation of clusters of dense population (notably in river valleys) and by intense commercial and cultural interchange.

Inner Eurasia

The huge interior landmass of Eurasia, whose dominant features are flat, semi-arid regions of steppe and forest, is known as Inner Eurasia. David Christian defines Inner Eurasia as the territories ruled by the Soviet Union before its collapse, together with Mongolia and parts of western China. Poland and Hungary to the west and Manchuria (northeastern China) to the east may be thought of as Inner Eurasia's borderlands. The northern margins are boreal forest and Arctic tundra. The southern boundaries are the Himalayas and other mountain chains.

Oceania

The basin of the Pacific Ocean and its approximately 25,000 islands make up Oceania. Human settlement of this enormous region, sometimes called the Island Pacific, began in western islands near New Guinea about 1600 BCE. Polynesian mariners reached both Hawaii to the northeast and Easter Island to the far southeast around 500 CE. The majority of the islands lie in the tropical belt south of the Equator. The first peoples of Oceania spoke mostly Polynesian languages. Some geographers include both the large island of New Guinea and the continent of Australia as part of Oceania.

Southwest Asia

Southwest Asia is the designation of the region extending from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to Afghanistan. It includes Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula, but not Egypt or any other part of Africa. This region is often referred to as the Middle East, but this book uses the term “Middle East” only in the context of history since the start of the twentieth century. (For earlier periods, “Middle East” causes confusion because it is used sometimes as a synonym for Southwest Asia, sometimes to encompass Southwest Asia plus Egypt, and sometimes to embrace the entire region from Afghanistan to Morocco.)

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

The Three Essential Questions introduce overarching thematic questions that stand at the crux of historical understanding. These questions provide three distinct lenses through which to examine the constantly evolving relationships that shape human civilization: the relationships between humans and the environment, humans and other humans, and humans and ideas. The study of these relationships—which have proven to be enduring aspects of the human experience—and their corresponding questions function as guides for organizing classroom activities and discussion. Prompted by the Three Essential Questions, students identify how the content of each chapter relates to these themes and utilize this information to predict future patterns of activity and thought.

Humans and the Environment

These questions require students to consider how humans have lived, how they have treated the earth, and how their power over the earth has grown, while relating each chapter's content to the underlying question, “How has the changing relationship between human beings and the physical and natural environment affected human life from early times to the present?”

Humans and Other Humans

These questions explore the relationships among humans themselves and how those relationships have evolved, while relating each chapter's content to the underlying question, “Why have relationships among humans become so complex since early times?”

Humans and Ideas

These questions push students to examine how ideas influence historical development and how events shape ideas, while relating each chapter's content to the underlying question, "How have human views of the world, nature, and the cosmos changed?"

KEY THEMES

The lessons in this volume address a number of historical themes. A theme is defined here as a topic that addresses a particular sphere of human activity over time. Themes are concerned with broad aspects of change of enduring importance in the human experience. Historical learning usually works best when students begin their investigations in world history with distant eras and move forward, connecting patterns of cause and effect over time. Nevertheless, attention to thematic issues offers ways to connect the study of particular periods and regions of the world to enduring aspects of the human condition. This encourages students to think more coherently, systematically, and comparatively about the past. Teachers may wish to emphasize one or more of the key themes suggested here in connection with any of the chapters and lessons in this book.

Key Theme 1: Patterns of Population

Key Theme 2: Economic Networks and Exchange

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

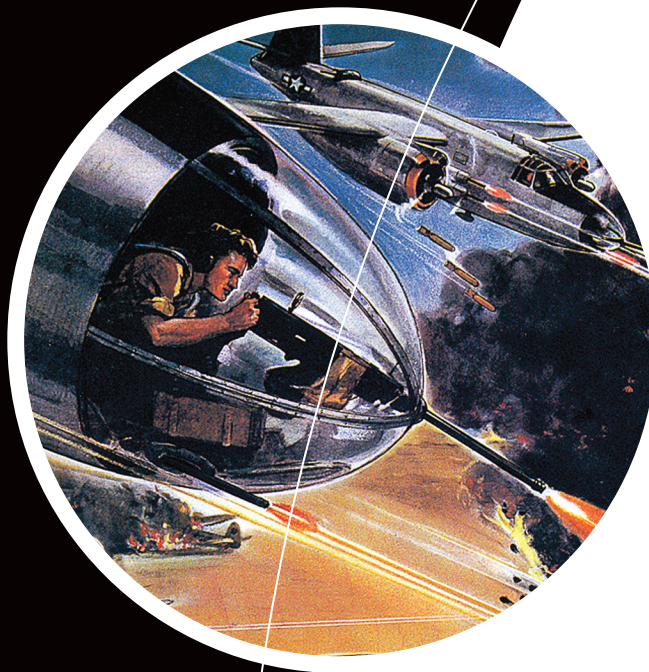
Key Theme 4: Haves and Have-Nots

Key Theme 5: Expressing Identity

Key Theme 6: Science, Technology, and the Environment

Key Theme 7: Spiritual Life and Moral Codes

For in-depth discussion of these themes and for investigative questions that link them to the Three Essential Questions, go to World History for Us All (<http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu>, Questions and Themes, The Seven Key Themes).



Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century, societies around the globe had been brought into a single, rapidly evolving world system as a result of what can be called the modern revolution. This system linked different regions and peoples economically, politically, and culturally. Within this system, some states and groups accumulated colossal wealth and power, while others fell into economic and political decline.

The world system was dominated by the industrialized states of Europe, which had been weak and marginal powers just a few centuries before. In the nineteenth century, however, rapid industrialization gave European states colossal economic and military power. By 1910, they ruled India and most of Africa and Southeast Asia. Japan controlled Korea and Taiwan, and the United States held the Philippines. Other states, such as China, the Ottoman Empire, and several republics of Latin America, fell within the sphere of economic and political influence of one or more of these powers. Still other regions, including North America, parts of Latin America, Siberia, and Australasia had been largely settled by immigrants of European origin. European settler minorities dominated South Africa and Algeria. European culture and science, as well as a characteristically European faith in progress and reason, also exerted a powerful influence outside Europe. These ideas were particularly attractive to elite groups who wanted to modernize their own societies.

Where industrialization did not take place, integration into the world system often meant greater economic weakness. China, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire, for example, lost much of the economic clout they had possessed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time, peasants and artisans throughout the world found it harder to compete in international markets against manufacturers and farmers in industrialized regions, who enjoyed the advantages of high productivity and government protection of their interests.

Early in the twentieth century, rapid economic and technological change, increasing competition among powerful states, and resistance to European domination worked together to destabilize the world system. Underlying tensions and weaknesses led to a series of crises that altered the world in several important ways:

- Rapid economic growth put increasing pressure on the natural environment.
- A return to economic protectionism—expressed chiefly in high tariffs for imports—undermined global economic integration.
- Two world wars, which unleashed terrible weapons such as the atomic bomb backed by the power of industrial production, devastated Europe, Japan, and other combat zones, and helped undermine European wealth and power.
- Countries with rising economies, notably the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union, began to challenge Europe's economic power.
- Anti-colonial and nationalist movements began to weaken Europe's grip on its colonies and spheres of influence.
- In the sciences and arts, new theories, attitudes, and insights eroded the confidence of late nineteenth century European thinkers. The horrors of global war provoked new ways of looking at the world and a search for new ideas beyond Europe. At the same time, new technologies of mass communication brought to prominence a modern mass culture that was no longer the preserve of elites.

Despite these wrenching changes, the industrialized regions of Europe, North America, the USSR, and Japan, which together accounted for about 75 percent of the globe's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), still dominated the system. However, it was now split into competing blocs headed by two new superpowers, the US and the USSR. The confident faith in progress, reason, and enlightened liberal government that had dominated the thought of educated people in the later nineteenth century was now gone.

The Causes and Consequences of World War I



WHY STUDY THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR I?

This chapter examines the mistakes that brought the world to the battlefields of World War I. It explores how alliances were formed, and how millions of youths died defending those alliances and misspending dreams of glory. It investigates why four empires crumbled in the ashes of the war. It demonstrates how the first “industrial war” ushered in the twentieth century. Students will examine what values were worth taking into the new century, and which ones should have been left behind. It provides a foundation from which to examine many of the world’s contemporary dilemmas, especially as they followed from the war’s devastation and the Treaty of Versailles.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Describe and analyze various factors contributing to the outbreak of World War I.
2. Describe characteristics, goals, and aspirations of the people of the Ottoman Empire.

3. Imagine how the goals and aspirations of the combatants might have been met if the war had been avoided.
4. Analyze the Armenian holocaust and compare it to genocide of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.
5. Describe the effects of nationalism in the twentieth century, and speculate about the place of nationalism in the twenty-first century.
6. Evaluate the characteristics of a good treaty as they apply or do not apply to the Treaty of Versailles.

TIME AND MATERIALS

This chapter is divided into four lessons. Each lesson should take two or more class days, depending on classroom circumstances. If time is limited, parts of each lesson may be used at the discretion of the instructor.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Do you have a relative who participated in World War I? Perhaps a great-grandfather? Very few World War I veterans are still living. According to Veterans Affairs Department information for 2005, there are about 24.3 million veterans of American wars living today, but fewer than 50 of these are World War I veterans.

World War I was one of the first events in modern history that was both concentrated in time and global in scope. And it was a hugely important turning point in world history. Consider the world scene in 1914, the year the war broke out.

Europe was divided into a number of sovereign nation-states, but in some respects it still constituted a single cultural community. Even though there were many different church denominations, Christianity gave Europeans some generally shared ideas about the supernatural, morality, and destiny. European states had different sorts of governments. France and Portugal were the only republics. Most countries were monarchies, many of them constitutional monarchies such as Great Britain, some autocracies such as Russia. People could travel quite easily from one European country to another, and no one had to show a passport. (Today, the European Community is moving to eliminate passports between countries once again.) People traveled widely within Europe, especially using the railway networks that linked most countries together. Europeans spoke a variety of languages, not a single common one, but French served as the language of diplomacy and scholarly exchange throughout Europe.

Everyday culture was quite similar all across Europe, especially in the cities. Here, people tended to dress alike, eat many of the same foods, and enjoy the same art and music. The unity of civilization in Europe might be symbolized by the architecture of three sorts of public buildings. One was the railway station, which represented European communication and industry. The second was the town hall, which typified public participation in government. The third was



St. Pancras Railway Station Building in London, England



Town Hall in Antwerp, Belgium



Opéra Garnier in Paris, France

the opera house, which symbolized common culture in the fine arts. These types of structures looked quite alike wherever one traveled in Europe.

In 1914, the industrial nation-states of Europe dominated most of the world. Three powers—Britain, France, and Germany—controlled about 80 percent of the world's inhabited surface. Those three powers also possessed about half of the world's industrial might. Their merchants controlled half the world's international trade.

So why did European countries make devastating war on one another? Both the economic power of the countries of Europe and their rivalry for world influence produced serious divisions and mutual suspicions among them—even though their affluent populations attended the same operas. National groups that did not have their own states, or not one that included the territories they wanted, expressed their nationalism loudly. These groups were concentrated in eastern Europe: Poles, Ukrainians, Croats, Serbs, Czechs, and others. Tensions were growing among the sovereign states. There was general agreement in the early twentieth century that boundaries in Europe were to be regarded as fixed. One state was not supposed to covet the territory of other states.

Within Europe an ominous arms race was picking up. Germany, which became a unified sovereign state in 1871, was a new power on the scene. Germany's rapid rise as an industrial and military power caused alarm, especially in France and Britain. All the European powers informally agreed that whenever a conflict threatened to break out between two of them,

the powers would gang up on the side of the underdog and the crisis would be defused that way. But Europe had no regular machinery for settling international disputes. Neither the League of Nations nor the United Nations yet existed.



Archduke Francis Ferdinand
of Austria-Hungary

Shifts and adjustments in the balance of power ended, and Europe divided into two solid alliance blocks, with Germany and Austria-Hungary on one side and Britain, France, and Russia on the other.

The incident that precipitated World War I was in itself a small one. Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was traveling in the town of Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. While his carriage was driving through the streets, a Serbian nationalist shot him. Serbian revolutionaries regarded Austria as the special enemy of the little country of Serbia. From this incident unrolled a series of events that nobody managed to control and that led directly to the outbreak of the war in August 1914. Austria made demands on Serbia. Russia was an ally of Serbia and therefore started mobilizing its army. Germany then

mobilized as well because it felt it had to stand by Austria, its ally, against Russia. Finally, France and Britain, Russia's allies, mobilized too. Germany invaded France and tried to knock it out of the war fast, but the army got bogged down in Belgium and northeastern France. This is where the trench lines were dug. This was the Western Front.

The rigid alliance system made it almost inevitable that a local quarrel could become a European war, and that is what happened. And because of the involvement of European countries with their own colonies and with other countries in Africa, Asia, and America, it became a world war. Japan, China, Italy, and the United States all eventually came into the war on the Allied side. Turkey joined the Central Powers. Before the war was over, more than thirty countries with a combined population of 1.4 billion people were involved.

World War I was a modern war—not between armies or between kings but between whole societies. Modernity had brought nationalism and popular participation in government. Modernity also meant that whole peoples could be mobilized to fight each other. No one expected the war to be four years of continuous slaughter. But when the fighting dragged on, the opposing states concluded that the only way to end it was to utterly ruin the enemy. In 1906, one German general observed of the outbreak of war that “it will be a national war which will not be settled by a decisive battle but by a long wearisome struggle with a country that will not be overcome until its whole national force is broken, and a war which will utterly exhaust our own people, even if we are victorious.” He was right.

World War I was the first great industrial war. The Industrial Revolution had given the countries of western and central Europe tremendous power to produce goods. Now the factories of the belligerent countries churned out vast quantities of repeating rifles, machine guns, artillery, ammunition, uniforms, trucks, food for the troops, and on and on. The machine gun, a product of industry designed to kill large numbers of people very quickly, was the key weapon

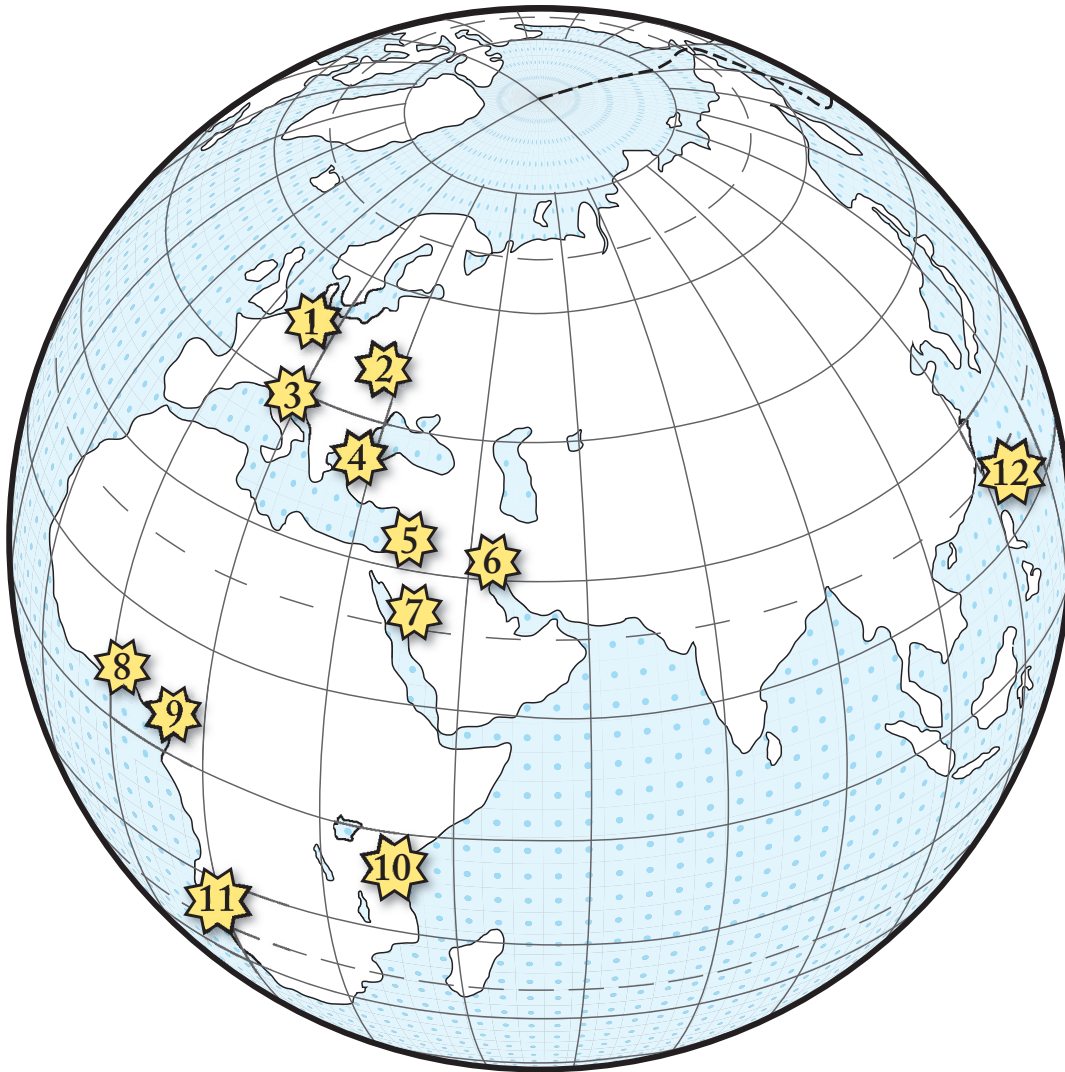
in the war. Machine guns defended territory so well against charging enemy troops that the war on the Western Front degenerated into a defensive stalemate. Meanwhile, scientists and engineers busied themselves inventing new kinds of weapons, like poison gas, tanks, submarines, and fighting aircraft. All this military production sustained and perpetuated the war. Perhaps the conflicting powers did not themselves realize how much power they had to keep the war going.

The war became global when the opposing states carried the fighting to their colonies. East Africa became a significant theater of war between Britain and Germany because both powers had colonies there. In the Middle East, the Ottoman Turkish Empire came into the war on the side of Germany and Austria. The British, operating from Egypt, attacked the Ottoman Empire, which led to fighting in Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Turkey. Moreover, European colonies provided strategic raw materials and thousands of soldiers from among colonial populations.

The death and destruction of World War I went far beyond any earlier war. The Battle of the Somme, for example, was an Allied offensive against the Germans that lasted from July to November 1916. The British forces suffered 36,000 casualties in the first hour of the battle. When the offensive ended in November, Germany had lost 400,000 men. Britain and France together had lost 600,000. The reward for Britain and France was a maximum military advance of about seven miles. By 1917 the carnage had become so great and seemed so far from ending that two countries took special action. Russian troops on the Eastern Front said enough was enough, revolted against their own officers, and refused to fight. The Communist Revolution in Russia shortly followed. In the same year, the United States entered the war on the side of the Allies. This intervention led directly to Germany's defeat on the Western Front in 1918.



A French poster celebrating colonial troops



Regions where Significant Fighting Occurred 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

What were the most important consequences of the war they called at the time “the Great War”?

First, large areas of Europe lay in ruin, economies were in a state of collapse, and almost an entire generation of young men in France and Germany had been wiped out. More than 9 million soldiers and sailors died in action. More than 21 million combatants were wounded. As if this was not enough, an epidemic of influenza spread through the world in 1918 and 1919, killing many millions more. The task Europe faced just to get back on its feet was monumental.

Second, the map of Europe was radically changed. The victorious powers agreed on many of these changes at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Four different empires came to an end: the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires. In their place rose three new republics and a new Communist state. Also, nine new countries were created out of territory that had belonged to one or another of these empires: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, and Austria. The creation of these new nation-states satisfied the nationalist hopes of some people. But in fact, the multiplying of countries in Europe also produced more tensions, and many nationalist groups still did not feel they had received their due.

Third, the European powers had justified their colonial control over much of the world by pointing to their cultural and racial superiority over Africans and Asians. But when these same powers set out to destroy one another in the most savage and barbaric war in history, the luster wore off the idea of European superiority. Colonial peoples in Africa and Asia, many of whom had participated valiantly in the war, gained the confidence to protest and resist European colonial control. Thereafter, nationalism surged in the colonial empires.

Fourth, the huge cost of the war in lives and property did not mean that tensions in western and central Europe dissipated. The war did not solve the political problem of achieving stable political relations between Germany, the new big power in Europe, and its neighboring countries. The victorious Allies made Germany accept blame for the war, forcing it to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Prewar German militarism had been one of the factors leading to the conflagration, but Germany was hardly to blame for it lasting for four years. The treaty also had provisions that forced Germany to pay for starting the war. Among Germans, these stipulations caused deep resentment and bitterness, opening the way for Adolph Hitler and his Nazi party. World War II broke out just twenty years after the Great War. Thus, in a very real sense, the second war was a continuation of the first.

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

The movements of armies, artillery battles, and heavy bombing undoubtedly caused severe environmental damage in areas of intense fighting. What sort of damage was likely to occur? Was this damage likely short-term and easily repaired, or was it long-lasting? Do you think that wars in human history have typically caused heavy and enduring environmental degradation? Explain why or why not.

Humans and Other Humans

Did peoples of British and French overseas colonies in Africa and Asia make contributions to ultimate victory over the Central Powers in World War I? What sort of contributions? Economic? Military?

Humans and Ideas

Historians have called World War I the first “industrial war.” In what ways might the industry, technology, and science of the early twentieth century have influenced the conduct and outcome of the war? What sort of industrial processes, technologies, and scientific ideas unknown in previous wars were available by 1914?

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 1: Patterns of Population

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 5: Expressing Identity

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. 2A: The student understands the causes of World War I. 2B: The student understands the global scope, outcome, and human costs of the war.

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LESSON 1

Schools of Thought: Causes of World War I

Introduction

Scholars disagree about the causes of World War I. Some major factors to consider are:

- **Nationalism.** Political leaders believed in a world of independent nation-states, but also in defending and pursuing the interests of their own national community against all rival nation-states.
- **The balance of power and imperialism.** In the imperialist conquests of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the conquerors believed they were playing a “zero-sum game.” The leaders of each state believed that conquerable territory and resources were limited and finite and that whatever gains a rival nation-state made would be to their loss.
- **Interests of individual nations.** Individual states believed that they had something to gain nationally and internationally in pursuing and winning a general war. But also, the two alliance blocs formed before the war did not limit conflict but caused it to mushroom in scope.
- **Arms buildup.** If the major powers had not built stockpiles of weapons—from machine guns to battleships—the war would not have started in the summer of 1914. Without huge weapons reserves, the powers would have taken a year to mobilize, long enough to negotiate a peaceful solution.

Activities

Have students read Student Handout 1.1.1 for a general overview of each school of thought. Have students select one or two which seem most credible to them. Explain that historians disagree on which school is most valid. Narrow the choice down to one school of thought and seek like-minded students to form a fish bowl discussion group.

Fish Bowl: Have students select the school of thought which they feel is most credible. They should team up with those with whom they agree and form a fish bowl discussion group about the ideas that brought each person to this conclusion. Have each group engage in a fish bowl discussion as other students in the class observe and ask questions. Center discussion on the following questions:

- What are the real vs. the rhetorical issues about the causes of World War I?
- Why do you feel the school of thought you have selected is most credible?
- Why are the others less convincing?

Analysis: In discussion with the entire class, analyze the quality of arguments and presentation made by each fish bowl group. Use the following factors as criteria:

- Quality of historical evidence that the group brought to bear on the discussion.
- Number of group members who participated and how much.
- Quality of discussion in stimulating interest and thought.
- Ability of group members to think on their feet.
- Ability of group members to give insightful answers to audience questions.

Schools of Thought: Causes of World War I

The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria triggered World War I. The assassination was the spark that ignited the conflict. Would the conflict have ended right where it began, in Bosnia, if deeper currents did not propel the European powers on to war? Analyze this question by considering the following schools of thought regarding causes of the war in Europe.

Nationalism

Those who believe that nationalism was the main cause of World War I think that it was propelled by the desire of Slavic peoples to free themselves from the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and by the desire of Austria-Hungary, in turn, to crush rising spirits of nationalism among ethnic groups within the empire. Serbian nationalists were especially militant, as Serbs within the empire demanded unification with the small Kingdom of Serbia. In the Middle East, nationalists in Arabic-speaking lands sought independence from the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Nationalist groups in Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland called for separation from the Russian Empire. Russia also promoted Pan-Slavism in the Balkans, encouraging fellow Slavic-speaking peoples in their quest to throw off Austria-Hungary's rule. The peace treaties following the war led to the birth of a number of states (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and others) ruled by a dominant nationalist ethnic group. This shows that nationalism was in fact the major causative issue of the war.

The Balance of Power and Imperialism

This causative factor is summarized in a world history textbook by Jerry Bentley and Herbert Zeigler:

“Aggressive nationalism was also manifest in economic competition and colonial conflicts, fueling dangerous rivalries among the major European powers. The industrialized nations of Europe competed for foreign markets and engaged in tariff wars, but the most unsettling economic rivalry involved Great Britain and Germany. By the twentieth century Germany's rapid industrialization threatened British economic predominance . . . British reluctance to accept the relative decline of British industry vis-à-vis German industry strained relations between the two economic powers.

Economic rivalries fomented colonial competition. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European nations searched aggressively for new colonies or dependencies to bolster economic performance. In their haste to conquer and colonize, the imperial powers stumbled over each other, repeatedly clashing in one corner of the globe or another . . .

Virtually all the major powers engaged in the scramble for empire, but the competition between Britain and Germany and that between France and Germany were the most intense and dangerous. Germany, a unified nation only since 1871, embarked on the colonial race belatedly but aggressively, insisting that it too must have its “place in the sun.” German imperial efforts were frustrated, however, by the simple fact that British and French imperialists had already carved up most of the world. German-French antagonisms and German-British rivalries went far toward shaping the international alliances that contributed to the spread of war after 1914.”

Source: Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Zeigler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 973–74.

Interests of Individual Nations

Whatever else may have triggered World War I, it must be remembered that nations do not send their sons to die on the battlefield simply because they have signed onto alliances. Nations uphold or ignore alliances based on their own self-interests. To be sure, each of the combatants had interests that had to be protected and pursued, and therefore they believed there was something to be gained by going to war.

Russia: Saw itself as the Protector of the Slavs and claimed that Austria-Hungary treated Serbs and other Slavic-speaking groups unfairly. Russia also sought ready access to the Mediterranean Sea, but this involved sailing through Ottoman territory.

The Ottoman Empire: Had been losing territory since the eighteenth century and sought to preserve its integrity and great power status.

Germany: Shared history and culture with German-speaking Austria, which created a powerful bond between the two states. It also wanted to secure the Rhineland, with its important resources, and to ward off French desires to seek revenge for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in 1870.

Italy: Wanted to strengthen its position as a world power and gain more colonies. Italy switched its alliance from the Central Powers to the Allied Powers in 1915 on promises of getting colonies.

France: Looked upon Germany as an aggressor and wished to get back the territories it had lost to it following the Franco-Prussian War of 1871.

Serbia: Wanted to bring all Serbs in the Ottoman and Austrian Empires into the Kingdom of Serbia.

If these nation-states were not motivated by these interests, would the other factors have been sufficient to drag them into war?

Arms Buildup

The Triple Alliance and Triple Entente were supposed to be peace-keeping alliances, designed as deterrents to prevent any one power from ganging up on any of the others. A prospective aggressor would know that if it declared war against any member of the opposing alliance, all members of that alliance would come to the attacked member's defense. However, while the system of alliances aimed to keep the peace, the opposing members were plotting against each other. This was accompanied by a buildup of arms. If the army and navy stockpiles had not existed, both alliances would have needed at least a year to mobilize and build defenses. A year might have been enough time to make them stop and select a more reasonable course. Even today, those who demand reduction of armaments in the world use the same argument.

Jerry Bentley and Herbert Zeigler emphasize the naval arms race:

“Germans and Britons convinced themselves that naval power was imperative to secure trade routes and protect merchant shipping. Moreover, military leaders and politicians saw powerful navies as a means of controlling the seas in times of war, a control they viewed as



decisive in determining the outcome of any war. Thus when Germany's political and military leaders announced their program to build a fleet with many large battleships, they seemed to undermine British naval supremacy. The British government moved to meet the German threat through the construction of super battleships known as *dreadnoughts*. Rather than discouraging the Germans from their naval buildup, the British determination to retain naval superiority stimulated the Germans to build their own flotilla of dreadnoughts. This expensive naval race contributed further to international tensions and hostilities between nations."

Source: Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Zeigler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 974.

LESSON 2

Benjamin Britten: *War Requiem*, Op. 66, Offertorium

Activities

1. Obtain a recording of Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, Op. 66. Find online and print out the text in Latin and English for Movement III, Offertorium:
 - Cut 1: Boys' Choir (Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory free the souls of all the faithful dead).
 - Cut 2: Chorus (But may the standard-bearer, holy Michael bring them again into holy light).
 - Cut 3: Baritone and Tenor Solos (So Abraham arose, and clave the wood, and went and took the fire with him, and a knife).
 - Cut 4: Boys' Choir (Sacrifices and prayers to you, Lord, we offer with praise).
2. It is important for students to have the Latin and English lyrics to read because the Requiem is sung in Latin. The meaning of the words becomes clear through the translation. Cut 3 is the most important message for the *War Requiem*, especially the last line, which states, "Slew his son, and half the seed of Europe, one by one."
3. Distribute Student Handout 1.2.1, "Elements of Music." This handout is a diagnostic quiz. Ask students to take the quiz. The answer key is:
 1. C
 2. I
 3. G
 4. B
 5. F
 6. A
 7. H
 8. D
 9. E
4. Distribute Student Handout 1.2.2, "Observe as you Listen." Discuss with students the results of their quizzes and the meaning of the nine terms with reference to the handout.
5. Distribute Student Handout 1.2.3, "What Do You Observe?" Place students in groups of three or four. Have them record their observations while the selections from the *Requiem* are being played.

Assessment

1. After students have listened to the music, ask one student to summarize the findings of their group. Ask the meaning of the lyrics and how the music facilitates the message.
2. Discuss the message of the work. Offer that this is one of the most powerful anti-war messages ever written. Ask students why there is a reference to the story of Abraham. Be sure everybody knows the story of Abraham. If not, explain.
3. Speculate whether this message has any significance in contemporary times. Does it have more or less significance now than it did when it was written?

Elements of Music

| Element | Definition |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. _____ Silence | A. Quality or color of sound |
| 2. _____ Rhythm | B. Simultaneous sounds, typically organized within a tonality framework |
| 3. _____ Melody | C. Absence of sound |
| 4. _____ Harmony | D. Overall organization of sound into a coherent whole, often based on repetition or contrast |
| 5. _____ Texture | E. Poetry, prose, or syllables |
| 6. _____ Timbre | F. Number of melodic lines and the quality of relationship among multiple melodic lines |
| 7. _____ Expression | G. Succession of musical sounds |
| 8. _____ Form | H. Mood and emotion of sound |
| 9. _____ Text | I. Organization of sound in time, pulse, and beat |

Source: Prof. Charles Neufeld, School of Music and Theater Arts, Washington State University, National Council for the Social Studies, 2000 annual convention presentation.

Observe as You Listen: Benjamin Britten's War Requiem, Op. 66, Offertorium

Here are some elements of music to think about as you listen:

Silence

How do the spaces of silence function in the music? Why do you suppose Britten used silence in this piece?

Rhythm

What rhythms stand out to you? Do these rhythms relate to the text or melody in any particular way?

Melody

What melodic lines seem most important? Are there specific melodic effects that capture your imagination?

Harmony

When melodic lines combine to form harmonies, what seems to be the effect? Do portions of the music sound more harmonically unified than others? Which ones? How does the harmony relate to other elements of this piece?

Texture

How do the major forces of Boys' Choir, Soloists, Orchestra, and Chamber Ensemble (a smaller orchestra) work in this piece? How does this relate to the text? Why do you think Britten chose to use texture in this way?

Expression

How does the composer contrast loud/soft, fast/slow, high/low?

Form

What special meanings are created by the organization of the sections within the piece?

Text

Use the text handout. What words or phrases have specific meaning for you? What words or phrases did Britten emphasize musically? Why did Britten juxtapose "quam olim Abrahe . . ." with "And half the seed of Europe . . ."? What layers of understanding can you identify?

What Do You Observe?

What do you observe about the elements of music as you listen?

Silence

Rhythm

Melody

Harmony

Texture

Timbre

Expression

Form

Text

LESSON 3

Disillusionment

The experience of World War I was profoundly disillusioning to those who believed in nineteenth century ideals of progress. After the war, Europe no longer had the sense of confidence and optimism that had typified the previous one hundred years. This is evidenced in war poems that no longer glorified the conflict but rather conveyed a sense of its horror and futility. One of the best of these antiwar poets was Wilfred Owen. He was born in England in 1893 and killed in action in 1918, one week before the armistice that ended the war. The following poem has the ironic ending: “It is sweet and proper to die for one’s country.”

Activities

Distribute Student Handout 1.3.1, the poem *Dulce et Decorum Est* by Wilfred Owen. Read this poem aloud and discuss the meanings of the various sections with the class.

- Establish that Wilfred Owen had first-hand knowledge of the horrors of the war, having fought in the trenches on the Western Front. He was killed in action shortly before the armistice was drawn. Discuss with the class: How old was Owen when he died? What does the speaker say about a soldier’s experience? Does the poem speak to the universality of the experience? How?
- Explain that this poem does not form a plot or tell a coherent story, but rather presents a scene, mood, and impression. Taken together it expresses the end of the world’s innocence. The poem makes clear the war atrocities made possible by new technology. It expresses the inhumanity of war. Point out the psychological damage and cynicism conveyed in Owen’s work.
- Discuss what these images suggest: “He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning,” and “Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues . . .”
- Discuss what is conveyed by the adjectives “obscene” and “vile.” What mood is expressed by the words “the old lie”?

Distribute Student Handout 1.3.2, the poem *In Flanders Field* by John McCrae. Read this poem aloud. Help students sort out the meaning of the words.

- Establish that a requiem is a mass or religious service for the dead. Ask students whether this work is a secular or religious requiem and have them explain.
- Discuss with the class: In what way does McCrae pass his universal message on to us? What mandate does he hand to successive generations in the statement, “The torch: be yours to hold it high. If ye break faith with us who die . . .”
- Point out the absence of cynicism. What emotion is evoked? By what means is this emotion conveyed?

Extension Activity

Historical fiction can convey more than nonfiction. Such is the case with Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Remarque was a German novelist (1898–1970) who fought in World War I. His novel provides a vivid description of the fighting as seen through the eyes of a young German soldier named Paul Baumer. Find the passage in which Baumer is huddled in a large shell-hole, separated from his unit and afraid that an enemy soldier could discover him at any time. “This is the first man I have killed with my hands, whom I can see close at hand, whose death is my doing.” This excerpt shows the personal emotions brought to bear by the insanity of war and the quest for survival.

Assessment

1. The assessment provides two separate possibilities depending on the strengths or inclinations of the students. Students may be asked either to write a poem about or an epitaph to “The Great War” or to draw a political cartoon.
2. A poem or an epitaph could be about any phase of the war, for example, the causes of the war, the collapse of Russia, Russia’s doomed cause, the Battle of Gallipoli, the horrors of the Eastern or Western Front, the promise or failure of Versailles, or the end of the world’s innocence.
3. A political cartoon might also express any phase of the war from the perspective of any combatants or noncombatants. It should express a message about some phase of the war.

“Dulce et Decorum Est,” Wilfred Owen (1893–1918)

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped behind.

Gas! Gas! Quick boys!—An Ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime . . .
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.
In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues—
My friend you would not tell with such high zest
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*
Pro patria mori.

Source: Dennis Sherman, *Western Civilization: Sources, Images, and Interpretations* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000).

“In Flanders Fields,” John McCrae

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Source: Dennis Sherman, *Western Civilization: Sources, Images, and Interpretations* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2000).

LESSON 4

Armenian Holocaust: Legacy for the Twentieth Century

Activities

1. Define the words holocaust and genocide. Establish that there have been several genocidal catastrophes in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Ask the students if subsequent history might have been different if the world had been aware of the plight of the Armenians. Ask students how the Nazi holocaust might have been affected by knowledge of the Armenian tragedy. What might have been different? What might have been the same?
2. Show students Student Handout 1.4.1, “Summary of Seven Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Genocides.” Divide the class into seven groups.
3. Review Student Handout 1.4.1. Presenting the handout as a point of departure, have each group research one genocide and present a summary of it. Each group should plan and share research on its assigned event. *Caution students to take care in using the Internet, and even print sources, on genocides. Many Internet sites are one-sided and highly charged politically and emotionally.* Ask what message their summary of the event has for contemporary times. What message for future times? How could this genocide have been prevented from happening? What can you and I do to prevent this sort of tragedy from happening in our times? Ask the rhetorical question: “At what point do you and I become members of the world community and stand up to speak?”
4. Have each of the groups show, on a regional or world map, the location of the topic of their study. Ask each group: “What other facts can you add?” Ask: “What other events would you add to this tragic chronicle?” See the Map Guide for Teachers below.
5. Have each seminar group weigh its findings against the statement of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, April 16, 1963, “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

Assessment

1. Summarize these acts of injustice. Analyze what safety valves the world has built as a vigil against atrocities in our time. Speculate on the potential of these safety valves.
2. Make a graphic organizer contrasting the historical features, numbers of casualties, and motives of the perpetrators for each of the seven genocides.

3. Team Discussion: Place four chairs in the middle of the room. Create four evenly matched teams. Have one person from each team sit in each of the four chairs. Start the discussion by saying: “The First World War ushered in the Armenian holocaust. Similar atrocities have been repeated throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These acts are well chronicled.” Then bow out and let the four students in the seats continue the conversation. When someone else wants to speak, he/she simply taps the person from his/her team on the shoulder, takes his/her seat, and carries on the conversation. Present the best group with a reward based on the following criteria:
 - Team participation. Everybody on the team must speak at least once. The greater the turnover, the better.
 - The quality of the conversation from each team. The higher the quality, the better the evaluation.

Summary of Seven Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Genocides

As we remember the holocaust against Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and Slavs during the Third Reich in World War II, we may also remember the legacy of these victims. Our mandate is one of vigilance to prevent such atrocities from happening in our time. Yet, similar atrocities have happened before and since World War II. Below is a chronicle of some acts of genocide in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

- In each case, what other facts can you add?
- What other genocidal acts might you add to this tragic chronicle of seven?

1. Armenia—1915

During World War I, the Ottoman Empire embarked on a policy of genocide against its Armenian population. Armenians have long commemorated April 24, 1915 as the date on which the Ottoman authorities first rounded up and liquidated Armenian intellectuals. In total, about 1.5 million men, women, and children were murdered. The atrocities were photographed by Armand Wegner, a German photojournalist. The Ottoman state was allied with Germany in World War I. Later, when Wegner's pictures were shown to Hitler, he remarked, "Nobody remembers."

2. Nanjing, China—1937

The Rape of Nanjing (Nanking) refers to the unjustified and inhumane atrocities that Japanese soldiers committed during Japan's invasion of China. These atrocities included looting, rape, and killing of Chinese civilians in Nanjing after the city had already surrendered to Japan on December 13, 1937. Remembered as the most brutal event of the Japanese invasion, some 300,000 civilians were reported murdered and 20,000 women raped and murdered in this urban area alone. Victims included children as young as seven and elderly women in their seventies. The crimes were sometimes committed in front of spouses or other family members. The controversy flared up anew in 1982 when the Japanese Ministry of Education censored any mention of the Nanjing Massacre in Japanese textbooks. Japan and China continue to dispute the way Japanese textbooks describe the invasion and massacre.

3. Cambodia—1975

In 1975, during the Vietnam War, Cambodia was plunged into chaos when the Khmer Rouge, a Communist party led by Pol Pot, took over the country. The Khmer Rouge's ultimate goal was to create a primitive society of peasants with an economy based on agriculture and bartering. In the four years of its rule, the regime killed almost two million people, including government officials and influential persons who opposed the new rulers. In 1979, the Vietnamese army drove the Khmer Rouge out of Cambodia. But the expelled regime retreated to the countryside and resurfaced to fight a civil war that lasted until 1998. Hun Sen, the prime minister of Cambodia, said that "we should dig a hole and bury the past." Today in Cambodia, the victims of the genocide still live side by side with the unpunished perpetrators. Pol Pot's

legacy still lives on. Some families visit his grave to pray for good fortune. Other families have struggled to recover from the sudden transition to farming that the Khmer Rouge forced upon them. The people of Cambodia and the world should not and cannot simply bury the past when it still affects the present. One genocide survivor protests the reluctance to acknowledge the brutality of the past and cries: “I beg you not to forget the atrocities and to remember vividly this history.”

4. Iraqi Kurds—1983

The Kurds, who speak the Kurdish language and practice Sunni Islam, are the world’s largest group of people without a nation to call their own. They were promised Kurdistan by the Treaty of Sevres in 1920, but their dream never came to fruition. Allies who backed the treaty pulled out after fears arose of destabilizing Iraq and Syria. Throughout the years, the Kurdish population was divided, parts of it living in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Saddam Hussein first came to power in 1968 (he became president in 1979), promising the Kurds a lasting solution to their predicament. His promise was quickly broken when the Ba’ath party evicted Kurdish farmers from their lands in order to tap oil wells. In the summer of 1983, Iraqi troops broke into a Kurdish village of the Barzani tribe and swiftly took 8,000 men from their homes and put them into concentration camps designed for testing chemical agents. All 8,000 men are now presumed dead. This was only a precursor, however, to the atrocities that occurred during the Anfal campaigns in 1988. Between February 23 and September 6 of that year, 200,000 Iraqi troops detained thousands of Kurdish males between the ages of 15 and 70 for interrogation and ultimate execution. Women and children were later trucked off to resettlement camps where they, too, were brutally murdered. The estimated death toll of the holocaust was between 60,000 and 110,000. As one Iraqi soldier told a survivor of the attack on Qaranaw village, “Your men have gone to hell.”

5. Bosnia—1992–95

In 1990, Bosnia was made up of three major ethnic groups; it was 44 percent Bosnian, 33 percent Serbian, and 17 percent Croat. Bosnians have been Muslim from the time when Bosnia was part of the Ottoman Empire. Bosnian Muslims, however, speak Serbo-Croatian, the same language that Serbs and Croats speak. Serbians are traditionally Orthodox Catholics, and Croats are traditionally Roman Catholic. When Yugoslavia was divided by the European Community into Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia, Bosnia was partitioned and became independent. The Serbs responded violently. They created in Bosnia “ethnically pure” territories free of Muslims and Croats. Twenty thousand Muslim once lived in Banja Luka, the second largest city. By the end of the “ethnic cleansing,” only 4,000 were reported to have survived. Serb militiamen killed seven to eight thousand Bosnian men in Srebrenica in July 1995. Finally, western nations charged the Serbs with genocide. Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, went on trial in The Hague, Netherlands, for crimes against humanity, but he died in 2006 before the trial ended. Bosnia is currently occupied by NATO forces from France, the United States, and Britain to prevent further atrocities.



6. Rwanda—1994

The mass genocide that took place in Rwanda during the mid-1990s was partly a consequence of the ignorance and unjust segregating on the part of a foreign power. Belgium, the colonial power in Rwanda from the late nineteenth century, encouraged ethnic division between the two groups known as the Hutu and the Tutsi. The Tutsi were a cattle-herding people who began arriving in central Africa from Ethiopia around 1600. They became the politically dominant class. The Hutu were predominantly farmers who lived in large family units. The Belgians believed the Tutsi to be superior and thus ratified their position as a Tutsi upper class, while the Hutu remained peasants. The demotion of the Hutu to a lower position planted the seed for what later became a violent overthrow of the Tutsi. The hate war exploded when, on April 6, 1994, the president, Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu, was shot down in his airplane. Rumors spread that Tutsis ordered the assassination. These rumors expanded into Hutu violence against Tutsi. The violence spilled into the streets as Hutu went on a three-month blitzkrieg of massacre. The Tutsi were horrified at the speed at which the incident escalated. By the end of just three months, over 800,000 Tutsi were reported dead.

The Rwandan genocide was widely ignored by the international community. The United Nations deployed troops, but after ten casualties, they rapidly withdrew from the conflict, waiting until there was a clear victor in sight, which became the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front). The United States, Belgium, France, and the United Nations all had knowledge, prior to the genocide, of the events about to unfold; however, those nations took no action. Alison Des Forges, a scholar on Rwanda, has written, “The Americans were interested in saving money, the Belgians were interested in saving face, and the French were interested in saving their ally, the genocidal government.”

7. Darfur 2003

Though the conflict has no definitive beginning, the modern Darfur genocide erupted in early 2003. The conflict centers on the ethnic differences between Arabic-speaking Muslims and Muslim farmers and herders who speak other languages and live in Darfur, the region of southwestern Sudan. Recent estimates have reported that 338,000 civilians have died and 1.5 million people have been displaced into the neighboring countries such as Chad, Libya, Egypt, and Ethiopia. The local African tribes are suppressed by government-backed militia groups known generally as the Janjaweed, even though the government constituted these militias to protect the people of the region from the warring rebel groups. The two largest rebel groups against the government are the Sudan Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. The Janjaweed have turned against the people, perpetrating mass killings, rapes, and destruction of towns and villages. Though the UN and many nations have pressured the Sudanese government to stop the atrocities, war and mass flight continue as of late 2006.

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, April 16, 1963

“The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.”

—Edmund Burke, British statesman and orator (1729–1797)

“At what point do you and I become members of the world community and stand up and speak?”

—Mr. Charles Beach, January 21, 2005

LESSON 5

Dear Abdullah

Activity

“Dear Abdullah” is a fictitious newspaper columnist who receives letters from subjects during the years before and during World War I. This lesson is on the order of “Dear Abby,” though for a more serious time and place. The setting is the Ottoman Empire.

Divide students into four groups. Give each group one of the scenarios described in Student Handouts 1.5.1 through 1.5.4. Have the students read the scenario and letter to Abdullah, then discuss it. Encourage students to weigh Ottoman-era values suggested in the letters against students’ own values. Students should work toward fashioning responses that “Dear Abdullah” might write. Remember that “Dear Abby” always gives alternative solutions, so “Dear Abdullah” will, too. Allow fifteen minutes for reading and planning. After students have discussed the scenario among themselves and developed a response, have them present their solution to the class (5 minutes each) according to the following format:

- State the background of the case, who is affected, how, and when.
- State the issues which become revealed in the case.
- Tell who wrote the letter and what he is asking.
- Offer “Abdullah’s” solutions to the problems.
- Tell how the group came up with these solutions.

Evaluation

Evaluate each group by the scholarly contributions of its members during preparation, and by how each member articulated the findings.

To provide students with some basic definitions of terms, either hand out or project the list on the following page.

Definitions

Valid for the Period before and during World War I

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Ottoman Empire | Multi-religious state; ruling class and politically dominant population are Turkish-speaking Sunni Muslims; allied with Germany in the war. |
| Turks | Turkish-speaking population of Ottoman Empire; Sunni Muslims. |
| Greeks | Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian population of the Ottoman Empire. |
| Armenians | Armenian-speaking Orthodox Christians; populations inhabit both Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire. |
| Kurds | Kurdish-speaking Sunni Muslims; a minority population of the Ottoman Empire. |
| Russian Empire | The Russian Orthodox Church is the dominant religion, but the empire has minority populations of other Christian faiths as well as Muslims. |
| Palestinians | Inhabitants of Palestine, historically a part of Greater Syria; populations of both Muslims and several Christian groups; predominantly Arabic-speaking. |
| Jordan | Part of Ottoman Empire; predominantly Muslim and Arabic-speaking population. |
| Bedouin | Muslim tribes whose way of life is based on herding sheep, horses, goats, or camels. |
| Syria | Part of Ottoman Empire; predominantly Muslim and Arabic-speaking population. |
| Australia | A state allied with Britain in the war; population is Christian. |

Letter from an Ottoman Army Lieutenant and Graduate of the Imperial War College

Scenario I

This graduate of the War College became a lieutenant and staff member at the War College upon his graduation. He wants his state to be progressive and modern. While he believes in his faith and traditions, he is a pragmatist who wants to do what is good for the state. Here is his letter to “Dear Abdullah.”

September 1, 1914

Dear Abdullah,

At the War College in Harbiye, Istanbul, I was as perplexed by the rowdiness and moral leniency of the Christian sector of the city as I was by the rigid traditional mindset of many Muslim leaders. Life was hard at the War College; the food was terrible, no newspapers or books were allowed, Islamic piety was strictly enforced, and no alcohol was permitted. But the Christian part of the city was full of newspapers, bars, and brothels, frequented by the Armenians and Greeks. I continue to read the works of the great French thinkers and start to think that something must be done to save Ottoman Turkey from both the immoral foreigners and itself. I believe with the philosopher John Stuart Mill that all moral and political action should tend toward the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The Sultan (Ottoman emperor) has become strangely self-doubting, vacillating on decisions. After graduation, I began a small newspaper to expose corruption and abuse of power in the Ottoman regime. A friend who has become part of the Sultan’s vast network of spies betrayed me to the police. How, Abdullah, can I remain loyal to the Ottoman Empire and to the unity of Islam, while at the same time serving enlightenment principles and desiring modernization of my Turkish homeland?

Sincerely,

A Troubled Lieutenant and Staff Member, War College

Letter from a Sixteen-Year-Old Ottoman Youth after His Father, the Family Breadwinner, Is Drafted into the Army

Scenario II

This scenario takes place in a small Turkish village. In this village Greek Christians and Turkish Muslims have lived together for generations. The Greeks write their language in Roman letters; Turks write Turkish using a modified Arabic alphabet. Literacy is not common in this village. Remember, war makes states change significantly. The Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers on the side of Germany. They did this because, when the alliances were first formed, they expected Britain and France to ally with them. After all, Britain and France had done so in the Crimean War against Russia in 1853. Now, however, Russia was the ally of Britain and France. The Ottomans were not included, so they sided with Germany.

June 17, 1914

Dear Abdullah,

The news that my father has been drafted into the Ottoman army has been devastating to my family. Mother doesn't know how to support the family without his salary, but my father considers it his duty to fight what has been called a Holy War against the infidels. I am sixteen. I lied about my age and offered myself in my father's place for the sake of my mother and younger brothers and sisters, who will not live without my father. My friend, a Greek boy with whom I grew up and considered almost a brother, helped teach me to read and write Greek. He wanted to enlist in the army, too, so we could fight together. The sergeant, recognizing the Greek boy's name, asked if he was a Christian. The sergeant said: "Don't you know we are fighting the Christian British and French?" My Greek friend replied: "I am Ottoman". The sergeant said he couldn't trust Christians in the army in case they turn against us. He said if my friend wanted to join up he could work in the labor battalions building roads and bridges, growing food, and breeding mules for the war. We have been friends since we were little boys. The war would separate us, and I couldn't write home because the only writing I know is Greek. The Greek script would cause my loyalty to be questioned. How can I both help my family and keep my lifelong friend?

A Sad Turkish Youth

Letter from an Ottoman Brigadier General Lamenting the Inability to Receive Supplies and the Confounding Results of Deportation of Armenians and Kurds

Scenario III

The Ottoman Empire won the pivotal battle of Gallipoli early in the war. Casualties were great on both sides, but the Turkish army managed to cut off supplies to the Russian Empire, crippling their efforts on the Eastern Front. The Russians continue to try to open the Bosphorus Strait for access in and out of the Black Sea. Supplies are also dwindling badly for the Ottomans. Some Armenians live in Turkey, but they have been deported because they helped the Russians. Kurds have been deported from Russia in a plan called “Russification,” where toleration of non-Slavic, non-Christians is very low. Neither the deportation of the Armenians from Turkey nor the deportation of Kurds from Russia was handled in a humane way.

October 27, 1917

Dear Abdullah,

The Ottoman Turkish armies fighting against the Russians are in a desperate state, diseased and unsupplied, anarchic and miserable. Requests from Ottoman headquarters at Istanbul are ignored. The Russians attack before I can get properly organized, and I have been forced to fight alongside my men in a vicious battle using mostly bayonets. During the winter the situation of the troops has become hopeless. We have no food or supplies because we are operating in an area from which the Armenian population has been deported. This means there are no farmers, craftsmen, or tradesmen left, and the place is a desert. Otherwise we might be able to receive food from the Armenian farmers. To compound the situation, the Russian armies have driven before them several hundred thousand famished Muslim refugees, many of them Kurds. The Armenians and the Kurds have loathed each other for centuries. Because there are many Armenian units and commanders in the Russian army, the same atrocities have been committed against the Kurds that the Kurds have enjoyed committing against Armenians. Winter is approaching; the men are dressed in the rags of their summer uniforms, with feet bound up in shreds of rags. We have one-third of our normal rations; there is nothing for the animals. What options are left to me to help my troops?

Sincerely,

Worried Brigadier General, Ottoman Army

Letter from a Nationalistic Commander Lamenting Changing Loyalties of Bedouin Tribes and Others

Scenario IV

Syria, Palestine, and Jordan are predominantly Arabic-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire. As the war progressed, many Arabs, including Bedouin tribes, renounced their loyalty to the Ottomans and favored victory for the Allied Powers. Britain, which has controlled Egypt since the 1880s, is invading Ottoman territory from the west.

October 28, 1917

Dear Abdullah,

The Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet, appointed me commander of the 7th Army in Palestine. The 7th Army is in pitiful condition. There are British spies everywhere, and the local population frankly can hardly wait for the British to arrive and drive out the Ottomans. The Ottoman army has by now become so demoralized that there have been 300,000 desertions. Temperatures in the adjoining Jordan valley soar to unbearable levels, and the men have no summer clothes. Worst of all, cherished Islamic unity has been broken. The Arabs know that the Allies are going to win and have completely switched their loyalty to the British. The Bedouins descend ferociously upon the Ottoman army. The Allies have taken Damascus in Syria, provoking riots in the region. I find myself being attacked by angry Arab mobs. The mobs are the Ottomans I am charged to defend. How can I defend the integrity of my commission as commander, serve justice, and maintain the sovereignty of my native Ottoman Turkey?

Sincerely,

A Nationalistic Commander,
7th Ottoman Army

The Search for Peace and Stability



WHY STUDY THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND STABILITY?

This chapter explores global developments in the 1920s and 1930s. Because of the horrors of World War I (1914–1918), people around the world made desperate searches for peace and stability. Social, political, and economic relations between women and men, rich and poor, colonizer and colonized were dramatically changed by the demands of the Great War. A resulting wave of revolution transformed prewar states, and the Russian, Ottoman, German, and Austro-Hungarian Empires crumbled. The ideology of nationalism formed the foundation of this transformation as the world was shrunk by technological development. Individuals were empowered by technology to an unprecedented degree.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Examine how technological developments drove social, political, and economic change in ways not possible in previous eras.
2. Analyze the strengths and flaws of the League of Nations.
3. Assess how peace and stability might have been more fully served through the League than it was.
4. Evaluate the events and leaders of the Russian Revolution and its potential for success.

5. Examine responses of Arabic-speaking peoples to the political geography of the Middle East established after World War I.
6. Evaluate the impact of early twentieth century technological advances on tropical African societies.

TIME AND MATERIALS

This chapter is divided into five lessons. Each lesson takes from two to four days, depending on classroom circumstances and size. If time is limited, parts of each lesson may be used at the discretion of the instructor. Individual lessons may also be used independently of others.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Have you ever had the sickening sense of loss that comes from learning something in life you wish you did not know? This is how it felt on a worldwide scale after World War I. Each nation involved in that war had its own motives and its own goals. None of the combatants expected the long and costly war that resulted, and by all accounts the price was staggering. It is said of this war that the world lost its innocence and learned lessons it wished never to know. No one could have conceived that human beings could commit acts against each other that characterized World War I, such as the horrors of poison gas and trench warfare. At the peace conference there were those who sought peace and there were those who sought revenge. The world knew it could not have both, so it built a forum in which differences could be negotiated and called it the League of Nations.



Former League of Nations Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland

Meeting in Geneva in January 1920, the League sought to be a congress that could facilitate discussion, debate, and resolution. When the original 42 nations met to form their charter, the union was weakened by the failure of some superpowers to participate and the absence of any means by which to enforce its decisions. It could suggest a course of action, but it could not compel compliance. However, because states were desperate to find lasting peace, it was hoped that the strengths of the League would outweigh its weaknesses.

One of the transformations of war was the collapse of four empires. Peoples ruled by autocratic governments came to recognize that there were alternatives. Revolutions were launched in order to serve the needs of the great mass of people. Some in Russia believed that Communism offered the best model for future peace and prosperity. Upheavals also began to restructure China, India, the Ottoman Empire, and European colonial possessions in Africa. The fall of the Romanov Dynasty in Russia was propelled by political, economic, and social injustices within the country and serious mistakes in foreign policy abroad. In the 1904 Russo-Japanese war, Japan sought to gain the rich resources of Manchuria to fuel its industrialization. Russia had the same idea, but when the Japanese navy staged a surprise attack on the Russian base at Port Arthur and sank two-thirds of the massive Russian fleet in thirty-six hours, Tsar Nicholas II was humiliated. Resulting criticism of the imperial Romanov government was harsh and unyielding. When Russia joined the Triple Entente some criticized the alliance as payback for earlier Allied loans made to the Tsar's regime. In addition, Russia could not defend its endless front against the aggression of the Central Powers—Germany, Austria, and the Ottoman Empire. When the Allied Powers (Britain, France, Russia, and others) failed in an attempt to invade Turkey at Gallipoli, hopes were dashed for an Allied supply line to Russia. Workers and peasant farmers paid the greatest price when they were sent to the front in horse-drawn carts, sometimes even without weapons, to fight against Germany's armored war machine. Russian farmers and workers were placed in situations in which they had nothing left to lose. Vladimir Lenin promised "peace, land, and bread" to his Bolshevik followers. As workers' strikes and peasant insurrections escalated the Tsar's days became numbered. Nicholas established an elected State Assembly known as the Duma to create the illusion of popular support. The Duma, however, served at the pleasure of the crown and was soon dissolved for insubordination.

When Lenin pledged "peace, land, and bread" to his people, peace meant withdrawing from the war, which Lenin formally did in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Lenin felt no loyalty to Russia's former allies, Britain and France, and he made documents public which were secret until 1917. One such document was the Sykes-Picot Agreements of 1916 in which Britain and France agreed to share control of the Arab world after the war. This diplomatic embarrassment for these two countries was alarming because the agreement contradicted earlier promises made to Arab leaders. Themes of the post-war peace that U.S. president Wilson promoted included renunciation of secret treaties and calls for independence and self-determination for peoples under imperial rule.

Britain and France were the two pivotal leaders at war's end when the League created the Mandate System in accord with Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant. The United States and Russia were not members of the League. According to the Mandate System there were A, B, and C Level Mandates. Level A Mandates applied to lands that were to be self-governing

within a short time. Until that time, Palestine and Iraq were to be under British control, and Syria and Lebanon under French control. Most of Africa was in Level B, declared to be less advanced. Level C were small Pacific islands that were unlikely candidates for independence.

Newly created states carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires after the war were given complete sovereignty and membership in the League. These included Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland. Imagine how news of the Mandate system was received by states of the former Ottoman Empire such as Palestine, Iraq, and Syria, and how this weighed against their hopes for sovereignty. News traveled fast given new technological advancements. The masses were aware of these world events on an unprecedented scale.

If, as it is said, necessity is the mother of invention, the war pioneered new technologies that revolutionized military potential. Technological advances reached far beyond the military sphere, however. They ultimately revolutionized how humans sent messages, got places, and exchanged ideas. Technology such as the radio, telegraph, telephone, photography, movie, phonograph, automobile, and transoceanic flight became commonly available. These were features that united the twentieth century world. Also, more people went abroad to study and they came home to share new ideas they had learned.

Among the European colonies of Africa, the impact of new ideas caused both leaders and the masses to rethink traditional standards. One new idea was the notion that resources were to be used for the benefit of the people. In a continent as rich in natural resources as Africa, it was an encouraging prospect indeed. However, imperialist powers organized colonial economies in such a way that the resources flowed mostly out of the colonies and into Europe. The very nature of imperialism is built on the premise that colonies exist for the benefit of the ruling country. Telephone lines were installed in French Algeria and French Senegal, for example, but it was impossible to make a phone call between these two states without going through Paris. Railroad tracks were built in African colonies using whatever track gauge the ruling colonial power wanted. Tracks led mainly from interior points to ports where Europeans could collect precious natural resources and ship home. That is, colonial powers often did not build rail and other communications networks that linked one African colony with another, even within a single colonial system, though such connections would have encouraged broader economic exchange within Africa.

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

In the 1920s and 1930s, the volume and value of world trade slowed dramatically compared to the decades before World War I. We can think of many reasons why this slowdown, followed by the Great Depression of the 1930s, hurt people economically. But was the reduction of global trade perhaps good for the world's natural and physical environment? Make arguments for and against this proposition. In relation to today's world, are economic growth and environmental health and preservation always compatible?

Humans and Other Humans

History tends to look upon the League of Nations as a failure. Did the League accomplish anything useful? Research the history of the League and try to compile lists of both its successes and failures. Was the League weaker and less effective than the United Nations is today? Why or why not?

Humans and Ideas

Research a movement in the visual arts that flourished in Europe in the twentieth century before World War II. Choices might include surrealism, cubism, Dadaism, futurism, expressionism, and the Bauhaus school. How do you think any of these movements might have reflected or expressed cultural moods and values in the era from the early twentieth century to World War II?

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 4: Haves and Have-Nots

Key Theme 6: Science, Technology, and the Environment

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. 2B: The student understands the global scope, outcome, and human costs of the war; 2C: The student understands the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution of 1917; 3A: The student understands postwar efforts to achieve lasting peace and social and economic recovery; 3B: The student understands economic, social, and political transformations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the 1920s and 1930s.

INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES

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LESSON 1

William Butler Yeats

“The Second Coming”

Introduction

The British poet William Butler Yeats was attracted to the spiritual and occult world and fashioned for himself an elaborate mythology to explain human experience. “The Second Coming,” written in 1919 right after the catastrophe of World War I ended and, with communism and fascism rising, is a compelling glimpse of an inhuman world about to be born. Yeats believed that history in part moved in two-thousand-year cycles. The Christian era, which followed that of the ancient world, was about to give way to an ominous period represented by the rough, pitiless beast in the poem.

Activity

Ask students to read the poem, then discuss its meaning in the context of the aftermath of World War I, the bloodiest and most destructive war in history up to that time. Students may consider the following questions:

1. How might this poem be a harbinger of danger in relation to things that happened in the world in the 1920s and 1930s?
2. Sometimes World War I is characterized as the loss of the world’s innocence because nobody could have conceived that humans could commit such atrocities against one another. What do you think Yeats means in line 6, “innocence is drowned”?
3. Who or to what gazes “blank and pitiless as the sun”?
4. Do you think, as Yeats did, that in 1919 it looked like the heritage of Western European civilization was collapsing?
5. Why do you think Yeats worries that “the world will be swept by a tide of savagery from the ‘uncivilized’ portions of the globe”?
6. What do you think the “beast” slouching toward Bethlehem to be born represents?

William Butler Yeats: “The Second Coming”

Turning and turning in the widening gyre ⁽¹⁾
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand;
Surely the Second Coming ⁽²⁾ is at hand;
The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out
When a vast image out of Spiritus Mundi ⁽³⁾
Troubles my sight: somewhere in sands of the desert
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds.

The darkness drops again; but now I know
That twenty centuries ⁽⁴⁾ of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

Notes:

(1) Spiral, making the figure of a cone.

(2) Second Coming refers to the promised return of Christ on Doomsday, the end of the world; but in Revelation 13 Doomsday is also marked by the appearance of a monstrous beast.

(3) Spirit of the World.

(4) 2,000 years; the creature has been held back since the birth of Christ. Yeats imagines that the great heritage of Western European civilization is collapsing, and that the world will be swept by a tide of savagery from the “uncivilized” portions of the globe.

LESSON 2

League of Nations

Mock League Strategy

Preparation

Photocopy student handouts. Arrange access to the Internet. Have 5" x 7" index cards and colored markers ready for preparation of credentials.

Introduction

In considering their war aims and possible peace settlement, the delegates at the Versailles Peace Conference sought a vehicle by which future conflicts could be negotiated rather than resolved through military conflict. President Woodrow Wilson, the United States delegate, saw this vehicle as an avenue for lasting peace. To this end he suggested in his Fourteen Points, "A general association of nations should be formed on the basis of covenants designed to create mutual guarantees of the political independence and territorial integrity of States, large and small equally." Such an association of nations materialized as the League of Nations. The following strategy allows students to simulate the working of the League in a mock session.

Delegates: Each state must be represented by two students. Select the number of states based on the size of the class. Select the major states based on the original members of the League, January 10, 1920: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Select the states most relevant to the topics being discussed.

Credentials: Have students prepare their own credentials using authenticity and artistic creation. Fold a 5" x 7" index card in half and write the name of the state on both sides. This is what is used for all roll calls and for recognition on floor.

Research: Have students research on the Internet possible topics to be selected, such as the League mandate on the dismantled Ottoman Empire, admittance of Iraq, Turkey, Germany, U.S.S.R., or Egypt, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, and the Lytton Commission findings. Once they have selected or been assigned a state, have them collect research on their state's position on the issues. From research, prepare Student Handout 2.2.1.

Position Paper: Each state or member will be expected to write a position paper. The purpose of the position paper is to establish the views and goals of one's state for other states to read. States need to know who to seek as allies, who to avoid, and what they have in common with other states. See Student Handout 2.2.2.

Parliamentary Procedure

Topics of Discussion: Decide what three or four topics will be discussed. This will be the first action after the delegates are assembled, roll has been called, and each delegation has responded verbally and by a show of credentials (placard). Place topics in the order to be discussed, combine topics if possible, but only allow discussion on the topic selected at the time.

Speaker's List: A state gains access to the floor by raising the state placard (also credential for admittance to floor). When recognized by the chair, the state will have one minute to make a substantive statement on the topic being discussed. Speaking on any other topic is out of order and will not be allowed. Whenever a state raises its placard to make a statement, it should be recognized by placing the name of the state on the speaker's list (displayed at the front of the room). Speakers are taken in the order in which their state appears.

Unused Time: If the state does not use all its time, there are three choices. The state may yield remaining time to the chair. The state may yield remaining time to another speaker. The state may yield remaining time to accept and answer questions about its statement.

Responses: Two responses may be accepted, and in the order in which the chair sees the state's raised placard. Each respondent will have 30 seconds to reply to the substantive statement. If a respondent does not use the full 30 seconds, the floor goes back to the chair.

Precedence: 1) Motion: If a delegate rises to move a motion, this is given precedence over the speaker's list. A motion must have a second and requires a three-fourths vote to pass. For example, in order to vote on a working paper, a motion must be made to end debate for the purpose of voting to suspend rules for caucusing on a stated topic for a stated amount of time or to introduce a working paper or resolution. 2) Right of Parliamentary Inquiry: Parliamentary Inquiry also takes precedence over the speaker's list. This may be used if a delegate wishes to inquire what proper parliamentary procedure is for the action the state wishes to take.

Point of Order: Point of Order also takes precedence. It is used if a delegate feels parliamentary procedure has been violated, for example, if a substantive statement is given more than one minute or if a motion is permitted to pass without a three-fourths vote.

Right of Reply: This also takes precedence and is used if a state feels its integrity has been violated, for example, if France says, "England, that nation of shopkeepers, is driven only by a profit motive." England may rise to a Right of Reply to have the statement stricken.

Caucus: As talking on the floor is exclusively the right of the speaker recognized by the chair, no informal discussion can take place on the floor. If individuals wish to talk informally, they may caucus with any other state by simply leaving the room with other delegates. Caucuses should occur in a visible place outside the classroom. One delegate must always remain on the floor to keep track of floor debate and/or cast votes. A state must always be represented on the floor.

Resolution: The final product is to write a resolution. A resolution can be written on each topic discussed, or the topics may be combined in one resolution owing to the time constraints of the classroom.

Working Papers: In the classroom modification, each working paper passed is collected by the chair to be included in the final resolution. A working paper is written by a delegate who feels there is a consensus on an issue to be passed by the body. In order to be introduced on the floor, a working paper must have at least three signatures; more is better. Once a motion to read the working paper passes, debate can be allowed until a motion to vote is made. If it passes, it goes into the resolution; if not, it is dead. It is suggested to have at least three-fourths vote for passage.

Voting: There are three ways voting may take place. On a simple issue, a voice vote (showing placards) of “all in favor” or “opposed” is sufficient. A roll call vote is usually taken for passage of a working paper, and always for a resolution. In a roll call, a delegate may vote publicly, ask to be placed at the end, or abstain.

Activities

1. Have students research three or four issues to be discussed on the floor.
2. Select states to be represented based upon the number in the class (two students per state).
3. One or two students should help the teacher at the dais by keeping the speaker’s list and keeping track of time.
4. One or two students should be research technicians to secure any documents required on the floor which need to be viewed by a delegate or the body as a whole.
5. Three or four students (depending on size of class) should be press. They will try to secure quotes from the delegates during preparation, caucus, and on the floor. They will be the eyes and ears of the public, and they will write a newspaper article instead of a position paper.
6. Have students research the position of their state on these issues.
7. Students prepare Student Handout 2.2.1 to organize their research.
8. Students should write their position paper to be graded. See Student Handout 2.2.2.
9. After roll is called and delegates have presented credentials, each delegation should make a 1–2 minute opening statement. Require both delegates to deliver this statement. It should be the most important words the delegation offers, summarizing the salient points of the opening statement.
10. Begin speakers list for first topic; follow parliamentary procedure.

Assessment

The position paper is a formal written evaluation. Evaluate this paper on all the criteria mentioned in Student Handout 2.2.2 and all the criteria of a formal paper. That is, avoid ending a sentence with a preposition, maintain agreement in tense between subject and verb, and so on. For the opening statement, each delegate should be graded for content, conviction, diplomacy, and scholarship.

In assessing performance in the floor debate, analyze the quality of arguments and strength of support. Look for use of diplomatic language. Gauge the degree to which students seek compromise. Gauge the use of parliamentary procedure. Keep track of each time a delegate makes a substantive statement.



View of the meeting hall of the League of Nations in Geneva

Field Force Analysis

Name of State _____ Name of Delegate _____

I. Goals

A. Forces working for goals:

1.

2.

3.

Forces blocking goals:

1.

2.

3.

B. Our State wants:

1.

2.

3.

C. We deserve this because:

1.

2.

3.

D. In order to secure what we want, we are willing to offer:

1.

2.

3.

E. Under *no* circumstances are we willing to offer

1.

2.

3.



II. Analysis

F. Which forces are most important?

1.

2.

3.

Which obstacles are most important?

1.

2.

3.

G. What actions can your state take to achieve your goals?

III. Recommended Action

Position Paper

Write a paper stating the position of your state at the League of Nations on the subjects selected for discussion. Present the support for your Field Force Analysis in a formal essay. Refer to your delegation by the name of your state. For example, “Argentina respectfully submits its requirements covering the appropriate action to be taken regarding mandates over the former Ottoman Empire. Argentina believes that . . .”

The purpose of a position paper is to inform the other delegations of where your state stands on the issues and for your state to know how others stand. Those who support your views are your allies. Those with little opinion on an issue may be persuaded to support your views. Those who are strongly opposed should probably be avoided, or else approach their allies. These papers are to be made public for all delegations and the press to read so use your best diplomatic, positive language, as you would in floor debate. Refer to every other delegation by the name of their state, for example, “Japan is reminded that Argentina has long held a tradition of respect for national integrity, therefore Japan is urged to offer its support for . . .”

The paper will be graded on these criteria:

- Staying in the character of your state
- Scholarly support for arguments and precise documentation
- Grammar and spelling
- Addressing all issues to be discussed on floor
- Best diplomatic language

This paper will provide the foundation of your opening statement. The support for your arguments will be the basis of your floor debate.

Offer a solution on which you wish the League to act. Remember that you are working toward a compromise. You want a solution which every state can support. Therefore, you must be willing to compromise, and you may suggest compromises other states should take.

Are there any issues on which your state has no particular opinion? If so, you can stand on principle (what is right and what is wrong). Always support something which is right, denounce something which is wrong, if you can.

If there is something that your state specifically wishes to gain at the conference and you wish to make that public, state it here, otherwise keep it within your delegation. Make a distinction between what your state wishes to be public and private.

Make historical references from all you have learned in your world history studies. Definitely quote from the documents uncovered in class and in your research to support your historical examples. This will make a convincing and scholarly position paper.

LESSON 3

Sixty Minutes

The Russian Revolution

Preparation

Photocopy student handouts. Arrange access to library and Internet.

Introduction

The Romanov Dynasty of imperial Russia was unable to sustain the demands of the Triple Entente and the war it defined. Russia had changed little since Tsar Nicholas II came to power. Agriculture remained primitive owing to heavy taxes on farmers, lack of arable land, and burgeoning population. Technology and industrialization were rudimentary at best. Education reached only a quarter of school-age children, with only one percent reaching secondary levels. Tsar Nicholas II was ill-advised, giving an image of complacency. Foreign policy disasters such as the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, and World War I after 1916, fueled discontent and paved an invitation for promised Bolshevik reforms.

Activity

Probing interviews are to be conducted on the pattern of the television program *Sixty Minutes*. Working in pairs, one student should take the part of Leslie Stahl, or Mike Wallace, another should take the part of one of the key players in the Russian Revolution, which began on November 7, 1917. A minimum of topics should be probed at each interview. Topics for each interview are chronicled in Student Handout 2.3.1 as follows:

1. Nicholas II (1894–1917)
2. Soldier at the front in 1916
3. Alexander Kerensky (July–October, 1917)
4. Vladimir Illyich Ulyanov (Lenin) (1917–1924)
5. Priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1916
6. Worker of the Petrograd Soviet (1905–1918)
7. Lev Davidovich Bronstein (Trotsky) (1915–1940)
8. Joseph Dzhugashvili (Stalin) (1920–1953)

Sixty Minutes: Questioner and interviewee should work together to prepare the interview. There should be no surprises when the interview takes place. If the guest answers superficially, or evades the question, the interviewer should probe to bring out information. An abundance of short questions and answers is most interesting. Interview should be five to eight minutes long. If there are enough students in the class, designate a press contingency to do newspaper reports and resource people to help find documents needed.

Assessment

Grade students on a total of 60 points using the following grid:

| Activity | Total points possible | Quality of support | Quality of sources | Addresses all issues | Credibility and interest |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Interview notes with sources | 20 | | | | |
| Interview: five minutes minimum | 20 | | | | |
| 60 Minute quiz on interviews | 20 | | | | |

Interview Topics for Sixty Minutes

I. Nicholas II (1894–1917)

- 1904–5: The Russo-Japanese War, its causes and consequences, and the tsar's support among subjects
- Serge Witte, economic advisor to tsar:
 - Increased taxes
 - Increased foreign investment and built industry
 - Built Trans-Siberian Railroad
- January 1905: March on Winter Palace and Bloody Sunday
- October 1905: Tsar created Duma
- Triple Entente, World War I, Russia as protector of the Slavs
- Prince Alexei and Rasputin (assassinated by nobles, December 31, 1916)
- January 1917: Workers petition tsar, troops join workers
- March 15, 1917: Double abdication

II. Soldier at the Front in 1916

- 1914: Soldiers mobilized immediately after assassination of Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo
- Workers and peasants sent off to 1,500-kilometer front
- 1915: Fourteen million soldiers sent to the front, poor training of generals and under-equipment of troops
- Wartime statistics for 1915 alone: 2.5 million Russian soldiers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner; nevertheless, Russia's battered peasant army continued to fight courageously
- Substantial number of Russian soldiers sent to the front without rifle; they were told to find weapons among the dead
- Poor leadership in the army, tsar appointed nobles to commands, obsolete equipment
- 1916: 1.5 million dead, 2 million prisoners, morale collapses, deserters abound
- February 26, 1917: Soldiers join food march, tsar orders troops to fire on marchers; troops join marchers



III. Alexander Kerensky (July–October 1917)

- July–October 1917: Provisional Government takes charge, parliamentary, democratic
- Kerensky elected Premier of the Fourth Duma, Menshevik Coalition
- Opposition from General Kornilov: opposition on the right; Bolsheviks: opposition on left; Kerensky armed Bolsheviks
- Kerensky tried to close down *Pravda*, Bolshevik newspaper
- October 1917: Kerensky fled into exile when soldiers sided with Petrograd Soviet
- November 7, 1917: Bolsheviks marched into Duma “without resistance”

IV. Vladimir Illyich Ulyanov (Lenin) (1917–1924)

- Editor: *Pravda*, Bolshevik Party newspaper
- Returned from Switzerland to Russia via Germany in armored railway car
- April 1917: April Thesis: “Peace, Land, Bread”
- November 7, 1917: “Everything fell without resistance”
- March 1918: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, “A third of old Russia’s population was sliced away by the German meat ax in the treaty,” also three-fourths of Russia’s coal mines
- Trotsky led Red Army
- 1920: Cheka, or secret police, sowed fear
- Execution of tsar
- War Communism
- Whites aided by France, Britain, and the United States, 15,000 strong; Kornilov, one of the White leaders, wanted tsar or Provisional Government restored
- 1924: Lenin selected Trotsky as successor, mistrust of Stalin



V. Priest of the Orthodox Church in 1916

- Mid-seventeenth century Orthodox Church became dependent on state for its authority
- Peter the Great made the Church a vehicle of the state, placing the tsar's authority over that of the Church
- During the reign of Nicholas II, the Orthodox Church became one of the mainstays of the tsar's power
- Nicholas II wished to maintain the sacred inheritance of supreme royal power which, with the Orthodox Church, was for him the key to Russia's greatness
- The Church was an important part of the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Romanov rule
- Priests blessed the soldiers at the front, fueling the patriotic and sacred mission of their service; priests blessed fresh troops again in 1916 to replace staggering casualties of war
- When Lenin came to power, he referred to the Church as the "opium of the people"
- Lenin closed the churches

VI. Worker of the Petrograd Soviet (1905–1918)

- January 8, 1905: Bloody Sunday
- Shipyard strikes, 2 million strikers
- Exodus from cities to seek food
- Petrograd Soviet, first Soviet Council of Workers
- War Communism: 11-hour work day, child labor, poor salaries, Black Saturday (six-day work week), nationalization of banks and industry, food rationing, state seized grain from peasants
- Money system replaced by barter
- National Economic Policy (N.E.P.)
- Red Army: low volunteerism, draft 400,000 to 5 million
- "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains"



VII. Lev Davidovich Bronstein (Trotsky) (1915–1940)

- April 1917: Trotsky returned from Boston
- Spellbinding orator, articulate and scholarly
- Bolshevik leader with Lenin from the start of the revolution
- Trotsky's leadership as War Commissar under Lenin was decisive
- Lenin's second in command
- As leader of the Red Army he resumed the draft because not enough volunteers, tightened discipline in the army to emergency proportions, soldiers shot for disobedience or desertion
- Negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918
- Organized the Communist Party, Politburo, Comintern

VIII. Joseph Dzhugashvili (Stalin) (1920–1953)

- 1921: N.E.P., small business, private farmers sell surplus
- Lenin: "Comrade Stalin has concentrated enormous power in his hands and I am not sure he always knows how to use it"
- 1928: Five-Year Plan replaces N.E.P., tripling of output, long work days, low wages, collective farms, kulaks (rich peasants) had crops, destroyed crops and livestock, sent to gulags or shot
- Stalin: "We are one hundred years behind advanced countries. We must make this up in ten years or they will crush us."
- 1933–1938: Second Five-Year Plan, progress to third largest industrial power
- 1934: Kirov murdered
- 1935–39: Reign of Terror
- 1939: Purges, N.K.V.D. (secret police)
- 1940: Trotsky exiled to Mexico and later assassinated there
- Lend Lease during WWII caused production to soar
- Loyalty most important to Stalin

LESSON 4

The Mandate System in the Middle East

Preparation

Photocopy student handouts.

Introduction

During World War I, the Ottoman Empire was allied with the Central Powers. But at that time it was a relatively weak state economically and much reduced in size from previous centuries. Sharif Hussein ibn Ali, an Arab prince of the Hashemite Dynasty under Ottoman rule, cooperated with Britain during the war, especially after the Central Powers began to lose. Britain hoped to divide Ottoman loyalties to the advantage of the Allied Powers. After the Allies defeated the Central Powers in the war, Sharif Hussein was very upset at Britain's Mandate System, which denied independence to a new, united Arab state—something he considered a betrayal by the British. In the Mandate System, the former regions of the Ottoman Empire were considered unable to govern themselves and placed under the trusteeship of Britain and France. Hussein's two prominent sons were installed as monarchs under British supervision; King Faisal I in Iraq and King Abdullah in Trans-Jordan. Turkey became a sovereign state with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its leader.

Activities

1. Distribute Student Handout 2.4.1.
2. Have students examine the three primary sources in Student Handouts 2.4.2 through 2.4.4.
3. Have students construct answers to these questions regarding the three primary source documents as a basis for class discussion.
 - a. Who wrote each document?
 - b. What was the purpose of writing each document?
 - c. Who was the intended audience for each document?
 - d. Which documents were intended to be public? Why or why not?
 - e. When the revolutionary Russian Government took over at the end of 1917, it no longer honored its alliance with Britain and France. The revolutionary government released the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which had been secret up until that point. Why was this embarrassing to the British and French governments?

- f. What part of the Fourteen Points was in direct conflict with the contents of the Sykes-Picot Agreement?
- g. What would Sharif Hussein and his sons have thought of the Fourteen Points?
- h. What might they have expected to happen as a result?
- i. What would President Wilson have thought of the Sykes-Picot Agreement? What would he have thought of the Mandate System in Article 22 of the Covenant?
- j. On the map of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, what are the differences between the Blue Zone, Red Zone, A Zone, and B Zone?
- k. How might the people living in any of these zones have viewed the Sykes-Picot Agreement?
- l. Do you think the Agreement changed their views of Britain or France in any way? How?
- m. If you were writing a history about the division of the Ottoman Empire, how might these documents influence your description of events?

Assessment

- 1. Examine the quality of analysis in the written answers to questions.
- 2. Evaluate contributions to classroom discussion based on documents.
- 3. Have students write their brief history of the division of the Ottoman Empire.



King Faisal of Iraq (1920–1930)

Vocabulary

covenant: Similar to the constitution of the League of Nations, the binding principles by which members mutually agree to operate.

egalitarian: Based on the principle of equality, as in, all are created equally.

interventionist: When a state chooses to make connections with other states or take an active role in world affairs, diplomatically, politically, militarily, economically, etc. The opposite of *isolationist*.

isolationist: A foreign policy by which a state chooses not to make connections with other states. It could take different forms, such as diplomatically, politically, militarily, economically, etc.

mandate: A charge to a nation from the League of Nations authorizing the administration and development of a territory or state, such as the former Ottoman territories of Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

mandatory: The state authorized to administer said development, such as Britain and France.

paternalism: A position in which a stronger state treats a weaker state like a child that needs to be guided and developed.

sovereign: Free, independent, and in no way limited by external authority or influence

sultan: The highest office in the Ottoman Empire, similar to emperor.

Document 1: Selection from the Sykes-Picot Agreement

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret understanding between Great Britain and France, with the assent of Russia. Concluded in May 1916, during World War I, it arranged for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. When the imperial Russian government was overthrown by the Russian Revolution in November 1917, the new revolutionary government released the contents of this agreement publicly.

It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments:

That France and Great Britain are prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab state or a confederation of Arab states (a) and (b) marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) Great Britain, shall have priority of right of enterprise and local loans. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) Great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

That in the blue area France, and in the red area Great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

That in the brown area there shall be established an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other allies, and the representatives of the sharif of Mecca.



Sykes-Picot Agreement Map

Source: By Ian Pitchford at en.wikipedia [Attribution], from Wikimedia Commons.

Document 2: Selection from the Fourteen Points

This selection contains Points I and XII from the Fourteen Points delivered to a joint session of the U.S. Congress by President Woodrow Wilson on January 8, 1918. The president's goal was to explain the principles upon which peace could be secured. The President took these principles to the Versailles Peace Conference in France after World War I in the hope of forming the basis of the final Peace Treaty. The two principles here concerned how empires should be restructured.

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

Document 3: Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

(A) Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

(B) Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

(C) There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions.

LESSON 5

Technological Change

Preparation

Photocopy Student Handout 2.5.1. Arrange access to library and Internet.

Introduction

Technology introduced at the end of the nineteenth century became popularly accessible at the beginning of the twentieth. When technology became accessible to the masses, it had social, economic, political, and cultural impact. In many ways, technology was the great leveler.

There were vast improvements in standards of living and communication in some parts of the world. Sometimes for good, sometimes for bad, it united the twentieth century world.

Activities

1. Distribute Student Handout 2.5.1 to each student.
2. Divide the class into pairs or groups of three, depending on class size.
3. Assign each pair or group one technological development on the matrix.
4. Have each group research its topic, record facts, and speculate on changes.
5. Exchange information among groups formally or informally so that all students share the information of each group.

Assessment

1. Record the names of members in each group so that each student's quality of research can be evaluated.
2. Evaluate the quality of analysis for each group.
3. Organize class discussion based on the research and analysis collected.

Matrix for Technological Change

| Technological development | Year developed and by whom | Where developed | Impact on mass communication and media | How social life and family might change | Impact on popular culture | Political potential and impact | Impact on and role of women |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Steam locomotive railways | 1825 George Stephenson | Liverpool, England | | | | | |
| Telegraph | 1851 Samuel Morse | United States | | | | | |
| Telephone | 1885 Alexander Graham Bell | United States | | | | | |
| Radio | 1885 Guglielmo Marconi | Italy | | | | | |
| Photography | 1877 L. J. M. Daguerre | France | | | | | |
| Light bulb | 1879 Thomas Edison | Menlo Park, N.J. | | | | | |
| Motion picture | 1894 Louis Lumière | France | | | | | |
| Automobile | 1885 Karl Benz | Germany | | | | | |
| Airplane | 1903 Wright Brothers | Kitty Hawk, N.C. | | | | | |

LESSON 6

Tirailleurs Sénégalais

Senegalese Riflemen—French Colonial African Soldiers

Preparation

Photocopy student handouts.

Introduction

This lesson examines the disappointment among African colonials who fulfilled their obligation of citizenship but did not gain its benefits. African troops fulfilled their obligation of citizenship by fighting for their imperial masters during World War I. How would you feel as a colonial African if you had served in the French army during the war but did not gain expected benefits? Not only would your contributions have gone largely unrewarded, but demands from Paris for compulsory military service would have continued after the war ended. According to the Conscript System, youths from French West Africa (FWA) continued to be drafted well into the 1920s and 1930s to conduct military missions or work building roads and bridges. The French legislature passed the Conscription Law of 1919, setting quotas and conditions for the annual draft for FWA for the entire interwar period. In the year 1926, after volunteers were subtracted from the quota, a lottery was held to determine the balance. Those who drew a bad number went into the army as conscripts; they were called the first portion. The remainder, whose numbers had not been drawn, became part of the second portion—similar to an inactive reserve—the first to be called up in case of partial or total mobilization.¹

This lesson investigates how the Conscript System affected French West Africa politically, economically, and socially in the 1920s and 1930s.

Activities

1. Go over the terms in Student Handout 2.6.1 with the class.
2. Distribute Student Handout 2.6.2. Discuss some generalizations drawn from the table and chart before proceeding to questions.
3. Distribute Student Handout 2.6.3 about the table and chart. Discuss answers students extract from the evidence in the charts.

1 Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 60.

4. The Conscript System affected FWA in the 1920s and 1930s politically, economically, and socially. Divide class into seven groups, depending on class size. Give each group a scenario from Student Handout 2.6.4. Have each group explain whether its scenario is a primary or secondary source and what bias it might have. Ask each group to gauge the political, economic, or social consequences they would expect from their scenario, and why they would expect it. Students may also infer from the information in the scenarios to compare conditions in FWA with those in Europe during and after the war. After 15 minutes, have students present their group's findings to the full class. After the presentations, ask the full class what comparisons they would make and what results they would expect.

Assessment

1. Evaluate oral contributions from statistics in the table and charts. Collect questions from Student Handout 2.6.3 to evaluate the quality of analysis that each student contributed.
2. Evaluate the quality of oral contributions from each scenario group as they present their findings and analysis.



Attack of Senegalese Riflemen, 1914

Answer Guide for Assessment 1

1. 107,748 of 148,776—72%.
2. The fact that so many were exempt. Explain that this was because exemptions were made for medical reasons such as “unfit,” a “substitute” could be arranged to fulfill one’s service, or an influential family might secure an exemption if it had valuable political connections.
3. 188,455
4. Use circle chart.
5. Speculate from statistics.
6. Speculate.
7. Analyze.

Vocabulary

absentees: Those who ran away or fled the mobile draft officials; draft dodgers.

conscripts: Young men drafted into military service. In Senegal during World War I, the length of required service was three years for colonials and 24 months for French youth. Quotas for French West Africa were set in Paris.

FWA: French West Africa.

Soudan (Sudan): The region of open or wooded grassland south of the Sahara Desert and north of the tropical forest. The French Soudan was name of part of France's West African colonial empire. The use of this term in the West African context should not be confused with the region south of Egypt, also called the Sudan under British colonial rule and today the Republic of Sudan.

Tirailleurs Sénégalais: Literally *sharp shooters* or *riflemen*, the name given to World War I conscripts from the French African empire.

Conscription Table and Chart

**TABLE 4.2 Conscription figures for 1926 by colony
(including cercle of Bougouni, Soudan)**

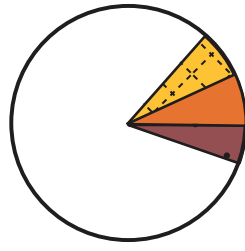
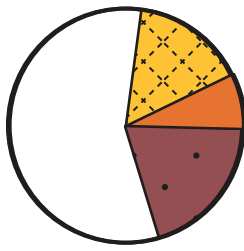
| | Men on Lists | Men Examined | Unfit or Exempt 1926 | Absentees | 2nd Portion | 1st Portion Drafted | Volunteers | Total Recruited |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------|
| Cercle of Bougouni | 2,514 | 2,377 | 2,052 | 137 | 179 | 145 | 1 | 146 |
| Soudan | 38,043 | 32,280 | 24,433 | 5,763 | 5,047 | 2,740 | 60 | 2,800 |
| Guinea | 42,921 | 36,314 | 31,349 | 6,607 | 2,865 | 1,221 | 879 | 2,100 |
| Côte d'Ivoire | 24,692 | 23,081 | 16,417 | 1,611 | 4,964 | 1,644 | 56 | 1,700 |
| Upper Volta | 32,815 | 25,401 | 13,025 | 7,414 | 8,776 | 2,916 | 684 | 3,600 |
| Dahomey | 23,660 | 12,877 | 8,605 | 10,783 | 3,830 | 751 | 231 | 982 |
| Niger | 5,077 | 2,323 | 1,584 | 2,754 | 441 | 134 | 164 | 298 |
| Senegal | 20,204 | 15,626 | 12,281 | 4,578 | 2,288 | 1,044 | 13 | 1,057 |
| Mauritania | 1,043 | 874 | 594 | 169 | 180 | 89 | 11 | 100 |
| FWA | 188,455 | 148,776 | 107,748 | 39,679 | 28,391 | 10,539 | 2,098 | 12,637 |

Sources: Lieutenant Governor of Soudan, Report on recruitment for Soudan in 1926, Bamako, 7 April 1926, ANS, 4D69 81: the CIC, General Peyregne, Report on recruitment for FWA in 1926, Dakar, 9 September 1926, ANS, 4D70 81.

Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 59.

French West Africa

Cercle of Bougouni

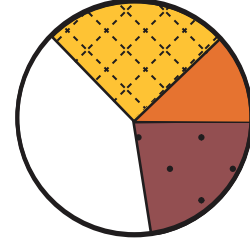
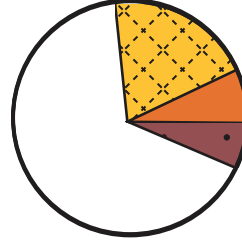
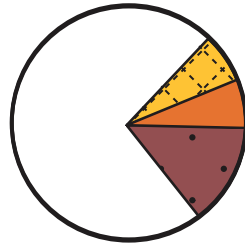
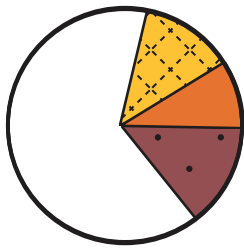


Soudan

Guinea

Cote d'Ivoire

Upper Volta

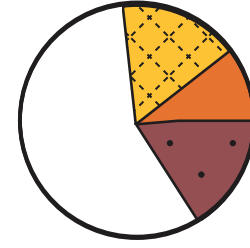
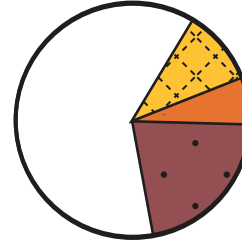
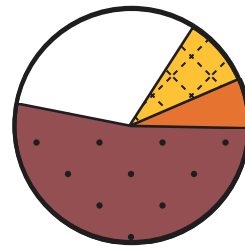
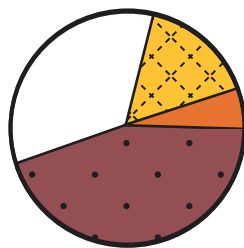


Dahomey

Niger

Senegal

Mauritania



Recruits



Absentees



Second portion



Unfit or exempt

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 60.

Questions for Chart and Table Analysis

From the information given in the table and chart on Student Handout 2.6.2 answer the following questions:

1. Of the total number of men in FWA examined, what portion was considered exempt?
2. What is interesting about the answer to question one?
3. What was the total number of men processed each year in order to produce the quota of 12,637?
4. In which African countries were the percentages of “unfit and exempt” highest? In which countries were the “absentees” highest?
5. What do you think these charts might reveal about inefficiency, waste, and corruption in the conscription system?
6. How much time do you think was spent by medical personnel separating the “fit” from the “unfit”?
7. How different might the standard of living have been in FWA in the 1920s and 1930s if medical personnel, instead of spending their time separating “fit” from “unfit,” had spent their time diagnosing and treating medical problems in Africa?

Analysis of Conscript System in FWA in the 1920s and 1930s

Scenario A

During World War I in Europe, troops were transported by railroad. In Africa, however, the railroad was not extended to transport troops until the 1930s. Until then troops were expected to walk to ships, railheads, or battle fronts. During WWI and throughout the 1920s, infantry life of African soldiers moving on foot is described as follows:

This introduction to infantry life was too much for many, however realistic it might have appeared on paper. Poorly clothed to bear the cold nights in tents . . . inadequately fed at stopovers . . . by locals who were obliged to absorb the costs of feeding these military transients, and under close guard to ensure they did not desert, many young conscripts must have found these literally forced marches a horrible introduction to military life.

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 77.

Scenario B

This is how Dramane Sarambé, who served in the military brigades building installations at Markala, Soudan in the 1930s, recalled his ordeal:

To put it bluntly, it was labor at the cheapest possible price. We were paid 30 francs CFA a month. We were poorly fed but we received work clothes as if we were really soldiers. Any Malian or Voltaïque (village) family still has a fresh memory of the building of the bridge [at Markala] where men worked in the rain and under the whip without respite. The lazy and the revolutionaries were thrown into the river to intimidate the other workers . . .”

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 61.

Scenario C

In the pre-industrial economic system of many villages in Côte d’Ivoire, jobs were agricultural or domestic. It was a type of barter system as few jobs actually paid a wage. Military service paid a wage, and wages paid taxes. For these reasons, when conscription officials appeared:

Absentee rates were considerably below average in Côte d’Ivoire generally . . . While no single factor explanation can account for all these regions, it is entirely possible in many of these cases that military service had become an accepted vocation. The Tirailleurs Sénégalais may very well have become the preferred, if not the only, alternative for earning wages with which to pay annual taxes.

In some cases, in the 1930s, outside the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* only two percent of the population was working for wages in the private sector.

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 74.



Scenario D

Remember that in many ways France introduced to the world the ideas of equality and democratic government. The mortality rate for the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* ran three times as high as that of Europeans. The army drained labor away from the African village economy. “At least one in every three conscripts never returned to his rural home.” The result was the “loss of at least one third to the village economy.”

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 81–2.

Scenario E

The practice of permitting soldiers to take their families with them when they were dispatched to places such as Morocco to take part in the French conquest there, was halted because it was too expensive.

Thereafter soldiers were not permitted to take spouses abroad, and had to remain celibate, frequent prostitutes, or more rarely, either marry or cohabit with women of local overseas population. For African soldiers fighting in France, army authorities relied on pen pals or surrogate sisters who corresponded with lonely soldiers. As might be expected, such correspondence frequently led to misunderstandings. It was not until after the Second World War that the army again provided housing and allowances for wives and families to provide companionship for lonely African soldiers stationed abroad.

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 78.

Scenario F

“Despite discouragement from army authorities and the racial bias of European society [there were] liaisons between African soldiers.” A Guinean World War I veteran, Kandé Kamara wrote that *Tirailleurs* stationed in France did not have wide latitude to leave their camps. He cautioned that “People—special police—were given orders to look for soldiers, particularly black soldiers. If they saw you walking around town—and obviously there was no reason for you to be in town, because no soldier would be sent there by himself—you would be arrested.”

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 78.

Scenario G

In France, compulsory military service came to be seen as legitimate duty in exchange for the benefits of citizenship in a democratic state. In the colonies, however, French authorities slipped into the injustice of applying the obligation without the accompanying democratic privileges. “No egalitarianism was ever intended or extended.” The purpose of the Conscription laws was simple: “to obtain more soldiers.”

Source: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990), 84.

The Great Depression



WHY STUDY THE GREAT DEPRESSION?

In the late 1920s, a deep economic depression engulfed much of the world. Its scope and severity were unprecedented. Although commonly associated with the United States, countries as different as Indonesia and Canada, Peru and Japan, Great Britain and the Belgian Congo reeled from devastating losses. Few experienced a full recovery until the onset of World War II ten years later. This “Great Depression,” as it came to be known, had profound repercussions for world history. The increasingly interdependent global economy of the early twentieth century splintered as governments raced to erect tariff walls and devalue currencies. In the face of high unemployment rates and declining revenues, economic nationalism prevailed over international cooperation. The catastrophe also produced a significant shift in political allegiances, both to the left and to the right of the ideological continuum. With large numbers of people enduring misery and hardship, populist politicians and movement leaders rallied support by targeting scapegoats, promising improved conditions, and promoting government intervention in every aspect of life. Although outwardly incongruous, national welfare programs, fascism, labor strikes, and anti-colonial protests all resulted from the depression.

This chapter on the global impact of the Great Depression works on two levels. First, it provides students with a comprehensive overview of what happened. They will learn not only about the causes and consequences of this event but also about national similarities and differences. In addition, students will discover how governments turned inwards or undermined each other in the midst of the crisis, gain some appreciation for what it meant to live during the 1930s, and realize how the Great Depression fractured the modern world system and contributed to the outbreak of World War II. Also, this chapter challenges the historical thinking of students. By utilizing a comparative framework, it underscores how United States history is intricately

connected to the history of the rest of the world. The American experience did not unfold in isolation. The chapter uses primary materials and online research to reveal the interplay of economic, political, and social history, for example, how global events influenced and reflected the actions of Vietnamese rice farmers or Canadian autoworkers. Finally, through discussion and debate, the chapter reveals the complexities of history—that patterns of development are not straightforward, predictable, or uni-causal.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Describe and analyze the Great Depression as a global experience.
2. Define and graph GDP figures.
3. Identify and assess different causes for the Great Depression.
4. Analyze primary documents like photos, political cartoons, and speeches.
5. Define and explain the rise of populism.
6. Compare the development of welfare states in Mexico and the United States.
7. Analyze connections between the Great Depression and both industrial unionism and colonial freedom movements.

TIME AND MATERIALS

This chapter contains four comprehensive lesson plans. To complete them in their entirety teachers will need seven to eight class periods. Each lesson plan, however, breaks down into sections, which may be taught independently. In addition to rulers and colored pencils, the teacher should photocopy several handouts. Internet access is also required for the students.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In June 1929 Bernard Baruch, the influential American financier and presidential advisor, observed: “The economic condition of the world seems on the verge of a great forward movement.” He couldn’t have been more wrong. Over the next few years, the global economy slid into a long, deep depression which produced immense suffering and despair. As the leading industrial nation in the world, the United States was hit particularly hard. The total annual output of the country’s economy, that is, the GDP (Gross Domestic Product), plummeted by 29 percent. By 1933 one out of every four workers was unemployed. But it was the widespread impact of the economic crisis that made it a truly “Great Depression.” The economies of the world had become increasingly interdependent in the early twentieth century. Therefore, the sharp decline in manufacturing output and rapid withdrawal of investment capital in the United States had a ripple effect that devastated tenant farmers in Turkey, steel workers in Great Britain,

fishermen in Japan, coffee planters in Brazil, cocoa pickers in West Africa, and woolgrowers in Australia. Certainly those individuals who managed to remain employed during the 1930s benefited from the depressed economy. Food, clothing, and other consumer goods all became much cheaper. To differing degrees, however, impoverishment and destitution were shared global experiences. In the words of one woman from rural Canada: “I just don’t know what to do for money . . . I can’t hardly sleep for worrying about it.”

Scholars still debate the causes of the Great Depression. Despite President Herbert Hoover’s forceful claim that “the depression was not started in the United States,” most historians and economists agree today that the crisis began there and then spread to the rest of the world. But there is no consensus about why or how. Given the complexities and ambiguities of history, it seems likely that a historically contingent array of economic, political, and social forces pushed much of the world into the precipitous economic decline. There was no single cause. As the historian John A. Garraty writes: “The Great Depression of the 1930s was a worldwide phenomenon composed of an infinite number of separate but related events.” Reparations payments, war debts, protectionism, the gold standard, the stock market crash, agricultural overproduction, mechanization, poor leadership, export dependency, financial instability, and skewed income distributions all contributed. Untangling this web of causality to discover a single explanation for the Great Depression is a futile task. But understanding the significance of each strand and how it intertwined with the others is instructive.

It is easier to separate different responses to the Great Depression. In economic terms, many countries turned to autarky, severing ties with the global economy to create more self-sufficient, independent national economies. Economist Joan Robinson described what was going on as “beggar-thy-neighbor” policies. Rather than work together to resolve the crisis, world leaders assumed that the economic recoveries of their countries would only come at the expense of others. Governments in Sweden, Columbia, Peru, Japan, Australia, and Egypt, among others, clamored to raise tariffs on imported goods so that their domestic industries were protected. They also devalued currencies to make their exports cheaper in foreign markets and implemented price support schemes to rescue their farmers at home. Imperial powers like France and England also made sure that their products received preferential treatment in colonial markets and dominions. Perhaps the best example of this economic nationalism was the United States. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930, for example, jacked up duties on over 20,000 imported goods and greatly contributed to the breakup of the global economy. Although there were efforts to piece together an international solution to the Great Depression at the World Economic Conference of 1933 in London, nationalist agendas made it a near impossible feat. As Franklin D. Roosevelt made clear in what became known as his “bombshell message” to the Conference, economic self-interest took priority over multinational agreements.

In political terms, the Great Depression contributed to the rise of militarism in Japan, the creation of a coalition government in Great Britain, and the staging of a coup d’état in Brazil. “When politicians from moderate centrist parties failed to introduce policies to tackle the crisis,” historian Patricia Clavin has observed, “they lost out to extremist parties to the Right and Left of the political spectrum.”¹ The most common political response to the global crisis

1 Patricia Clavin, “The Great Depression in Europe, 1929–1939,” *History Review* (September 2000), 30.

was populism, a notoriously slippery concept that defies placement on the left-right political continuum. Populism typically involves a strong critique of the traditional ruling elite on behalf of ordinary people, and it tends to favor greater government intervention in economy and society. Sometimes, but not always, it results in a new political system. The human misery of the Great Depression made a ripe breeding ground for populist rhetoric and sentiments. Targeting scapegoats and promising greater justice and equality, populist leaders organized the less powerful into mass movements or assumed political power with groundswells of popular support.

Populism took three widely divergent forms in the 1930s. First, more democratically inclined governments created welfare states to protect and enhance the well-being of their citizens. Discarding the traditional *laissez-faire* policies of the “privileged minority,” they set forth on bold new courses of action for their nations. In New Zealand, for example, the Labor Government denounced “poverty in the land of plenty” and greatly expanded public provisions for housing, education, health care, and social security. Similarly, in Columbia, Alfonso López Pumarejo implemented a comprehensive plan to redistribute income and land to the majority of the population. And in the United States Franklin D. Roosevelt extolled the virtues of “the forgotten man,” launching the New Deal to provide relief and stimulate recovery. Perhaps the most far-reaching populist effort was in Mexico, where Lázaro Cárdenas del Río redistributed land to peasants, nationalized foreign oil companies, supported unions, and made sweeping changes to public education.

Second, there was a strong undercurrent of populism in the fascist regimes of Europe. To be sure, Benito Mussolini’s success in Italy predated the 1930s. The dishonor and hardships associated with military defeat and reparations payments were also important factors in the rise of fascism. Still, it was the Great Depression that pushed the Nazis to the forefront in Germany. With industrial production plummeting 71 percent in just two years, the number of unemployed reaching six million, and the government of Heinrich Brüning committed to a policy of austerity, Germans of all classes proved receptive to Adolph Hitler’s calls for national unity, international respect, and a sweeping economic recovery program. Appropriating the nation’s anger and humiliation, preaching traditional values of work and order, condemning Jews for all things wrong, and glorifying the myth of a German Volk, or people, Hitler was remarkably adept at mobilizing the country behind him. In particular, he effectively used modern mass communications like film and radio to whip up public enthusiasm. According to one American journalist, Hitler’s power emanated from his ability to connect with “the longing of the individual.”

Third, populism took the form of grass roots protest movements. In Africa and Asia, the Great Depression meant increased poll taxes, land evictions, and forced labor for the indigenous people, as colonial rulers reeled from the fall of export revenues. Freedom movements gained in popularity as nationalist leaders called for social justice and self-determination. But their success was mixed. In Burma, Vietnam, and the Belgian Congo, the colonial powers brutally suppressed populist organizations that sought political autonomy and a better life for the poor. Indeed, the harsh reaction of the French to calls for independence convinced many Vietnamese to embrace communism. In India, nationalism met with much greater success under the auspices of the Indian National Congress and Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi. A master at

public relations, Gandhi used populist rhetoric like “Daridranarayan” (God is in the poor) to transform the cause of Indian independence from an elite movement of the educated classes into a mass movement of the poor and illiterate.

Along much different lines, industrial unionism constituted a populist response to the Great Depression in the United States and Canada. Rebellious against exclusive craft organizations, the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) rallied less skilled workers into more inclusive unions that assailed corporate wealth and pushed politicians leftward. Against the backdrop of a stricken economy, public relations efforts and sit-down strikes not only galvanized workers but also convinced much of the public that industrial democracy or justice was a legitimate goal. Historian Michael Kazin notes that the CIO “employed simple, repetitive phrases and images . . . to reach Americans, of all classes, whose complacency the Depression had shattered.”²

Assessing the full impact of the Great Depression is tricky. The secondary literature relies on national economic figures like GDP growth, balance of trade, and unemployment to compare how countries fared during the 1930s. From these measurements, we learn that Sweden and Denmark had a quick recovery because they abandoned the gold standard and established closed economies at an early date. We also realize that the Great Depression had little impact on the USSR. Rather, Josef Stalin’s Five Year Plans actually resulted in considerable economic growth during the 1930s. The statistics suggest that Chile experienced catastrophic conditions, with a 76 percent drop in exports and a 30 percent fall in GDP. The Great Depression had a delayed impact on China because its agricultural sector remained isolated from the world economy and its silver currency was devalued in the late 1920s.

It is important to recognize that these measurements have limitations. Aside from inherent problems of data collection (how unemployment is defined or what constitutes a good or service), there is very little information available for countries in Africa. As one international economic organization admits, “the long-term economic development of Africa is difficult to quantify with any precision.”³ Another problem is that the numbers offer only a cursory view of what actually happened. Take the case of Latin America. GDP figures suggest that most of the countries in this region suffered extensively in the 1930s because international demand for their raw materials and agricultural produce dried up. Deprived of export revenues, it became very difficult for them to buy critical manufactured goods from more industrialized countries. What GDP figures fail to reveal, however, is that there was also a positive development called “import substitution.” New industries began to emerge at home that made the same manufactured goods as those imported from foreign countries. National economies revived and foreign dependencies decreased. Although at first glance Latin American countries like Chile experienced dire economic conditions, import substitution not only softened the blow, but also contributed to relatively quick recoveries.

National economic figures also provide few insights into daily life and hardship during the Great Depression. Some scholars have made important connections between trade imbalances and peasant life in India. Others have collected alternative data on birth rates, marriage rates, or even participation in the Muslim pilgrimage (hajj), as well as more qualitative material like

2 Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 138–139.

3 Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: Historical Statistics* (Paris: OECD, 2003), 189.

diaries and correspondence, to measure the social impact of the crisis. The results have been several excellent histories of working-class life in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and France. One example is Lizabeth Cohen's *Making the New Deal*. But we still have much to learn about the historical realities of women and men in other parts of the world. As Dieter Rothermund writes: "The peripheral peasantry which bore the brunt of the depression has remained in the dark."⁴ In sum, national economic figures are extremely useful in measuring the impact of the Great Depression, but they are far from conclusive.

In late 1936 and early 1937, most observers believed that the Great Depression was nearing an end. The economies of many Latin American countries had revived thanks to import substitution. Effective policy-making had helped Scandinavian countries experience the Great Depression as little more than an ordinary recession. Full-throttle rearmament programs had resulted in quick recoveries for the economies of Germany and Japan. And in the United States, movers and shakers were talking about the Great Depression in the past tense. In the fall of 1937, however, a sudden downturn dashed global optimism. Often called the "Roosevelt Recession" because it was triggered in part by Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to tighten government spending, the slump resulted in nearly 20 percent unemployment in the United States. Although European countries (with the exception of France) experienced a sharp but short-lived recession and the United States began to recover when the federal government expanded government spending again, less developed countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia once again suffered from depressed prices and decreased demand. It was readily apparent that the world economy remained in a frail state.

It actually took World War II to end the Great Depression. As Premier Léon Blum of France predicted at an early date: "Around the manufacture of armaments, there will be coordinated an economy which will be the basis for a more abundant production in all domains." During the late 1930s, huge government expenditures on war armaments and supplies fueled the economies of the industrial nations. Italy, Great Britain, France, and, of course, Germany and Japan at least doubled the amount they spent on arms. With the onset of war, these expenditures escalated to astronomical levels, and the economic results were very positive. Following Pearl Harbor, for example, enhanced government expenditures in the United States increased industrial output by 100 percent and created full employment conditions. World War II also resulted in greater demand and higher prices for agricultural produce and raw materials from export-dependent countries. In 1939, the GDP in Egypt was nearly 20 percent higher than pre-depression levels. In Mexico, it was 25 percent higher; in Indonesia, 16 percent. After a decade of economic distress and uncertainty, the Great Depression gave way to an even more cataclysmic global development.

4 Dieter Rothermund, *The Global Impact of the Great Depression* (London: Routledge, 1996), 10

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

What connections might have existed between agricultural overproduction in the Great Depression and poor land management practices and other environmental damage?
Were governments willing to sacrifice the environment to achieve economic recovery?

Humans and Other Humans

What were some of the ways that ordinary people coped with the Great Depression?
Did families and communities turn inward, like countries? Ask these questions to people you know who lived through the Great Depression.

Humans and Ideas

Why was populist rhetoric so effective during the 1930s? How important to its success was modern media, such as radio? Did widespread economic despair destabilize or bolster religious belief systems? How did the visual imagery of the 1930s, like paintings or photos, reflect and influence public culture?

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 2: Economic Networks and Exchange

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 4: Haves and Have-Nots

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. Standard 3E: The student understands the causes and global consequences of the Great Depression.

INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES

Abella, Irving. *On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada, 1919–1949*. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1974. This labor history collection contains an in-depth account of the Oshawa General Motors strike of 1937.

American Memory. Library of Congress. “America from the Great Depression to WWII.” <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fsowhome.html>. Thousands of photographs of Americans during the Great Depression.

- Bernstein, Michael A. "The Great Depression as Historical Problem." *OAH Magazine of History* 15 (Summer 2001). A historiographical essay on the causes of the Great Depression with a heavy emphasis on economic history.
- Brinkley, Alan. *The End of Reform: The New Deal in Recession and War*. New York: First Vintage, 1995. Argues that the New Deal was a makeshift and somewhat expedient plan that had no real intention of restructuring the political economy of the United States.
- Dudley, William. *The Great Depression: Examining Issues through Political Cartoons*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2004. Offers an innovative way to study various reactions to the Great Depression in the United States.
- Duiker, William J. *The Rise of Nationalism in Vietnam, 1900–1941*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976. Provides excellent information on developments in Vietnam during the 1930s.
- Evans, Richard. *The Coming of the Third Reich*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Federal Research Division. Library of Congress. "Country Data" <http://www.country-data.com/>. An invaluable source of information on the histories, economies, and societies of countries from around the world.
- Frieden, Jeffry A. *Global Capitalism: Its Rise and Fall in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Norton, 2006.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Great Crash, 1929*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Originally published in 1954, this well-written study of the stock market crash argues against the inevitability of the Great Depression.
- Garraty, John A. *The Great Depression*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1987. A thorough, accessible account of the Great Depression that offers valuable global perspectives.
- Grant, R. G. *The Great Depression: How Did It Happen?* San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005. Uses primary materials to explore the causes and consequences of the Great Depression in a global context.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. One of the best economic histories of the Great Depression which mainly focuses on Europe and the United States.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. *Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963. Sets the standard for works on the New Deal by providing a balanced (though sympathetic) portrait of FDR and overview of his programs.
- Maddison, Angus. *The World Economy: Historical Statistics*. Paris: OECD Publications, 2003. Provides gross domestic product (GDP), GDP per capita, and population figures from the late nineteenth century to the present for countries on every continent.

McElvane, Robert S. *The Great Depression: America, 1929–1941*. New York: Times Books, 1984.

A classic work on the impact of the Great Depression in the United States that does a good job of weaving together political, economic, and social history.

Parks, Peggy J. *The Great Depression: Daily Life*. San Diego: Kidhaven Press, 2003. A social history of the Great Depression in the United States.

Rothermund, Dietmar. *The Global Impact of the Great Depression, 1929–1939*. New York: Routledge, 1996. The most intentionally comparative book on the Great Depression with considerable attention paid to less developed countries.

LESSON 1

A Global Experience

Preparation

Photocopy handouts. Have rulers and colored pencils or markers available. Arrange access to the Internet.

Introduction

This lesson introduces students to the idea of the Great Depression. By analyzing photos and plotting graphs, students learn that many countries around the world experienced the Great Depression, not just the United States. Students identify the worst years of the Great Depression, recognize the economic vulnerability of export-dependent countries, and begin to understand the role of World War II in economic recovery. They also become more familiar with the GDP as a measure of economic health.

Activities

1. Migrant Mother
 - a. Pass out copies of Student Handout 3.1.1. Explain that this is a copy of one of the most well-known photographs in United States history. Ask the following questions without giving answers in return:
 - What is happening in the photo?
 - Where was the photo taken?
 - When was the photo taken?
 - b. After some discussion, tell students that Dorothea Lange took the photo in 1936. The woman in the picture was from Oklahoma, but she worked in pea fields near Santa Barbara, California. She was only thirty-two years old, but a widow with seven children. Her family survived on frozen peas from the field and wild birds. She lived with her children in a makeshift camp of lean-to tents with other migrant workers. Tell students that Lange's famous photo became a symbol for the immense suffering of the 1930s.
2. What was the Great Depression?
 - a. Ask students what they think of when they hear the term "Great Depression." Write answers on the board.
 - b. Explain that the Great Depression was a severe economic recession (or depression) that resulted in huge drops in industrial production and stock market share prices, and major increases in unemployment and bank failures. After the prosperity of the "roaring twenties," the Great Depression devastated the United States. Twenty-one million working people lost their jobs.

- c. Number off students 1–4. Have all number fours stand up. Tell the class that the standing students represent the number of people unemployed during the Great Depression. At its worst in 1933, there was 25 percent unemployment in the United States, that is, 1 of every 4 working people had no income.

3. A Global Experience

- a. Ask students why they think the period is referred to as the “Great” Depression. Listen to responses, but do not offer an answer.
- b. Pass out copies of Student Handout 3.1.2. Ask students the same questions that you did for the Migrant Mother photo.
- c. When the class finishes with their responses, explain what is happening in the photos. The first is of the 1930 Salt March to Dandi in India led by Mohandas Gandhi (in glasses). Suffering from the impact of the Great Depression, thousands of people joined Gandhi’s non-violent protest march against the British tax on salt. The second photo is of a horde of unemployed men in Canada hopping a train. Taken around 1933, this photo indicates the massive scale on which the Great Depression was felt.
- d. Ask what these new photos tell us about the Great Depression. If students do not make the connection, explain that the Great Depression was “great” because of its severity on a global scale. Contrary to what most people believe today, it was not just an American experience. It was a worldwide calamity that hit countries as diverse as Paraguay, Kenya, Japan, and France.
- e. Pass out Student Handout 3.1.3. Explain that the gross domestic product or GDP refers to the total market value of all final goods and services produced within the borders of a country in one year. Final goods and services are newly produced goods that have reached their last consumer. They won’t be resold to anyone else. A common equation for GDP is: $GDP = \text{consumption} + \text{investment} + \text{exports} - \text{imports}$. Because the GDP is the value of a country’s total output, it is often used to gauge the economic health of the nation. GDP per capita is GDP divided by the population and indicates the average standard of living in a country. Teachers might also mention that:
 - i. The GDP figures given in Student Handout 3.1.3 are from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Purchasing power parity rates (PPP) rather than exchange rates were used to calculate the figures. PPP is a measure of the relative purchasing power of different currencies. By taking into account the price of the same goods in different countries, it recognizes, for example, that the United States dollar will buy a lot more in China than in the United States because of variables like cheap labor. As a result, the GDP figures are given in fictional currency units or “International” dollars which eliminate the differences in purchasing power between countries.

- ii. There are problems with using GDP per capita as a measure of wealth. Because it is an average, a few very wealthy people can skew the number upwards. There is also some question as to whether these GDP figures are an accurate reflection of a person's well-being in a country. For example, the United Nations Human Development Index, which measures only recent years, includes not only GDP figures, but also criteria like life expectancy, literacy, access to health care, access to sanitation, and clean drinking water. Finally, few GDP figures exist for countries in Africa before 1950 because of limited data collection.

f. Discuss the assignment. Answers are below:

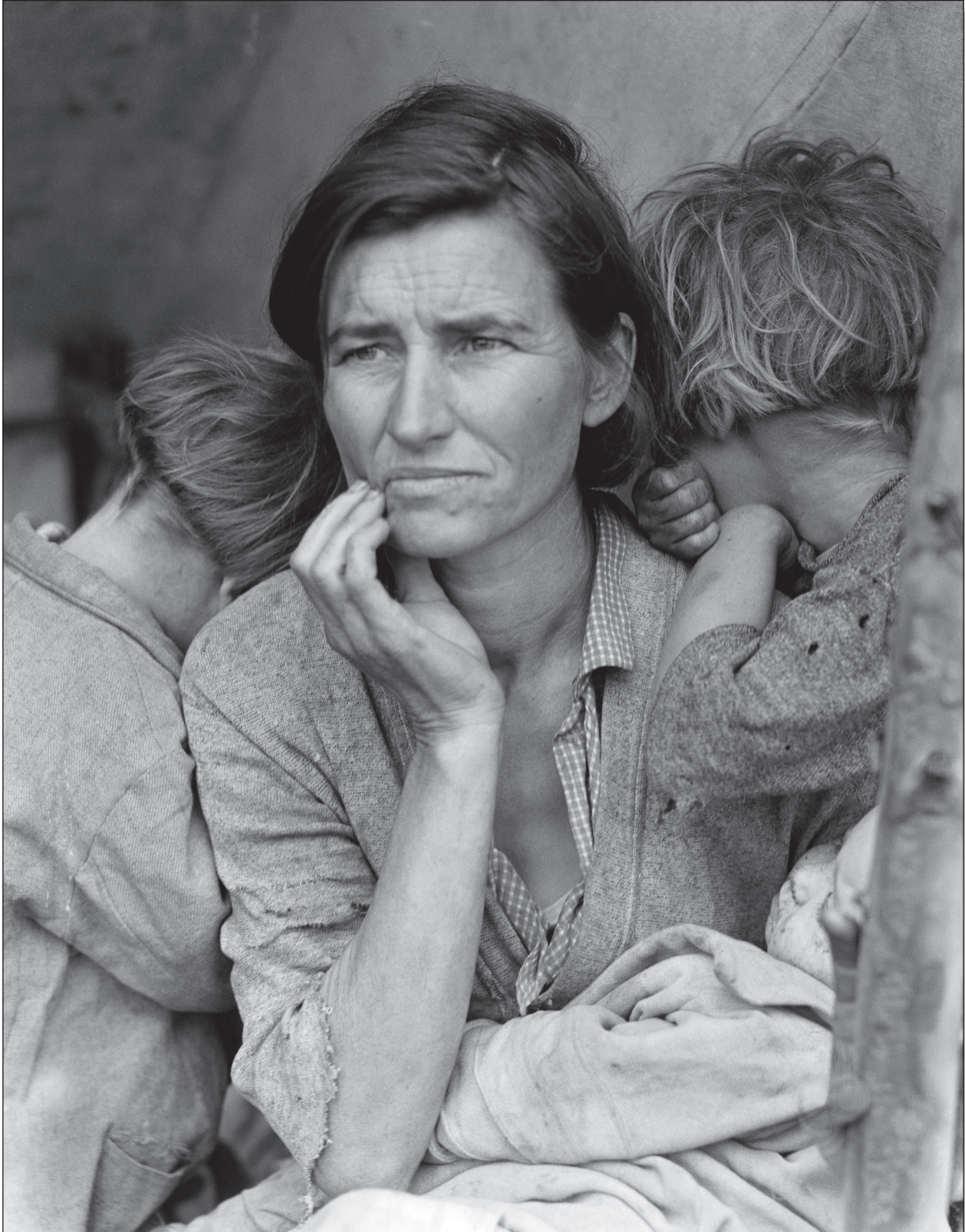
- i. In 1932 historian Arnold Toynbee called the period between 1931 and 1932 the *annus terribilis*, the terrible year. Unemployment soared, hunger was widespread, and more and more banks closed their doors. It was also the year that Adolph Hitler and the National Socialist party gained considerable popularity in Germany and in which Japan annexed Manchuria. The main exception was the United States, which continued to decline into 1933 as newly elected President Franklin Roosevelt scrambled to implement a recovery program.
- ii. Chile experienced a 33 percent decline in GDP per capita, a close second to the United States at 30 percent. Heavily dependent on the export of copper and nitrates, Chile's economy fell apart when foreign demand dried up. This was typical of most export-dependent countries. Discussion might include how import substitution contributed to Chile's economic recovery (see Historical Context). The American story was different. Nearly half of the population was involved in the ailing agricultural industry. Most people lacked the income to sustain demand for consumer goods, and the federal government of Herbert Hoover was reluctant to intervene in the economy.
- iii. Under Josef Stalin's Five Year Plans, the USSR increased manufacturing output by 300 percent. But this accomplishment came at a heavy cost, including widespread famines in 1933 and 1934 and far-reaching purges in the late 1930s. Although the country developed an impressive heavy industry, enormous hardships were inflicted on the Russian people.
- iv. Most likely, student responses will suggest that the Great Depression had little impact on India. Explain that even small declines in GDP per capita make a big difference when the figure is low to start with. Indian farmers actually had their incomes cut in half because of the fall in world agricultural prices. Heavily in debt, they were forced to sell their land and gold jewelry.

- v. Under Hitler's one-party state, the Nazis initiated a far-reaching public works program to decrease unemployment and bolster the economy. Workers were coerced, wages remained low, and consumer goods were in scarce supply. Against a backdrop of persecution and terror, however, Germany experienced a significant economic recovery and a resurgence of national pride. When rearmament shifted into high gear in 1935–1936, the GDP per capita soon surpassed 1929 levels.
- vi. By 1930, two thirds of the cultivated land in the Malayan Peninsula was used for rubber farming. Tin mining was also extensive. Together, rubber and tin made Malaysia one of Great Britain's most lucrative colonial holdings. When industrial output slumped in the developed countries, however, prices for natural resources fell heavily. The automobile industry slashed production and the demand for rubber for car tires shrank. Because export revenues dropped by 73 percent between 1929 and 1932, the impact of the Great Depression on Malaysia was very severe. Labor-intensive plantations and mines released hundreds of thousands of workers, leaving them with little means to contend with creditors and tax collectors.
- vii. With the exception of Germany and France, where government expenditures on armaments increased rapidly after 1936, most countries did not fully recover from the Great Depression until the outbreak of World War II.
- viii. Answers will vary, but one possibility is the wide divergence in GDP per capita between the more industrialized and less industrialized countries, especially the United States vs. India.

Assessment

Teachers should observe student participation in discussion. Also evaluate effort and depth of thinking in written responses and graph construction. Use the following rubric:

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Graph contains all information; clearly drawn; easily understood | 10 points _____ |
| Understands questions; provides accurate responses | 10 points _____ |
| Answers reflect effort and depth of thinking | 10 points _____ |
| Ideas supported with sufficient details | 5 points _____ |
| Free of grammatical and spelling errors | 5 points _____ |
| Total out of 40 points | |





Plot the GDP per capita figures for each country on the same graph. Use a different color to connect the points for each country. Then answer the questions below on a separate piece of paper.

GDP Per Capita in International Dollars

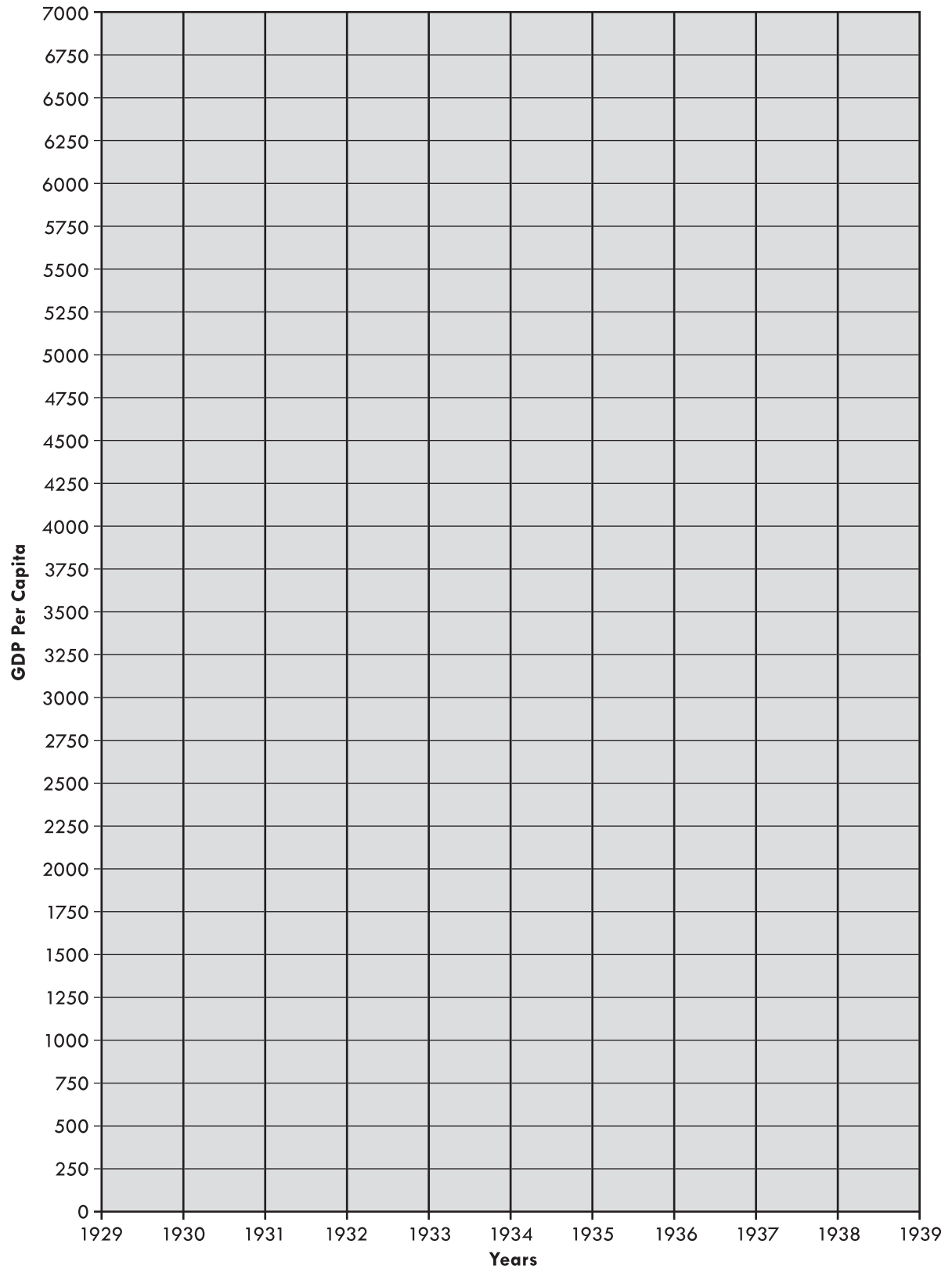
| | France | India | Malaysia | Chile | Mexico | USSR | Germany | U.S. |
|------|--------|-------|----------|-------|--------|-------|---------|-------|
| 1929 | 4,710 | 728 | 1,682 | 3,396 | 1,757 | 1,386 | 4,051 | 6,899 |
| 1930 | 4,532 | 726 | 1,636 | 3,143 | 1,618 | 1,448 | 3,973 | 6,213 |
| 1931 | 4,235 | 711 | 1,548 | 2,333 | 1,643 | 1,462 | 3,652 | 5,691 |
| 1932 | 3,959 | 709 | 1,397 | 2,274 | 1,373 | 1,439 | 3,362 | 4,908 |
| 1933 | 4,239 | 700 | 1,440 | 2,652 | 1,501 | 1,493 | 3,556 | 4,777 |
| 1934 | 4,192 | 697 | 1,540 | 2,987 | 1,574 | 1,630 | 3,858 | 5,114 |
| 1935 | 4,086 | 680 | 1,364 | 3,056 | 1,660 | 1,864 | 4,120 | 5,467 |
| 1936 | 4,244 | 697 | 1,478 | 3,056 | 1,768 | 1,991 | 4,451 | 6,204 |
| 1937 | 4,487 | 676 | 1,308 | 3,241 | 1,796 | 2,156 | 4,685 | 6,430 |
| 1938 | 4,466 | 668 | 1,361 | 3,139 | 1,794 | 2,150 | 4,994 | 6,126 |
| 1939 | 4,793 | 674 | 1,609 | 3,178 | 1,858 | 2,237 | 5,406 | 6,561 |

Source: OECD, 2003.

1. On the whole, when did most countries hit bottom during the Great Depression?
2. Which country experienced the steepest decline in living standards?
3. Unlike all the others, one country actually experienced a steady increase in GDP per capita during the Great Depression. Which country was it? Do some research to explain why.
4. Describe the impact of the Great Depression on India.
5. Find out why Germany made such a strong recovery after 1932.
6. The Malaysian economy declined because it was heavily dependent on two exports. Do some research on the history of Malaysia to identify one of them.
7. How high were living standards in the late 1930s compared to the early decade? Had most countries recovered to 1929 levels?
8. What surprises you the most about the GDP per capita figures in this exercise? Explain why.



GDP Per Capita 1929–1939



LESSON 2

Causes of the Great Depression

Preparation

Photocopy handouts and arrange for student access to the Internet.

Introduction

In this lesson, students engage in research and role-play to debate the causes of the Great Depression. Five main causes are highlighted, but the list is far from complete. Students learn that the 1920s were not as robust and prosperous as often assumed. They recognize that single explanations for the Great Depression neglect the complexities of history. They also begin to realize how the Great Depression splintered the world economy.

Activities

1. World Economic Conference
 - a. Divide the class into five groups. Distribute Student Handouts 3.2.1 through 3.2.5 to the members of the five groups. Everyone in a group should have the same student handout. Explain that each group is responsible not only for explaining the assigned cause to the rest of the class, but also for arguing why this particular cause was most responsible for the Great Depression. Allow students the rest of class time to conduct research and prepare their arguments. Stress that this is a collaborative project and everyone in the group must participate. Although there may be a division of labor in the research and preparation stages, all members of the group must contribute to the debate.
 - b. Conduct your own research to make sure you understand the issues. See “Resources for Teachers” below.
 - c. At the beginning of the next class, set up a long table with chairs at the front. Have each group sit behind the table and present their selected cause to the rest of the students. Make sure the audience takes notes on each cause.
2. Multi-causality
 - a. Divide the class into new groups of four or five. Tell the groups that they should discuss what they have just learned from the presentations. Ask them to be objective—not to let their previous research and role-play influence their views. Explain that each group has a total of ten points to allot to the five causes. The more important the cause, the more points it should receive. No more than ten points may be allotted to all the causes combined. For example, a group may decide to give each cause 2 points because the group believes all of the causes are equally important. Or the group may decide to assign one cause 6 points, two other causes 2 points, and the other two causes 0 points.

- b. After a suitable amount of time, call the class together. Make a chart on the board that lists the five causes. Check to see if students have any conceptual questions about the causes. Ask the groups to reveal how many points they assigned. Have students explain why they believe one cause was more responsible for the Great Depression than the others.
- c. Tally the results to see if the class believes one cause clearly outweighed the others in importance. Outcomes will vary, with some classes emphasizing one or two causes and other classes not having a clear-cut preference.
- d. Regardless of the outcome, read the following quote by historian John Garraty to the class: “The Great Depression of the 1930s was a worldwide phenomenon composed of an infinite number of separate but related events.” Ask students what they think he means. Did their previous discussion about causes support his claim? Is it ever possible to tell with precision whether one thing alone has caused something to happen? Can history be that straightforward? End the lesson by stating that many causal forces were at work in the Great Depression. While scholars have engaged in endless debates about the importance of one cause over the other, it is critical to understand that there is no single explanation for why the Great Depression happened in many countries around the world. History is much too complex for that. It is important, rather, to understand the different causes and how they worked together to produce an unprecedented global economic crisis.

Assessment

Evaluate the group research and presentation using the following grading rubric:

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Collaborative effort; mutual decision-making; shared responsibilities | 10 points _____ |
| Focused and engaged; used all available resources; met deadlines | 10 points _____ |
| Well-balanced participation by all members | 10 points _____ |
| Depth and breadth of research; accuracy; comprehension | 5 points _____ |
| Clarity of language; accessibility of ideas; effectiveness of argument | 5 points _____ |
| Use of visual aids or props; efforts to engage audience | 5 points _____ |
| Total out of 50 points | |

Reparation Payments and War Debts

It is 1933 and the Great Depression is at its worst. As wise and articulate experts on global conditions, you and your colleagues have been selected as delegates to represent your country at the World Economic Conference in London, England. The Conference is a concerted effort on the part of besieged nations around the world to find an international solution to the crisis. The first item on the agenda is determining what actually caused the Great Depression. Bewildered by unfolding events, politicians everywhere insist that developments outside their own countries are responsible for the collapse. No one is prepared to take (or even share) responsibility for the economic downswing. Yet the main cause of the Great Depression needs to be correctly identified if multilateral efforts to find a solution are to prove successful.

Your group's assignment is to persuade the Conference that *reparations payments and war debts* are the most important causes of the Great Depression. Other countries have enlisted their finest minds to argue alternative viewpoints, so you need to make an effective presentation. The future of your nation depends on it! Here is what your group should do:

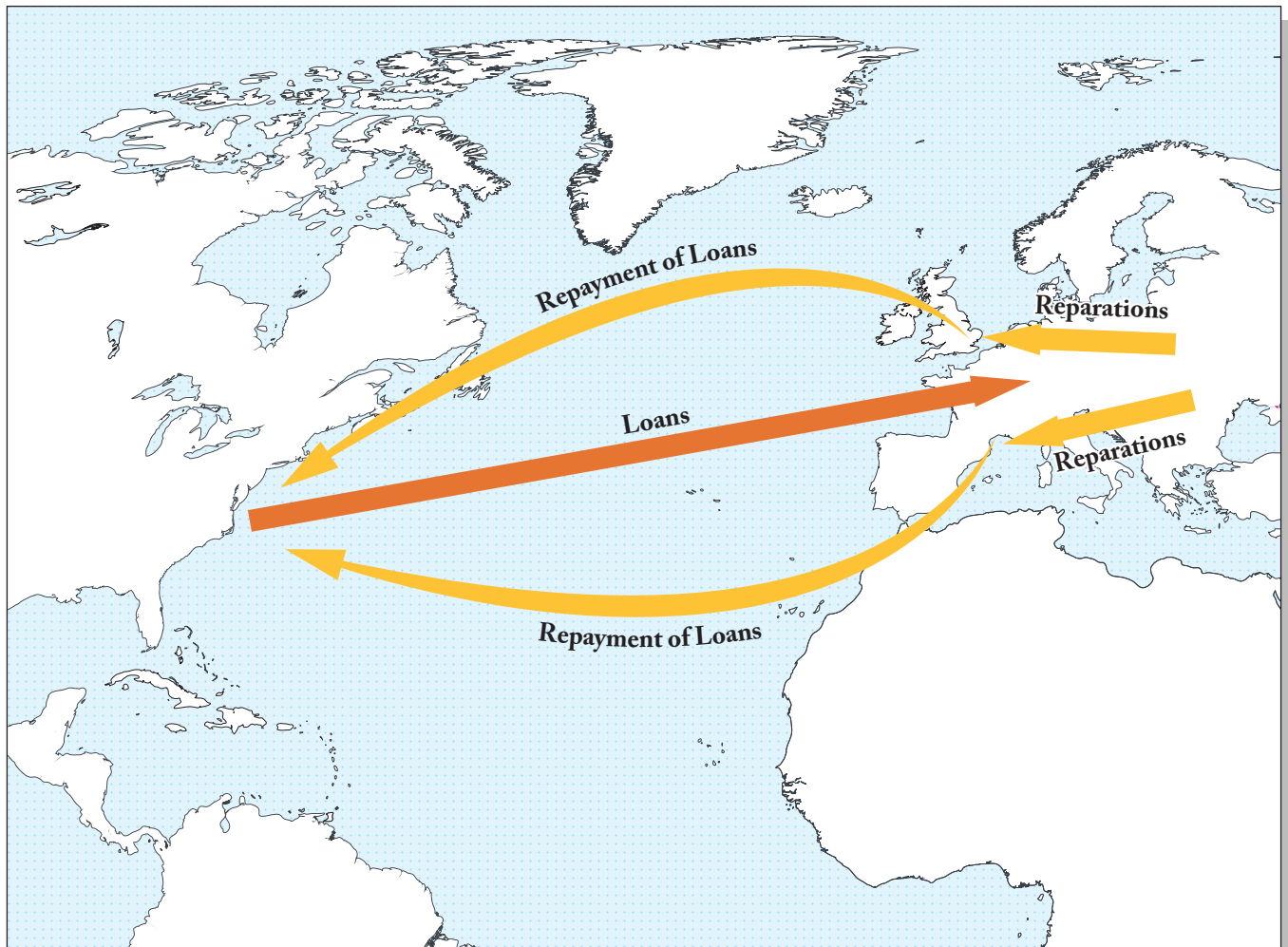
1. Choose a fictitious name for your country.
2. Review the information provided below.
3. Have all members conduct research to learn more about your cause.
4. Review the research together to make sure everyone understands the material.
5. Highlight the key reasons why reparations and war debts were important
6. Decide how to present the information in a clear, accessible way so that the audience easily grasps the concepts.
7. Make sure everyone in the group has a role in the presentation.
8. Create props or visual aids to supplement your efforts.

Reparations Payments and War Debts

The Treaty of Versailles of 1919 put an official end to World I. Included in the Treaty were two very controversial clauses (Articles 231 and 232) that forced Germany to pay the Allied nations in Europe nearly \$32 billion over the following thirty years. In large part owing to this settlement, Germany experienced serious economic problems during the 1920s. After Germany failed to make payments in 1923 and the French occupied the Ruhr region in retaliation, the United States decided to step in and loan Germany the funds to pay reparations. Known as the Dawes Plan, this American policy enabled Germany to meet its obligations for the next five years. But it was a brief respite. When the Great Depression hit, the American loans dried up and Germany soon defaulted on the payments again. Meanwhile the Allied nations in Europe owed \$12 billion in war debts to the United States. This was one reason why they demanded reparations payments from Germany. The reparations gave them the funds to pay off their own debts. Soon, the Dawes Plan led to an absurd situation: the Americans loaned money to the

Germans; the Germans used those loans to pay reparations to the French and British; and the French and British used the reparations to pay off their debt to the Americans. Despite many requests, the United States refused to show any leniency to the Allied nations. When American loans to Germany shrank in the late twenties, it was only a matter of time before the Allies defaulted on their war debts. In short, the most powerful nations in Europe were economically vulnerable to disaster.

Consequences of the Dawes Plan



Overproduction in Agriculture

It is 1933 and the Great Depression is at its worst. As wise and articulate experts on global conditions, you and your colleagues have been selected as delegates to represent your country at the World Economic Conference in London, England. The Conference is a concerted effort on the part of besieged nations around the world to find an international solution to the crisis. The first item on the agenda is determining what actually caused the Great Depression. Bewildered by unfolding events, politicians everywhere insist that developments outside their own countries are responsible for the collapse. No one is prepared to take (or even share) responsibility for the economic downswing. Yet the main cause of the Great Depression needs to be correctly identified if multilateral efforts to find a solution are to prove successful.

Your group's assignment is to persuade the Conference that *overproduction in agriculture* was the most important cause of the Great Depression. Other countries have enlisted their finest minds to argue alternative viewpoints, so you need to make an effective presentation. The future of your nation depends on it! Here is what your group should do:

1. Choose a fictitious name for your country.
2. Review the information provided below.
3. Have all members conduct research to learn more about your cause.
4. Review the research together to make sure everyone understands the material.
5. Highlight the key reasons why overproduction in agriculture was so important
6. Decide how to present the information in a clear, accessible way so that the audience easily grasps the concepts.
7. Make sure everyone in the group has a role in the presentation.
8. Create props or visual aids to supplement your efforts.



Overproduction in Agriculture

Between 1925 and 1929, nearly every export crop in the world fell in price. Millions of farmers suffered losses as cash commodities like coffee fell from 24 cents a pound or rice depreciated 30–50 percent in value. The problem was simple. There was too much agricultural production in the 1920s—supply far outweighed demand. Declining populations and more efficient farm machinery were mainly responsible for the glut. But people seemed to make a determined effort to ignore the problem. Rather than curtail production, farmers further expanded their operations. Cotton production increased by 30 percent; rubber production increased by more than 80 percent. The farming of wheat, beets, sugar cane, tea, and cocoa was also amplified. Meanwhile governments placed tariffs on imported foodstuffs to protect their own farmers. Germany, for example, more than tripled its wheat tariff between 1925 and 1930. The sharp reduction in exports devastated agriculture worldwide. Heavily in debt for land and machinery, farmers around the globe were in trouble well before the Great Depression started. The agricultural industry was still the backbone of the economies of many countries, including the United States. In numerous countries, however, profound structural weaknesses plagued economic life in the 1920s.

Stock Market Crash

It is 1933 and the Great Depression is at its worst. As wise and articulate experts on global conditions, you and your colleagues have been selected as delegates to represent your country at the World Economic Conference in London, England. The Conference is a concerted effort on the part of besieged nations around the world to find an international solution to the crisis. The first item on the agenda is determining what actually caused the Great Depression. Bewildered by unfolding events, politicians everywhere insist that developments outside their own countries are responsible for the collapse. No one is prepared to take (or even share) responsibility for the economic downswing. Yet the main cause of the Great Depression needs to be correctly identified if multilateral efforts to find a solution are to prove successful.

Your group's assignment is to persuade the Conference that *the stock market crash* was the most important cause of the Great Depression. Other countries have enlisted their finest minds to argue alternative viewpoints, so you need to make an effective presentation. The future of your nation depends on it! Here is what your group should do:

1. Choose a fictitious name for your country.
2. Review the information provided below.
3. Have all members conduct research to learn more about your cause.
4. Review the research together to make sure everyone understands the material.
5. Highlight the key reasons why the stock market crash was so important
6. Decide how to present the information in a clear, accessible way so that the audience easily grasps the concepts.
7. Make sure everyone in the group has a role in the presentation.
8. Create props or visual aids to supplement your efforts.



Stock Market Crash

Most people associate the Great Depression with the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929. One scholar described the start of the crash on October 24 as “the most devastating day in the history of the New York stock market.” Throughout the 1920s a long boom took stock prices to peaks never before seen. From 1920 to 1929, stocks more than quadrupled in value. Many investors became convinced that stocks were a sure thing and borrowed heavily to invest more money in the market. This was called “buying on the margin” and was very risky financially. It was possible to make nine dollars for every dollar invested, but it was also possible to lose nine dollars for every dollar invested. Still, Americans remained confident that they could become rich from “playing the market.” The collapse began on October 24, now known as “Black Thursday.” Prices plummeted when people realized that the stock market boom was over. With no one buying stocks, millionaires became bankrupt almost overnight. In just three days, stocks lost \$5 billion in value. The banking system fell into chaos as banks tried to collect on loans made to stock market investors whose holdings were now worth little or nothing. Worse, many banks had themselves invested depositors’ money in the stock market. When word spread that banks’ assets contained huge loans and almost worthless stock certificates, depositors rushed to withdraw their savings. Unable to raise fresh funds, banks began failing by the hundreds. When American loans to other countries dried up, the fragile world economy felt the full impact of the crash.

Inequitable Income Distribution

It is 1933 and the Great Depression is at its worst. As wise and articulate experts on global conditions, you and your colleagues have been selected as delegates to represent your country at the World Economic Conference in London, England. The Conference is a concerted effort on the part of besieged nations around the world to find an international solution to the crisis. The first item on the agenda is determining what actually caused the Great Depression. Bewildered by unfolding events, politicians everywhere insist that developments outside their own countries are responsible for the collapse. No one is prepared to take (or even share) responsibility for the economic downswing. Yet the cause of the Great Depression needs to be correctly identified if multilateral efforts to find a solution are to prove successful.

Your group's assignment is to persuade the Conference that *inequitable income distribution* in the United States was the most important cause of the Great Depression. Other countries have enlisted their finest minds to argue alternative viewpoints, so you need to make an effective presentation. The future of your nation depends on it! Here is what your group should do:

1. Choose a fictitious name for your country.
2. Review the information provided below.
3. Have all members conduct research to learn more about your cause.
4. Review the research together to make sure everyone understands the material.
5. Highlight the key reasons why inequitable income distribution in the United States was so important.
6. Decide how to present the information in a clear, accessible way so that the audience easily grasps the concepts.
7. Make sure everyone in the group has a role in the presentation.
8. Create props or visual aids to supplement your efforts.

Inequitable Income Distribution

The 1920s in the United States are often linked in our historical memories to prosperity and good times. But 40 percent of the country shared just 12 percent of the national income by the end of the decade. In contrast, the well-to-do who made up 5 percent of the population enjoyed 30 percent of the national income. The economy did grow at a spectacular rate, with American industry churning out cars, refrigerators, and radios. But wages did not keep pace with productivity in the 1920s and many Americans were too poor to buy the glut of consumer goods. The introduction of installment plans or buying on credit helped. Most cars and radios were bought with a “buy now and pay later” plan. Still, there was too much money in too few hands. And installment debt decreased the incomes of the less privileged even further. The rich were only able to buy so many goods for themselves; their consumption was not enough to offset the overproduction of goods. Finally, in the summer of 1929 (just before the stock market crash), business people realized that supply far exceeded demand, and they made severe cutbacks in many industries. Unemployment rose, so less money existed to buy goods. This resulted in more layoffs, and so on. Ultimately the United States government passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which slapped heavy taxes on thousands of imported goods from other countries in order to help American industries recover. It dealt a crushing blow to international trade and greatly contributed to the spread of the Great Depression around the world. In short, what began as an uneven distribution of wealth in one country, ended in a global crisis.



Ford Model T

Protectionism

It is 1933 and the Great Depression is at its worst. As wise and articulate experts on global conditions, you and your colleagues have been selected as delegates to represent your country at the World Economic Conference in London, England. The Conference is a concerted effort on the part of besieged nations around the world to find an international solution to the crisis. The first item on the agenda is determining what actually caused the Great Depression. Bewildered by unfolding events, politicians everywhere insist that developments outside their own countries are responsible for the collapse. No one is prepared to take (or even share) responsibility for the economic downswing. Yet the cause of the Great Depression needs to be correctly identified if multilateral efforts to find a solution are to prove successful.

Your group's assignment is to persuade the Conference that *protectionism* was the most important cause of the Great Depression. Other countries have enlisted their finest minds to argue alternative viewpoints, so you need to make an effective presentation. The future of your nation depends on it! Here is what your group should do:

1. Choose a fictitious name for your country.
2. Review the information provided below.
3. Have all members conduct research to learn more about your cause.
4. Review the research together to make sure everyone understands the material.
5. Highlight the key reasons why protectionism was so important.
6. Decide how to present the information in a clear, accessible way so that the audience easily grasps the concepts.
7. Make sure everyone in the group has a role in the presentation.
8. Create props or visual aids to supplement your efforts.

Protectionism

In 1927, at an earlier World Economic Conference in Geneva, delegates recognized that a thriving world economy was dependent upon free trade. The benefits of international trade would not be realized unless all nations decreased their tariffs or taxes on imported goods so that they could compete fairly with commodities made at home for a share of the market. In 1930, however, the United States passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act which levied duties on thousands of imported goods to protect American-made products from foreign competition. Over thirty countries filed formal protests, but just as quickly sixty countries followed suit. In the words of one historian, Hawley-Smoot “gave rise to a headlong stampede to protection and restrictions on imports” around the world. It came to stand as a symbol for the beggar-thy-neighbor policies—policies designed to improve one’s own lot at the expense of that of others—implemented in the 1930s. It was a lose-lose situation. United States imports from Europe declined from a 1929 high of \$1,334 million to just \$390 million in 1932, while United States exports to Europe fell from \$2,341 million in 1929 to \$784 million in 1932. Overall, world trade declined by some 66 percent between 1929 and 1934. Meanwhile, unemployment continued to increase in the United States, while European countries found it difficult to pay off reparations and war debts. Protectionism proved even worse for less developed countries that depended heavily on the export of raw materials and cash crops for revenues. Malaysia, for example, experienced an 80 percent drop in export revenues between 1929 and 1932. Efforts to protect domestic industries had a disastrous impact on the world economy and contributed greatly to the length and depth of the Great Depression.



Authors of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, 1930
Rep. W. C. Hawley, Chairman of the Tariff Committee of the House of
Representatives (left), and Sen. Reed Smoot, Senate Finance Committee

LESSON 3

Populism and Politics

Preparation

Photocopy handouts.

Introduction

In this lesson, students learn that populism was one of the more common political responses to the Great Depression. Although recognizing the ideological vagueness of the concept, they also identify some of its defining characteristics. Through political cartoons and speeches, they compare how two populist-inspired presidents, Lázaro Cárdenas of Mexico and Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, created extensive welfare states in the 1930s.

Activities

1. Populism
 - a. Offer the following quote by Oscar Wilde: “In all matters of importance, style and not content is the important thing.” Ask students what they think this statement means.
 - b. Write the word “populism” on the board. Explain that it comes from the Latin “populus” which means “people” and that it denotes a certain kind of political approach or style. Ask students to brainstorm about what they think that approach might be, given its etymology.
 - c. After listening to responses, state that populism usually involves:
 - i. A charismatic leader
 - ii. Rhetoric that separates “us” from “them” or targets a scapegoat
 - iii. Greater government intervention
 - iv. Promise of greater justice and equality for all
 - d. Emphasize that populism cannot be categorized as left wing or right wing, that it has no exclusive alliance with the upper class or working class. Instead, it is an approach or style of politics that can be applied to any ideology or blueprint for a social order. At certain times in history, populists have proven very successful at reaching out to ordinary people and tapping into their deep-seated social and economic concerns. The Great Depression was one of those times. Most governments in the world underwent change during the Great Depression. What many of them had in common was their populist underpinning.

2. Welfare States

- a. Review how the Great Depression resulted in extremely high unemployment and widespread misery and hardship for people around the world. Many people no longer had an income with which to buy the basic necessities of life. Especially hard hit were the elderly—who often saw their life savings wiped out in bank failures—and poor children, who lacked adequate nutrition and medical care. But even skilled workers, business owners, successful farmers, and professionals of all kinds found themselves in severe economic difficulty. There were only three groups of people who did not experience the negative repercussions of the Great Depression: 1) those who were already dirt poor, 2) those who remained outside the market economy as subsistence farmers, and 3) those who still earned an income and could take advantage of the lower cost of living.
- b. Ask students who they think should have been held responsible for the welfare of people who were hit hard by the Great Depression. Should individuals have taken care of their own needs? Should private charities and churches have looked after them? Should national governments have made sure that people did not suffer unnecessarily?
- c. Explain that during the Great Depression, many national governments began to assume responsibility for the welfare or well-being of their citizens. Conditions were so severe that private charities and churches could not handle all the indigent, and individuals could not be blamed for lack of initiative. Instead, welfare states were created that implemented a wide range of services to meet people's needs. These were significant departures from early forms of government, which had let people fend for themselves or left welfare to voluntarism.

3. Lázaro Cárdenas and FDR

- a. Note that populism manifested itself in many ways during the Great Depression. There were populist undertones, for example, in German fascism. In many countries, however, populism resulted in welfare states. Explain that Mexico and the United States were two countries where populist-inspired politicians rallied the support of the people by:
 - i. commanding the public stage through the use of modern technology like the radio and by traveling extensively.
 - ii. reaching out to ordinary people.
 - iii. criticizing big business and large landowners.
 - iv. avoiding a narrow ideological agenda.
 - v. implementing far-reaching reforms.
 - vi. achieving iconic stature.

- b. Pass out Student Handout 3.3.1. Give students time to access the websites, do the reading, and complete the questions. Lead a class discussion in which students identify the populist elements in the political approaches of Cárdenas and Roosevelt. Ask how they were similar or different as populists. Compare their welfare programs. How were the programs similar or different? Ask whether it is appropriate to compare Cárdenas and Roosevelt or whether they or the contexts are too dissimilar.

4. Political Cartoons

- a. Tell the class that you are going to give them two political cartoons to analyze. Explain that political cartoons are illustrated editorials. Since political cartoons use pictures to express views about current events, they can tell us a lot about what is happening in a given era. But they also reflect the opinions of the people who drew them. Emphasize that it is important to pay attention to the details in political cartoons. Quick glances often miss significant points. Students also need to think about the words used in captions or titles. They are clues that help us understand the cartoon's message.
- b. Divide the class into groups of three or four. Pass out Student Handout 3.3.2. Have the groups analyze the cartoons by answering the questions. Reconvene to discuss the results.
- c. Ask students to create their own political cartoons about either Cárdenas or Roosevelt. Drawings should:
 - be in black and white.
 - use historically accurate references.
 - emphasize the populist styles of these two men and what they accomplished.
 - offer an opinion or viewpoint about what is happening.
 - contain visual and verbal clues.
 - catch the eye of the reader.

Assessment

In addition to measuring participation in group and class discussion, teachers might use the two grading rubrics below.

| Cárdenas-Roosevelt Questions | |
|--|-----------------|
| Offers in-depth analysis of reading and speech | 10 points _____ |
| Identifies key issues and points | 10 points _____ |
| Gives full answers with details | 10 points _____ |
| Completes all components | 10 points _____ |
| Creates a thoughtful and informed dialogue | 5 points _____ |
| Spelling and grammar | 5 points _____ |
| Total out of 50 points | |

| Political Cartoons | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Has an understanding of the material | 10 points _____ |
| Offers a clear point of view | 10 points _____ |
| Neatly drawn text and graphics | 10 points _____ |
| Shows understanding of main idea | 10 points _____ |
| Total out of 40 points | |

Access and read the following websites for biographical information on Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lázaro Cárdenas.

Roosevelt:

- http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/presidents/32_f_roosevelt/

Cárdenas:

- <http://www.historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?action=read&artid=132>
- http://www.mexconnect.com/mex_/history/jtuck/jtlcardenas.html

Read “Inaugural Address” (1933) by Franklin D. Roosevelt and “Speech to the Nation” (1938) by Lázaro Cárdenas (see following pages). Answer and discuss the following questions:

1. Describe how the backgrounds of these two men were similar or different. Use a Venn diagram if you like.
2. In what ways were Cárdenas and FDR populists?
3. Was one more of a populist than the other? Explain why or why not.
4. Why did they become populists? Was it because of the Great Depression, or did it have something to do with their early lives?
5. How did they reach out to ordinary people?
6. Who did they blame for their nation’s troubles? Who did they target as scapegoats?
7. Did they implement the same kinds of reforms? List some of the main ones for each.
8. Were they committed to ideological agendas or were they political problem-solvers willing to do whatever it took to improve conditions? Provide details to support your answer.
9. Did these two leaders wage successful battles against the Great Depression? Explain why or why not.
10. Imagine Cárdenas and Roosevelt meeting for dinner at the “Border Cafe.” Create a dialogue where they discuss their populist styles and administrative efforts to help out their countries.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Inaugural Address, 1933



President Franklin D. Roosevelt, c 1933

I AM CERTAIN that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.



More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live. Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand

that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order: there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments, so that there will be an end to speculation with other people's money; and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress, in special session, detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.



It is to be hoped that the normal balance of Executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken Nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

Source: John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California (hosted), Gerhard Peters (database). From <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=14473>.

Lázaro Cárdenas Speech to the Nation, 1938



Mexican President
Lázaro Cárdenas, c. 1936

In each and every one of the various attempts of the Executive to arrive at a final solution of the conflict within conciliatory limits . . . the intransigence of the companies was clearly demonstrated.

Their attitude was therefore premeditated and their position deliberately taken, so that the Government, in defense of its own dignity, had to resort to application of the Expropriation Act, as there were no means less drastic or decision less severe that might bring about a solution of the problem . . .

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the oil industry has brought additional capital for the development and progress of the country. This assertion is an exaggeration. For many years throughout the major period of their existence, oil companies have enjoyed great privileges for development and expansion, including customs and tax exemptions and innumerable prerogatives; it is these factors of special privilege, together with the prodigious productivity of the oil deposits granted them by the Nation often against public will and law, that represent almost the total amount of this so-called capital.



Potential wealth of the Nation; miserably underpaid native labor; tax exemptions; economic privileges; governmental tolerance— these are the factors of the boom of the Mexican oil industry.

Let us now examine the social contributions of the companies. In how many of the villages bordering on the oil fields is there a hospital, or school or social center, or a sanitary water supply, or an athletic field, or even an electric plant fed by the millions of cubic meters of natural gas allowed to go to waste?

What center of oil production, on the other hand, does not have its company police force for the protection of private, selfish, and often illegal interests? These organizations, whether authorized by the Government or not, are charged with innumerable outrages, abuses, and murders, always on behalf of the companies that employ them.

Who is not aware of the irritating discrimination governing construction of the company camps? Comfort for the foreign personnel; misery, drabness, and insalubrity for the Mexicans. Refrigeration and protection against tropical insects for the former; indifference and neglect, medical service and supplies always grudgingly provided, for the latter; lower wages and harder, more exhausting labor for our people.

The tolerance which the companies have abused was born, it is true, in the shadow of the ignorance, betrayals, and weakness of the country's rulers; but the mechanism was set in motion by investors lacking in the necessary moral resources to give something in exchange for the wealth they have been exploiting.

Another inevitable consequence of the presence of the oil companies, strongly characterized by their anti-social tendencies, and even more harmful than all those already mentioned, has been their persistent and improper intervention in national affairs.

The oil companies' support to strong rebel factions against the constituted government in the Huasteca region of Veracruz and in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec during the years 1917 to 1920 is no longer a matter for discussion by anyone. Nor is anyone ignorant of the fact that in later periods and even at the present time, the oil companies have almost openly encouraged the ambitions of elements discontented with the country's government, every time their interests were affected either by taxation or by the modification of their privileges or the withdrawal of the customary tolerance. They have had money, arms, and munitions for rebellion, money for the anti-patriotic press which defends them, money with which to enrich their unconditional defenders. But for the progress of the country, for establishing an economic equilibrium with their workers through a just compensation of labor, for maintaining hygienic conditions in the districts where they themselves operate, or for conserving the vast riches of the natural petroleum gases from destruction, they have neither money, nor financial possibilities, nor the desire to subtract the necessary funds from the volume of their profits.

Nor is there money with which to meet a responsibility imposed upon them by judicial verdict, for they rely on their pride and their economic power to shield them from the dignity and sovereignty of a Nation which has generously placed in their hands its vast natural resources and now finds itself unable to obtain the satisfaction of the most elementary obligations by ordinary legal means.

As a logical consequence of this brief analysis, it was therefore necessary to adopt a definite and legal measure to end this permanent state of affairs in which the country sees its industrial progress held back by those who hold in their hands the power to erect obstacles



as well as the motive power of all activity and who, instead of using it to high and worthy purposes, abuse their economic strength to the point of jeopardizing the very life of a Nation endeavoring to bring about the elevation of its people through its own laws, its own resources, and the free management of its own destinies.

With the only solution to this problem thus placed before it, I ask the entire Nation for moral and material support sufficient to carry out so justified, important, and indispensable a decision . . .

It is necessary that all groups of the population be imbued with a full optimism and that each citizen, whether in agricultural, industrial, commercial, transportation, or other pursuits, develop it greater activity from this moment on, in order to create new resources which will reveal that the spirit of our people is capable of saving the nation's economy by the efforts of its own citizens.

And, finally, as the fear may arise among the interests now in bitter conflict in the field of international affairs that a deviation of raw materials fundamentally necessary to the struggle in which the most powerful nations are engaged might result from the consummation of this act of national sovereignty and dignity, we wish to state that our petroleum operations will not depart a single inch from the moral solidarity maintained by Mexico with the democratic nations, whom we wish to assure that the expropriation now decreed has as its only purpose the elimination of obstacles erected by groups who do not understand the evolutionary needs of all peoples and who would themselves have no compunction in selling Mexican oil to the highest bidder, without taking into account the consequences of such action to the popular masses and the nations in conflict.

Source: Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 452–454.

Study the two political cartoons, discuss them with your group, then answer the questions below.





Political Cartoon Questions

1. Who are the main characters?
2. What are the events that inspired the cartoons?
3. How realistic are the images? Is there much exaggeration?
4. What are the main messages? What are the cartoonists' views on the events?
5. What are some of the symbols used to convey the messages? How are they used?
6. Do you agree or disagree with the opinions of the cartoonists?
7. How important are the titles to understanding the messages?
8. Is there anything you don't understand in the cartoons?

LESSON 4

Populism and Protest

Preparation

Photocopy handouts, and arrange for student access to the Internet.

Introduction

Although this lesson may be done separately, it follows from Lesson 3, “Populism-Politics.” Students learn that populism surfaced in the 1930s, not just in politics, but also in protest movements. These protest movements took different forms. In the United States and Canada, industrial unions organized workers and won support from communities to win industrial democracy. In the colonial world, indigenous leaders mobilized farmers and workers to win reforms or even independence for their country. By conducting research and analyzing primary resources, students recognize that both kinds of protest movements were connected to the Great Depression. They also gain an appreciation for how industrial workers and colonial freedom fighters struggled to improve their lives and livelihoods in the 1930s.

Activities

1. Populism
 - a. Write the word “populism” on the board. Explain that it comes from the Latin “populus” which means “people” and that it denotes a certain kind of political approach or style. Ask students to brainstorm about what they think that approach might be, given its etymology.
 - b. After listening to responses, state that populism usually involves:
 - i. A charismatic leader
 - ii. Rhetoric that separates “us” from “them” or targets a scapegoat
 - iii. Greater government intervention
 - iv. Promise of greater justice and equality for all
 - c. Emphasize that populism cannot be categorized as left wing or right wing, that it has no alliance with the upper class or working class. Instead, it is an approach or style of politics that can be applied to any ideology or blueprint for a social order. At certain times in history populists have proven very successful at reaching out to ordinary people and tapping into their deep-seated social and economic concerns. The Great Depression was one of those times.

2. Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)

- a. Ask students for the definition of a labor union. After listening to responses, explain that a labor union is an organization of workers that tries to improve wages, working conditions, and benefits for its members. Rather than having to approach an employer individually with a problem or complaint that can be easily dismissed, workers who approach an employer collectively as a union have more bargaining power. They can threaten to go on strike and shut down production if their demands are not met.
- b. Ask students if joining a union appeals to them. Do they like the idea of strength in numbers? Or do they believe that it is an employer's prerogative to determine wages and working conditions?
- c. Explain that in the 1930s the labor movement gained considerable popularity and support in several industrialized countries. This was especially true in the latter part of the decade when profits began to rebound, while wages remained below 1929 levels. In France, hundreds of thousands of workers held sit-down strikes in their workplaces in 1936 to win union recognition, the right to strike, minimum wages, and the forty-hour week. In the United States and Canada, wave after wave of mass production workers organized themselves into industrial unions, or unions that include both skilled and unskilled workers. (Previously, unions had been limited by craft or trade, for example, carpenters, cigar makers, or electricians.) Together, these unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization, or CIO (which became the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1938), to coordinate an extensive campaign for industrial democracy—the right to be treated with dignity and respect in the workplace.
- d. Write the following CIO slogan from 1938 on the board: “The interests of the people are the interests of labor, and the interests of labor are the interests of the people.” Ask students to discuss its meaning. Explain that the CIO used a populist approach to convince workers to join unions in the middle of an economic crisis and to draw the support of the larger community. With the nation devastated by the Great Depression, the CIO's strategy was not only to focus on more tangible goals like improved wages and working conditions but also to equate unionism with democracy. Reaching out to all social classes, the CIO targeted the paternalistic, self-serving behavior of employers and extolled the need for a fairer, more equitable society.
- e. Pass out Student Handout 3.4.1 to the class. As background, explain that the CIO's success in the United States, especially in the 1937 Flint sit-down strike at General Motors, mobilized industrial workers north of the border. Canada's national strike rate jumped by 78 percent in 1937. Although the cash-strapped CIO provided only limited resources to Canadian organizers, activists decided to organize under the CIO banner because of its magnetic appeal. Also note that

the Trade and Labor Congress (TLC) was the organization of craft-based unions that had traditionally excluded less skilled workers from mass production industries. It was linked to the American Federation of Labor in the United States.

- f. Have students discuss their answers in class.

3. Vietnamese Independence

- a. Define the term “colonialism” for the class as “the occupation and control of one nation by another.” Ask students whether it is ever justified for one country to conquer another. Does it matter if that conqueror rules directly through a central administration or rules indirectly through an indigenous leader?
- b. Explain that in the late nineteenth century, several European powers used their advanced industrial technology to colonize less developed parts of the world. Their motives ranged from political to cultural and economic. By 1913, a small number of European countries, plus the United States and Japan, laid claim to control more than 80 percent of the earth’s land area. This balance of power began to change with the Great Depression which, in combination with world war, was at least partially responsible for the rise of colonial freedom movements.
- c. Encourage students to make the connection between populism and colonial freedom movements by taking another look at populism’s defining features. Why would a populist approach benefit nationalist organizations? Was there a scapegoat? Would “us” versus “them” language help to draw people to the cause? How important was it to have a charismatic leader? Was the point about government intervention applicable?
- d. State that the class will focus on the Vietnamese independence movement. Explain that there was a continuum of achievement for freedom movements. Mohandas Gandhi and the Indian National Congress met with the most success. Sukarno and the Partai Nasional Indonesia found it much more difficult to gather momentum. Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) of Vietnam fell much closer to the latter than the former.
- e. Ask students what they know about Vietnam. Explain that in Vietnam, communism (uniting peasants in revolution and establishing a society based on common ownership of property and wealth) and nationalism (calling for decolonization and independence) were intertwined as responses to French colonialism. Have students locate Vietnam on a map and note its geographical features. Ask why France would be interested in colonizing Vietnam. Possible answers could include: to compete with England, to access natural resources, and to spread Christianity.
- f. Distribute Student Handout 3.4.2. Explain that reporters try to be as objective and accurate as possible, but that they also need to capture the attention of the reader. No one will read an article if it is boring.

- g. Have students read their newspaper reports in class. In conclusion, ask if the class sees any similarities between the colonial experiences of Vietnam in the twentieth century and the United States in the mid-eighteenth century. Did the same elements of populism, economic crisis, and protest exist in each case?

Assessment

In addition to measuring participation in group and class discussion, teachers might use the two grading rubrics below.

| Oshawa Strike | |
|--|-----------------|
| Offers in-depth analysis of reading and speech | 10 points _____ |
| Identifies key issues and points | 10 points _____ |
| Gives full answers with details | 10 points _____ |
| Completes all components | 10 points _____ |
| Creates a thoughtful and informed dialogue | 5 points _____ |
| Spelling and grammar | 5 points _____ |
| Total out of 50 points | |

| Vietnamese Independence | |
|---|-----------------|
| Depth of thought and originality of ideas | 10 points _____ |
| Organization of ideas; clarity of writing | 10 points _____ |
| Cites specific details and relevant information | 10 points _____ |
| Captures attention of reader; article is interesting and engaging | 10 points _____ |
| Spelling and grammar | 5 points _____ |
| Total out of 45 points | |

1. The following assignment is about a General Motors strike that took place in Oshawa, Ontario, Canada, in 1937. Canada was hit particularly hard by the Great Depression because it was an export nation. The GDP per capita fell by 33 percent between 1929 and 1933. The three Prairie provinces, where the wheat economy collapsed, as well as many mining and logging communities, experienced the greatest decrease in per capita income. Oshawa is a medium-sized city about thirty miles east of Toronto on Lake Ontario. Many historians consider the Oshawa strike of 1937 to be one of the most important in Canada's history. Although workers failed to achieve their main goal of union recognition, they set the stage for a successful CIO crusade in Canada and contributed to a leftward shift in politics.
2. Access and read the following website: <http://web.archive.org/web/20050304195744/collections.ic.gc.ca/cau/essays/essay7.html>. Be sure to read all five pages.
3. Answer the following questions:
 - a. What were conditions like on the shop floor at General Motors?
 - b. Why was Hugh Thompson of the United Auto Workers (a CIO union) able to organize the whole GM plant of 4,000 workers within a month? Given that many employers fired workers for union membership, why did the GM workers prove willing to put their jobs on the line to join the auto workers in the midst of a depression?
 - c. How did Mitchell Hepburn, the Premier of Ontario, try to discredit Thompson and the CIO?
 - d. What kind of language did Hugh Thompson use to counter Hepburn's accusations?
 - e. Take a close look at the photo of the women on the picket line (page 4). Why do you think there are no men with them? Why do you think they are dressed up in good clothes? Note the sidebar next to the photo. Why would joining a union appeal to these women?
 - f. How do you know there was community support for the strike?
 - g. In Canada, government-appointed conciliators try to resolve labor conflicts before they become strikes. Assume the role of a conciliator who has arrived in Oshawa in 1937 to negotiate a compromise between the GM workers and their employer. Create a dialogue that chronicles the breakdown in the relationship.

Read the following information on Vietnam's colonial experience. Imagine you are a newspaper reporter who has arrived in Vietnam in the mid-1930s. Write a report to your editors back home about the struggle for independence there.



France seized control of southern Vietnam in the 1850s and completed its conquest of Southeast Asia, or Indochina, by the early twentieth century. Initially, the French proclaimed a desire to ensure the spread of Catholicism and to compete with the British for imperial power. By the turn of the century, however, France had not only created an empire in Southeast Asia that was nearly 50 percent larger than France itself, but had also established a lucrative plantation economy of which rice and rubber were the main cash crops. Tin, pepper, coal, and cotton were also exported from the region.

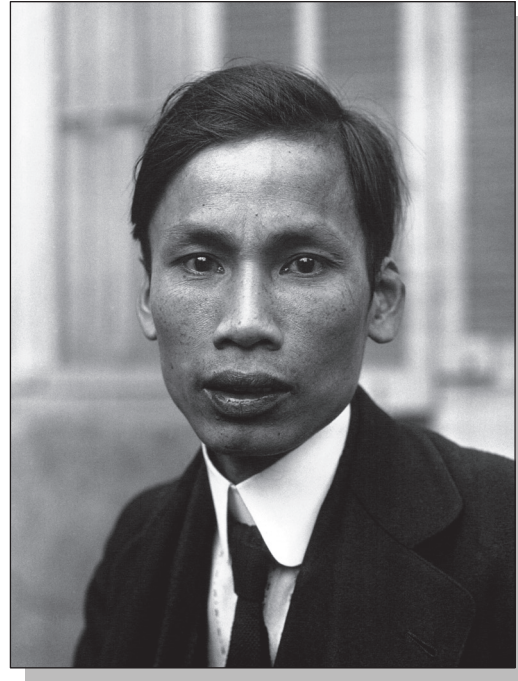
In contrast to pre-colonial times, Vietnamese farmers now found themselves connected to the world market and vulnerable to slumps in world market prices. To stay competitive, they needed to rent more draft animals and hire more labor. Meanwhile, they also had to pay poll (head) and land taxes, as well as taxes on items like salt and wine regardless of harvest size or even whether they had made it themselves. Unable to pay their debts, small farmers became tenant farmers, and tenants became laborers. By the 1930s, huge amounts of land in southern Vietnam (which was called Cochin China) had been turned over to French settlers and Vietnamese collaborators, leaving nearly 70 percent of the local population without land. Poverty was widespread. Although Vietnam was then a rice exporting nation, rice consumption per capita in Vietnam actually dropped because many families lacked the resources to buy it.

French nationals ruled the country with the assistance of Vietnamese clerks in low-paying jobs. Not even the most gifted and highly qualified Vietnamese person was allowed to hold a high position in the colonial administration. Degrees from the best French universities still resulted in second or third tier governmental positions under the authority of less-educated

and better-paid French nationals. At the same time, educational opportunities for the native population declined under French rule.

The Vietnamese did not sit on their hands and let the French simply take over their country. France had to rely on its superior military force to overcome organized resistance to its presence. Even in the late nineteenth century, nationalist sentiments simmered close to the surface. The Vietnamese people wanted their country back.

In the early twentieth century, moderate factions led protest movements against French rule. However, the French brutally suppressed these movements, driving surviving members into hiding and exile. As a result, radical Vietnamese communists became the leading nationalists. They were led by Ho Chi Minh (originally named Nguyen Sinh Cung), who argued that independence depended on all Vietnamese, regardless of class or political persuasion, uniting in a common front against French rule. Although born into a peasant family, Ho's father was a scholar, and so he received a solid education. As a young man, he also traveled widely to Africa, Europe, and the United States. After a one-year stint in Moscow, he arrived in Guangzhou, China, where he spent the next two years training young nationalistic women and men in revolutionary techniques. He was forced to flee back to Moscow in 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek took over southern China, but in 1929 followers created the first Indochinese Communist Party



Ho Chi Minh

In a parallel development, other students, low-ranking government employees, and soldiers formed the Vietnamese Nationalist Party (VNP) with the intention of violently overthrowing French rule. In 1930, they staged a revolt in the mountain town of Yen Bai, north of Hanoi, but it was quickly suppressed. Unlike the ICP, the VNP was too reliant on urban intellectuals and too averse to careful planning. The French guillotined the leaders of the revolt, including Nguyen Thai Hoc, who, before he was killed, wrote a letter to the National Assembly of France:

For more than 60 years my native land has been enslaved by you, the French . . . I have therefore the right and duty to defend my country and my brothers . . . If the French wish henceforth to occupy Indochina . . . without being annoyed by any revolutionary movement, they must abandon all brutal and inhuman methods . . . and give education to the people and develop native industry and commerce.

Source: Nguyen Thai Hoc, "Letter to the French Chamber of Deputies," in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, eds., *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 443.



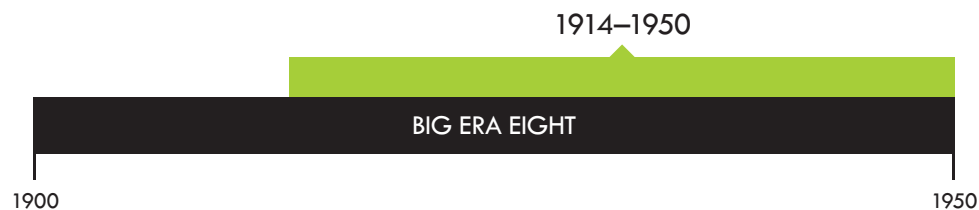
The ICP took advantage of the Yen Bai situation, calling for the overthrow of the French, establishment of a people's government, cancellation of public debts, confiscation of foreign-owned business, redistribution of French-owned lands, suppression of taxes, institution of an eight-hour work day, and creation of a public education system. Despite their radical implications, these demands appealed to many Vietnamese. Although Ho Chi Minh remained in exile (and would until 1941), his leadership was critical. The message he drove home was that communism was the key to nationalism. As Ho proclaimed, "The proletarian class lead[s] the revolution . . . for all the oppressed and exploited people." Utilizing a combination of populist and revolutionary techniques, Vietnamese communists proved successful at organizing peasants into village councils, or soviets. Ruling committees were elected to annul taxes, lower rents, distribute excess rice to the needy, and take back land confiscated by the wealthy. Village militias were also formed. In the province of Nghe An, for example, the number of communist activists increased by 600 percent in just a few months.

The worsening conditions of the Great Depression drew many peasants and workers to the ICP. Rice exports had plummeted from 2 million tons in 1928 to less than 1 million tons in 1931. Although French landowners experienced substantial financial losses, Vietnamese peasants suffered even more, being forced to sell at least twice as much rice to pay off taxes and debts. Rubber and coal prices also fell sharply, resulting in layoffs around the country. Altogether, export revenues dropped from 125 to 43 million United States dollars between 1929 and 1932. Even the colonial government laid off staff and cut wages. In response, the number of strikes and peasant demonstrations jumped considerably. Encouraged by the ICP, riots broke out in Nghe An Province, with protesters burning buildings and tax rolls.

Once the French realized the seriousness of the situation, they responded with heavy-handed tactics, rounding up everyone suspected of having communist sympathies. Between 9,000 and 11,000 Vietnamese were imprisoned on political charges. Over eighty public executions took place. The ICP was decimated and forced to rebuild support throughout the rest of the 1930s. But the stage had been set for further protest. When Ho Chi Minh returned to Vietnam during World War II, tens of thousands of women and men joined him in the struggle for national independence. One scholar concludes: "It is entirely possible that the European colonial order would have long remained immune to serious challenge were it not for the global thrust of economic dislocation and warfare." In combination with World War I and II, the Great Depression "undermined the established order in colonial societies, and thus created an opening for dissident elements."¹

1 Marc Gilbert, "Paper Trails: Connecting Viet Nam and World History Through Documents, Film, Literature and Photographs." *World History Connected* 2, 2 (May 2005), http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/2.2/gilbert_I.html.

Nationalism and Social Change in Colonial Empires



WHY STUDY NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE?

The large number of nationalist movements protesting against various types of colonial rule formed a major theme in this Big Era. In many cases European and American ideologies, especially Marxism and liberal democratic philosophy, exercised major influences on these movements and often caused some of them to splinter into competing factions. Leaders in each area had their own visions of how their independent state would look.

Most nationalist movements had elements in common. They sought sovereign independence for their territory; mobilized people on a mass scale; used newspapers, magazines, and radio to communicate with supporters; enjoyed help from overseas communities; and, to one degree or another, engaged in violent action. But each nationalist movement was also unique in its adaptation to local culture, history, and the nature of colonial rule.

This chapter is important because the nationalist movements it discusses were all largely successful. After World War II, the colonized peoples created a large number of new nation-states that have increased the world's states to more than 190.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Compare the goals, methods, and tactics of at least two nationalist movements discussed in this chapter.
2. Identify the various groups that participated in the movements and compare the roles of students, labor, peasants, and intellectuals in the various countries.
3. Analyze the roles that violence, peaceful demonstration, and political organizations played in nationalist movements.
4. Describe how colonial administrations, colonial educational policies, and indigenous cultures influenced various nationalist movements.
5. Analyze and compare how democracy, religious revival, and/or authoritarian rule emerged in the various nationalist movements.
6. Identify and compare the different visions leaders in each area had for their nations.

TIME AND MATERIALS

This chapter should take approximately eight days. If time is limited, the teacher may concentrate on one or two of the four case studies. Because India was the first colonial territory to achieve independence after World War II and because its freedom inspired many other nations in Asia and Africa to intensify their struggles, we recommend that teachers start with India. Alternatively, teachers may use the information in this chapter for a single jigsaw lesson.

Required materials are maps of colonized areas of the world, a DVD player, and access to the Internet.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

As an unintended consequence of European, American, and Japanese imperial policies in the nineteenth century, millions of colonized peoples embarked on a variety of nationalist movements, demanding independence from foreign domination. Egyptian, Persian, and Turkish nationalist movements emerged in the late nineteenth century. Later, during World War I, nationalist movements spread to the Arabic-speaking peoples in West Asia and North Africa. In what scholar Benedict Anderson calls “imagined communities,” the newly mobilized movements from Africa to Southwest, South, and East Asia began constructing narratives about their own national identities as they mounted resistance to foreign rule and economic exploitation.

The various twentieth-century independence movements were given a psychological boost by President Woodrow Wilson’s famous Fourteen Points, which he issued to the United States Congress in 1918. This manifesto kindled nationalist fires all over the world. Among the Fourteen Points was a call for freedom of the seas, international agreements arrived at in public view and, of special interest to the colonized peoples, implementation of the principle of self-determination. Wilson publicly advocated “a free, open-minded, and absolutely

impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that, in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.”

Although Wilson intended self-determination only for Europeans, colonized people around the world heard a far different message. Reactions to Wilson’s principles were electric and spread quickly to the emerging nationalist movements. In addition, at the World War I settlement of 1919 (Peace of Paris), the victorious allies talked publicly about building a new social order. Many nationalist leaders from colonized areas attended the Paris Peace Conference. The major world leaders, however, refused to seat the Korean and Vietnamese representatives or listen to their arguments. Later it was revealed that the United States, Japan, and France had made a secret pact to exclude both Korea and Indochina from the Paris proceedings.

The call for self-determination could not be stopped. After the war, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk arose as leader of Turkey’s nationalist cause. The Wafd Party was instrumental in shaping a new national consciousness in Egypt, and the Neo-Destour Party led the early independence movement in Tunisia. Despite their diverse religious and cultural make-ups, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan, the newly mandated areas that Britain and France carved out of the former Ottoman Empire, also formed nascent national identities.

The African experience was quite different. In the period after World War I, European imperialism was at its height in Africa. From Britain’s indirect rule to Belgium’s direct colonization, the European powers carved the continent into a mix of national colonies and protectorates, all shaped by European interests. Because European powers had created these new nations without regard to local ethnic and cultural identities, conceiving national identities and mounting genuine nationalist movements was more problematic than in the Middle East. Despite this obstacle, some educated Africans began to build nationalist movements. In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a Graduates’ Congress was organized in 1938. In Kenya during the 1920s, the Kikuyu Central Association, whose goal was land reform, also gained followers.

One of the oldest nationalist movements emerged in India in the later nineteenth century. By 1885, English-educated lawyers and groups of rising merchants and bankers were organizing the Indian National Congress. Later, Bal Gangadha Tilak challenged the moderate approach of the early nationalist leaders by demanding immediate freedom (*swaraj*) and advocating the use of violence to achieve it. In 1915, Mohandas Gandhi returned to India from South Africa and soon dominated the nationalist movement. His advocacy of non-violence, while not the only approach taken by nationalist leaders, gave to the Indian independence movement a unique method of action that could involve people of all social classes.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalist movements were well established in East and Southeast Asia. The United States seized the Philippines by defeating a guerrilla resistance movement between 1898 and 1901. In the late 1930s, the United States granted the Philippines Commonwealth status, but the Japanese conquered it in 1942. Nationalist resistance to French rule in Indochina, Dutch rule in Indonesia, and British control in various Southeast Asian lands heightened in the interwar era. But these movements had only limited success until World War II, when Japanese victories over several imperial powers inspired local nationalists to openly resist European rule.

The period between the two world wars witnessed a rapid rise in globalization. The world-wide depression had effects around the world. At the same time, many colonized peoples were influenced by outside cultural forms such as literature, film, sports, and political philosophy.

Many national leaders borrowed ideologies from Western writers and activists. Some Korean, Vietnamese, and African nationalist leaders were deeply influenced by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin and saw in Marxism a rationale for their wars of liberation. Indian leaders, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, leaned toward a more moderate socialism advocated in Europe by members of social democratic parties. Despite the cynicism that resulted from Wilson's call for self-determination, many struggling nationalists still looked to him and other American writers for inspiration.

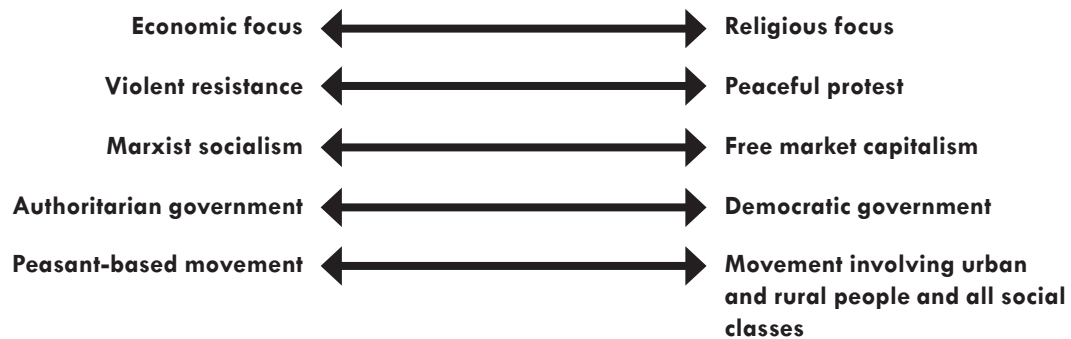
Within many of the nationalist movements, factions divided along a gradual to radical continuum. In their search for identity, they also often divided over whether to emulate Western modernity or to resurrect ideals from their own historic and religious traditions. For example, in Egypt, the more radical Muslim Brotherhood called for a return to what they saw as an earlier, glorious Muslim society. In India, some advocated following Western models of socialism and modernity, while others counseled a return to older Hindu values. Similarly in Vietnam, groups argued over political ideology and the role that the past should play in the formulation of its national identity.

The nationalist movements took many different paths. Local factors such as religion, culture, history, and the nature of colonial rule shaped the ways in which various groups imagined their past and responded to colonialism. Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonial policy tended to stress assimilation to the mother country's cultural values and traditions. Early colonial reform in the Dutch and English colonies strove to introduce Western institutions, such as parliamentary government, to the colonized people through the education system. At the same time, these two imperial powers generally expressed more conspicuously racist attitudes toward colonized peoples than did the French.

While the ideal of a nation-state inspired most of the nationalist movements, there were instances of attempts to form larger units of identity. Leaders of these efforts often argued that the colonial states were the products of imperial rulers arbitrarily drawing boundaries for their own convenience. Rejecting these boundaries, they incorporated larger areas into their imagined communities. Leaders such as Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana (the Gold Coast colony) attempted to formulate larger group identities. Nasser led the Pan-Arab movement and Nkrumah the Pan-African movement. These proposals proved impractical, however, because nationalist leaders were more interested in gaining full control of their own colonial territories than in giving up some power to a large multiethnic and multinational political entity.

In every territory, leaders debated the best methods of gaining freedom. These debates included whether to attempt violent resistance or to wait for slow reforms to take root. They also included whether to adopt some form of Marxist ideology to avoid the pitfalls of market capitalism as a perceived tool of imperialism, or to emulate the capitalist economies. Further debates raged over whether to work for the unity of the territory or accept partition among different ethnic or religious groups.

The options available to nationalist movements can be seen as choices within a range of approaches. Investigating these choices might help students make generalizations about the various approaches taken by the nationalist movements introduced in this chapter.



The conceptual framework for using this option schema is based on Benedict Anderson's idea of the nation as an "imagined community." Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities*, is arguably the most widely acknowledged discussion of this subject. He sees the nation-state as a modern phenomenon that grew out of the Industrial Revolution, market capitalism, and the European Enlightenment. To Anderson, nationalism is a constructed entity, a product of culture, and he argues that nations now command the ultimate human loyalty, replacing religion as the dominant form of identity.

The persistent question throughout this chapter should be "How did Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, and Kenyans imagine themselves as a people?" In analyzing the readings in the lessons that follow, help students focus on how these "imaginings" were argued and debated. Finally, which image came to define each of these modern nation-states?

Activity Options

The chapter is organized as four separate case studies of nationalist movements: India, Vietnam, Korea, and Kenya. Each lesson includes activities for the teacher to use, along with handouts that students may use for evidence.

Teachers should ask students to read and discuss the following excerpt from Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, reserving plenty of time to discuss the meaning of words and special terms.

[The Nation] . . . is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion . . .

In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. Javanese villagers have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imagined particularistically—as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship. Until quite recently, the Javanese language had no word meaning the abstraction "society."

. . . The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie

other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet.

It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living pluralism of such religions, and the vast [differences] between each faith's [textual] claims and its territorial stretch, nations dream of being free and, if under God, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.

Finally, [the nation] is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.

These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunk imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism.

Source: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New Edition (New York: Verso, 2006), 5–7.

After all students have read and discussed the excerpt from Anderson's book, teachers may select one of three options for teaching this chapter.

Option One

Teachers may have students study each of these countries separately and then have a culminating activity in which students share the similarities and differences among the various independence movements. If teachers choose to do this, they may follow the suggested activities offered in each section.

Option Two

A second option focuses on two case studies. Teachers who choose this option are recommended to select India and one other case study.

Option Three

A third option is to organize the entire chapter as a single, integrated jigsaw lesson. The following strategy is suggested:

1. Divide the class into four "expert" groups. Each group will examine and study one of the four national case studies. Students within each group may either read all of the student handouts for their country or they may give different students the readings and questions for each subtopic A through E indicated below. Even if the members of the expert groups choose to assign each other only one sub-topic, each group as a whole is responsible for

answering the questions as they apply to its assigned nation-state. They must address the summary question: How did the nationalist movement ultimately bring independence to the new nation?

2. Assign each group the following subtopics with questions:
 - a. Colonial rule: What were the specific complaints that the nationalist leaders alleged against colonial rule in their country?
 - b. The role of participants in the nationalist movement: What kinds of people did the nationalist movement attract and which groups were most prominent in the movement, for example, students, intellectuals, religious leaders, peasants, workers, and middle classes?
 - c. Methods of protest: In what way did the nationalist leaders rely on violence, peaceful protests, gradual movements to self-government, other strategies, or a combination of all of these? How did the nationalist movement ultimately bring independence to the new nation?
 - d. Important leaders: Who were the important individuals who led the nationalist movement in their country?
 - e. Contesting ideologies: What were the contending ideologies that characterized the nationalist movement, such as Marxist socialism, liberal democracy, authoritarian rule, and fascism?
3. Have the expert groups meet and discuss the five subtopics indicated above. Students who are responsible for specific subtopics should share their information with other members of their expert group.
4. After the five expert groups have discussed the subtopics and associated questions, form five new groups, composed of one member from each of the expert groups. Assign one of the five subtopics to each new group. Be sure to include the students who studied that subtopic in the appropriate group. Have the students from each expert group share what they have learned about that issue for their specific countries. Members of the five new groups will attempt to create a synthesis of subtopic issues from all four specific case studies. You may ask them to make a poster or other visual summaries of their conclusions.
5. Have each new group report its findings to the class, using visuals or any other materials it has created. After each group report, have the class discuss similarities and differences among the various national efforts on that topic.
6. Finally, hold a general discussion on themes, trends, and generalizations in twentieth-century anti-colonial nationalism based on the four case studies. Teachers may want to introduce other questions, such as the importance of differences among the colonial cases, the effect of outside developments (e.g., World War II), changes in world opinion about colonialism, and the issue of why colonialism largely ended within thirty years of the end of World War II.



THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

“Who controls the land?” Why has this question been so important in many nationalist movements for independence in the twentieth century? (The question refers not to the state or nation but to land that produces crops or pasture.)

Humans and Other Humans

Research the impact of World War II on colonized societies in Africa and Asia in terms of social, economic, and cultural change. Which territories in Africa and Asia were directly involved in the war? How might the war have affected societies not directly involved?

Humans and Ideas

Hold a hypothetical discussion between a group of American Founding Fathers of the late eighteenth century and a group of African nationalists of the late 1940s on the question: “Why do we want independence from Britain?”

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 4: Haves and Have-Nots

Key Theme 5: Expressing Identity

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. 1B: The student understands the causes and consequences of important resistance and revolutionary movements of the early 20th century; 3B: The student understands economic, social, and political transformations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the 1920s and 1930s.

INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES

Boahen, A. Adu. *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Bondurant, Joan. *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Cantu, D. Anthony, and Sandy Cantu. *The Vietnam War: A National Dilemma*. Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 2002.

Cumings, Bruce. *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. New York: Norton, 1997.

Duiker, William J. *The Rise of Nationalism in Vietnam, 1900–1941*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976.

Fetter, Bruce. *Colonial Rule in Africa: Readings from Primary Resources*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

Gandhi, Mohandas. *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

Johnson, Donald, and Jean Johnson. *Mao and Gandhi: Alternate Paths to National Independence and Social Change*. Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1999.

Lawrence, Mark Atwood. *The Vietnam War: A Concise International History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Lockard, Craig. *Southeast Asia in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Maloba, Wunyabari O. *Mau Mau and Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Metcalf, Barbara D., and Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Presley, Cora Ann. *Kikuyu Women: The Mau Mau Rebellion and Social Change in Kenya*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

Young, Crawford. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

LESSON 1

Gandhi and Indian Independence

Preparation

Students should have read relevant parts of their textbook or other sources of basic knowledge on Indian nationalism and Gandhi's influence. Students should have studied the colonial impact on the Indian economy and should understand the disastrous effects of colonialism on India's manufacturing and trade. If they do not already have this background, share the information in the introduction. They should also have a general knowledge of Gandhi's life and significance.

Materials

- A copy of the movie *Gandhi*, directed by Richard Attenborough
- DVD player
- Maps of India
- Notebooks, pens

Introduction

Although the British have long argued that their colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent brought India and Pakistan into the modern world and prepared a backward people for democratic rule, the record of India's two-hundred-year experience with European occupation suggests a far different story.

The gradual expansion of the English East India Company's rule and control of India after 1757 was aimed at making a profit by exporting India's raw materials to Britain for processing and then exporting finished products like cloth back to India to be sold in a closed market. The result of this policy was the dramatic decline of India's cloth export trade, which for centuries had made India the cloth merchant of the world.

In 1750, on the eve of British control, India and China produced about two-thirds of the world's manufacturing. By 1947, when India gained independence from Great Britain, that once-powerful center was producing about 2 percent of the world's manufacturing. This de-industrialization and de-urbanization of the Indian subcontinent left the newly independent India with a population about 85 percent rural and lacking basic industries on which to achieve rapid development.

Moreover, the British cultural policy of racism after the uprising of 1857 practically stopped the liberal reforms advocated by some British leaders. This racist policy saw Hindus and Muslims as biologically and culturally inferior and not fit or ready for self-rule. The British cultural policy of racism also included a gendered division of peoples. The British saw themselves as masculine, strong, powerful, rational, and capable of democratic governance. Conversely, the British regarded most Indians as feminine, feeble, non-rational, cowardly, and incapable of democratic

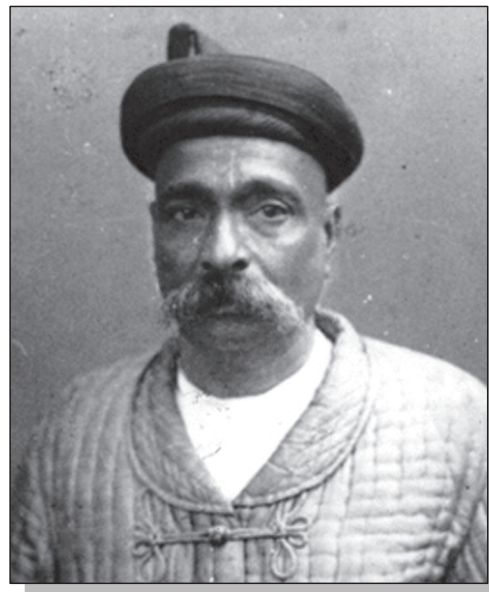
self-rule. It was not surprising that Gandhi would later argue that “The British say we are as weak as women, but we will show them that we are as strong as women.”

The land reforms introduced by the British led to a new kind of land tenancy whereby a new class of landlords (*Zamindars*) grew in power, leading to the impoverishment of peasant farmers. With the introduction of a more money-oriented economy and British property law, millions of Indian peasants were caught in endless legal battles and endured life-long indebtedness to unscrupulous money lenders.

Finally, the British policy of “divide and rule” turned Muslims against Hindus, resulting in two parallel nationalist movements based on religious affiliation. This situation ultimately led to the creation of two new states, Islamic Pakistan and a predominantly Hindu India.

During the nineteenth century, the disparate strands of anti-British sentiment began to coalesce around a genuine nationalist movement. This culminated in the founding of the Indian Nationalist Congress in 1885. As in the case of most other nationalist movements among colonized peoples, some Indian reformers, for example Ram Mohan Roy, wanted to copy certain Western forms and values and cleanse Hinduism of its many rituals and beliefs and move it toward monotheism. Roy also argued that caste, idol worship, and discrimination against women had no real basis in Hinduism. The Brahmo Samaj was one important reform organization that grew out of this tradition. At the same time, other reformers, such as Dayanand Saraswati (1824–1883), believed that all truths were contained in the Vedas and that Hindus should return to their basic historic values as a way to combat the intrusions of the British. The Arya Samaj was one important reform religious group that grew out of this tradition.

In addition to debates over the proper response of Hinduism to the impact of the West, nationalists argued over the use of violence. Nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) argued for immediate freedom (*swaraj*) and urged the use of violence to achieve it. On the opposite end of the spectrum, reformers like Gokhale wanted to rely on law and a gradual movement toward independence. After 1915, when Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, the Indian National Congress began to reach all areas of the subcontinent and to attract workers and peasants. No longer a club of British-trained lawyers, the new nationalist movement enrolled masses of people.



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

The nation that the Gandhian wing of the Congress Party imagined was one in which the industrialists would hold wealth in stewardship and follow a strict set of ethics in dealing with labor. Gandhi imagined a nation of small villages rather than a nation of large cities. He also imagined one “Mother India” unbroken by partition between Muslims and Hindus. Sadly for his followers, modern India achieved independence in 1947 but that same year broke into two states—the post-partition India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistan.

Activities

1. Share the introduction about British colonial policies in India. Have students discuss what options Indians might follow to free themselves from British rule.
2. Assign Student Handout 4.1.1. What groups were involved? What were the methods they used? What obstacles did the independence fighters face?
3. Assign Student Handout 4.1.2. An alternate strategy would be to show the clip of the Amritsar Massacre from the movie *Gandhi*. What does that incident show about British attitudes in India? How do you suppose the Indian people reacted to this incident and the way the British government rewarded General Dyer? What might the mood in India have been at this point?
4. Gandhi soon became the leader of the Indian struggle for independence. Jawaharlal Nehru, who became independent India’s first prime minister, felt that Gandhi’s biggest gift to the nation may well have been to give the people courage. Briefly discuss why Indians might have been afraid to stand up against the British. Then discuss what helps people become brave. Draw on the students’ own experience. Have students read Student Handout 4.1.3. Review how Nehru thinks Gandhi helped the Indian people.
5. Two issues go to the core of Gandhi’s philosophy. First, the tension between ends and means, and second, the practice of non-violence. Begin with a discussion of ends and means in human action. Ask students if they ever use other people to achieve something they want, such as being nice to a teacher to get a better grade or courting a friend to help in getting elected to a student office. Then open a discussion on violence and non-violence. Are there some instances when violence is justified? How can non-violence be a source of power? Have students share examples of leaders, groups, or individuals who have used non-violent means to achieve certain goals.



Jawaharlal Nehru Stamp

6. Have students read Student Handout 4.1.4. How did Gandhi turn the values of *satyagraha* into social and political forces? What is the difference between “non-cooperation” and “civil disobedience?” Have students watch the Salt March segment from the movie *Gandhi*. How does that March typify *satyagraha*?
7. Student Handouts 4.1.5 through 4.1.7 focus on the use of cloth in the Indian independence struggle. Young people today know that how one dresses and looks conveys meaning. Wearing a cap in school, dyeing one’s hair, and putting labels on clothing are just a few examples of contested symbolic language. Students should therefore be able to relate to Gandhi’s manipulation of clothing and appearance. The photographs can be used to introduce Gandhi and the Indian fight for self-rule. Have students discuss the power of symbols and how they can influence public opinion. After studying the photographs, you might ask: “Is Gandhi’s later clothing more complex or simpler than his earlier clothing?”
8. At this point students should consult their textbook or other sources to see how and when the British left India. As a concluding activity, have students read and discuss Student Handout 4.1.8. Using this speech by Jawaharlal Nehru and the other information in this lesson, have students share how they thought the Indian people “imagined” their new nation in 1947.

Origins of the Indian Independence Movement

British colonial policy in the Indian subcontinent evolved gradually over a period of nearly two centuries. At first, the empire in India seemed to grow by accident, as the East India Company was chartered to conduct commerce and increasingly took over actual governance of large areas. Despite orders from Parliament not to expand, the company continued to gobble up large chunks of the subcontinent, causing the British government to establish more control by sending governors-general to India in the later eighteenth century.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the British Parliament passed many reform measures that were seen as improving a backward people. However, many of the Indian elite saw these reforms as a threat to their traditional culture, and in 1857, they led an armed revolt against the British.

After the British defeated the poorly organized Indian rebels, they abandoned their liberal reforms in favor of direct rule of India based on a belief in “scientific racism.” This ideology asserted the inferiority of all peoples except Anglo-Saxons, who alone are capable of democratic government, rationalism, high morality, and individual responsibility. The new racism claimed that Indians were not ready for self-government and that it would take a very long time for them to evolve to the level of independence.

British rule brought the Indian economy rapidly into the world capitalist trading system and left the largely agricultural population without the tariff protection enjoyed by other fledgling economies in Europe and the United States. The result was a constant increase in poverty, while increasingly industrialized England prospered from cheap Indian raw materials and from the captive market for its manufactured products.

The British also used gender categories to place Indians in inferior relationships. They saw Indians as feeble, cowardly, and effeminate. They saw themselves as masculine, strong, brave, and courageous. Later, Gandhi would tell his followers, “The British say we are as weak as women; we will show them that we are as strong as women.”

The Indian nationalist movement was one of the earliest in the colonized world. The movement began as an interaction between historic Indian values—especially the religious traditions of Hinduism and Islam—and Western religions and philosophies. Many of the seemingly contradictory ideas between India and the West were easily synthesized into a variety of new blends that informed the various threads and subdivisions of the larger nationalist movement.

Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) was one of the first nationalists to attempt to reconcile Hinduism with Western monotheism. He stressed the monistic writings of the Upanishads (the idea that reality is a unified whole), and he argued that caste, image worship, and other Hindu rituals were false additions to true Hinduism. He founded the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta and attracted many reformers to his cause. About the same time, Dayananda Saraswati (1824–1883) founded the Arya Samaj, which sought to return to the teachings of the Vedas and cleanse Hinduism of many of the beliefs and practices that were not found in the ancient Vedic texts.

By 1885, groups of British-trained lawyers met to form the Indian Nationalist Congress, which included Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, and Christians. Most of the Congress leaders were

high caste Hindus and many were products of the newly rising middle and professional classes ushered in by British colonial policies.

The Congress was a peace-oriented group that sought reforms rather than independence. The Congress passed resolutions asking for a reduction of military expenses, which took up 50 percent of the total budget. The Congress also attempted to work with the British government, although the viceroy (governor-general of India) paid little attention to its requests.

Gradually, the Congress split into two factions, one led by the gradualist Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), who stressed law and legislation as the proper route to greater Indian freedom, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920), who took a more militant stance, demanding *swaraj*, or “freedom now.” Tilak also advocated the use of violence in opposition to Gokhale’s peaceful approach.

As the more militant wing of the Congress Party gained in popularity, the nationalist movement became active in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. By the turn of the century, it was attracting support throughout the subcontinent.



Gopal Krishna Gokhale

The Amritsar Massacre

The Amritsar Massacre of April 13, 1919, was one of the turning points in Indian-British relations. During World War I, Indian nationalists had demanded increasing self-government in return for Indian support of the Allies. Indian troops were sent to fight in Europe and West Asia. Yet the British remained fearful of an Indian revolt and, in 1919, passed the Rowlatt Acts, which allowed the government to detain suspected revolutionaries without normal legal protections. To protest this legislation, Gandhi led a series of *hartals* (nation-wide, day-long strikes involving fasting and prayer) throughout India. Hindus and Muslims cooperated peacefully in a *hartal* in Amritsar, the capital of the Punjab and a Sikh holy city, until the British authorities removed their leaders from the city.

Resentment over the humiliating way the British treated Indians led many to support the nationalist cause. This was especially true in Amritsar, where General Reginald Dyer instituted harsh rules. For example:

[General Dyer] ordered that all Indians passing through a certain street, where the English headmistress of a school had been beaten by a mob on April 10, must crawl on all fours. This applied to Indian families who had no other means of reaching their homes. Any Indian in a vehicle had to dismount and crawl; any Indian with a parasol had to furl it and crawl; any Indian was ordered to salute or salaam an English officer in these districts. A whipping post was installed at the spot where the school mistress had been beaten, and this was used for flogging such Indians as disobeyed any of the orders.

Source: Vincent Sheehan, *Mahatma Gandhi: A Great Life in Brief*, qtd. in Clarke D. Moore and David Eldredge, *India Yesterday and Today* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 191.

The climax came when General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on a peaceful gathering in a park in Amritsar that had no escape route. The following excerpt portrays events at Amritsar and Dyer's response. Note the assumptions about what constitutes heroic action.

[On] April 13th, a mass meeting had been announced to take place in Jallianwalla Bagh, an open enclosure in the heart of the city of Amritsar. As it happened, April 13th was also the Baisakhi day, which is observed all over India as a day of national festival. Large crowds of country people had gathered in the city on that account. On the morning of the 13th, General Dyer, the commanding officer of the city, issued . . . an order prohibiting the Jallianwalla Bagh meeting, and notices to that effect were posted in several places in the city. It should be mentioned here that . . . there were in Amritsar at the time no universally read daily papers which could convey the Commanding Officer's orders (to the people) in the short interval between its issue and the time of the meeting. Under these circumstances General Dyer's . . . order could reach only a small fraction of the people in the city.

Now let us come to the scene of the meeting. People began to assemble in Jallianwalla Bagh at three o'clock. There were old men, women who carried babies in their arms, and children who held toys in their hands. They were all dressed in their holiday gala-dresses. While a few had come there to attend the meeting knowingly, the majority had just followed the crowd and drifted [to] the Bagh out of simple curiosity. Whatever may have



been its nature otherwise, it is certain that the crowd at the Jallianwalla was not composed of bloody revolutionists. Not one of them carried a walking stick. They had assembled there in the open enclosure peacefully to listen to speeches and perhaps at the end to pass a few resolutions. At four o'clock the meeting was called to order, and the speeches began. No more than forty minutes of this peaceful gathering, and the audience was listening in an attentive and orderly manner to the speaker, . . . when General Dyer walked in with his band of thirty soldiers and suddenly opened fire on the crowd without giving them any warning or chance to disperse . . . People began to run toward all sides to save their lives; those who fell down were run over by the rest and crushed under their weight. Others who attempted to escape by leaping over the low wall on the east end were shot dead by the fire from the general's squad. As the crowd centered near the only escape from the unfinished low wall, the general directed his shots there. He aimed where the crowd was the thickest, and inside of the fifteenth minutes during which his ammunition lasted he had killed at least eight hundred men, women, and children and wounded many times that number.

It was already late afternoon when General Dyer, his ammunition having run out, departed to his headquarters without providing any kind of . . . medical aid to the wounded who lay bleeding and helpless at the scene of the slaughter. Before the people of the neighborhood recovered from their [horror], it had already begun to get dark. As one of the rules of martial law strictly forbade walking in the streets of Amritsar after dark, it was impossible for anyone . . . to bring organized relief to the wounded at Jallianwalla . . .

Source: Dalip Singh Saund, *My Mother India* (Stockton, CA: Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, 1930), 151–3.

Here is part of General Dyer's testimony before Lord Hunter's committee that was investigating the Amritsar incident:

Q. When you got into the Bagh what did you do?

DYER. I opened fire.

Q. At once?

DYER. Immediately. I had thought about the matter and don't imagine it took me more than thirty seconds to make up my mind as to what my duty was.

Q. How many people were in the crowd?

DYER. I then estimated them roughly at five thousand. I heard afterwards there were many more.

Q. On the assumption that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the proclamation, did it not occur to you that it was a proper measure to ask the crowd to disperse before you took that step of actually firing?

DYER. No, at the time I did not. I merely felt that my orders had not been obeyed, that martial law was [ignored], and that it was my duty to immediately disperse by rifle fire . . .

Q. Did the crowd at once start to disperse as soon as you fired?

DYER. Immediately.

Q. Did you continue firing?



DYER. Yes.

Q. What reason had you to suppose that if you ordered the assembly to leave the Bagh, they would not have done so without the necessity of your firing and continuing firing for any length of time?

DYER. Yes, I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed them perhaps even without firing.

Q. Why did you not recourse to that?

DYER. They would have all come back and laughed at me, and I should have made what I considered a fool of myself . . . My idea from the military point of view was to make a wide impression.

Source: Saund, *My Mother India*, 155–7.

To the British, the Amritsar incident was so unimportant that it took four months for news of it to reach official London. The horrible details of the massacre were fully disclosed, and General Dyer was retired from the military service on full pension. On his return to England he received ten thousand pounds sterling, an amount which had been raised by voluntary subscription by the English people to recompense the general for his heroic work at Jallianwalla Bagh.

And Then Gandhi Came

After the Amritsar Massacre, Mohandas K. Gandhi became an increasingly important nationalist leader. Gandhi helped restore Indian self-confidence. Part of that confidence-building came as a result of Gandhi's ability to challenge the British brand of heroism. Take, for example, Gandhi's reaction to General Dyer's "heroism" at Amritsar. He wrote:

He (General Dyer) has called an unarmed crowd of men and children—mostly holiday-makers—"a rebel army." He believes himself to be the savior of Punjab in that he was able to shoot down like rabbits men who were penned in an enclosure. Such a man is unworthy of being considered a soldier. There was no bravery in his action. He ran no risk. He shot without the slightest opposition and without warning. This is not an "error of judgment." It is a paralysis of it in the face of fancied danger. It is proof of criminal incapacity and heartlessness.

Source: Saund, *My Mother India*, 158.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru offered this assessment of Gandhi's importance to India's independence struggle:

We seemed to be helpless in the grip of some all-powerful monster; our limbs were paralyzed, our minds deadened. The peasantry were servile and fear-ridden; the industrial workers were no better. The middle classes, the intelligentsia, who might have been beacon lights in the enveloping darkness, were themselves submerged in this all-pervading gloom . . .

What could we do? How could we pull India out of this quagmire of poverty and defeatism which sucked her in?

And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes, like a whirlwind that upset many things but most of all the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get off the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery.

Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or sometimes did not accept at all. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness, and truth and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we had been told in our ancient books, was *abhaya*, fearlessness, not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind . . . at the dawn of our history, [our leaders had said] that it was the function of the leaders of a people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear, pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear, fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress, and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid.

Source: Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1959), 274–5.

Satyagraha as a Means for Achieving Independence

Gandhi helped redefine the way Indians thought about courage and potency, about masculinity and femininity, and about British-Indian relations. Some of Gandhi's early experiences gave him insights into different kinds of courage and influenced the development of his idea of *satyagraha*, his philosophy to achieve independence. He grew up in the midst of non-violence and ascetic influences. His mother painstakingly observed the more rigorous demands of her faith. She made strong ascetic demands on herself—"self-suffering," as Gandhi called it when he made it part of his political method. It seems to have been a central virtue in the Gandhi home. Mrs. Gandhi fasted frequently and practiced other austerities.

"Self-suffering" was important in other ways to the family. If one member of the household was angry with another, he would punish him by imposing some penalty on himself. Thus young Gandhi, angry because his family failed to summon to dinner a friend whom he wished to invite—it may have been a Muslim friend, with whom the family could not dine without transgressing the caste ethic—ceased to eat mangoes for the season, though it was his favorite fruit. The family was duly distressed. On another occasion, Gandhi, finding it difficult in confessing a minor theft to his father, wrote him a note. "In this note not only did I confess my guilt, but I asked adequate punishment for it, and closed with a request to him not to punish himself for my offense." It was the father's self-suffering, not punishment, that he claims to have feared most.

Source: Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 187.

The three basic principles of *satyagraha* are truth, non-violence, and self-suffering. Self-suffering differs from violence in that violence consists of doing injury to another. In *satyagraha*, the injury is inflicted on one's self, not expressed in violence toward others.

Satyagraha involved both non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Civil disobedience, a term coined by Henry David Thoreau, involves purposely breaking any immoral laws in a non-violent manner. The person who breaks the law willingly suffers the punishment. Non-cooperation implies refusing to cooperate with a state that has become corrupt. Non-cooperation is a practice that is even open to children of sufficient understanding and can be safely practiced by everyone. Both non-cooperation and civil disobedience are part of *satyagraha*, which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of truth. Gandhi wrote:

What does a son do when he objects to some action of his father? He requests the father to desist from the objectionable course, i.e., presents respectful petitions. If the father does not agree in spite of repeated prayers, he non-co-operates with him to the extent even of leaving the paternal roof. This is pure justice. Where father and son are uncivilized, they quarrel, abuse each other, and often even come to blows. An obedient son is ever modest, ever peaceful, and ever loving. It is only his love which on due occasion compels him to non-co-operate.

Source: Mahatma Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha*, ed. Anand T. Hingorani, 2nd ed. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962), 135.



Gandhi's instruction to those who wanted to become involved in a *satyagraha* campaign:

1. Harbor no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent.
2. Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.
3. Refrain from insults and swearing.
4. Protect the opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.
5. Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.
6. Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.
7. If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.
8. As a member of a *satyagraha* unit, obey the orders of *satyagraha* leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.
9. Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

The steps Gandhi outlined for a *satyagraha* campaign included:

1. Make every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through negotiation and arbitration; when that fails,
2. Prepare the group for direct action through exercises in self-discipline and, for Indian *satyagrahis*, purification fasting;
3. Institute an active propaganda campaign together with demonstrations, mass-meetings, parades, and slogan-shouting;
4. Issue an ultimatum such that offers the widest scope for agreement and face-saving and that offers a constructive solution to the problem;
5. Organize an economic boycott and forms of strike; non-cooperation such as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile;
6. Perform civil disobedience by breaking laws that are either central to the grievance or symbolic; and finally,
7. Usurp the functions of the government and form a parallel government.

Source: Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), passim.

The Fabric of Independence

Cloth is both the symbol and economic source of much of India's historic prosperity. Cotton was first domesticated in the Indus Valley some 4,500 years ago. From then on, Indian textile crafts-persons and traders sent various kinds of cotton all over the world. Prior to the coming of the British, it was often said that "India clothed the world." With the British takeover of much of India after 1757, Indians no longer exported cotton cloth, but were forced to buy British textiles. As a result, India's favorable balance of trade became an unfavorable balance.

Gandhi, who understood the soul of India better than most nationalist leaders, chose cloth as a major symbol of India's protest against British rule. He also reasoned that since India had been de-industrialized and its textile industry wiped out, it would be better for his nation to start over with village industry. Hence, for Gandhi, spinning each morning became a sacred ritual, and he insisted that Congress Party members follow his example.

Gandhi's understanding of the relationship between India's destroyed textile handicraft industry and British colonialism lay at the core of his economic philosophy. The millions of unemployed and underemployed carders, spinners, weavers, and tailors who were driven from the great cities back to their ancestral villages would best be helped, according to Gandhi, by providing employment for them in the rural villages where they now lived.

Furthermore, Gandhi saw in the Industrial Revolution a new form of enslavement for workers. His austere life-style stood against the growing desire for more consumer goods, and he saw no reason to produce more goods than humans actually needed. He understood that "human needs are limited, but not human desires." For these reasons, Gandhi strongly opposed an industrial revolution for India.

Like most leaders of the nationalist movement, Gandhi thought the re-industrialization of India to be of paramount importance but, unlike most of them, he was opposed to mechanized industry, which he viewed as a sin perpetrated on the world by the West. Machines, he reasoned, were labor-saving devices that put thousands of laborers out of work, unthinkable in India where the masses were underemployed. Factory production facilitated the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few big capitalists and transformed workers practically into slaves.

Spinning offered solutions to all these problems. The English had destroyed the greatest cotton producer in the world in order to protect their own industries from competition, to create a source of raw materials not available in the British Isles, and to make a ready market for their finished products. Gandhi sought to restore India's lost supremacy. His reasoning was simple: If Indians returned to the production of their own cloth, there would be work for millions of unemployed, Indian wealth would not be taken to England and Japan, and Indians would be their own masters.

Through spinning, all Indian—rich and poor, educated and illiterate—would be laborers, equal and united through their labor.

To the original objective of providing work and clothing for India's poor, Gandhi added the goal of using *kdahi* (hand-woven cloth) as a means of economic self-sufficiency (*swadeshi*) which, in turn, must inevitably produce self-government (*swaraj*). This progression, *khadi* = *swadeshi* = *swaraj*, was Gandhi's constant message for the rest of his life. He had found a symbol which was at the same time a practical weapon for the liberation of India.

In 1920, as part of the non-cooperation movement, the leaders of the Indian National Congress endorsed hand-spinning and weaving to supply cloth in place of boycotted foreign cloth and to engage average Indians in the nationalist cause. In this they followed Gandhi, but they were by no means in full agreement with him.

Sources: S. S. Bean, "Gandhi and Khadi, the Fabric of Indian Independence," in *Cloth of Human Experience*, ed. A. B. Weaver and J. Schneider (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 355–76.

Geoffrey Ashe, *Gandhi* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), 249.



Hand-woven Indian cloth

Burn the Foreign Cap

Swadeshi (self-sufficiency) involved boycotting and even destroying English-made goods, particularly English textiles. This passage by R. K. Narayan, from his novel *Swami and Friends*, shows how a young Indian boy might have reacted to some of the strategies against the British.



Jawaharlal Nehru wearing a Gandhi cap

On the 15th of August 1930, about two thousand citizens of Malgudi assembled on the right bank of Sarayu to protest against the arrest of Gauri Sankar, a prominent political worker of Bombay. An earnest-looking man clad in khaddar stood on a wooden platform and addressed the gathering. In a high, piercing voice, he sketched the life and achievements of Gauri Sankar; and after that passed on to generalities: “We are slaves today,” he shrieked, “worse slaves than we have ever been before. Let us remember our heritage. Have we forgotten the glorious periods of Ramayana and Mahabharata? This is the country that has given the world a Kalidasa, a Buddha, a Sankara. Our ships sailed the high seas and we had reached the height of civilization when the Englishman ate raw flesh and wandered in the jungles, nude. But now what are we?” He paused and said on the inspiration of the moment, without troubling to verify the meaning: “We are slaves of slaves.”

To Swaminathan, as to Mani, this part of the speech was incomprehensible. But five minutes later the speaker said something that seemed practicable: “Just think for a while. We are three hundred and thirty-six millions, and our land is as big as Europe minus Russia. England is no bigger than our Madras Presidency and is inhabited by a handful of white rogues and is thousands of miles away. Yet we bow in homage before the Englishman! Why are we become, through no fault of our own, docile and timid? . . .”



For the rest of the evening Swaminathan was caught in the lecturer's eloquence; so was Mani. With the lecturer they wept over the plight of the Indian peasant; resolved to boycott English goods, especially Lancaster and Manchester cloth, as the owners of those mills had cut off the thumbs of the weavers of Dacca muslin, for which India was famous at one time. What muslin it was, a whole piece of forty yards could be folded and kept in a snuff box! The persons who cut off the thumbs of such weavers deserved the worst punishment possible. And Swaminathan was going to mete it out by wearing only khaddar, the rough homespun . . .

The evening's programme closed with a bonfire of foreign cloth. It was already dark. Suddenly the darkness was lit up by a red glare. A fire was lighted. A couple of boys wearing Gandhi caps went round begging people to burn their foreign cloth. Coats and caps and upper cloth came whizzing through the air and fell with a thud into the fire, which purred and crackled and rose high, thickening the air with smoke and a burnt smell. People moved about like dim shadows in the red glare. Swaminathan was watching the scene with little shivers of joy going down his spine. Somebody asked him: "Young man, do you want our country to remain in eternal slavery?"

"No, no," Swaminathan replied.

"But you are wearing a foreign cap."

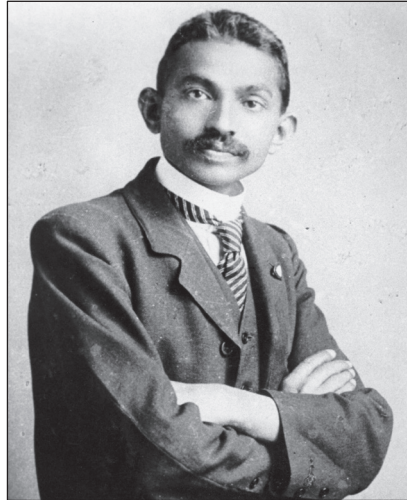
Swaminathan quailed with shame. "Oh, I didn't notice," he said and removing his cap flung it into the fire with a feeling that he was saving the country.

Source: R. K. Narayan, *Swami and Friends*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 75–7.

Gandhi's Changing Clothing Styles, 1898–1942



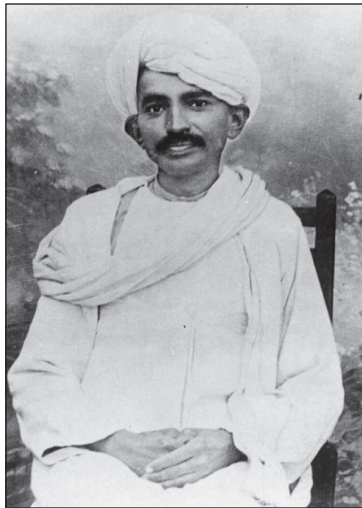
1890: As a lawyer in South Africa



1906: In South Africa



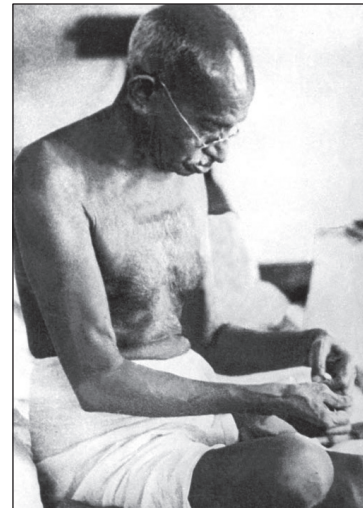
1913: Preparing for a protest in South Africa



1915: Gandhi and Kasturba arriving from South Africa



1940: In traditional Indian loin cloth and shawl



1942: In a loincloth

“Tryst with Destiny”

Jawaharlal Nehru made this speech to the Indian Constituent Assembly on the eve of India’s independence, August 14, 1947.

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her success and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labor and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfill the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labor and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell . . .

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia, and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed! . . .



We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges, and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to cooperate with them in furthering peace, freedom, and democracy.

And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal, and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service.

Source: Jawaharlal Nehru, *Independence and After: A Collection of Speeches, 1946–1949* (New York: John Day, 1971), 3–5.

LESSON 2

Vietnam Seeks Independence

Introduction

Background on French Colonialism

French ships and several hundred volunteers, encouraged by Jesuit missionaries, helped Nguyen Anh unite the country and proclaim himself emperor Gia-Long of a unified Vietnam in 1802. Gia-Long (1802–1820) and Minh-Mang (1820–1841) modeled their rule on the Qing dynasty in China, and Vietnam was enrolled as a Chinese tributary state. Minh-Mang sponsored a Confucian revival, which included using the examination system. He refused French overtures for trade and diplomatic contact, however, as well as more contact with Christian missionaries.

The return to traditional orthodoxy did not improve the conditions of the peasants living in the countryside. The population was growing faster than the production of food. The desperate condition of the majority of the people along with corruption in the government led to increasing unrest.

The Vietnamese emperor Tu-Duc (1847–1883), a sincere Confucian, feared that foreign religious influences were fueling the unrest, so he ordered villages destroyed and thousands of Vietnamese Christians killed. These events provided the French with an excuse to intervene. Instead of seeking trading rights, as other colonial powers had done, the French used the need to protect the missionaries as a means of gaining a foothold in Vietnam. By 1862, French soldiers had forced the Vietnamese to give up three eastern provinces of Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) and open up trade.

Exploration up the Mekong River fueled French desire for a possible Indochinese Empire with its accompanying glory and profitable trade, especially with China. By 1882, the French had established a protectorate over Annam. After the Sino-French war of 1883–1884, France ruled Cochinchina directly as a colony. It indirectly ruled Cambodia, Annam (central Vietnam), and Tongkin as protectorates.

Believing that French culture and the spiritual claims of Catholic Christianity were innately superior to Vietnamese civilization, the French instituted an “assimilation” policy, training the Vietnamese to adapt French cultural ways and allowing some to become low-level bureaucrats, thus maintaining the façade of traditional government with its emperor and scholar elites.

However, French rule and its policy of assimilation greatly weakened traditional Vietnamese institutions of law, family, and village community and, in effect, it destroyed the Confucian ethic on which Vietnamese society had long been based. In its place, landlordism, share-cropping, usury, and inefficient rice-farming emerged. More destructive than the economic exploitation was the resulting depth of humiliation, the loss of self-confidence, and the confused sense of identity that resulted from French control. The emperors had no real power and the French police controlled travel, mail, and publication. They repressed free assembly, labor organization,

and political movements in an effort to smother any indigenous political power. The centralized French government controlled all communications, the police, finance, and military power of the state.

The French promoted French education and offered French citizenship as a goal. In fact, three-fourths of the population were illiterate and only a few thousand had any education beyond primary school. Landlordism and its accompanying share-cropping left the majority of peasants with a very low standard of living. Better public health helped the population increase, but there was not enough rice to feed the people. In the countryside, peasants struggled under heavy taxes and high rents. Workers in factories, in coal mines, and on rubber plantations labored in abysmal conditions for low wages. Under French rule, both the social order and the standard of living suffered dramatically.

The Vietnamese nationalist movement had several strands of ideology. In the beginning, the intellectual elite chose to follow the Confucian path of piety, moral purity, and tradition. Gradually, under the influence of modernization and the nationalist experience in China, other leaders emerged who championed more democratic participation. However, by the 1930s, Ho Chi Minh was emerging as the dominant figure in the nationalist movement. Ho embraced Marxist socialism and, like Mao Zedong in China, labored to adapt this foreign ideology to the peasant-based economy of Vietnam. In these various imaginings of the Vietnamese people, it was Ho's vision that ultimately prevailed.



Statue of Ho Chi Minh

Source: Edwin O. Reishauer and John Fairbank, *East Asia: the Great Tradition* (Tokyo: Charles Tuttle, 1970), 451- 5.

Preparation

Review with students the early struggle that the Vietnamese had with the Chinese to establish their own independent country. Stress the fact that the Vietnamese had finally achieved nationhood and independence in the early nineteenth century just as the high tide of European colonialism was cresting. Discuss the contradictions posed by the rising Vietnamese sense of nationalism and the French desire for colonies in Asia.

Assign relevant sections of student texts that deal with French colonialism in Southeast Asia.

Activities

1. Assign all students to read the introduction to this lesson and Student Handout 4.2.1. The two readings could also be divided into two sections for a two-day discussion.
2. Hold a class discussion of the readings with the following questions in mind:
 - How did the average peasant's life change after Vietnam's independence from China?
 - What role did Confucianism play in the life of newly independent Vietnam?
 - What was the French view of the Vietnamese people and how did the French see the relationship of French culture to Vietnamese culture?
 - How did this French attitude shape French colonial policy?
 - What role did Phan Boi Chau play in the early Vietnamese nationalist movement?
 - How did the Chinese revolution under Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) influence the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement?
 - What impact did World War I have on Vietnam under the French?
 - What were the goals of the Reformation Society?
 - How many of these goals were they able to achieve?
3. Assign Student Handout 4.2.2 and use the following questions as a discussion guide:
 - How might Ho Chi Minh's early life experiences have shaped his political philosophy and attracted him to Marxism?
 - Like many nationalist leaders, Ho worked with overseas Vietnamese in China. How did this experience shape his approach?
 - What coalitions with various Chinese parties and with the Soviet Union helped Ho gain power for his cause?
4. Assign Student Handout 4.2.3 and use the following questions as a discussion guide:
 - How did World War II help the Vietnamese achieve independence?
 - What are the similarities between the first Vietnamese Declaration of Independence and the American Declaration of Independence?
 - What image of Vietnam emerges from this proclamation?
5. Assign Student Handout 4.2.4 and use the following questions as a basis for a class discussion:
 - How and why were the French able to retake parts of Vietnam after the Declaration of Independence?
 - How did the Viet Minh under Ho Chi Minh defeat the French at Dien Bien Phu?
 - What were the results of the Geneva Accords of 1954?

Background on Vietnamese Nationalism

By the end of 1884, there were 16,500 French troops in Vietnam. Although protests against French control by both scholars and peasants were unsuccessful in throwing the French out, the heroes and patriots of these early struggles laid important groundwork for future Vietnamese independence movements.

By the turn of the century, a whole generation of Vietnamese had grown up under French control. The people continued, as in precolonial times, to look to the scholar-gentry class for



Bronze sculpture of Phan Boi Chau

leadership in opposing French rule. A few scholar officials collaborated with the French, but most did not. Phan Boi Chau, who passed the regional examination with highest honors, was the most important leader of the anti-colonial forces.

In 1904, Phan Boi Chau and about twenty others formed the Reformation Society (Duy Tan Hoi), the first of a number of revolutionary organizations he helped found. The following year, he went to Japan to meet with Japanese and Chinese revolutionaries and to gain financial support for the Vietnamese cause. The movement was split between those, like Chau, who favored retaining the monarchy as a popular symbol and a means of attracting financial support, and others, such as Phan Chu Trinh, who wanted to abolish the monarchy in order to create a new base for national sovereignty.

In 1907, Phan Boi Chau helped organize the Vietnam Public Offering Society (Viet Nam Cong Hien Hoi) to unite the one hundred or so Vietnamese who were studying in Japan. The organization provided a way for the students to think and work together as Vietnamese people, rather than as Cochinchinese, Annamese, or Tonkinese, as the French called them. The following year, however, the Japanese, under pressure from the French, expelled the students, forcing most of them to return home. In March 1909, the Japanese also deported Chau, but his writing continued to influence nationalist activities in Vietnam.

In 1907, the Free School of the Eastern Capital (Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc) in Hanoi was founded to educate nationalist political activists. Phan Boi Chau's writings were studied and Phan Chu Trinh gave lectures at the school.

Suspecting that Phan Boi Chau was associated with the school, the French closed it in less than a year. The French also blamed Phan Boi Chau for instigating anti-tax demonstrations in 1908. As a symbol of the movement, the demonstrators forcibly cut off men's traditional long hair. An abortive Hanoi uprising and poison plot in June 1908 was also blamed on Phan Boi



Chau. In response to the uprising, the French executed thirteen of the participants and began a harsh crackdown on Vietnamese political activists, sending hundreds of scholar patriots, including Phan Chu Trinh, to prison.

Stimulated by the Chinese Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen in 1911, Phan Boi Chau and the other Vietnamese nationalists in exile in Guangzhou formed a new organization in 1912. The main goals of the newly organized Vietnam Restoration Society (Viet Nam Quang Phuc Hoi) included expulsion of the French, recovery of Vietnamese independence, and establishment of a Vietnamese democratic republic. In order to gain support and financial backing for the new organization, Phan Boi Chau organized a number of terrorist bombings and assassinations in 1913, to which the French responded harshly. By 1914, the counterrevolutionary government of Yuan Shi-kai was in charge in China and, by French request, Phan Boi Chau and other Vietnamese exiles in that country were imprisoned.

World War I began shortly thereafter, and the French sent some fifty thousand Vietnamese troops and fifty thousand Vietnamese workers to Europe. The Vietnamese also endured additional heavy taxes to help pay for France's war efforts. Numerous anti-colonial revolts broke out in Vietnam during the war, which the French easily suppressed. In May 1916, Duy Tan, the sixteen-year-old king, escaped from his palace in order to take part in an uprising of Vietnamese troops. The French were informed of the plan, and they arrested and executed the leaders. Duy Tan was deposed and exiled.

One of the most effective uprisings during this period took place in the northern Vietnamese province of Thai Nguyen. Some three hundred Vietnamese soldiers revolted and released two hundred political prisoners, then armed them, along with several hundred local people. The rebels held the town of Thai Nguyen for several days, hoping for help from Chinese nationalists. None arrived, however, and the French retook the town and hunted down most of the rebels.

In 1917, Phan Boi Chau was released from prison. He spent the next eight years in exile in China, studying and writing but exerting little direct influence on the Vietnamese nationalist movement. In 1925, the French in Shanghai kidnapped him and returned him to Hanoi, where he was tried and sentenced to hard labor for life. The sentence was later changed to house arrest until his death in 1940.

Vietnamese historians view Phan Boi Chau as a genuine nationalist hero and his contributions to eventual independence as highly significant. He advocated force to expel the French, although he was not able to actually apply this philosophy. His greatest weakness, according to many historians, was his failure to involve the Vietnamese peasantry, who composed 80 percent of the population, in the drive for independence. Rather than recruiting support at the village level, he and his followers concentrated on recruiting the elite, in the belief that the peasant masses would automatically rally around the scholar-gentry. Future Vietnamese independence leaders took inspiration from the efforts of the early nationalists and learned from their mistakes, especially the failure to win support at the local level.

In the years immediately following World War I, the scholar-led Vietnamese independence movement in Cochinchina went into temporary decline as a result, in part, of tighter French control and increased activity by the French-educated Vietnamese elite. The decrease of both



French investments in, and imports to, Vietnam during the war had opened opportunities to entrepreneurial Vietnamese, who began to be active in light industries such as rice milling, printing, and textile weaving. The sale of large tracts of land in the Mekong Delta by the colonial government to speculators at cheap prices resulted in the expansion of the Vietnamese landed aristocracy. These factors, in combination, led to the rise of a wealthy Vietnamese elite in Cochinchina that was pro-French but also frustrated by its own lack of political power and status.

Prominent among this group was Bui Quang Chieu, a French-trained agricultural engineer, who helped organize the Constitutionalist Party in 1917. Founded with the hope that it would be able to exert pressure on the Colonial Council of Cochinchina, the French-dominated governing body of the colony, the party drew its support from Vietnamese who were large landowners, wealthy merchants, industrialists, and senior civil servants. The demands of the party included increased Vietnamese representation on the Colonial Council, higher salaries for Vietnamese officials, replacement of the scholar-official administrative system with a modern bureaucracy, and reform of the naturalization law to make it easier for Vietnamese to become French citizens.

When the party failed to gain acceptance of any of these demands, it turned to its most pressing economic grievance, the ethnic Chinese domination of the Cochinchinese economy. While French investors exercised almost exclusive control over industry and shared control of agriculture with the Vietnamese, the French sought the ethnic Chinese to act as middlemen. These Chinese came to dominate rice trade and retail business in both urban and rural areas. By the mid-1920s, the Vietnamese entrepreneurial elite and the Constitutionalist Party had grown increasingly critical of the French. However, more progressive groups had displaced them in the Vietnamese nationalist movement.

In 1926, Ho Chi Minh organized the Communist Youth League (Thanh Nien Cong San Doan) within the larger Thanh Nien movement. On December 25, the Vietnam National Party (Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang) was secretly formed in Hanoi as a revolutionary party. The new group's objectives included armed uprising aimed at ending French rule and then establishing a Vietnamese democracy.

In February 1930, Nguyen Thai Hoc led the Yen Bai uprising against the French colonists. This event marked a turning point in Indochina as it became clear that a large proportion of Vietnamese wanted an end to French rule. The French guillotined Nguyen Thai Hoc and twelve of his fellow party members.

Source: Adapted from <http://countrystudies.us/vietnam/17.htm>.

Life of Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh was the son of a poor country scholar, Nguyen Sinh Huy. He had a wretched childhood, but between the ages of fourteen and eighteen he was able to study at a grammar school in Hue. He is next known to have been a schoolmaster in Phan Thiet and then apprenticed at a technical institute in Saigon.

In 1911, under the name of Ba, he found work as a cook on a French steamer. He was a seaman for more than three years, visiting various African ports and the American cities of Boston and New York. In 1915, he worked as a pastry cook at the Parker House Hotel in Boston. After living in London from 1915 to 1917, he moved to France, where he worked, in turn, as a gardener, sweeper, waiter, photo retoucher, and oven stoker.

During the six years that he spent in France (1917–1923), Ho became an active socialist, taking the name Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot). He organized a group of Vietnamese living there and in 1919 addressed an eight-point petition to the representatives of the great powers at the Versailles Peace Conference that concluded World War I.

Ho questioned whether President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points only applied to Europe. In the petition, Ho demanded that France grant its subjects in Indochina equal rights. This act brought no response from the peacemakers, but it made him a hero to many politically conscious Vietnamese. The following year, inspired by the success of the communist revolution in Russia and Vladimir Lenin's anti-imperialist doctrine, Ho joined the French Communists when they withdrew from the Socialist Party in December 1920.

In 1923, after his years of militant activity in France, Ho went to Moscow. There, he took an active part in the fifth Congress of the Communist International, and he criticized the French Communist Party for not opposing colonialism more vigorously. His statement contains the first formulation of his belief in the importance of the revolutionary role of oppressed peasants, as opposed to industrial workers. There were few industrial workers in Vietnam. The potential power lay in organizing the peasants.

In December 1924, Ho went to Canton, a Communist stronghold, where he recruited the first cadres of the Vietnamese nationalist movement, organizing them into the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth Association, which became famous under the name Thanh Nien. Almost all of its members had been exiled from Indochina because of their political beliefs and had gathered in Canton in order to participate in the struggle against French rule. Thus, Canton became the first home of Indochinese nationalism.

When Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), then commander of the Chinese army, expelled the Chinese communists from Canton in April 1927, Ho again sought refuge in the Soviet Union. In 1928, he went to Brussels and Paris and then to Thailand, where he spent two years as a



Ho Chi Minh



representative of the Communist International, the world organization of Communist parties, in Southeast Asia. His followers, however, remained in China.

In February 1930, Ho presided over the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI). The creation of the PCI coincided with a violent insurrection in Vietnam that the French suppressed brutally. Ho was condemned to death *in absentia* as a revolutionary. He sought refuge in Hong Kong and later escaped to Moscow.

In 1938, Ho returned to China and stayed for a few months with Mao Zedong. When Germany defeated France in 1940, Ho and his two lieutenants, Vo Nguyen Giap and Pham Van Dong, plotted to use this turn of events to advance their own cause. About this time he began to use the name Ho Chi Minh (“He Who Enlightens”).

Crossing over the border into Vietnam in January 1941, this trio and five other comrades organized the League for the Independence of Vietnam, or Viet Minh, giving renewed emphasis to a specifically Vietnamese nationalism. The new organization was forced to seek help from Chiang Kai-shek’s government. But Chiang distrusted Ho as a communist and had him arrested in China. During his eighteen months in prison, he wrote his famed *Notebook from Prison*, a collection of short poems written in classical Chinese, a mixture of melancholy, stoicism, and a call for revolution. His friends obtained his release by an arrangement with a Chinese warlord, agreeing in return to support Chiang’s interests in Indochina against the French.

Ho Chi Minh had to build a multi-class coalition because the urban working class was so small in Vietnam. So he envisioned two steps: first a “bourgeois-democratic” struggle of all revolutionary classes to achieve independence, and then the “proletarian revolution” that would lead to a socialist state.

Source: Adapted from “Ho Chi Minh,” <http://members.fortunecity.com/stalinmao/Vietnam/Minh/Minh.html>.

The Vietnamese Declaration of Independence

In 1941–1942, Japanese forces seized and occupied much of Southeast Asia. In Vietnam and several other countries, people traded European colonial rulers for Japanese masters. In 1945, two events occurred that helped empower the Vietnamese revolutionaries. First, the Japanese completely overran Indochina and imprisoned or executed all French officials. Six months later, the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and the Japanese surrendered, ending World War II. Ho Chi Minh's two strongest adversaries, the French and the Japanese, were eliminated. Ho seized his opportunity. Within a few months, he contacted United States forces and began to collaborate with the Office of Strategic Services (the predecessor to the CIA) against the Japanese. In the spring of 1945, Vietnamese commandos, under Ho's direction, advanced on Hanoi, the Vietnamese capital. They entered the city on September 7, 1945. Before an enormous crowd, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence.

“All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: “All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights.” Those are undeniable truths.

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

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

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots, they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood . . .

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty.

They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them.

Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased . . .



Notwithstanding all this, our fellow citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Vietminh League helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property . . .

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam . . .

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Vietnam and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland . . .

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Source: Ho Chi Minh, "Vietnamese Declaration of Independence," Internet Modern History Sourcebook, © Paul Halsall, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1945vietnam.html>.

The First Indochina War and Dien Bien Phu

Once Japanese forces withdrew from Vietnam, France refused to accept an independent Vietnam and regained control of the southern part of the country within three months. Ho Chi Minh had to choose between continuing to fight and negotiating. He chose negotiations but not without preparing for eventual war. Ho's strategy was to get the French to make the Chinese in the north withdraw and then work for a treaty with France that recognized Vietnam's independence and reunification. Negotiations began in late October 1945, but the French refused to speak of independence.

In an attempt to gain wider support for his demands, Ho allowed parties other than the Viet Minh to be included in the new government. He signed an agreement with the French that recognized Vietnam as a "free state with its own government, army, and finances," but that would be integrated into a French Union in which the French government continued to play the key role.



Geneva Conference

Extremists on both sides found the agreement unsatisfactory, and Ho went to France for a series of conferences in 1946. There, he concluded a second agreement. But the peace was broken in November by an incident at the harbor city of Haiphong. A French cruiser opened fire on the town after a clash between French and Vietnamese soldiers. Almost six thousand Vietnamese were killed, and hope for an amicable settlement ended. Sick and disillusioned, Ho did not oppose demands for retaliation by his more militant followers, and the First Indochina War consequently broke out in December.

The Viet Minh army, commanded by General Giap, fought the French with guerrilla tactics and terrorism, and by the end of 1953 most of the countryside was under Viet Minh control. The larger cities were virtually under siege. Victory came when Viet Minh forces surrounded and

defeated French units at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954. France then had no choice but to negotiate. From May to July 1954, representatives of eight countries—with Vietnam represented by two delegations, one from the north composed of supporters of Ho Chi Minh, the other from the south headed by supporters of the restored Vietnamese monarch Bao Dai—met in Geneva to find a solution. The conclusion, called the Geneva Accords, divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel until elections, scheduled for 1956, were to be held to establish a unified government.

The surprising moderation the Viet Minh exhibited in accepting a partition of the country and in accepting control of less territory than they had conquered during the war follows the pattern established by Ho when he signed the 1946 agreements with France. But this flexibility, which was also a response to Russian and Chinese pressure, did not achieve the goals the Viet Minh sought. Hanoi lost out because the United States and South Vietnam indefinitely postponed the elections that were to guarantee the country's reunification.

North Vietnam, where Ho and his associates were established, was a poor country, cut off from the vast agricultural areas of the south. Its leaders were forced to ask for assistance from



Ngo Dinh Diem

China and the Soviet Union, their Communist allies. Ho Chi Minh proceeded to install a centralized, authoritarian regime founded on Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In the south, the United States replaced France as the patron of a government led by Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem. This regime took a staunchly anti-communist position but also favored the interests of the elite landowning class and became repressive and rigidly totalitarian. The scene was being set for the Second Indochina War, that is, the Vietnam War which, by the late 1960s, brought more than five hundred thousand U.S. soldiers to that country.

LESSON 3

Korean Independence

Preparation

Review earlier Korean history, especially relations with China and the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism in Korean history. Assign relevant sections of the class textbook or other materials that deal with Korea under Japanese occupation.

Introduction

With the rise of European, American, and Japanese imperialism in the nineteenth century, the world's major powers sought trading concessions in China and then Korea. That kingdom's independence in the late nineteenth century grew increasingly precarious as Japan, Russia, and the United States competed for commercial and political influence there. Within the Korean government, pro-American, pro-Russian, and pro-Japanese ministers added to the confusion.

In the 1840s, the British humiliated the once-mighty imperial China in the so-called Opium War. Subsequently, eastern China was gradually carved into spheres of influence of various European powers, plus Japan and the United States. China remained a sovereign state, but that sovereignty was deeply compromised.

In the face of these developments, in Asia, a group of young samurai in Japan overthrew the helpless Shogunate government in 1867 and reestablished the power of the emperor. This was the Meiji Restoration. In the name of the emperor, the new leaders opened Japan to everything Western. They said, "We don't like the Westerners, nor do we like their values, but we like their guns, their ships; we'll learn everything we can from the West about their science and technology."

In the meantime, Korea lagged in science and technology farther behind both the West and Japan. In 1894, Japan, which had been furiously modernizing itself for thirty years since the Meiji Restoration, challenged China for control of Korea. China had always believed that Korea was its concern, its interest, not Japan's. But Japan's new leaders believed that their future lay in control of East and Southeast Asia and its products and markets. Japan won a brief war against China in 1894–1895 (Sino-Japanese War). This greatly enhanced Japan's influence over Korea.

Russia, which had always been interested in Korea because of its warm-water ports, felt threatened by Japan's encroachments on the continent and complained. So Japan challenged Russia militarily, again over Korea. Japan won the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. In 1910, Japan dissolved the Korean army and in August 1910 forced Emperor Sunjong to renounce both his throne and his country. The result was the beginning of Japan's colonial rule over Korea, formalized in a Treaty of Annexation.

Activities

1. Share the information in the introduction with the students in order to situate the Japanese control over Korea in the wider world context, particularly the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars. You may also want to share information about Korea or have students review highlights about Korea that they have already studied. Emphasize that the Japanese were the only Asian colonial power.
2. Assign Student Handout 4.3.1 for homework or in class. Ask students to be ready to discuss what the reactions of Koreans to these policies might have been. For example, how would peasants, students, industrial laborers, or government employees have felt?
3. Have students share their conclusions. Discuss what possible actions the Koreans might have taken. What options were open to them? Would violence have been effective? If not, what kind of non-violent protests might have been effective? What group might have taken the lead in agitating for independence?
4. Explain that students were the ones who took the lead in protesting Japanese control. Ask the class to discuss what those students might have done. Then assign or read in class Student Handout 4.3.2. Why did the protest spread so quickly throughout Korea? What was the immediate result of the movement? If you were a Korean at this time how might you have reacted to this “cultural national” initiative?
5. For homework or as group work in class, have students imagine that the United States had been occupied by another country and that country wanted to suppress all of American culture and eliminate the teaching or use of English. What might the occupying power ban? What would they try to change about life in the United States?
6. Explain that the Japanese policy of banning all evidence of Korean culture was initiated in Korea after 1931. Assign Student Handout 4.3.3. What kind of Korean nation would have resulted from these policies? How might that nation have been different from the one most Koreans imagined?
7. Assign Student Handout 4.3.4 and discuss the issue of the Japanese use of Koreans as “comfort women.” If this topic is too sensitive for your grade level, simply skip this lesson. The excerpt is sufficiently emotionally charged that prompting a discussion should be very easy. Compare the call for apologies and reparations to situations such as the internment of Japanese-Americans or slavery and racial prejudice in the United States.
8. Assign Student Handout 4.3.5. Hold a class discussion on the traumas that Koreans felt upon having their nation partitioned at independence. Discuss the Korean expression that their small nation has been “a shrimp among sharks.” Discuss how Korea’s history has been greatly affected by larger powers’ intervention in their internal affairs. Stress the legacy of Japanese colonialism and how that experience has shaped Korean hostility to Japan, as well as the Korean struggle to have Japanese textbooks acknowledge the cruelty of the Japanese occupation of the country.

Japan's Initial Colonial Policies

Korea had declared that it was neutral during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). But in an effort to secure the safety of the royal family, the Koreans agreed to let Japanese troops be stationed in Korea and said they could move freely around the country. In 1904, Korea also agreed to consult Japan about its own foreign affairs. In 1885, Britain had agreed to be ready to fight to ensure Korea's independence, but by 1905, Britain felt it needed Japan to preserve its position in East Asia, so it gave Japan a free hand in Korea.

Korea and Japan signed the Japanese-Korean treaty of protection in 1905, which amounted to Japan taking control of Korea. Although no foreign power objected, the Koreans did. Uprisings spread through the Korean Peninsula. “Righteous armies” formed throughout the countryside. In 1908 alone, there were 1,451 clashes involving 70,000 protesters.

The Japanese instituted oppressive measures to quell the protests. They reasoned, however, that trouble would continue as long as there was a separate Korea, so in 1910 the Japanese government issued the Treaty of Annexation. Koreans refer to the period from 1910 to 1919 as the “Dark Period,” because of the almost complete suppression of Korean identity and the repression of any real Korean political or cultural life. Actions the Japanese took included:

1. A Japanese military leader ruled Korea as governor-general. He was the chief executive and commander-in-chief. He could issue decrees and appoint judges and provincial governors. He was responsible only to the Japanese emperor.
2. All senior posts in the government went to Japanese officials. Koreans were given the lowest-ranked jobs. Korean officials received lower salaries than the Japanese officials.
3. The Japanese banned all Korean political organizations.
4. The police force was expanded. Policemen, the majority of whom were Japanese by 1918, could “flog or fine” people for minor offenses.
5. The Japanese imposed a private ownership of land policy that transferred most land to a new class of owners. As a result, many Korean farmers lost their land and became tenants, often on their own land.
6. The destitution facing Korean farmers before the summer harvest of barley periodically drove them to the verge of starvation. Consequently, about 19 percent of farmers emigrated to Manchuria, Siberia, or Japan.
7. Korean rice was exported to Japan. Korean rice consumption decreased, leaving many to starve.
8. Communication facilities were built to improve contact between Korea and Japan, but not communication within Korea.



9. The Japanese tightened their control over schools, which had to use Japanese-approved textbooks and curricula. Between 1910 and 1922, the number of schools in Korea fell from more than two thousand to about six hundred.
10. Korean children who did go to school were taught practical skills so they would become “economically useful.” School years were shorted for Korean students and attendance was not enforced.
11. Industry increased, and many Koreans were forced to work in factories.
12. The Japanese attempted to annihilate Korean sense of national identity.
13. The Japanese banned all Korean-language newspapers.
14. In 1910, the Japanese confiscated and burned as many as three hundred thousand books, including Korean readers, biographies of national heroes, and Korean translations of foreign books relating to independence, the birth of the nation, and revolution.

The March 1st Independence Movement

Much of the original agitation for independence came from students. Louise Yim recalls her experience as a teenager in a secondary school after she and her classmates had learned about ancient Korean history, which they had studied in spite of the Japanese colonial administration's ban on it.

One afternoon, Oh Ja Huan [a fellow student] asked, "Would it not be wonderful if we could do as these great people of history and free Korea?" . . .

I replied, "I think we can if we have the courage, if we do not feel inferior because we are girls."

On Soon-a put down her needle and looked across the room. "Perhaps we can accomplish great things just because we *are* girls. Who would suspect us?"

"We can do anything, and no one, not even our own countrymen, would think that a girl was involved."

We talked all afternoon and if anyone had listened to our conversation that day in 1915 he would have thought us mad. Yes, it was mad, romantic, insane. And yet we finally did the things we talked about.

"If the Japanese catch us, they will kill us. Or do even worse."

The entire room became silent as I spoke. I waited for someone to answer.

Oh Ja Huan said slowly, "Would you give your life, Young-Sin?"

My quick answer had all the bravado and proud rhetoric of youth. "If Korea needs my life, so will it be!"

"Then," she replied, "my life must not belong to me either."

In one enthusiastic surge, each eager to be foremost in self-consecration, we pledged our lives to Korea. In a final dramatic act, we decided to call ourselves "The Suicide Squad." At this distance, the name we chose appears slightly adolescent, but it was not. The task we were about to undertake was dangerous. The penalty for patriotism had been announced by the Japanese . . . it was death.

Source: Louise Yim, *My Forty-Year Fight for Korea* (New York: A. A. Wyn, 1951), 65–6.

Small groups such as this local "Suicide Squad" could not accomplish very much against the Japanese, and it was difficult for Koreans to organize large-scale protests. Outside countries were concentrating on their own foreign policy concerns and paid little attention to Korea's plight.

That outlook changed after President Wilson announced his Fourteen Points on January 8, 1918. They included the doctrine of self-determination. Although the Japanese did their best to prevent Koreans from hearing about what the U.S. president had said, Koreans living overseas were overjoyed at the news. Korean nationals in the United States, who had organized the Korean National Association (KNA), were the first to respond. They planned to send a petition to the Peace Conference following World War I and also to appeal directly to President Wilson to support Korea's independence. However, the U.S. government would not give passports to Korean delegates to the conference, so the KNA could only send petitions to President Wilson.



Korean students in Seoul organized to proclaim a declaration of Korean independence. The initial plans were limited to students and other educated groups. But when the Korean emperor died in January 1919, rumors spread that the Japanese had poisoned him. His funeral was set for March 3, and in the weeks leading up to his funeral, people began to congregate in public, ostensibly to mourn him. The leaders of the independence movement planned a massive demonstration for March 1. Demonstrations throughout the country were to be peaceful. Korean Christians and Buddhists insisted that the movement be non-violent. The Koreans had almost no guns in the first place.

On March 1, the students in Seoul sent a representation to carry the Declaration of Independence to the Japanese governor-general. At the same time, they read the declaration aloud in a park in central Seoul. In hundreds of cities, marchers paraded through streets shouting, “Long live an independent Korea.” Their actions ignited a nation-wide movement.

The Declaration was addressed to the Korean people, to the Japanese government, and to other foreign powers. The dramatic opening lines were:

We hereby proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We announce this to the nations of the world in order to manifest the principle of the equality of man, and we pass it onto our posterity in order to preserve forever our people’s just right to self-preservation as their inherent right . . .

Source: Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea, Tradition and Transformation: A History of the Korean People* (Elizabeth, NJ: Holly International, 1988), 262–4.

The March 1 demonstrations caught the Japanese by surprise. They had no idea that Koreans were capable of such planning and courage. Reacting in haste, the Japanese brutally suppressed the movement. In the following months, a nation-wide movement sprang up. Merchants joined the protest. All the shops and businesses in Seoul and other cities, no matter how large or how small, closed their doors. Their protest dramatically demonstrated the people’s anger. In retaliation, the Japanese beat thousands and arrested thousands more and forced the merchants to reopen their shops. The Koreans who were arrested by the Japanese and brought to trial came from all occupations and educational levels. The Japanese also carried out large-scale atrocities, such as burning entire villages. Japanese police forces killed about 7,500 unarmed Koreans and wounded nearly 16,000.

The March 1 movement failed to bring about Korea’s independence. This outburst of nationalist sentiment failed to move any of the great powers to act. But the demonstrations showed the world how unhappy the Korean people were, and the Japanese learned that their government’s attempts to make the Koreans believe that Japanese rule was legitimate were not successful. Consequently, the Japanese eased up on some of their cultural restrictions for several years and instead instituted a policy of “cultural nationalism.” Koreans were allowed to form numerous cultural, religious, academic, and other voluntary organizations. These associations focused on “enlightenment projects, such as self-improvement, education, and social welfare.” Additionally, dozens of new magazines and newspapers permitted a small degree of journalistic freedom. Finally, during this era, Koreans produced a large number of novels, dramas, paintings, and films.

“Japan and Korea as One Body”

In September 1931, the Japanese army took control of Manchuria, that is, the part of China north and northwest of Korea. The new Japanese governor-general of Korea put an end to the cultural nationalist movement. The new Japanese policy sought once again to transform Koreans into cultural Japanese by removing all evidence of a separate Korean culture. Only Japanese could serve in public offices. The Japanese outlawed the use of *hangul*, the Korean alphabet, and required that all documents be written in Japanese.

ㄱ ㄴ ㄷ ㄹ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ
ㅇ ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ

Vowels of the Korean alphabet

The Japanese promoted education but forced schools to teach in Japanese and to emphasize Japanese culture and ethics. Only Japanese history was permitted to be taught and the Japanese burned many historical documents. By 1935, Korean students were required to worship the Japanese emperor instead of observing their traditional Confucian rituals. Traditional Korean dances were outlawed, particularly because folk dance dramas often mocked authority. Perhaps most infuriating, all Koreans were required in 1940 to give up their family names and take Japanese last names. Children could not go to school and adults could not get jobs unless they changed their names. The slogan was “Japan and Korea as one body.” The goal was to turn Koreans into good Japanese in heart and mind.

Comfort Women

Among the most tragic of the many Japanese colonial practices was the forced transfer of millions of Korean workers to serve the Japanese imperial goals during World War II. These laborers worked in Japanese-occupied Manchuria and Indonesia and also in Japan. The first atomic bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed 50,000 innocent Korean slave-workers. The Japanese also forced thousands of young women into the “Comfort Corps” to serve the sexual desires of Japanese soldiers at the front. The “comfort women” were terribly abused, and the Japanese armed forces treated them as mere slaves.

The following is a brief description of comfort women’s experience.

Comfort women were the young females of various ethnic and national backgrounds and social circumstances whom the Japanese Imperial Army forced into sexual slavery before and during the Second World War. “Comfort women,” which is a translation of the Japanese euphemism *jugun ianfu* (military comfort women), refers to women who became sexual laborers for the Japanese troops before and during the Second World War. Countless women had to labor as comfort women in the military brothels found throughout the vast Asia Pacific region the Japanese forces occupied. There is no way to determine precisely how many women were forced to serve as comfort women. The estimate ranges between 80,000 and 200,000, about 80 percent of whom, it is believed, were Korean. Japanese women and women of other territories the Japanese occupied, such as Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, and the Pacific islands, were also used as comfort women.

During the day, comfort women were forced to launder the soldiers’ clothes, clean the barracks, and do some heavy labor such as carrying ammunition; at night they had to be the soldiers’ plaything. As one woman reported: “There were days when I was made to serve scores of men, beginning in the morning. When I resisted— even just a little—I was beaten by the supervisor, pulled by my hair, and dragged around half-naked. It was a subhuman life.”

The Japanese rationale for the comfort system was to enhance the morale of the military by providing amenities for sex. The authorities believed such amenities would help prevent soldiers from committing random sexual violence toward women of occupied territories, which became a real concern after the infamous Nanjing Massacre in China in 1937. The military authorities were also concerned with the health of the troops, which prompted the close supervision of the hygienic conditions in the comfort stations in order to help keep sexually transmitted diseases under control.

After the war ended, the Japanese government’s repeated denial of any governmental involvement in the recruitment of comfort women spurred the formation, in November 1990, of the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (hereafter referred to as the Korean Council). The Korean Council sent an open letter to Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki, which listed the following six demands:

1. That the Japanese government admit the forced draft of Korean women as comfort women.



2. That a public apology be made for this.
3. That all barbarities be fully disclosed.
4. That a memorial be raised for the victims.
5. That the survivors or their bereaved families be compensated.
6. That these facts be continuously related in historical education so that such misdeeds are not repeated.

The Japanese response to the six demands was that there was no evidence of the forced draft of Korean women. Therefore, no public apology, disclosure, nor memorial needed to be forthcoming. It was not until August 1993 that the Japanese government admitted deception, coercion, and official involvement in the recruitment of comfort women. These women and their families, however, have never been compensated.

Source: Yoshiko Nozaki, "The 'Comfort Women' Controversy: History, Testimony, Restitution," in *From History Conflict to Trust-Building* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 19–33.

Partitioning Korea

China, Great Britain, and the United States stated their first real commitment to a free and independent Korea at the Cairo Conference in December 1943. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, President Roosevelt suggested to Stalin, without consulting the Koreans, that Korea should be placed under joint trusteeship following the war before being granted its independence. But at the Potsdam Conference in July and August 1945, the Allies reaffirmed their adherence to the Cairo declaration. When the Soviets declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, they also announced adherence to the Potsdam declaration.

When Japan surrendered on August 14, an emergency partition of Korea was made in order to be able to accept the surrender of Japanese troops there. The American Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed that Soviet Union troops, who were already entering Korea, should demobilize Japanese forces in the north and U.S. forces should demobilize them in the south. Three days earlier, Truman had ordered his War Department to choose a dividing line for Korea. Dean Rusk and Charles H. Bonesteel, two young colonels, chose the 38th parallel, that is, line of latitude. That decision divided Korea into zones of military occupation, assigning Seoul and 70 percent of the population to the southern zone and 30 percent of the population and 55 percent of the land area of the peninsula to the north. The Soviets accepted this plan. The U.S. occupation force for the area south of the 38th parallel began arriving in Korea in early September.

The U.S. forces, however, shunned the Korean People's Republic, preferring to support conservative politicians representing the traditional land-owning elite. The United States helped in founding the conservative Korean Democratic Party (KDP) and brought Syngman Rhee to Korea to lead the new party. Rhee had received a Ph.D. from Princeton in 1910 and had lived in the United States for more than forty years. He detested the Japanese occupation of his native country, but he hated the communists even more. Just before Rhee arrived, long-time resistance fighter Kim Il Sung returned from exile to take over leadership in the Russian-occupied north. As a guerrilla leader, Kim had been fighting the Japanese in China and Korea since the early 1930s.



Kim Il Sung

The foreign minister meeting in Moscow in December 1945 decided to establish a Joint American-Soviet Commission whose primary duty was to assist the formation of a provisional Korean government. This joint commission was never able to find solutions that both the United States and the Soviet Union could accept. Barring a resort to war, reunification would be possible only after an international diplomatic or domestic political agreement had paved the way for a negotiated settlement. No such settlement was ever reached, and to this day, the 38th parallel is a fortified boundary dividing the “two Koreas.”

Source: Max Hermansen, *United States Military Logistics in the First Part of the Korean War*, Dissertation in History, University of Oslo, 2000, http://vlib.iue.it/carrie/texts/carrie_books/hermansen.

LESSON 4

Kenya and the Mau Mau

Preparation

Review with students the work they have already done on nationalism in the nineteenth century. Review the issues that fueled the various independence movements they have studied to date. Using Student Handout 4.4.1, briefly introduce or review the geography of Kenya. Briefly have students discuss how and why the presence of many language groups in Kenya might have helped or hindered efforts to achieve political independence. How might it affect the images Kenyans were developing of their nation?

Introduction

Starting around 1900, white settlers began to come into the area that the British, one of the European powers engaged in the “scramble” for land in Africa, claimed as a protectorate. Initially, the British were keen to get control over the source of the Nile. They felt that the most effective means to do this would be to build a railroad across the vast area between ports on the East African coast of the Indian Ocean, such as Mombasa, and the Kenyan highlands in the interior. As they started to construct the railroad, they assumed that few Africans lived on the land they wanted to take for the line.

Building that railroad was an expensive proposition, and the British government was reluctant to incur large debt for it. The authorities determined that bringing in white settlers to “develop” the land and traders to encourage commerce would be the way to make the area productive, even though African farmers and herders had made it productive for millennia. Toward that end, British officials began to regard the protectorate as “practically an estate belonging to His Majesty’s Government.” They encouraged white settlers to come to Kenya, promising them rich land. They also allowed Asian merchants, particularly Indians, to settle in the towns and develop commercial enterprises. To make this plan economically productive, the white settlers needed both land and labor. This lesson focuses on the British government’s strategies and how the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups reacted to these strategies. It concludes with the development and role of the Mau Mau rebellion as part of Kenya’s independence struggle.

The Kikuyu, the dominant ethno-linguistic group in the area that is now Kenya, imagined themselves as a community identical to the nation. Other groups, such as the Masai, also saw themselves as a single people. Imagining a Kenyan nation was more challenging than identifying with ethnic loyalties. Some saw their identity as Africans as a desirable dream, while others, perhaps the majority, imagined their basic identity as members of their ethno-linguistic group.

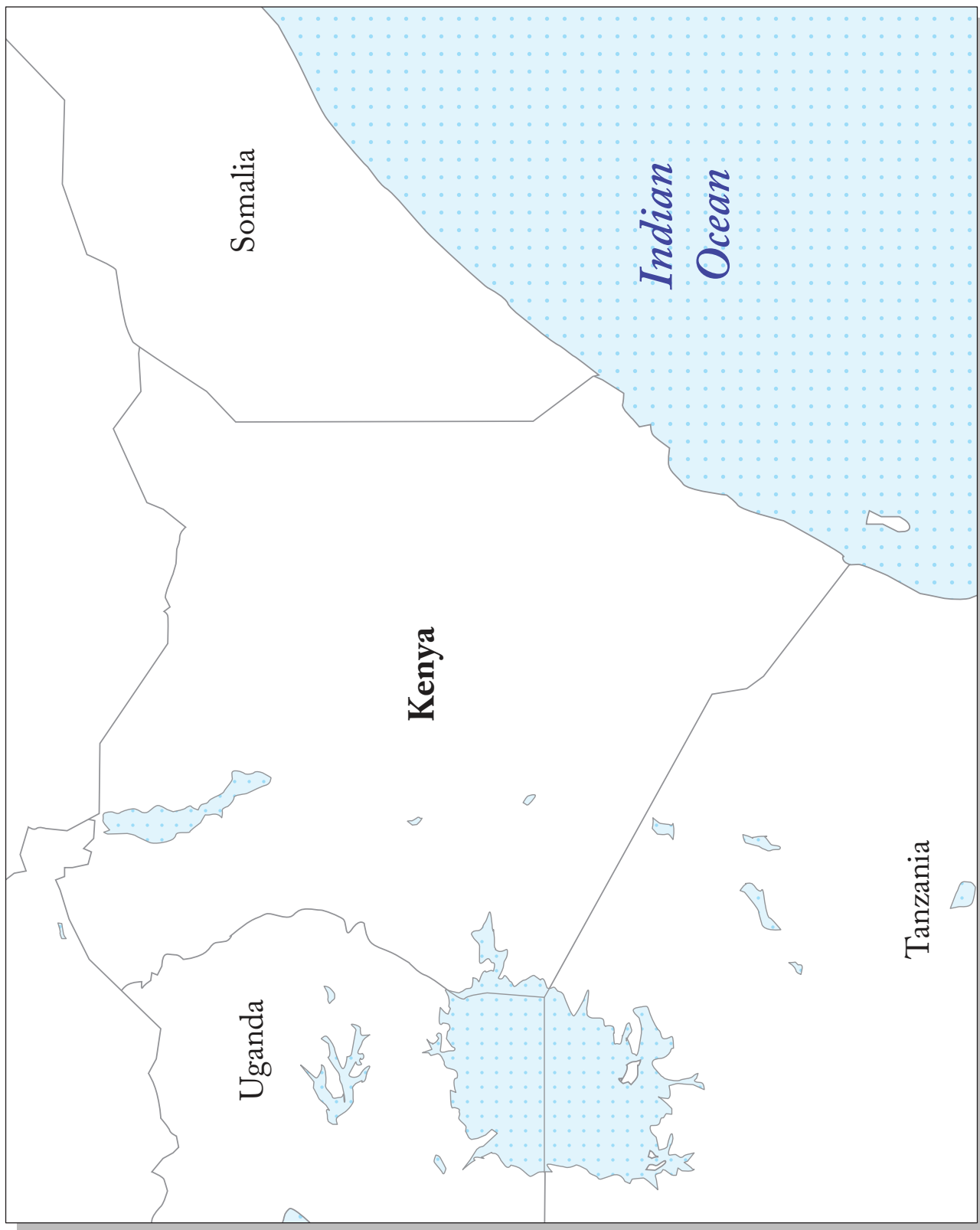
Activities

1. Assign as homework or read together in class Student Handout 4.4.2. Be sure students understand the concept of “alienation of the land” and why the white settlers wanted both land and laborers and what policies they used to acquire them.
2. Have students write and/or discuss answers to the following question: How do you think the Kikuyu people might have reacted to the British policies? Have small groups of students briefly share their answers with each other and then with the class as a whole.
3. Remind students that in Kenya, like many areas in Africa, ethnic groups often spoke different languages and might even have fought one another in the past. Have students brainstorm what might make these different groups join together to oppose colonial rule. What might prevent them from working together?
4. Distribute Student Handout 4.4.3. Briefly discuss the factors that encouraged united action. What do they suggest about the people’s vision of the future?
5. Distribute Student Handout 4.4.4. Ask students to imagine they are part of the colonial government in Kenya. How might they have reacted to these protests? What would have been the best policy for the colonialists to follow? Should the government use a show of force or try to negotiate with the protesters? Would they advocate outlawing the Kikuyu Central Association? Why or why not?
6. Distribute Student Handout 4.4.5. How should the government have responded to the Mau Mau movement and its increasing violence? What would have been the best course of action? What actions should they have tried to avoid?
7. Have students read Student Handout 4.4.6. What does it tell about the Mau Mau movement?
8. Distribute Student Handout 4.4.7. Discuss what broke the will of the members of the Mau Mau movement. Assess the role and significance of this movement. Was the violence that occurred necessary? In what ways did the movement contribute to Kenya’s independence?
9. After independence was achieved, in what different ways might groups in Kenya have imagined their nation? What role or influences might such factors as tribe and religion have played? Why might they have identified with a pan-African vision? Why might they have rejected that image and identified with their local groups?



Jomo Kenyatta Statue in front of Kenya High Court, Nairobi, Kenya

Map of Kenya



Getting Land and Laborers

To acquire the land in Kenya, the British government instituted a system called “alienation.” Alienation of the land meant the government could claim so-called “vacant” or “unoccupied” land and make grants of this land to European settlers. The government reasoned that because, as far as they could see, the land was “vacant,” it belonged to the British Crown. Under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, Africans became “tenants at the will of the Crown.” The government designated certain areas as tribal lands, but it would not issue title deeds for land to Africans. It also reserved the authority to alienate any African land and award it to settlers.

The Masai were pastoral nomads who moved around their territory seeking grazing land for their cattle. Without land, their way of life would be destroyed. The British attitude toward that possibility is summed up in the following communication from Sir George Eliot, Commissioner:

[The government] has opened this Protectorate to white immigration and colonization . . . There can be no doubt that the Masai and many other tribes must go under. It is a prospect which I view with equanimity and a clear conscience . . . [Masaidom] is a beastly, bloody system founded on raiding and immorality.

Source: Bennett, *Kenya: A Political History*, 14.

Besides the Masai, the Kikuyu were the most immediately and deeply affected by European settlement. They lived in the rich highlands to the east and south of the Aberdare Range. The British claimed much of the densely populated Kikuyu land, leaving many of the Kikuyu landless and homeless. To ensure that African farmers, mainly Kikuyu, who did have small parcels of land, would not be able to compete with the white settlers, the Europeans forbade the African farmers from cultivating certain profitable cash crops, such as *Arabica* coffee and *sisal* (a plant fiber).

The white settlers also needed laborers to work on the land. To ensure they would have Africans working for them, the settlers forced many Africans off their land, restricted what they could grow, or left them with very poor land. They also imposed a “hut tax” and “poll tax” that had to be paid in cash, not in produce they could grow on their land. In order to get money to pay the tax, Africans were forced to work for wages. That meant they had to leave their land and seek jobs in urban areas or work for cash on settlers’ land. This was a calculated policy, as this editorial in a settler newspaper in 1913 reveals:

We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave the reserve for the purpose of seeking work . . . To raise the rate of wages would not increase but would diminish the supply of labor. A rise in the rate of wages would enable the hut and poll tax of a family, sub-tribe, or tribe to be earned by fewer external workers.

Source: *East African Standard*, February 4, 1913.

The government continued to evict Kikuyu groups and alienate their land for settler benefit. In addition, it doubled the hut and poll tax from five to ten rupees, and in 1921 it reduced African wages by one-third. In 1924, it instituted the *kipande*, a labor registration system requiring all African males over sixteen to be fingerprinted and to carry a combined identification and employment card.

Why Did United Action Begin?

As white settlers took over Kikuyu land, the Kikuyu people were forced onto reservations. By 1934, in some Kikuyu districts the population density averaged 283 people per square mile. The land Africans controlled was split up into smaller and smaller portions, contributing to increased soil erosion. In addition, farmers could not afford to leave the land fallow so it could renew itself, which had been their usual policy. Instead, they had to keep the land under continuous cultivation, so it got poorer and produced less. As a result, even more peasants had no option but to leave the land and seek jobs on European estates or in the cities.

Several factors helped Kikuyu and other ethno-linguistic groups begin to work together to protest British policies. These factors included:

- Landlessness: The peasants' keen desire to get their land back from the white settlers.
- Insecurity: People who had some land feared the white settlers would alienate it and take all their land.
- Sacredness of the land: Kikuyu considered the land sacred, and the areas that had been alienated remained in their memory.
- Injustice: The white settlers were not using much of the land they claimed.
- Organizational effort: Many of the peasants who went seeking work in the towns joined with others from different districts to form trade unions and political associations. More groups of people who might otherwise have been hostile to one another began to unite.
- A common ideology began to form: A number of political, religious, educational, and trade union groups formed, and these groups developed an ideology and objectives.

Protests over Time

1921: Formation of the Young Kikuyu Association. Through mass meetings and petitions, it protested against:

- Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 that made all Africans “tenants at the will of the Crown.”
- Continuous eviction of Kikuyu sub-clans and alienation of their land for European occupation.
- Doubling of the hut and poll tax from five to ten rupees.
- The one-third reduction in African wages imposed in 1921.
- The *kipande*, the combined identification and employment cards.

1922: Harry Thuku organized the East African Association, which:

- Accused the government of stealing Kikuyu land.
- Attacked the missionaries for opposing African traditions and preaching the word of the devil.
- Expressed the hope that Europeans would leave Kikuyu land.
- Urged people not to work for Europeans.
- Encouraged all Africans to throw their *kipandes* on the lawn of the Government House in Nairobi.

1923: When the government jailed Harry Thuku, Africans staged a protest outside the jail and held a spontaneous general strike. In 1923, the East African Association called for:

- The release of Thuku.
- The missionaries to stop interfering with traditional practices such as polygamy, female circumcision, traditional songs and dances.
- Hearing of, and taking seriously, African views.

Africans started independent schools, associations, and separatist churches that tried to give their own interpretation to the Bible. For example, people in the Old Testament practiced polygamy, and the Africans pointed out that nowhere does the Bible prohibit female circumcision.

1924: The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was formed. By 1926, its members were taking oaths to ensure allegiance. It opened a Teachers Training College in Githuguri, which welcomed students from all ethnic groups. By 1939, the KCA had 7,000 members. Female circumcision was one of the main issues. The white settlers considered it “barbaric,” but it was central to the Kikuyu traditional sense of identity. They believed circumcision turned both males and



females from children to adults. “The highly emotional topic of circumcision radicalized the Kikuyu youth and provided KCA, for the first time, with mass support.”¹

1940: The Government declared that the KCA was an illegal society and imprisoned twenty of its leaders. As a result, the KCA went underground. During the war it had only a select membership.

1944: The Kenya African Union was formed. Its aims included:

- To unite the African people of Kenya.
- To prepare the way for the introduction of democracy in Kenya.
- To defend and protect the interests of the African people by organizing, educating, and leading them in the struggle for better working conditions, housing, and other services.
- To fight for equal rights for all Africans and to break down racial barriers.
- To strive for the extension to all African adults of the right to vote and be elected to the East African Central Assembly, Kenya Legislative Council, local government, and other representative bodies.
- To publish a political newspaper.
- To fight for freedom of assembly, press, and movement.

1 Keith Kyle, *The Politics of the Independence of Kenya* (New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with the Institute of Contemporary British History, 1999), 31–2.

Origins and Goals of the Mau Mau Rebellion

The Kikuyu Central Association, which had been banned, was a radical group. By the mid-1950s, this movement began to enlarge its membership. As the months passed, its members became increasingly convinced that they could never achieve their goals through peaceful, constitutional means. They also feared that the settlers, many of whom were streaming in from South Africa, would use their political power to turn Kenya into an autonomous, or “independent,” white-dominated Kenya, like Southern Rhodesia. As a result, they were prepared to use force, if necessary, to prevent these outcomes.

Because the movement had been banned, activities had to be conducted in secret and a person’s commitment had to be total. To symbolize that total commitment, members were required to take an oath. Once you knew about the movement, its members reasoned, you either had to join by taking the oath or be killed. Otherwise, you might be tempted to expose the whole movement. Oath-taking was part of Kikuyu life, and the oaths that developed reflected aspects of traditional Kikuyu society. However, taking the oath served as an initiation ceremony. By taking the oath, one was reborn into this new “tribe.”

After a few acts of violence, the government became increasingly concerned about what it feared was the growing strength of the resistance. White settlers clamored for the government to act to control violence. The government reacted in October 1952 by declaring a state of emergency, resulting in arrests, repressive measures against the Kikuyu, and white violence against any African suspected of being sympathetic with the movement.

Under the state of emergency, the government arrested Jomo Kenyatta and two hundred other prominent organizers of the African movement, which left it without leadership. The government increased the military and police presence and imposed curfews, fines, and punishments in the Kikuyu areas. It required Kikuyu peasants to pay for the extra police. In addition, it introduced “native” registration and passed laws that stated that the police could arrest any “native” without having to show a warrant. Almost one hundred thousand “squatters,” workers who had been laborers in the Rift Valley, were sent back to the already crowded African Reserve, along with unemployed workers from Nairobi, creating tense overcrowding in the Reserve. White settlers also reacted cruelly against Africans, beating them, robbing their stock, food, and clothing, and even killing them.

In the ensuing confusion and fear compounded by their lack of leadership, Kikuyu and other peasants, particularly young men and women, went into the forests of Mt. Kenya and the Aberdare Range. Disorganized and confused, these peasants feared the government’s repressive measures and sought somewhere to go for safety. Many from the Kikuyu Reserve were facing starvation, and the state of emergency made them increasingly fearful of what might happen to them. The forest seemed to offer protection.

Some of the young men were filled with anger and wanted to fight back. They began organizing themselves into fighting groups that would achieve their political and economic aims through force. Most of them probably thought they would be in the forests for only a few months while they “waited out” the repression. Gradually solidifying was a sense of mission and devotion to the movement which Europeans came to call Mau Mau.

The open revolt started in February 1953. Those in the forest had to get food and ammunition from the settled areas in order to survive and carry on their guerrilla activities. During the day, they were either hiding in the forest or doing their usual duties for settlers. During the night, they carried out Mau Mau orders: administering oaths, carrying supplies, providing safety for one another, getting or stealing food and ammunition and taking it back into the forest, eliminating pro-government forces, burning homes, and attacking settlers.

The Mau Mau ideology included religious, African national, and Kikuyu ethnic aspects. Demands included higher wages, increased educational opportunities, removal of the color bar, return of alienated lands, and African self-determination.



Some members of the Mau Mau movement

Mau Mau Oath

The Warrior Oath

I swear before God and before the people who are here that

I have today become a soldier of Gikuyu and Mumbi and I will from now onwards fight the real fight for the land and freedom of our country 'til we get it or 'til my last drop of blood. Today I have set my first step [stepping over a line of a goat's small intestine] as a warrior and I will never retreat.

And if I ever retreat

May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me!

If ever I am called to accompany a raid or bring in the head of an enemy, I shall obey and never give lame excuses . . .

I will never spy or inform on my people, and if ever sent to spy on our enemies I will always report the truth . . .

I will never reveal a raid or crime committed to any person who has not taken the Negro Oath (Oath of Violence or crime) and will steal firearms wherever possible . . . I will never leave a member in difficulty without trying to help him . . .

I will obey the orders of my leaders at all times without any argument or complaint and will never fail to give them any money or goods taken in a raid and will never hide any pillages or take them for myself . . .

I will never sell land to any white man. And if I sell:

May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me!

Source: Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, *Mau Mau from Within* (New York: Modern Reader, 1966), 131–2.

Suppression of the Mau Mau

In April 1953, the government tried Jomo Kenyatta for leading the Mau Mau. Africans considered his trial a mockery of justice. He was sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor. He was allowed to return to his home only in 1961. In June 1953, the government deployed up to 50,000 soldiers and police against the Mau Mau. It continued curfews, instituted more restrictions on the African movement, made new pass requirements, collected fines and punishments, and engaged in torture. It also introduced a communal or forced labor scheme whereby Africans had to repair damaged roads and bridges and build guard and police posts. In addition, to prevent the Mau Mau from getting food or other supplies, they burned huts and granaries, evicted peasants, and slashed crops.

Even with all these measures, after a year and a half of continued hostilities, a government assessment stated:

It is our view based upon all the evidence available to us, . . . that the influence of the Mau Mau in the Kikuyu area, except in certain localities, has not declined; it has, on the contrary, increased; in this respect the situation has deteriorated and the danger of infection outside the Kikuyu area is not greater, not less, than it was at the beginning of the State of Emergency . . . There is also a passive resistance amongst Africans, an example of which is a “bus boycott” under which Africans have for several months boycotted European-owned buses.

Source: Report of the Colonial Office Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya, January 1954, qtd. in Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 331.

In April 1954, in an increased effort to isolate forest guerrillas from their sources of food and supplies in the reserves and Nairobi, the government deployed 25,000 soldiers in Operation Anvil. They moved the entire African population of Nairobi of 100,000 into a huge field. They isolated the 70,000 Kikuyus and sent 50,000 young men to detention camps. The government also instituted “villagization,” that entailed rounding up Kikuyu peasants and forcing them into guarded, prison-like villages. They ordered these people to dig a wide trench fenced with barbed wire and land mines around the forest fringe that separated the Aberdare Range and Mt. Kenya from Kikuyu reserves.

These actions made it very difficult for Mau Mau forces to get supplies. They had to use whatever ammunition they had just to get food and protect themselves, and soon they were left with no arms and diminishing food supplies. In addition, the groups in the forest were increasingly isolated and less united and there was open conflict among various African leaders.

The government’s Operation Hammer in December 1954 further isolated groups in the forest, and by early 1955 the guerrillas were feeling increasingly hopeless. Although few responded to the government’s offer of amnesty, that offer further demoralized the fighters. By that time, the Kikuyu peasantry had for the most part lost both the means and the will to resist. The villagization and communal labor schemes combined with bad harvests to produce widespread hunger and a mounting death toll from starvation among children and the aged.



Cut off from the fighters in the forest and seeing no chance of winning, a growing number of Kikuyu peasants, therefore, yearned only for an end to the struggle.

By the beginning of 1956, the Mau Mau insurgency had come to an end. Though defeated militarily, Kenya's independence in 1963 was "unquestionably the culmination of political forces set in motion by the 1953–1956 peasant revolution called Mau Mau."

Source: Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 426–7, 492.

Assessment

When the class has completed a study of the readings and questions in this entire chapter, whether studying each country separately or following the jigsaw option, students should write an essay (or make a visual/written presentation) that evaluates the importance of one or more of the following issues in the twentieth-century independence movements:

1. Complaints against colonial rule
2. The various groups involved in the movements for independence
3. The role of violence and protest
4. The role and importance of individual leaders
5. The prevailing ideology of the movements and what "imagined community" finally emerged

All papers or presentations should end with a brief summary that compares how independence was achieved in two or more of the countries included in this chapter.

The Causes and Consequences of World War II



WHY STUDY WORLD WAR II?

All the challenges of the 1920s and 1930s may have led inevitably to a new round of conflict. In some sense, World War II was a continuation of the tensions over resources and markets that partially caused the First World War. Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Japan, seeking to expand beyond Korea and the Pacific islands, invaded Manchuria in 1931, and began to conquer mainland China in 1937. In Europe, Fascist Germany's aggression against its neighbors, first Austria and Czechoslovakia, then Poland, led it in 1939 into war with France and Britain.

The conflict soon became global. Nazi Germany attacked the communist Soviet Union in 1941, and Japan, Hitler's ally, attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and Great Britain at Singapore on December 7, 1941. World War II was fought in Europe, the Soviet Union, North Africa, West Africa, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Eventually, the sheer weight of resources and human numbers ranged against the Fascist alliance made the difference. Britain and France fought with the support of both soldiers and civilians from colonies and former colonies throughout the world; the United States concentrated its wealth, industry, and citizenry on the war effort; and the Soviet Union mobilized huge human and material resources with brutal efficiency. The Allied Powers invaded Germany from both east

and west in 1945, and Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker. Japan surrendered after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August.

In human terms, World War II was even more costly than the first conflict. Perhaps 60 million people died, or 3 percent of the world's population. This time, most of the casualties were civilians. Weapons such as bombers and rockets brought warfare into the centers of cities. Mobilization for war was even more "total" than in the first war, particularly in Germany and the Soviet Union. The horror of the war found its most potent symbol in the Nazis' systematic murder of almost six million Jews.

This chapter gives students the opportunity to debate the causes of the global conflict using historians' rather than politicians' tools. Students will practice analyzing primary sources, mostly photographs, posters, and speeches. Moreover, students will analyze secondary source data on national military preparedness and a timeline of the creation and use of military technology during World War II. Finally, students will debate the consequences of aerial attacks on civilian populations during World War II.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Analyze statistical data and speeches to compare military expenditures and role of nationalism as causes of the Second World War.
2. Analyze textbook presentations of starting and ending dates for the Second World War to discuss periodization of the first half of the twentieth century
3. Compare propaganda posters used by combatant countries during the war to identify similar techniques used to demonize enemies

TIME AND MATERIALS

This chapter can be completed in five class periods. The only materials required in this chapter are index cards, poster board, and pencils.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed, many peoples in the world hoped that there never again would be such a destructive global military conflict. Unfortunately, their hopes were dashed. Furthermore, the devastation caused by the Great Depression probably surprised them as well. Nor would many of them have realized that the increased military expenditures that helped mitigate the economic effects of the Great Depression would, in fact, be a decisive rearmament for another world war.

The increase in spending for military supplies and training sparked reactions among the stronger nations of the world. This was true especially of the fascist governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan, whose military buildup revealed their expansionary goals. Although the

rearmament by the Germans, Italians, and Japanese did not provoke an immediate military response from the winners of the First World War, diplomatic concerns were expressed through the League of Nations. At first, the major states like the United States, France, and Great Britain engaged in massive arms production to promote economic growth and to begin some military protection against the rearmament by the fascist leaders. In all of the economies negatively affected by the Depression, industrial growth, aided by new military contracts, helped put workers back in factories to make weapons and supplies. The Communist state of the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin expanded its military also in response to the perceived threats from Nazi Germany's actions against its European neighbors. Thus, nationalism, militarism, and industrialism were key factors, similar to their roles in causing the First World War, to beginning the Second.

The involvement of civilians in the Second World War also mirrored their participation in the First. Both colonial peoples and citizens of free nation-states fought in and supported the war efforts, but a substantial amount of persuasion was used by their governments to convince them to enlist in the military, buy war bonds, work in factories, and accept the sacrifices required of them. Common images of soldiers as masculine ideals and women as strong helpmates appeared in propaganda posters. Although many citizens felt inspired by nationalism to rally behind their country's involvement in the war, others needed to be convinced that their enemies were dangerous and required military actions. In order to invoke emotional responses, most of the nation-states fighting in the war hired graphic artists and film makers to rally support by depicting the enemies as inferior and sometimes even like monsters or animals. Often, national leaders identified the enemies as opposing nation-states, but just as frequently the demonized groups were domestic populations such as Jews or Roma in Nazi-occupied territories, or people of Japanese descent in Canada and the United States. The constant use of propaganda resulted in governments becoming experienced in using communication technologies to shape public opinion. The heightened nationalistic messages unfortunately also led to the support of a war that resulted in millions of deaths and widespread environmental destruction.

If the causes and effects of the Second World War are relatively clear, then why do historians disagree about its periodization? An easy answer might be that historians from different countries might want to portray their own governments as more or less actively engaged in preparing for war in the years after the First World War ended in 1919. Or, historians more concerned with presenting a narrative of their own national history might suggest through a particular ending date that their own country played a key role in bringing about an end to the fighting. A more complicated answer to the periodization question reveals an essential task of historians, i.e., analyzing the past by demarcating time periods to highlight developments they deem important. The arguments developed by historians rely on selecting evidence from events and then making their arguments. For example, it might be our task as students of history to debate whether Japanese troops invading China in 1937 or German troops invading Poland in 1939 marks the beginning of the Second World War. We also need to marshal evidence of the causes of those events as well as their effects to determine which one could be considered the leading catalyst of other parts of the global conflict.

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

The expanded military production before and during the war required increased use of natural resources and produced more pollution. The new military technologies developed for World War II also caused more environmental destruction. Research the extent of human and material destruction as a result of bombing in places such as Ethiopia, China, Germany, and England. Some historians believe that the dramatic written and visual evidence of the atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki overemphasize their environmental destruction compared to the firebombing of other cities in Japan, Europe, and Africa. Based on your own research, determine whether you agree or disagree with this point of view.

Humans and Other Humans

The military and civilian leaders of countries at war often made their foreign and domestic enemies appear as evil as possible. Propaganda used during World War II was not that different in approach from that used in earlier conflicts. How did new communications technologies affect how the war was promoted? Is it possible that the enduring effects of the demonization of foreign and domestic enemies affected how the winners and losers remember the war? Can a historiographical study of how the war was promoted to the public and remembered by the public help show us what is important to know about it as students of history?

Humans and Ideas

As in most modern military conflict, nationalism played a major role in promoting the ideas of the leaders and citizens of particular countries. To what extent did authoritarian ideology in the forms of fascism and communism also help inflame tensions? Are the ideologies of fascism and communism separable from nationalism?

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 3: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 6: Science, Technology, and the Environment

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. 4A: The student understands the causes of World War II.

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LESSON 1

Who Was Prepared for War?

Activities

Activity 1: Armaments

1. Using tables of military spending, students analyze in a whole class discussion Japan's military strength during the 1930s and 1940s and the risks it took in invading China.
2. The teacher can use the following specific questions about the tables to help direct students toward conclusions about military preparations for war.
 - a. In Student Handout 5.1.1, use the tables titled "Armaments Production of the Powers, 1940–1943" to answer the following questions:
 - i. Which government spent the most on armaments in 1940, 1941, 1943?
 - ii. Why was the Axis alliance spending more in 1940 and 1941? Why did the Allied governments spend more in 1943?
 - b. In Student Handout 5.1.2 use the table entitled "National Income of the Powers in 1937 and Percentage Spent on Defense" to answer the following questions:
 - i. In 1937, which three governments spent the largest percentage of their budgets on defense?
 - ii. Which government spent the smallest percentage on defense?
 - c. Using the data in all the tables, briefly explain the global context for armaments production and government budgets for defense from the end of World War I to 1943.

Activity 2: Nationalism

Using the three primary source texts in Student Handout 5.1.3, ask students to answer the following questions:

1. According to Tanaka, how is Japan different from England and the United States?
2. According to Hitler, how is land ownership determined?
3. What are the similarities between Tanaka's and Hitler's arguments for expansion?
4. What argument could be made against Tanaka's justification for expansion?
What arguments against Hitler's?
5. According to Stalin, how is Russia different from other countries?
6. In what ways are Stalin, Hitler, and Tanaka taking the same position on the importance of industrialization for their countries' power relative to other countries?

Adapted from: <http://www.montgomeryschoolsmd.org/schools/wjhs/depts/socialst/Cohen/ww2pacific/tanaka.html> (site discontinued).

Armaments Production of the Powers, 1940–1943

(in billions of 1944 dollars)

Allies

| Year | 1940 | 1941 | 1943 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|
| Great Britain | 3.5 | 6.5 | 11.1 |
| USSR | 5.0 | 8.5 | 13.9 |
| United States | 1.5 | 4.5 | 37.5 |
| Total | 3.5 | 19.5 | 62.5 |

Axis

| Year | 1940 | 1941 | 1943 |
|----------------|------|------|------|
| Germany | 6.0 | 6.0 | 13.8 |
| Japan | 1.0 | 2.0 | 4.5 |
| Italy | 0.75 | 1.0 | - |
| Total | 6.75 | 9.0 | 18.3 |

Source: R. Wagenfuhr, *Die Deutsche Industrie im Kriege, 1939–1945* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1945): passim.

National Income of the Powers in 1937 and Percentage Spent on Defense

| | National Income (billions of dollars) | Percentage on Defense |
|---------------|--|--------------------------|
| United States | 68 | 1.5 |
| Great Britain | 22 | 5.7 |
| France | 10 | 9.1 |
| Germany | 17 | 23.5 |
| Italy | 6 | 14.5 |
| USSR | 19 | 26.4 |
| Japan | 4 | 28.2 |

Source: S. Mintz (2007), *Digital History*. <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/us35.cfm>.

Primary Sources

The following excerpt is from a letter that General Giichi Tanaka, the prime minister of Japan, is believed to have written to the Japanese emperor in 1927.

Letter from General Tanaka, 1927

England can afford to talk about trade relations only because she has India and Australia to supply her with foodstuff and other materials. So can America because South America and Canada are there to supply her needs . . . But in Japan her food supply and raw materials decrease in proportion to her population. If we merely hope to develop trade, we shall eventually be defeated by England and America, who possess unsurpassable capitalistic power. In the end, we shall get nothing. A more dangerous factor is the fact that the people of China might some day wake up. Even during these years of internal strife, they can still toil patiently, and try to imitate and displace our goods so as to impair the development of our trade. When we remember that the Chinese are our sole customers, we must beware, lest one day China becomes unified and her industries become prosperous . . . our trade in China will be ruined . . . Our best policy lies in the direction of taking positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia . . . The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretense of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, . . . Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step.



Portrait of Tanaka Giichi

Source: "Japan and the Next World War, Secret Memorial." *The China Critic*, IV (September 24, 1931).



Speech of Adolf Hitler, 1930

If the German people does not solve the problem of its lack of space, and if it does not open up the domestic market for its industry, then 2,000 years have been in vain. Germany will then make its exit from the world stage and peoples with more vigor will come into our heritage. Space must be fought for and maintained. People who are lazy have no right to the soil. Soil is for him who tills it and protects it. If a people disclaims soil, it disclaims life. If a nation loses in the defense of its soil, then the individual loses. There is no higher justice that decrees that a people must starve. There is only power, which creates justice . . . Parliaments do not create all of the rights on this earth; force also creates rights. My question is whether we wish to live or die. We have more right to soil than all the other nations because we are so thickly populated. I am of the opinion that in this respect too the principle can be applied: God helps him who helps himself.

Source: *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 7, 1930.



Adolf Hitler

Joseph V. Stalin

“On the Industrialization of Russia.” Speech to Soviet Industrial Managers, February 1931

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, 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 USSR. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.



Joseph V. Stalin

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 because of 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 because of her backwardness, military backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity . . . 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.

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 our hands, in the hands of the people, 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 on the eve of 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 we shall be crushed.

Source: J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953).

LESSON 2

Periodization Debate: When Did World War II Begin and End?

Preparation

For homework, students should use the timelines in Student Handout 5.2.1 to select one of the dates for the beginning of World War II and one date for the ending of the war. They may use their textbook and other sources to find evidence to defend their choices. Students prepare four index cards on which they will write:

1. Two reasons on one index card for selecting the date they think World War II began.
2. Two reasons on one index card for selecting the date they think World War II ended.
3. Two reasons on one index card for NOT selecting one of the other dates for the beginning of World War II.
4. Two reasons on one index card for NOT selecting one of the other dates for the ending of World War II.

Introduction

Periodization of chunks of time in history is a key reflection of the historian's view of the past. Large events such as World War II have been periodized differently by historians from various parts of the world. This activity will help students act like historians by seeing that the beginning and ending dates for big events can be changed by arguments with clear evidence.

Activity

1. When entering the classroom, students place their index cards on one of eight posters (one for each year: 1931, 1937, etc.) under “Pro” or “Con” headings.
2. Students find three other students who selected the same beginning and/or ending dates. Each group should write a thesis statement for an opening statement in the debate and agree on two major points they will use to support their thesis when presenting their argument to the whole class.
3. Students debate the beginning and ending dates for World War II.
4. When student finish presenting and arguing all major points, they then write a short response to the following question: “In what ways might world historians have different perspectives on the beginning and ending dates of major events like World War II?”

Time Lines on Beginning and End Dates of World War II

Possible Beginning Dates for WWII

| | |
|------|--|
| 1931 | Japanese invasion of Manchuria |
| 1937 | Japanese invasion of China |
| 1939 | German invasion of Poland |
| 1940 | German attacks on Britain |
| 1941 | Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor and Singapore |

Possible Ending Dates for WWII

| | |
|---------------|--|
| February 1943 | German army surrendered to Soviets |
| June 1945 | German army surrendered to Allies in Germany |
| August 1945 | Japanese government surrendered to Allies on US naval ship |

LESSON 3

War Propaganda: Messages and Media Used to Promote Nationalism

Preparation

As a whole class, review the goals governments had in using propaganda posters during wartime in the twentieth century.

Introduction

According to Marc Choko, author of *Canadian War Posters* (Meridien 1994), print runs of Canadian war posters ranged from several hundred to fifty thousand copies. In World War II, Canadian posters reflected the fact that Canada was not attacked on its own turf. Its posters generally avoided showing violence in graphic detail, as did the posters from other countries.

While some posters encouraged enlistment and financial support of the war effort, others urged workers to increase productivity. Some posters were produced by private companies, and there were even war poster competitions.

Source: <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/warposters/english/introduction.htm>

Activity

Students compare the propaganda used in the war efforts in Europe and in the Pacific and determine the cultural and ideological differences between them.

Ask students to look carefully at each poster, and then to write short responses to the questions that follow:

1. What is the title of the poster?
2. Which government sponsored the creation of the poster?
3. What colors and symbols did the artist use to create an emotional reaction in the viewer?
4. What did the colors and symbols mean to the viewers?
5. Which gender(s) and social class(es) was the artist trying to reach?
6. Was the country of the government which sponsored the poster directly under attack by the enemy?
7. What action did the government that sponsored the poster want the viewers to take?
8. What slogans or phrases did the artist use? Does the text support the colors and symbols or give a different message?

Adapted from Truman Presidential Museum & Library website: <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/educ/warposters.pdf>

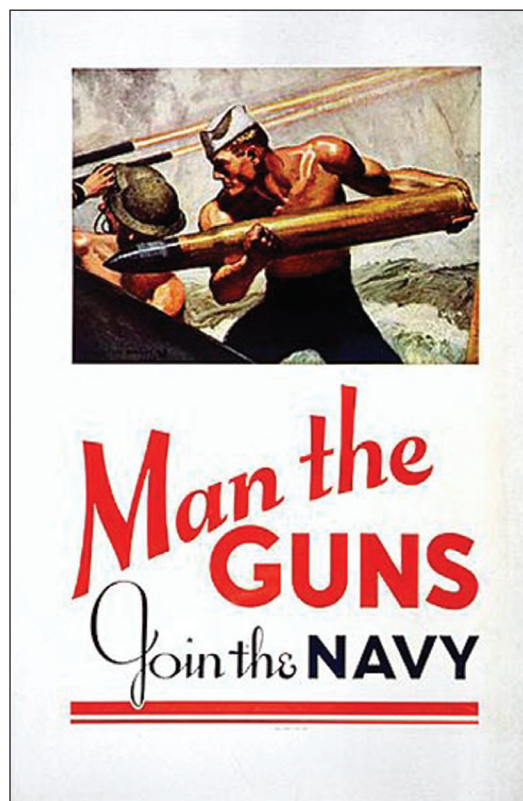
Posters: Men



"Together"



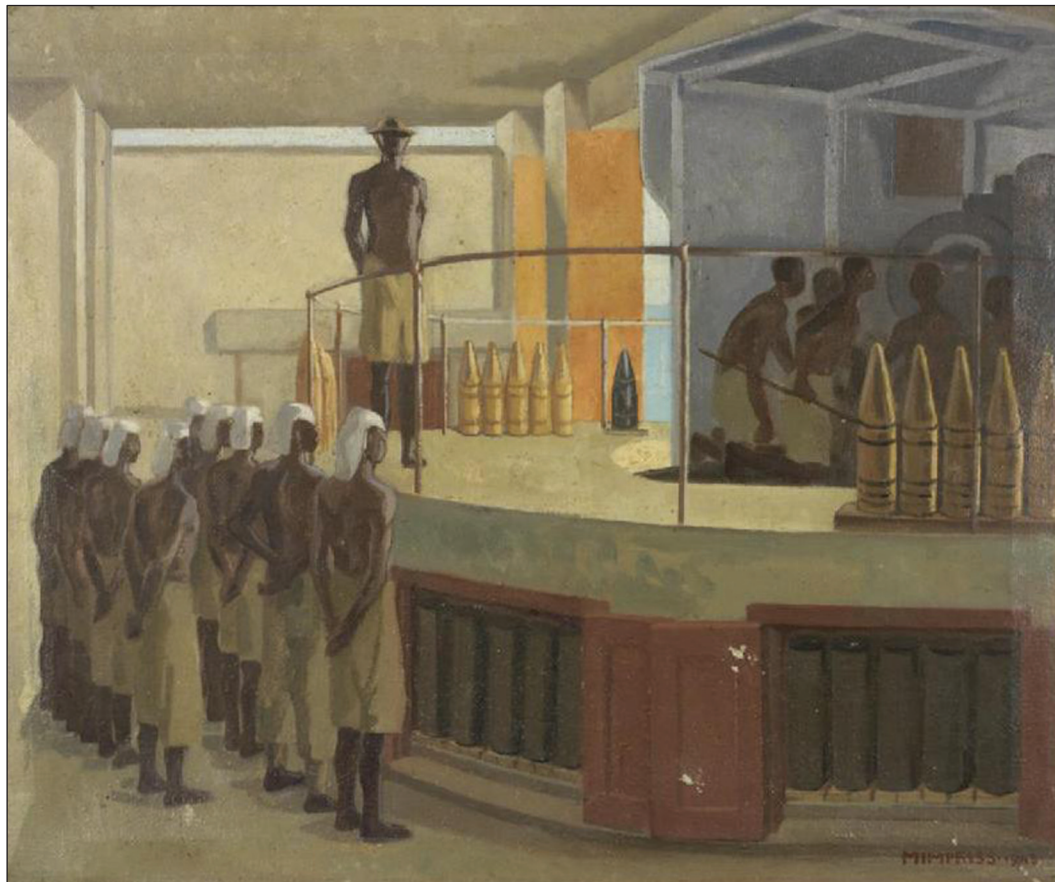
"Glory to the partisans who destroy the enemy rear"



"Man the Guns, Join the Navy," 1942



"Let's Go, Canadians! Let's Enlist"



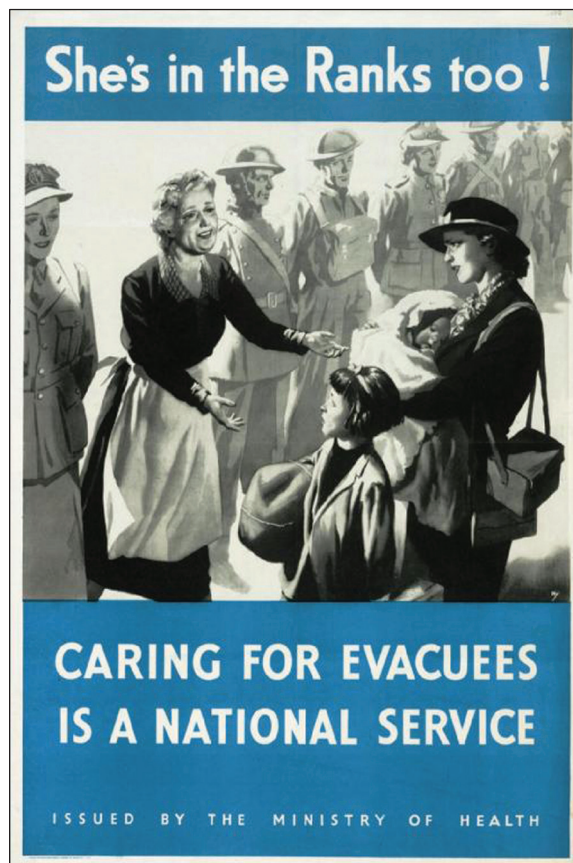
Gun Drill, Fort Mombasa, Kenya, 1943

Posters: Women



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"We Can Do It!" c. 1943



WASTE NOT—WANT NOT



PREPARE FOR WINTER



Save
Perishable Foods
by
Preserving Now

LESSON 4

Military Technology

Activities

- 1 Have students analyze the time lines in Student Handout 5.4.1 for changes and continuities in development and use of military technology. Students are asked to mark and annotate the second time line to identify new inventions that show major changes.
- 2 Students are asked to write a thesis statement to answer the following question: Do developments in military technology during World War II show more changes or continuities from previous large-scale conflicts?

Military Technology

Time Line of Some New Military Technology Used during World War II

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1939 | Germans developed the assault rifle but it was not widely adopted until after World War II because it lacked the power of standard rifles |
| 1940 | Soviets introduced Katyusha multiple rocket launchers mounted on trucks |
| 1941 | Plutonium first produced in secret at UC Berkeley for potential weapon |
| 1942 | US Manhattan Project began in order to develop the first atomic bomb |
| 1942 | The anti-tank rocket, or bazooka, invented for use by the US army. The grenade warhead was fitted with a rocket motor, and it was fired from a simple tube launcher |
| 1942 | Aircraft carriers became the major offensive arm used by the US Navy |
| 1942 | Acoustical homing torpedoes developed by German military |
| 1943 | First use of air-launched, radio command-guided anti-ship missiles by the US Navy |
| 1944 | First V-1 flying bomb used by Germany against Great Britain |
| 1944 | V-2 rockets used by Germany |
| 1944 | First German military jet, the <i>Messerschmidt</i> , used in battle |
| 1945 | Atom bombs developed and used by the US |

Directions

Annotate the following time line by identifying the continuities in military technology and marking the key new inventions that show major changes.

Write a thesis statement to answer the following question: Analyze the continuities and changes in military technology from 1750 to 1945.

Time Line of Military Technology

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Early eighteenth century | The wheel replaced the tiller on ships |
| 1742 | Ballistic pendulum was invented. This gave gunners the ability to measure the power of a given quantity of gunpowder |
| 1750 | Some foundries could cast cannon barrels as solid pieces and bore them out. This made cannons more accurate |
| 1800 | British developed cylinder-burned charcoal |
| 1802 | First practical paddle-steamer ship was built |
| 1803 | First use of the exploding canister shell invented by Henry Shrapnel |
| 1820 | First iron steam ship, the <i>Aaron Manby</i> , was built |
| 1821 | Paixhans invented the explosive shell |
| 1829 | A practical ship's screw was invented which would replace the paddle on ships. Sails on ships were still in use |
| 1846 | Guncotton, an explosive substance, was invented |
| 1849 | Minie ball invented by Claude E. Minie |
| 1850 | A primitive submarine was built by Wilhelm Bauer |
| Mid-nineteenth century | Development of methods for measuring pressure inside cannons allowed for the building of more effective cannons |
| 1853 | Britain began using the Enfield rifle |
| 1853–1856 | During the Crimean War, the Russians were the first to use mines as a strategic weapon |
| 1859 | French launched the <i>Gloire</i> , the first sea-going armored ship |
| 1862 | The Gatling gun was patented. Two ironclad ships, the <i>Monitor</i> and the <i>Merrimack</i> , fought to a draw in the US Civil War |
| 1860s | Heavy-rifled cannons made of high-quality cast iron were used extensively in the US Civil War. The early modern fortress based on the sunken profile and bastioned trace was made obsolete |
| 1867 | Dynamite was invented by Alfred Nobel |
| 1875 | Smokeless gunpowder, ballistite, was invented by Alfred Nobel |
| 1880s | Steam-powered torpedo boats were used for harbor defense. These evolved into the modern destroyer. Rigging and sails were discarded for all except training ships |
| Late nineteenth century | Brass cartridges for breech-loading cannons were developed |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1891 | During the Chilean Revolutionary War, a self-propelled torpedo sank an armored warship for the first time |
| 1896 | Armed and armored car was designed by E. J. Pennington |
| 1900 | First rigid dirigible, the zeppelin, was built by Ferdinand von Zeppelin |
| 1903 | Powered flight was effectively demonstrated by Wilbur and Orville Wright |
| 1904 | Radar was patented by Christian Hulsmeyer |
| 1904–1905 | Wireless communications were used in war for the first time (Russo-Japanese War) |
| 1914 | Submarines began to have a heavy impact on sea warfare |
| 1915 | British began using the depth charge as an anti-submarine weapon. Sonar was developed by Paul Langevin. Fokker warplane became the first to have its machine guns synchronized with its propeller. Trench mortars were first used |
| World War I | Anti-aircraft guns were introduced. Aircraft carriers were developed at the end of World War I for scouting and air defense. Flame throwers were developed |
| 1916 | Phosgene gas was developed. Mark I tanks were first used in action |
| 1926 | First liquid-propellant rocket was launched |
| 1927 | Italy accomplished the first instance of planned military parachuting after adopting escape parachutes for the task |
| 1930s | First practical helicopters were developed by Igor Sikorsky |
| 1931 | Deuterium was discovered |
| 1935 | Robert Alexander Watson-Watt developed a practical aircraft-detecting radar |
| World War II | Soviets introduced rocket artillery. Germans developed the assault rifle but it was not widely adopted until after World War II because it lacked the power of standard rifles |
| 1940 | Plutonium was discovered |
| 1942 | US Manhattan Project began in order to develop the first atomic bomb. The anti-tank rocket, or bazooka, was invented. Before the bazooka, only anti-tank grenades or “elephant guns” would damage well-armored tanks, but even these performed poorly. Aircraft carriers became the major offensive arm of the Navy |
| 1943 | First use of air-launched, radio command-guided anti-ship missiles |
| 1944 | First V-1 flying bomb was used by Germany against the Great Britain. V-2 rockets were used by Germany. First German military jet, the <i>Messerschmitt</i> , was used in battle |
| 1945 | Atom bomb was developed and used |
| Late World War II | Acoustical homing torpedoes were developed |

Source: <http://www.warscholar.com/Year/TechnologyOutline.html> (site discontinued)

LESSON 5

Turning Point in Global Warfare Debate: Attacks on Civilians

Activity

Distribute copies of Student Handout 5.5.1 and ask students to do the following:

1. Explain which of these events could be classified as causes of World War II.
2. Explain which of these events could be classified as happening during World War II.
3. Discuss why the countries that signed the international agreements to refrain from bombing civilians did not honor those agreements during World War II.

Events Causing or Happening during World War II

- International Organization: League of Nations agreements on not bombing civilians
- Shanghai, China, January 1932: Chinese boycott of Japanese goods
- Ethiopia, December 1935 through May 1936: Mustard gas, air power, and indiscriminate bombing including Red Cross units; the League of Nations imposed minor sanctions against Italy, and Italy resigned in protest. More than 700,000 Ethiopians were killed during the fighting, while just 2,000 Italian soldiers were lost.
- Guernica, Spain, April 26, 1937: Massive air raid by 43 German Luftwaffe on the Basque town of Guernica in Northern Spain killed almost a thousand people and destroyed 70 percent of the buildings.
- Shanghai, 1937: 200,000 residents of the city were killed
- Dresden, Germany, February 1945: Five raids, with over 650,000 incendiaries dropped, created a firestorm that covered eight square miles, totally destroying 4,200 acres. Around 135,000 people died. The city center was buried under 18 million cubic meters of rubble. So many people died that the corpses had to be burned in mass piles.

Source : http://www.dresden.de/de/02/110/01/c_13.php

- Tokyo, Japan, March 9–10, 1945: Three hundred American B-29s used low level incendiary bombing runs over Tokyo to create firestorms that destroyed fifteen square miles of the city, killing 83,000 and injuring 102,000. All of the raids on the Japanese islands destroyed over two million buildings, made nine million homeless, killed 260,000, and injured 412,000. From July 1945 on, the Allied fleets closed in on Japan, using their heavy guns to bombard the coastal cities from close range.

Source: Paul Johnson, *Modern Times* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001): 424.

- London, 1940–1941: “Beginning on September 7, 1940, and for a total of fifty-seven consecutive nights, London was bombed . . . Other British cities targeted during the Blitz included Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol, Bath, Cardiff, Birmingham, Coventry, Nottingham, Norwich, Ipswich, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, Hull, Middleborough, Sunderland, Newcastle, and also Glasgow, Scotland, and Belfast, Northern Ireland . . .

“By the end of 1940, German air raids had killed 15,000 British civilians. One of the worst attacks had occurred on the night of November 14–15 against Coventry, an industrial city east of Birmingham in central England. In that raid, 449 German bombers dropped 1,400 high explosive bombs and 100,000 incendiaries which destroyed 50,000 buildings, killing 568 persons, leaving over 1,000 badly injured. The incendiary devices created fire storms with super-heated gale force winds, drawing in torrents of air to fan enormous walls of flames . . .”



“In London, on the night of December 29–30, the Germans dropped incendiaries, resulting in a fire storm that devastated the area between St. Paul’s Cathedral and the Guildhall, destroying several historic churches. Other famous landmarks damaged during the Blitz included Buckingham Palace, Westminster Abbey, and the Chamber of the House of Commons. The Blitz climaxed in May of 1941, leaving 375,000 Londoners homeless.”

Source: <http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/timeline/about-blitz.htm>

“By May 1941, 43,000 had been killed across Britain and 1.4 million had been made homeless.”

Source: http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/blitz_and_world_war_two.htm

Assessment

Directions

Imagine that you are a journalist working in September 1945. Write headlines for the following newspapers:

- Tokyo Times
- London Times
- New York Times
- Dresden Times
- Moscow Times
- Shanghai Times
- Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Times

Now, explain the point of view you expressed in those headlines. What makes them similar and what makes them different?

Environmental Change

The Great Acceleration



WHY STUDY ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE?

Why and how did human impact on the environment become regional and global in this period, and what were the effects?

Most of the environmental degradation we decry today was set in motion in the nineteenth century, but it greatly accelerated in the first half of the twentieth. Human determination to master the natural world, sustain continuous economic growth, and expand military power had deleterious effects on the Earth's land, water, atmosphere, and biological species. The invention of the internal combustion engine, which powered the early twentieth-century phase of the Industrial Revolution, had particularly drastic effects on the natural and physical environment. Governments and public interest groups, however, did not think much about reversing the negative effects of technological change, population growth, capitalist production, and other factors until the second half of the twentieth century. And it is clear that these issues will be humanity's headache throughout the twenty-first century.

In this chapter, students will consider various aspects of the human/nature relationship, recognizing that ideas about environmental change gain or lose currency depending on the circumstances of time and place. Societies value certain ideas concurrently with antithetical ideas. Students will examine economic and political factors that set in process long-term and sometimes irreversible destruction of the earth's biosphere, atmosphere, and hydrosphere. Students will consider positive, negative, and neutral consequences for the global environment of the choices and decisions societies have made about technological advancement.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this chapter, students will be able to:

- Interpret charts and graphs to use as evidence of environmental change.
- Construct diagrams or models showing the relationship between technology, population increase, urbanization, and environmental change.
- Identify factors of environmental change: technology, ideologies, politics, economics, and population increase and migration.

TIME AND MATERIALS

Time: Two to three class periods, with homework.

Materials: Drawing paper and pencils, colored pencils and markers (or paints and brushes), cardboard, glue, string, metal fasteners, and other model construction supplies teachers may wish to use.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Great Acceleration of environmental change from 1900 to 1950 involved several interrelated phenomena and environmental transitions: the world's population almost doubled; coal began to give way to oil as the principal fossil fuel; cropland increasingly replaced forests and grasslands; and the world's freshwater consumption doubled. Many more changes could be listed. Environmental degradation increased at a startling rate and accelerated even faster in the second half of the twentieth century. Human effects on the environment, which had previously been largely localized, became global between 1900 and 1950. These shifts, however, occurred unevenly. For example, the number of urban areas and peripheral land facilitating urban growth increased most in Latin America and North America. The former became the fastest growing region in the world. But the number of cities in Europe and Asia remained about the same. Oil replaced coal first in American and European cities, and some cities actually became cleaner rather than more polluted in this period. Nevertheless, the 1900–1950 period set in motion the greatest man-made, global environmental change in the history of humanity to that point.

Population

Population increase occurs when fertility rates increase, while infant mortality rates decrease and older people live longer owing to antibiotics, vaccines, and improved sanitation. From 1900 to 1950 this growth was marked in Europe and the other regions, including the United States, populated by the descendants of European settlers. Similar growth happened after 1950 in the rest of the world. This period, however, also saw a mass exodus from Europe, primarily to the United States. During this period, migration from Europe surpassed the rates of natural increase.

Source: Paul Demeny, "Population," in *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action: Global and Regional Changes in the Biosphere over the Past 300 Years*, B.L. Turner II, et al., eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 45, 46.

Urbanization

Population increases in and of themselves were probably less responsible for humans adversely affecting the global environment than were urbanization and industrialization. Urbanization was responsible for generating waste that local authorities often dealt with by shunting it out of the urban area, sometimes to places within the exurban area, sometimes further away in the region, thus extending the city's "footprint." City asphalt, concrete, steel, and glass created their own heat, thus trapping pollutants and changing the chemical make-up of the air. By adding sulphur and carbon dioxide to the air, cities created greenhouse effects, global warming, and changes in the sea level. The quality and flow of run-off water also changed. Urban expansion into forest areas caused deforestation. Yet the railroad probably caused even more global deforestation, during this period and in previous ones, than did urbanization.

The amount of land brought under cultivation did not increase dramatically between 1900 and 1937, but it did grow owing to migrations of South Asians to Oceania, northeastern South America, and South Africa, as well as to resettlement of Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, Peru, and California. In addition to transcontinental migration, transmigration, the movement of people within a region or country, also produced environmental changes. This was the case in Indonesia after the Dutch colonial regime shifted people to areas like Java and Sumatra, which had previously been less densely populated, in order to extract more gold and timber.

Sources: Brian J.L. Berry, "Urbanization," in Turner, *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action*, 113.

J. R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 276, 277, 280, 287, 308.

Technology

Technological changes supported population increase, for example, medical advances increased life expectancy. The internal combustion engine was invented before 1900 but used much more extensively after that date. While coal extraction rose to more than 1 billion tons annually in the 1900–1950s period, crude oil production went from 10 million to over 1 billion tons, and natural gas from 1.7 billion to 150 billion cubic meters. Both oil and gas fueled automobiles and, more importantly on a global scale, trucks and machinery. Oil replaced coal for transport by 1930 and increasingly supplanted it as fuel for industry before 1950. Western countries used the bulk of this non-renewable fossil fuel energy, even though they accounted for only about 30 percent of the world's population. Coal continued to be used domestically and industrially in most of the world, causing most of the pollution. The pollution effects of burning gasoline and diesel oil were felt heavily later in the century. It must be added that while oil burns cleaner than coal, which in the earlier twentieth century caused less air pollution, oil is messier to extract. And later, the sheer numbers of trucks and cars on the world's roads drastically increased pollution from petroleum products. Ironically, from 1900 to 1950, the regions of the world producing the most oil—Mexico, Venezuela, Russia, Saudi Arabia—used the least amounts of it. Yet, it was their

landscapes, and not those of the oil-using United States or Europe, that were damaged by it. Farming, too, reaped the benefit of the internal combustion engine in the form of the tractor, which farmers used more often in rich than in poor countries.

Sources: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 442.

Daniel R. Headrick, "Technological Change," in Turner, 60.

McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 58, 60, 298.

Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 186, 235.

War

Great technological change was wrought in the fighting of wars. Tanks, planes, poison gas, and more efficient machine guns were added to the repertoire for mass killing. Large troop movements, particularly during World War I, readily spread disease, creating pandemics like the 1918–1919 influenza outbreak. More deaths among soldiers and civilians are attributable to diseases than to combat. On the other hand, antibiotics and vaccines kept more soldiers alive longer so they could return to battle, but these miracle drugs were not generally available to civilian populations.

Sources: McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 198, 200, 205, 206.

Smil, *Energy in World History*, 184.

Electricity

Some fossil fuels were used to power electrical plants, which were burgeoning in this period. Electrical power use increased 9 percent from 1900 to 1935, and in the 1920s, the United States used more electricity than any other country. Electrification took its toll on forests; not only were trees needed for poles to support electrical lines, but great swaths of land were cleared for utility lines.

Source: Smil, *Energy in World History*, 60, 187.

Water

Human beings made great progress in water extraction and management between 1900 and 1950 through damming, irrigating, channeling, and wetlands retrieval. Europe and the United States used more water than other parts of the world. Better well-digging, resulting from oil extraction technology, made for aquifer depletion at rates greater than their replenishment in such areas as the Middle East and the American West. Water was used more to irrigate crops than for other purposes. Between 1900 and 1950, irrigated land area doubled worldwide. Building dams is a method of providing irrigation, but it also increases salinity levels, wipes out fish populations, and reduces stream flow. After 1900, damming was used more for providing electricity than for irrigation. For example, by channeling water, Italy was able to provide electricity to areas where massive industrial complexes could be built. In many parts of the world, wetlands were

drained to make room for more farmland, but this resulted in such a loss of habitat that one third of American wetland species became endangered.

Source: McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 151, 163, 180, 189.

Chemicals

Chemical technology increased crop yields through soil enrichment and, like the tractor, was utilized more by rich countries than by poor ones. Pesticide use also became more widespread. Pesticides accelerated farmers' transition to monocultures (growing a single crop for the market) because insecticides worked best when they were used on fewer plant species. Adding nitrogen, phosphates, and potassium to the soil, however, causes leaching of toxic chemicals into groundwater, soil, lakes, and rivers. In some places, fertilizer and pesticide use permanently ruined water supplies. These chemicals also adversely affected human health because they made their way into the food chain. The change in the chemical composition of the water favored some plant and animal species but eliminated others.

Source: McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 26.

Air Pollution

Industrialization affected ever broader areas by releasing smoke and particulate matter into the air. Cities like London, Pittsburgh, and Osaka became very polluted, a public outcry went up, and industry therefore built higher smokestacks. If the winds were right, these smokestacks carried the pollution over more extensive areas. Industry went from being city-based to region-based, such as, for example, the Ruhr Valley or the Dresden-Prague-Krakow Triangle in Europe. Sulphur, as well as heavy metal emissions from trash incineration, smelting, and fuel burning, began to cause problems like acid rain, which also traveled with the prevailing winds.

Air pollution was the first problem of industrialization to engender a significant public response, although pockets of native peoples had noticed problems with over-fishing and chemical damage to water from runoff. As early as 1941 in the United States and 1956 in the United Kingdom, legislatures passed clean air laws. The nature conservation movement also grew in strength in the United States and Europe, notably as a result of the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt. However, advocating for the conservation of open land was different from making industry pay to clean up polluted rivers, a policy that would not appear until later in the twentieth century. The predominant thinking about the human/nature relationship was of "humanity as modifier of nature."

Sources: Robert W. Kates, B.L. Turner II, and William C. Clark, "The Great Transformation," in Turner, *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action*, 2.

McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 26, 54, 69, 86, 99, 321.

Economics

The industrializing world had a strong ideological commitment to economic expansion and military power. The drive for economic growth made humans view nature as a supplier of natural resources. Between 1900 and 1950, working people first became serious consumers. John McNeill pinpoints the birth of consumer society on January 5, 1914, because Ford automotive assembly line workers were given high enough wages to buy the product of their own labor, the Model T car. With the advent of consumer society came the commodification of nature. Industrialization thus became more exalted than nature. Indeed, in this period, world gross domestic product rose from 2 to 5 trillion dollars a year, and per capita earning averages in 1990 dollars went from \$1,263 to \$2,138.

These amounts, however, were unevenly distributed. From 1900 to 1950, the more industrialized countries grew richer while lands, more dependent on agriculture especially in the tropics, grew poorer. These statistical differences translated, for example, into safe drinking water and sewage treatment plants in rich cities, unhealthy water and shanty towns in poor ones, or transitions to mechanized farming in rich countries, yielding greater returns and incomes, while farmers in poorer countries received lower prices for cash crops and had little choice in what they could grow.

Sources: McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 127, 268, 316, 334, 336.

Headrick, "Technological Change," 59.

Ecological Conclusions

In this period, the richer nations also began cleaning up some of their messes. In Western countries, water became cleaner and outbreak of water-borne diseases, like cholera and tuberculosis, declined. In the more industrialized world, population growth rates dropped off, while in much of Latin America, Africa, and Asia they kept rising. In the lands of temperate climate (where populations were predominately descended from Europeans), forests began to return, partly owing to a shift to steel and plastic for building materials and consumer goods, and partly to use of oil for fuel. In tropical lands, on the other hand, hardwood forests were depleted.

Economic growth tended to fuel the forces of environmental degradation. A remarkable aspect of this degradation is that world economic growth was significantly lower between 1914 and 1945—the period of the world wars and the Great Depression—than it had been between 1900 and 1914 or was again between 1945 and 1950. This means that global human effects on the environment were most profound during the fourteen years before World War I and the five years after World War II!

Source: McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*, 6, 196, 232, 272.

THREE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Humans and the Environment

In the first half of the twentieth century, was human exploitation and management of the natural and physical environment more beneficial than destructive, or the other way around? What criteria would you develop for answering this question? Would you answer the question differently for the second half of the twentieth century?

Humans and Other Humans

Which of these events do you think had the greatest impact on environmental change? How might these events have affected the environment? Was the impact short-term, long-term, or both?

- World War I
- The Great Depression
- World War II

Humans and Ideas

David Christian has written: “In the course of the twentieth century, human beings have caused changes so decisive, so rapid, and so vast in their scale that they force us to see human history, once again, as an integral part of the history of the biosphere” (*Maps of Time*, 462). Consider these questions: Is the history of human relationship to the environment basic to understanding all other history—political, social, cultural, and so on? Do world history textbooks pay enough attention to environmental changes in the twentieth century? Might humans look back one hundred years from now and conclude that environmental change was the single most important event of the twentieth century?

KEY THEMES

This chapter addresses the following historical themes:

Key Theme 1: Patterns of Population

Key Theme 4: Haves and Have-Nots

Key Theme 6: Science, Technology, and the Environment

CORRELATIONS TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

National Standards for World History

Era 8: A Half-Century of Crisis and Achievement, 1900–1945. 3C: The student understands the interplay between scientific or technological innovations and new patterns of social and cultural

life between 1900 and 1940; 5: The student understands major global trends from 1900 to the end of World War II. Therefore the student is able to explain how new technologies and scientific breakthroughs both benefited and imperiled humankind.

INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES

Resources for Teachers

Burke III, Edmund, and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds. *The Environment and World History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Christian, David. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Chapter Fourteen, “The Great Acceleration of the Twentieth Century,” provides an overview of earth’s ecological history in this period.

McNeill, J. R. *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Norton, 2000. The major comprehensive text on this topic.

Smil, Vaclav. *Energy in World History*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. Chapter Five discusses the transition from biomass to fossil fuel use and the results of that transition.

Turner, B. L. II, *et al.*, ed. *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action: Global and Regional Changes in the Biosphere over the Past Three Hundred Years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. The collection of essays in this volume covers topics from population and migration to technology and chemicals and to changes in the atmosphere, hydrosphere, and biosphere of the earth.

LESSON 1

Using Charts and Graphs as Evidence of Environmental Change

Introduction

This lesson is intended to help students get beyond vague generalizations about the human impact on the environment. Students discover that the environmental problems of which they are aware began taking shape with the growth of world population and with the use of fossil fuels during the first half of the twentieth century. Students interpret and analyze graphs, charts, and quotations to understand how population, urbanization, and the internal combustion engine's fossil fuel demands affected environmental change in the period. This lesson can be used alone or as the first one in the chapter.

Preparation

Copy the graph and chart sets and accompanying quotations. Make a folder for each of the six sets of charts, graphs, and quotations entitled:

- Economic Growth Rates
- Energy Sources and Uses
- Trace Metals in the Atmosphere, Water Use, and Global Vegetation Cover
- Fish and Livestock
- Population and Urbanization
- Prime Movers

Print six copies of each of the figures in Student Handout 6.1.1 to be used by each of the six student groups. Make one copy for each student of Student Handout 6.1.2 and 6.1.3.

Have on hand drawing materials and cardboard, glue, metal fasteners, string, etc., for the culminating activity.

Activities

1. Divide the class into six groups.
2. Give each student a copy of Student Handout 6.1.3. Go over the expectations for the task and the assessment. Give each group the eighteen figures of Student Handout 6.1.1. Give student groups five to ten minutes with each folder to interpret the information and to complete Student Handout 6.1.2 for each document.
3. When the groups have completed their interpretations of the charts, graphs, and quotations, lead the class in a discussion to move students from interpretation to analysis, or “making meaning,” of the data. Be sure the students take notes. You will want to review the data and make some of your own analyses in light of the information in

the Historical Context section of this chapter, as well as your own knowledge, and the knowledge students bring to the class. Here are some additional ideas to include:

- a. Population increases varied depending on place and time, but between 1900 and 1950 the population of the world roughly doubled. For example, in North and South America it more than doubled, while in Europe it grew only by about 1.5 million. This worldwide population increase meant that more food was needed, but it differed from one region to another. This, in turn, meant that some regions had to look outside of their areas for food importation. The ability to feed more people without a huge increase in the amount of acreage under cultivation was due in part to the increased use of chemical fertilizers and improved irrigation methods. These advancements, however, caused more noxious chemicals to leach into groundwater, soil, rivers, and lakes.
 - b. Tractors with internal combustion engines helped provide more food, but they were used unevenly across the planet. Cars, trucks, and buses were also distributed unevenly. This meant that the air in some places was more polluted with exhaust fumes, but the wind spread pollution to places that were not even using tractors, cars, trucks, and buses. Although coal, a significant air pollutant, was still in use, oil-fueled vehicles were also adding to pollution.
 - c. The use of fresh water increased almost three-fold, but its purposes were increasingly industrial rather than agricultural. Irrigation methods improved, but more water had to go to cities where food was being consumed, not grown. Irrigation also led to salinization of the water.
 - d. Forests and grasslands decreased because wood was still being used as fuel in some places and because they gave way to croplands or industry. In this period, forests in temperate areas actually began to return, but those in tropical areas were seriously depleted.
4. Return to the performance task on Student Handout 6.1.3. Make available to students the drawing materials. Whether they choose to make a diagram or a model, students should sketch their ideas in class so you can check in, make suggestions, and correct before they make their final diagrams or models for homework.
 5. Post or display the diagrams and models. Have students self- and then peer-evaluate, using the rubric on Student Handout 6.1.3.
 6. Use student diagrams and models to discuss some conclusions about the human impact on the environment during this period.

Assessment

See Student Handout 6.1.3.

Figure 1

World Gross Domestic Product 1870–1950

| Year | World GDP |
|------|-----------|
| 1870 | 470 |
| 1900 | 823 |
| 1913 | 1,136 |
| 1929 | 1,540 |
| 1950 | 2,238 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 6.

Figure 2

World Per Capita Gross Domestic Product 1820–1950

| Year | Per Capita World GDP (1990 dollars) | Index Numbers (AD 1500 = 100 World GDP) |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1820 | 651 | 117 |
| 1900 | 1,236 | 224 |
| 1950 | 2,138 | 378 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 7.



Figure 3

World Energy Use 1800–1990

“Technological changes are what made it possible to support such huge populations.”

Source: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 442

| Year | Total Fuel Consumption (millions of metric tons of oil equivalent) | Index Numbers (1900=100) |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1800 | 400 | 21 |
| 1900 | 1,900 | 100 |
| 1990 | 30,000 | 1,580 |

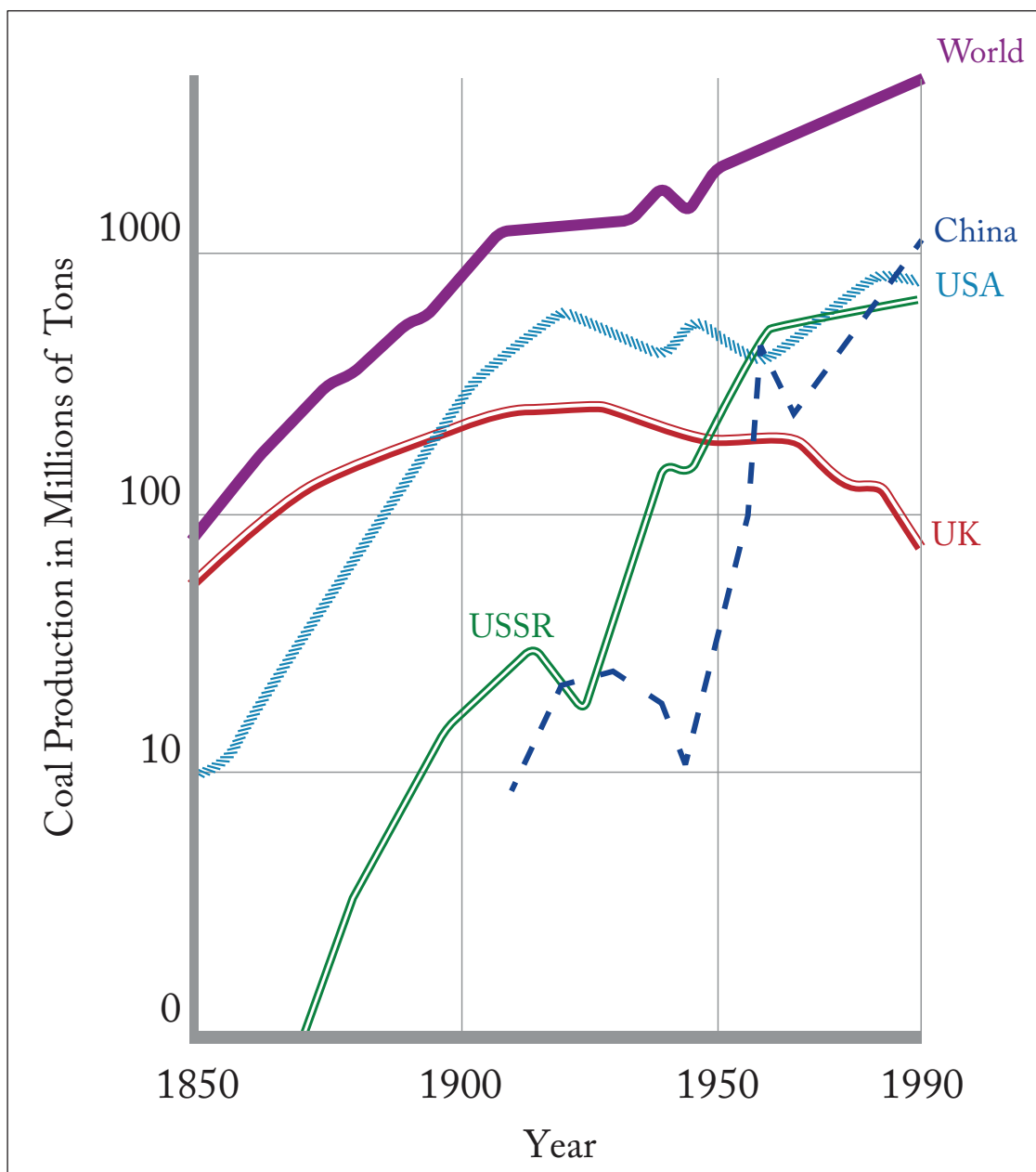
Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 15.

Figure 4

Coal Production in Millions of Tons 1900–1950

“Technological changes are what made it possible to support such huge populations.”

Source: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 442.

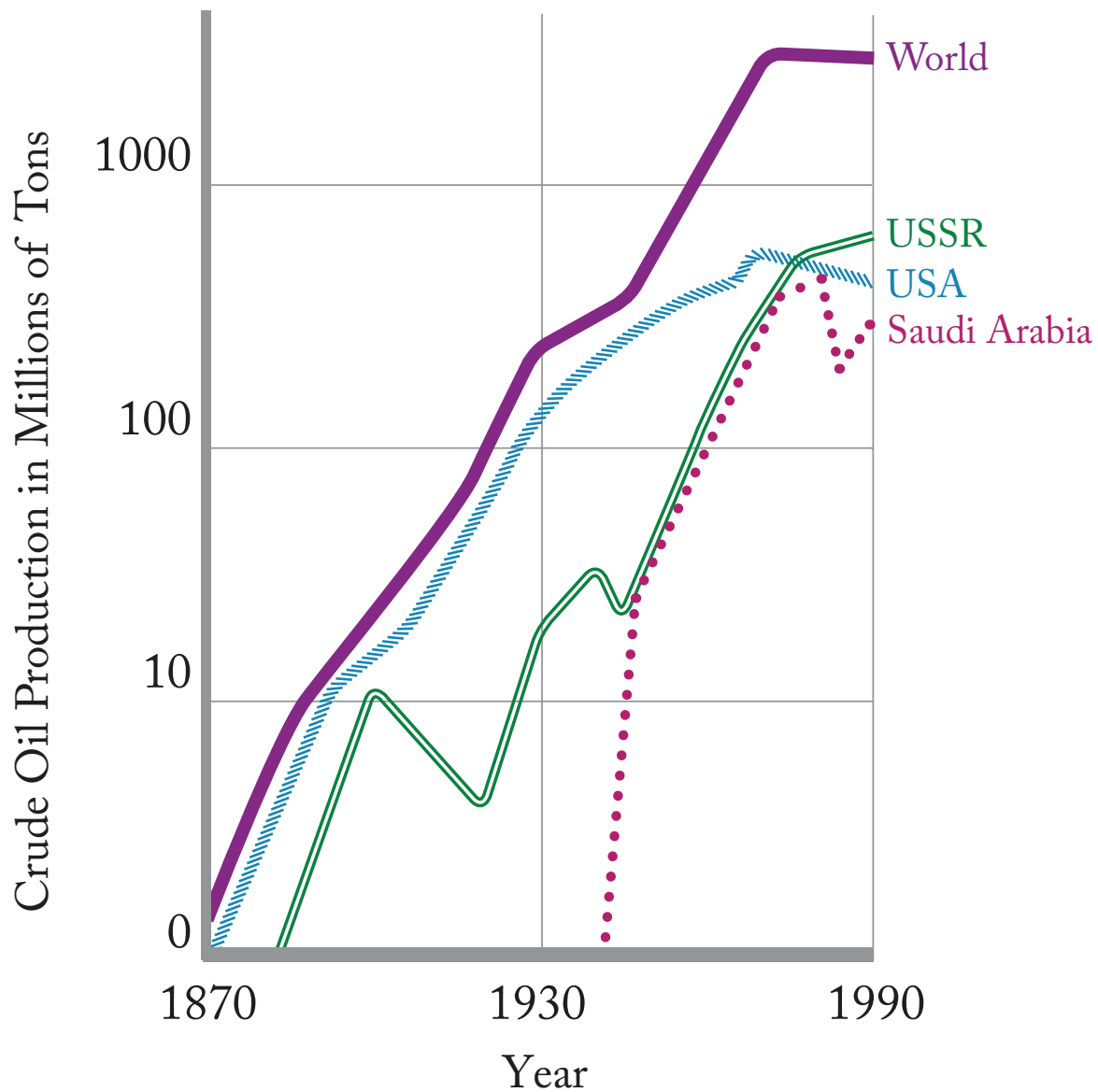


Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 186.

Figure 5**Crude Oil Production
1900–1950**

“Technological changes are what made it possible to support such huge populations.”

Source: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 442.



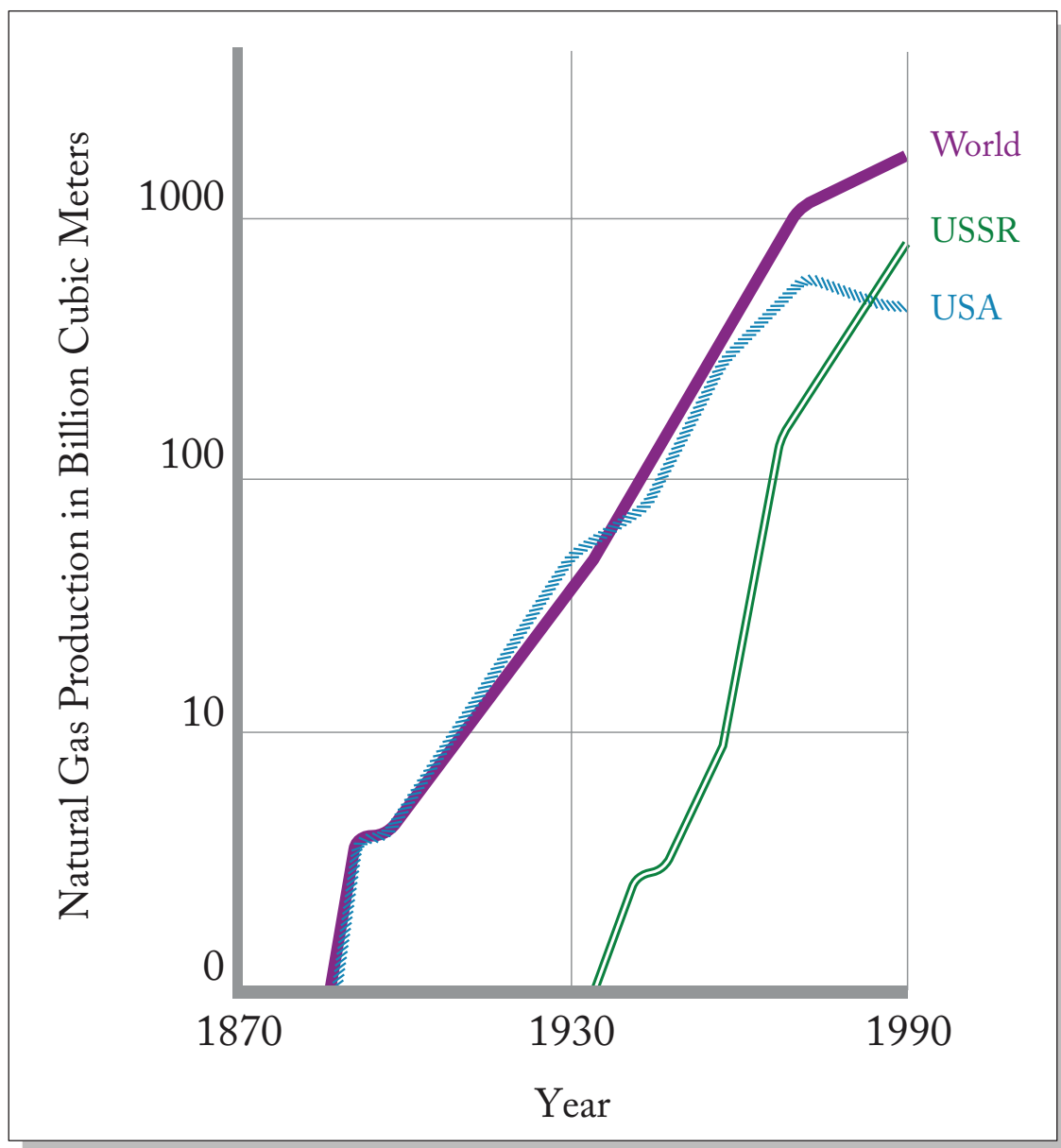
Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 186.

Figure 6

Natural Gas Production 1900–1950

“Technological changes are what made it possible to support such huge populations.”

Source: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 442



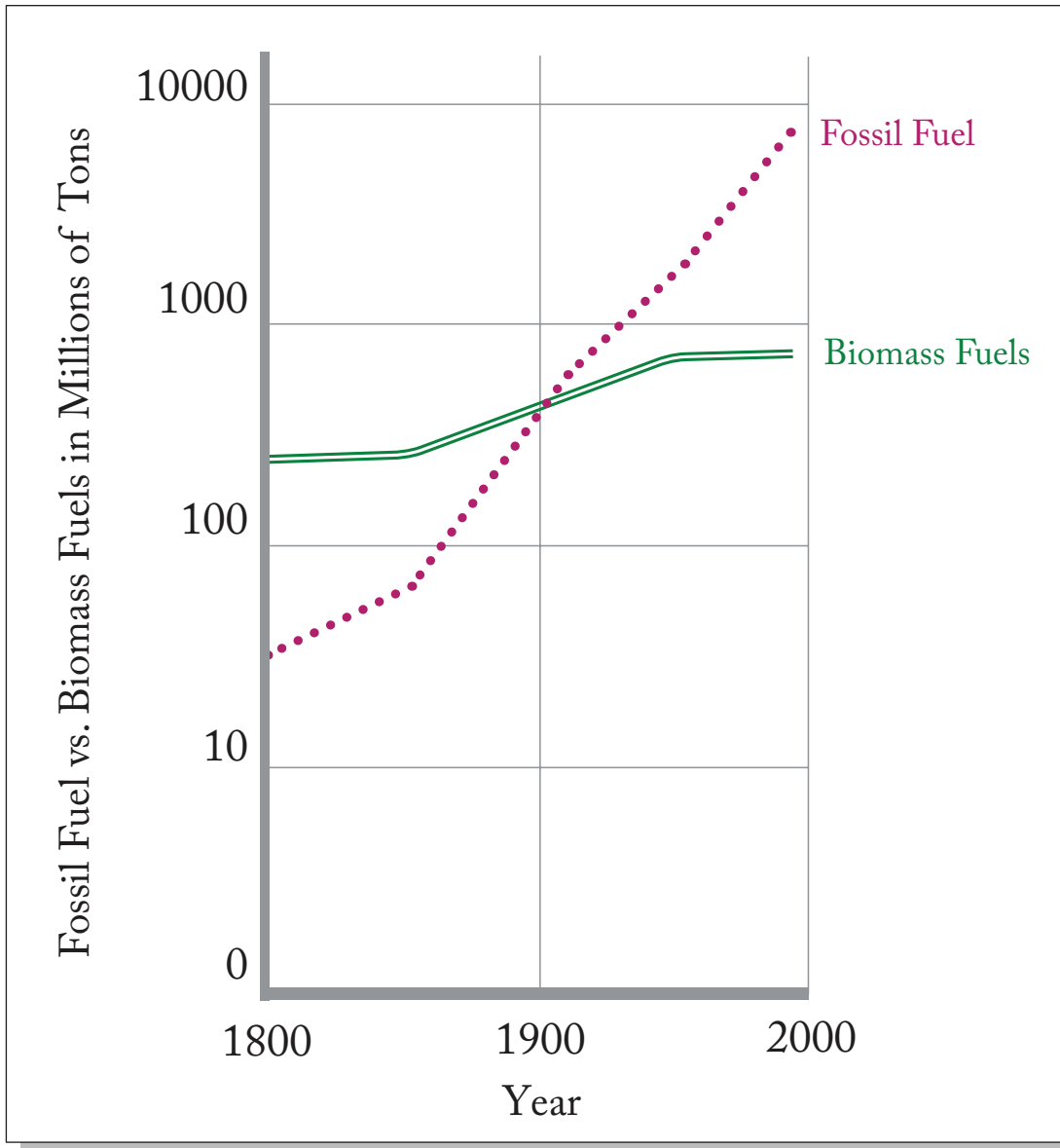
Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 186.

Figure 7

Fossil Fuel vs. Biomass 1900–1950

“Technological changes are what made it possible to support such huge populations.”

Source: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 442.



Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 187.

Figure 8**Estimated Fresh Water Uses
1800–1950**

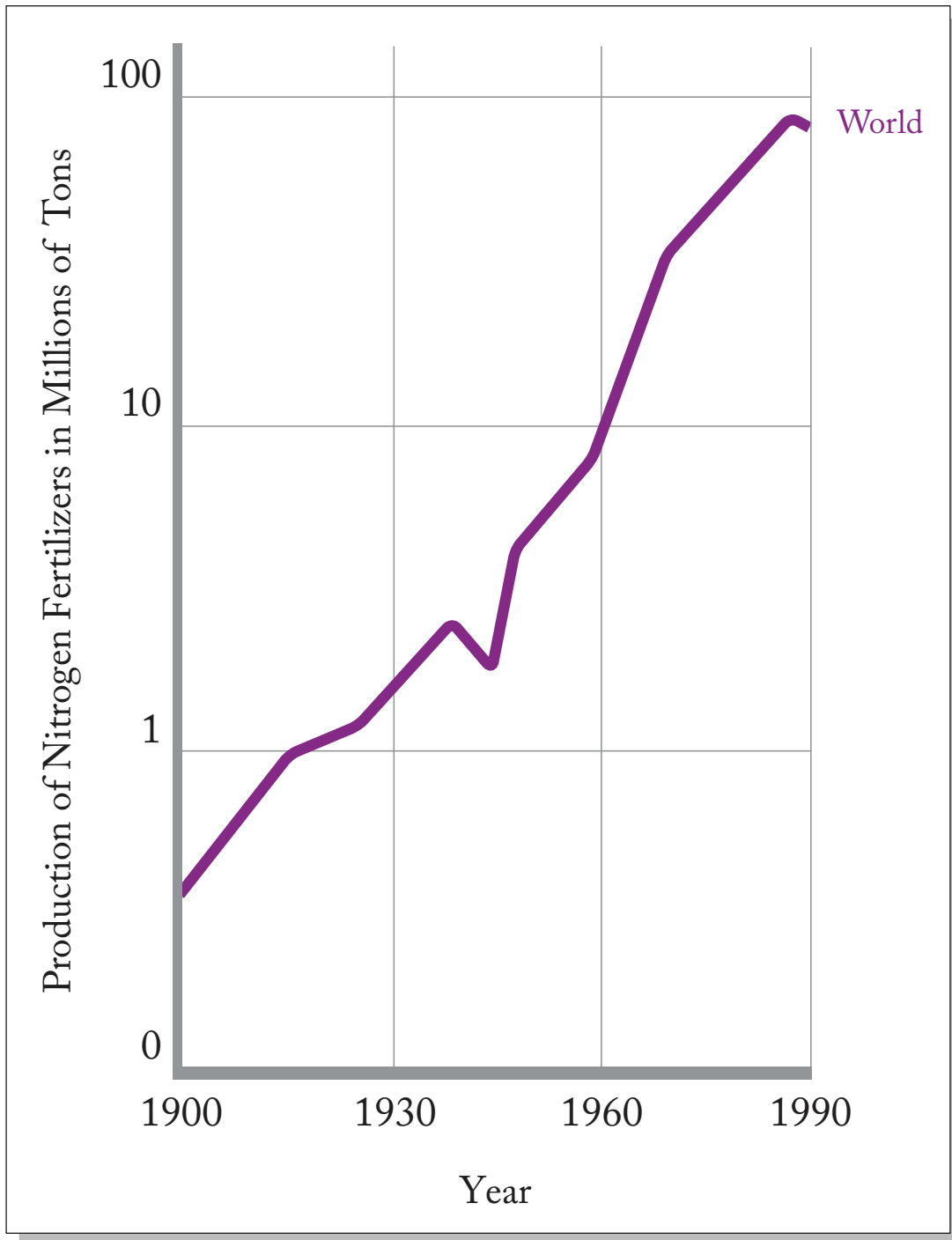
| Year | Withdrawals (km ³) | Withdrawals (per capita) | Irrigation % | Industry % | Municipal % |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1800 | 243 | 0.27 | 90 | 3 | 7 |
| 1900 | 580 | 0.36 | 90 | 6 | 3 |
| 1950 | 1,360 | 0.54 | 83 | 13 | 4 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 121.

Figure 9**Approximate Global Vegetation Cover
1900–1950**
(types of land cover in million km²)

| Year | Forest and Woodland | Grassland | Pasture | Cropland |
|------|---------------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| 1900 | 58 | 54 | 14 | 8.0 |
| 1910 | 57 | 52 | 15 | 8.6 |
| 1920 | 57 | 51 | 16 | 9.1 |
| 1930 | 56 | 49 | 19 | 10.0 |
| 1940 | 55 | 47 | 21 | 10.8 |
| 1950 | 54 | 45 | 23 | 11.7 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 213.

Figure 10**Production of Nitrogen Fertilizers
1900–1950**

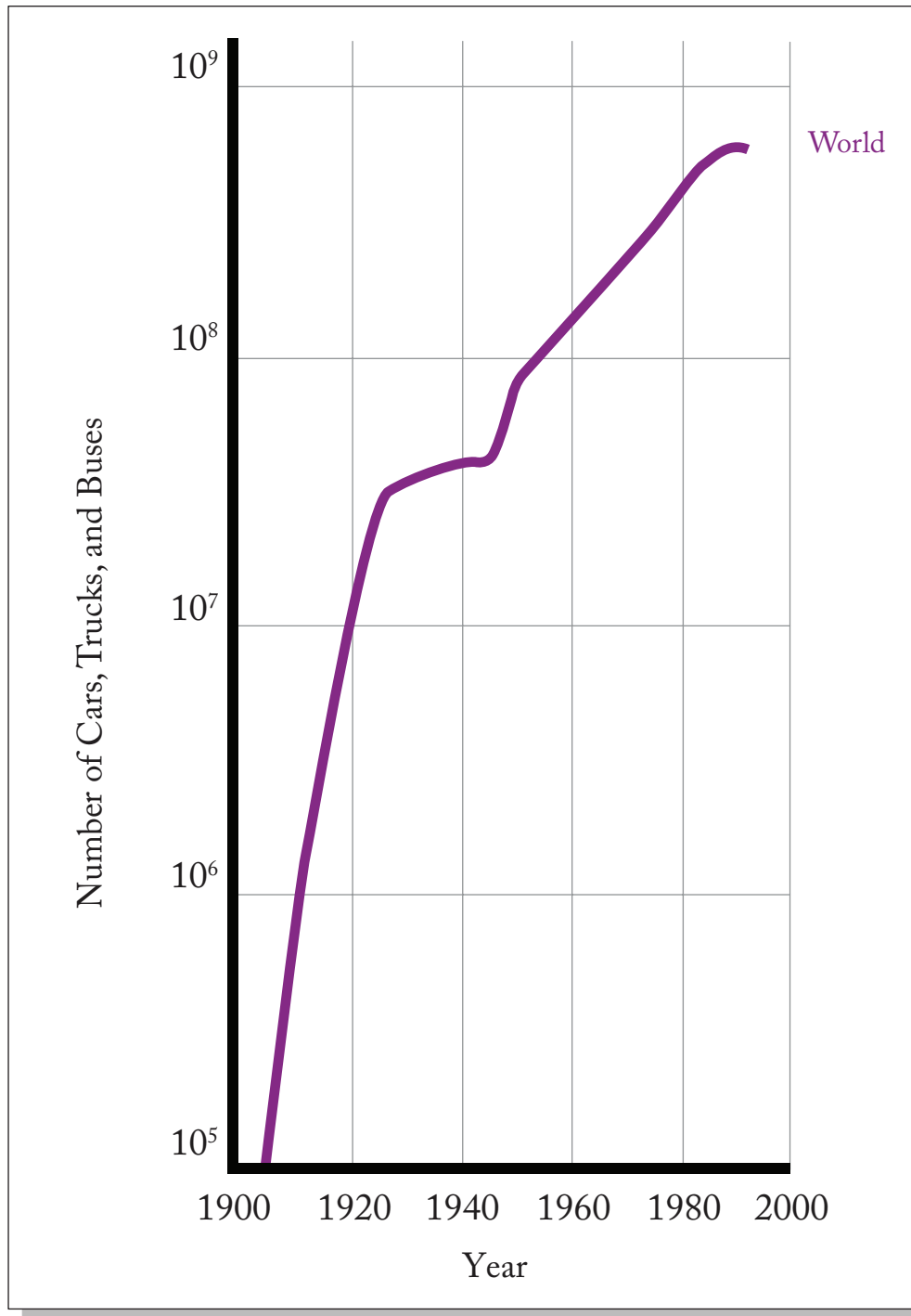
Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 183.

Figure 11

Tractors in the World
1920–1950
(in millions)

| Year | United States | USSR | World |
|------|---------------|------|-------|
| 1920 | 0.25 | 0 | 0.3 |
| 1930 | 1.0 | 0.05 | 1.1 |
| 1940 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 3 |
| 1950 | 3.4 | 0.6 | 6 |

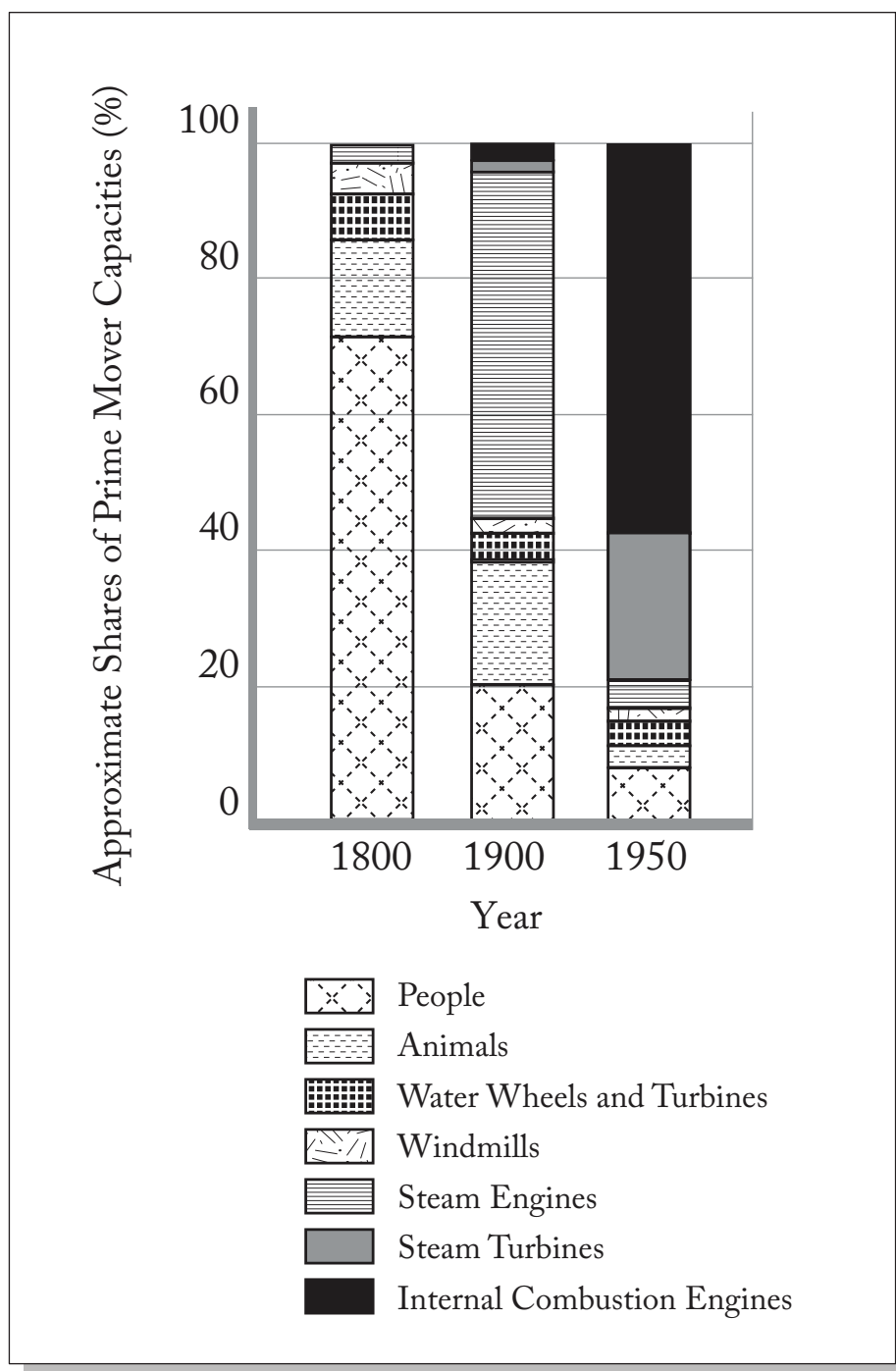
Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 217.

Figure 12**Number of Cars, Trucks, and Buses
1900–1950**

Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 199.

Figure 13

Approximate Shares of Prime Mover Capacities 1900–1950



Source: Adapted from Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 226.



Figure 14

Global Fish Catch 1900–1958 (in million metric tons)

| Year | Marine Catch | Inland Catch | Total |
|------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| 1900 | 2.0 | | |
| 1938 | 22 | | |
| 1945 | 13 | 5 | 18 |
| 1950 | 15 | | |
| 1958 | 29 | | |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 247.

Figure 15

Global Livestock Population 1890–1950 (in millions of heads)

| Year | Cattle | Sheep | Goats | Pigs | Horses | Poultry |
|------|--------|-------|-------|------|--------|---------|
| 1890 | 319 | 356 | 52 | 90 | 51 | 706 |
| 1910 | 391 | 418 | 83 | 115 | 73 | 828 |
| 1930 | 513 | 567 | 153 | 187 | 88 | 1,203 |
| 1950 | 644 | 631 | 187 | 300 | 69 | 1,372 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 264.

Figure 16

Population by Region

1850–1950

(in millions)

“In the period 1850 to 1950, the populations of Africa, Asia, and Europe roughly doubled. Meanwhile numbers in the Americas, Australia, and Oceania grew much faster, five- or sixfold in one hundred years.”

| | 1850 | 1900 | 1950 |
|---------------------------|------|------|-------|
| Asia | 749 | 937 | 1,386 |
| Europe | 266 | 401 | 576 |
| Africa | 95 | 120 | 206 |
| North America | 26 | 81 | 167 |
| Central and South America | 33 | 63 | 162 |
| Australia and Oceania | 2 | 6 | 13 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 271.



Figure 17

Urban Population Proportions by Region 1890–1950

(in percent of total population)

“In the period 1850 to 1950, the populations of Africa, Asia, and Europe roughly doubled. Meanwhile numbers in the Americas, Australia, and Oceania grew much faster, five- or sixfold in one hundred years.”

| | 1890 | 1910 | 1930 | 1950 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|
| United States | 35 | 46 | 56 | 64 |
| Japan | 30 | 40 | 48 | 56 |
| Western Europe | 35 | 45 | 55 | 63 |
| Latin America | 5 | 7 | 17 | 41 |
| USSR | 12 | 14 | 18 | 39 |
| Africa | 5 | 5 | 7 | 15 |
| China | 5 | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| South Asia | 5 | 8 | 12 | 16 |
| World | 14 | 18 | 23 | 29 |

Source: Adapted from J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 283.

Figure 18

World Population 1815–2000 (in billions)

“In the period 1850 to 1950, the populations of Africa, Asia, and Europe roughly doubled. Meanwhile numbers in the Americas, Australia, and Oceania grew much faster, five- or sixfold in one hundred years.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 271-2.

| Year | Billions |
|------|----------|
| 1815 | 1 |
| 1900 | 1.634 |
| 1910 | 1.746 |
| 1920 | 1.857 |
| 1930 | 2.036 |
| 1940 | 2.267 |
| 1950 | 2.515 |
| 1960 | 3.019 |
| 1970 | 3.698 |
| 1980 | 4.450 |
| 1990 | 5.292 |
| 2000 | 6.100 |

Sources: David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 443.

Robert W. Kates, B.L. Turner, II, William C. Clark, “The Great Transformation,” in B.L. Turner II, *et al.*, eds., *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action: Global and Regional Changes in the Biosphere over the Past 300 Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.

Chart, Graph, and Quotation Interpretation

1. Title of the chart or graph.
2. Does this graph show regional, global, or both regional and global data?
3. What results did the growth in urban areas have on fresh water use and trace metals in the atmosphere?
4. How did population increase affect the use of land and water for food?
5. What competed with food production for land use?
6. What accounts for forest and grassland depletion?
7. What environmental consequences did the internal combustion engine and use of fossil fuels have?
8. What environmental consequences did the use of fertilizers have?
9. Did people generally get richer or poorer in this period? What led to the greater prosperity or poverty?

Performance Task and Assessment Rubric

Use the information from the charts, graphs, quotations, and your notes from our discussion to construct a diagram or model that shows a relationship between population increase, the use of the internal combustion engine, urbanization, and environmental change from 1900 to 1950. Your diagram or model does not need to include all the information from the charts, graphs, and quotations. It is more important that you use the evidence to show the *relationship* between human activities and change in the earth's physical environment.

Assessment Rubric

Awesome! The diagram or model demonstrates both positive and negative effects on the environment from increased population, the internal combustion engine, and urbanization; the diagram or model is clearly labeled and logical; the information is accurate; the diagram or model is artfully crafted.

Pretty darn good! The diagram or model demonstrates the effects on the environment from increased population, the internal combustion engine, and urbanization; it is clearly labeled and accurate; it is neatly crafted.

Good enough. The diagram or model demonstrates human effects on the environment; it is labeled and neatly crafted.

Not yet. A relationship between human action and environmental effects is not demonstrated; it is unclear or incorrect; the work is sloppy.

LESSON 2

Ideological, Economic, and Political Choices Causing Environmental Change

Preparation

Copy and distribute Student Handout 6.2.1 to each student.

Introduction

As the human population roughly doubled between 1900 and 1950, beliefs about the human/nature relationship, economic growth, and military power informed decisions about resource use and technology. Nationalist and imperialist agendas fostered industrialization in underdeveloped regions and in fully developed nation-states. This lesson asks students to examine and evaluate ideologies and choices that accelerated change in the earth's physical environment in the first half of the twentieth century. This lesson is best paired with Lesson 1.

Activities

1. Read with your class the excerpts on Student Handout 6.2.1. Fill in with historical information from the chapter's introduction, from your own knowledge, and from answering students' questions.
2. As a class, make a list of positive, negative, and neutral ecological results of the various beliefs. Be sure to remind students that these ideas were what people were thinking in the period 1900–1950, and that they did not know then what we know now about the earth's physical environment and human effects on it. Also, be sure to elevate the students' thinking with some of the following questions:
 - a. If the idea that humans modified nature in ways that were deleterious to it, when, if ever, was it all right to modify the physical environment? For example, was it all right to dam the Nile River to keep water from flooding out homes and crops and to irrigate under-watered crops?
 - b. Can you think of examples where national pride was more important than protection or nurturing of the environment?
 - c. What conveniences or labor-saving innovations in this period should people have done without, for example, cars or refrigerators, to avoid environmental degradation? Could their use have been limited? How?
 - d. Help students remember that in the period under study, people were largely unaware of the deleterious environmental effects of fossil fuel use on the atmosphere, of irrigation and damming on land erosion, and of chemical fertilizer use on the soil and ground water.

Assessment

The period from 1900 to 1950 has been called “The Great Acceleration” owing to the doubling of the world’s population and to the industrial and economic growth made possible by the internal combustion engine and other technological innovations. There was also a great acceleration in the process of degrading the earth’s land, water, and air. Write an editorial *evaluating* the ideological, political, and economic beliefs that led to this degradation. Include ideas that you think were most detrimental to the earth’s natural environment.

Choose a persona from the 1900–1950 period from whose perspective to write. For example, you might choose to be a scientist, statesman, peasant farmer, agri-businessman, hydropower engineer, urban industrial laborer, or economist.

Assessment Rubric

Awesome! The essay is stylistically original and convincing; the evidence is substantive and gleaned from lessons and additional research; the persona is realistic; historical integrity is maintained; development around a muscular thesis is logical; the mechanics and grammar are correct.

Pretty darn good! The essay is convincing; the evidence is substantive and gleaned from lessons; the use of the persona provides perspective; historical integrity is maintained; development around a thesis is logical; the mechanics and grammar are correct.

Good enough. The essay has a thesis supported by some evidence from the lessons; perspective is hinted at; the historical ideas are accurate; there is some development of the main idea; some mechanics and grammar are correct.

Not yet. The ideas in the essay are not connected or developed, little or no historical evidence is used, or inappropriate evidence is used to support the ideas; grammar and mechanics are problematic.

Ideological, Political, and Economic Beliefs

1. Beliefs about the human/nature relationship

- a. Humanity in harmony with nature: Think about a Taoist sitting in his garden meditating. He hears a gentle waterfall gurgle over pebbles. A bird chirps in rhythm with the Taoist's heartbeat, a breeze brushes a wisp of hair from his forehead, and the fragrance of lilies pleases his nose. The Taoist gets up and strolls through his garden noticing a fallen tree limb. He picks it up and sets it on a rock in order to meditate later on its gnarled nodes.
- b. Humanity as determined by nature: Ancient Greek philosophers taught that humans were composed of the same elements as the planet—earth, wind, fire, and water—and that balancing these led to physical health. Seventeenth-century American ministers suggested that New England's earthquakes were the manifestations of society's sins. Some Native American children are named for an environmental phenomenon, like a lunar eclipse or thunderstorm, that occurred during their birth and that is expected to affect their character as they grow up.
- c. Humanity as a modifier of nature: In Genesis, the first book of the Bible, God made humans to be the custodians of the natural world, an idea found throughout Jewish theology. Karl Marx suggested that "nature exists to be harnessed by labor." China's Three Gorges dam is touted by its government as the triumph of humans over nature.

2. Beliefs about economic growth

- a. The belief in economic growth maintains that it is good to increase production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. This idea was held by communists, socialists, capitalists, and fascists. By increasing production, more workers had jobs, and so they had the incomes with which to buy the products of their labor. Owners had profits to reinvest, allowing their businesses to grow. The out-flow of products to buyers resulted in the in-flow of profit to sellers, be they the state, private companies, or individuals. Between 1900 and 1914, some sellers worldwide reaped gigantic profits from markets which became increasingly global, while many more sellers earned profits from relatively smaller regional and local markets. Between World War I and the end of World War II, there were only isolated, short periods of economic growth in the global economy. One example is provided by the sale of arms during the wars. However, after 1945, communist and capitalist nations sought to grow their economies regardless of the cost to the environment. Air pollution over cities like Dresden and Osaka returned after the temporary abatement during the war, and ocean fish stocks began to be depleted after their replenishment during the war, when fishing fleets could not sail.

- b. “Communism aspired to become the universal creed of the twentieth century, but a more flexible and seductive religion succeeded where communism failed: the quest for economic growth. Capitalists, nationalists—indeed almost everyone, communists included—worshiped at this same altar because economic growth disguised a multitude of sins. Indonesians and the Japanese tolerated endless corruption as long as economic growth lasted. Russians and eastern Europeans put up with clumsy surveillance states. Americans and Brazilians accepted vast social inequalities. Social, moral, and ecological ills were sustained in the interest of economic growth; indeed, adherents to the faith proposed that only more growth could resolve such ills. Economic growth became the indispensable ideology of the state nearly everywhere.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun* 334.

3. Beliefs about politics: imperialism and nationalism

- a. Governments supported economic imperialism because it made for strong economies in nations such as France, Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. In the West it was justified by the belief that the countries were “civilizing” the areas they colonized, by bringing Christianity and culture to them. For all imperialist nations, an added justification was in the imperialists’ “superiority” over the native populations. Imperialism allowed some areas to begin competing in the global marketplace; it was also one way that modern educational systems were instituted around the world; and it was one way in which modern goods and technology could be of benefit.
- b. “As the twentieth century began, Russia, Japan, the United States, and especially the western European powers had embarked on imperial expansions. This often involved the displacement of existing populations, as in South Africa and Algeria. Colonial powers reoriented local economies toward mining and logging, and toward export monocultures [growing only one crop for profit] of cotton, tea, peanuts, or sisal. Normally these changes were imposed with no thought to environmental consequences; the only goals were to make money for the state and for entrepreneurs, and to assure the mother country ready access to strategic materials. By the 1940s the French and British at least claimed to have local interests at heart when converting as much as possible of Mali to cotton or of Tanganyika to peanut production. But through ecological ignorance they nonetheless brought salinization in the Niger bend region of Mali and turned marginal land into useless hardpan in central Tanganyika.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 347.



- c. Nationalism is, most simply, the belief in the superiority of the nation-state to organize people. Nationalism grew out of the demise of empires, like the Ottoman Empire, which collapsed in 1914 and led to the founding of modern nation-states in Egypt and Turkey, as a response to imperialism in places like India and Vietnam, and as a result of economic depression and perceived political emasculation in places like Italy and Germany.

- d. “The vast changes in land use and pollution patterns brought on by industrialization, then, were in part a consequence of nationalisms.

“So were the changes provoked by efforts to populate ‘empty’ frontiers.

States earned popular support to settle (and establish firm sovereignty over) the Canadian Arctic, Soviet Siberia, the Australian Outback, Brazilian (not to mention Peruvian and Ecuadorian) Amazonia, and the outer islands of Indonesia. Settling and defending such areas involved considerable environmental change, deforestation in some cases, oil infrastructure in others, and road building in nearly all.

“Nationalism lurked behind other population policies too, notably pronatalism. [Pronatalism is the belief in increasing birth rates as a way of increasing a nation’s number of citizens.] Many twentieth century states sought security in numbers, especially in Europe where birth rates were sagging. Hypernationalist regimes in particular tried to boost birth rates, in France after the humiliation at the hands of Prussia in 1871, in fascist Italy, and in Nazi Germany.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 331.

- e. “Italy’s emergence as a European and imperial power after 1890 rested on this electrification. Northern Italy created metallurgical, railroad, shipbuilding, aircraft and other strategic industries before, during and especially after World War I.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun*, 176.

- f. “The giant dams [like the Hoover Dam] served larger political purposes wherever they were built. Communists, democrats, colonialists, and anticolonialists all saw some appeal in big dams. Governments liked the image they suggested: an energetic, determined state capable of taming rivers for the social good. Dams helped to legitimate governments and popularized leaders, something the United States needed more than ever in the Depression years, and something Stalin [Soviet Union], Nehru [India], Nasser [Egypt], Nkrumah [Ghana], and others all sought.”

Source: J.R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun*, 157.

Glossary

Afroeurasia: The land masses of Africa and Eurasia, together with adjacent islands, as a single spatial entity. The concept of Afroeurasia is useful in the study of both historical and contemporary social phenomena whose full geographical contexts overlap in one way or another the conventionally defined continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

agrarian society: A society where agriculture, including both crop production and animal breeding, is the foundation of both subsistence and surplus wealth. To be distinguished from hunter-forager and pastoral nomadic societies.

agriculture: The intentional cultivation of domesticated plants and animals. Beginning about 12,000 years ago, the development of agriculture permitted unprecedented growth of human population and the emergence of towns, cities, and the centralized state. Scholars generally agree that agricultural economies developed in several parts of Afroeurasia and the Americas independently of one another.

Amerindian: A member of any of the native populations of the Americas; an American Indian or Native American.

anti-Semitism: “Term coined in late nineteenth century that was associated with a prejudice against Jews and the political, social, and economic actions taken against them.” Jerry Bentley and Herb Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006).

archaeologist: A professional scholar in a branch of anthropology that documents similarities, differences and change among various human societies of the past. Archaeologists work with the material (physical) remains of societies. Their work provides the major source of information available on societies that did not have writing systems. Archaeologists also provide evidence that supplements written sources.

aristocracy: A privileged or ruling class, usually a small social minority. Often the hereditary nobility or major landowning class in a society. An “aristocrat” is a member of this upper class. Also “aristocratic,” as in “aristocratic government.” “Aristo” is from the Greek, meaning the “best.”

autarky: A state of economic self-sufficiency. A country’s policy of establishing economic self-sufficiency and independence.

barter: The mutual transfer of goods or services not involving the exchange of money. Used as the common form of exchange before the invention of currency. The practice of bartering continues to one degree or another in all modern societies.

belief system: A combination of ideas, values, and practices that serve a society’s cultural needs. Belief systems include all religions, as well as philosophical, ethical, and moral systems.

Black Death: An infectious disease pandemic that spread from Inner Eurasia to China, the Mediterranean basin, and Europe in the mid-fourteenth century. The pandemic may have taken the lives of a quarter to a third of the populations of Europe, North Africa, and Southwest Asia. Scholars have conventionally attributed the pestilence to the infectious microorganism *Yersinia pestis*, which causes plague in both bubonic and pneumonic forms. Recent research, however, has challenged this theory, arguing that modern plague and the disease causing the Black Death are not identical.

Bolsheviks: A group of socialist revolutionaries which Vladimir Lenin led in a successful overthrow of the Provisional Government of Russia in 1917. The Bolsheviks founded the first Communist state in world history.

bourgeoisie: Literally, people of the bourg, or town. Men and women of the middle class, the mostly urban, affluent, business-oriented class. Historically, this group was situated socially between the landowning, aristocratic ruling class and the common population.

cartographer: A person who designs or constructs maps or charts.

cash crops: Crops grown for sale on the market rather than exclusively for local consumption and subsistence.

civilization: See Complex Society.

clan: A form of social and political organization in which the fundamental principle of solidarity is kinship. Clans typically constitute two or more kinship groups within a tribe. Clan organization is common among pastoral nomadic and stateless societies.

Cold War: The ideological, political, and economic conflict and rivalry between the United States and its allies on one side and the Soviet Union and its supporters on the other side. Competition between the two alliances, which continued from the end of World War II in 1945 to the collapses of the Soviet Union in 1991, was carried on by strategies and tactics that did not involve sustained military conflict or, for the most part, the breaking of diplomatic relations.

colonialism: The systematic exercise of political and military authority of an intrusive group of foreign origin over the population of a given territory. Often involves the colonizer asserting social and cultural domination of the indigenous population.

Complex Society: A type of society characterized by all or most of the following features: dense population, agricultural economy, cities, complex social hierarchy, complex occupational specialization, centralized state, monumental building, a writing system, and a dominant belief system. To be distinguished generally from hunter-forager, pastoral nomadic, and small-scale agricultural societies. Civilization.

constitution: The fundamental laws, either written or unwritten, of a political body or state.

Darwinism: The theory of biological evolution, including the principle of natural selection, based on the ideas of Charles Darwin (1809–1882).

demography: The study of the size, growth, density, growth and other characteristics of human populations.

diaspora: The scattering of a people of distinct regional, ethnic, or religious identity from the original homeland to other parts of the world. A diaspora may result from either voluntary or forced migration. Examples include the Jewish diaspora and the dispersion of people of African descent to the Americas and other regions as a result of slave trade. See *commercial diaspora*.

divine right: The theory that the legitimacy of a monarch or other head of state derives from God or other supernatural power. Contrasts with the modern theory that political sovereignty is determined by the will of the people.

domestication: The process whereby humans changed the genetic makeup of plants and animals by influencing the way they reproduced, thereby making them more appealing in taste, size, and nutrition, as well as easier to grow, process, and cook. Humans could not invent new plant species, but they could select plants that possessed certain observable mutations, that is, characteristics that made them desirable. Farmers could tend these mutants in ways that ensured their survival. The domestication of animals through selective breeding followed a similar process.

ecology: The aspect of biology concerned with the relations between organisms and their environment.

endemic: Prevalent in or peculiar to a certain area, region, or people, as an infectious disease.

entrepôt: A city whose commercial activity includes the transshipment or distribution of trade goods.

entrepreneur: An individual who organizes, runs, and takes responsibility of a business or other enterprise; a business person; an employer; from the French verb *entreprendre*, meaning “to undertake” some task.

epidemic: An outbreak of contagious disease affecting a significant portion of the population of a locality. See also *pandemic*.

farming: The process of growing and harvesting domesticated plants and animals for food, fiber, and other commodities. Farming is characteristic of agrarian societies.

fascism: A political philosophy, movement, or government that exalts the nation, and often a socially defined race, above the individual and that advocates centralized autocratic government, strict economic and social regimentation, and forcible suppression of opposition. Derived from the Italian *fascismo* and referring to a “bundle,” “fasces,” or “group,” specifically to a bundle of birch or elm sticks used in ancient Rome as a symbol of penal authority.

Fertile Crescent: An arc of cultivable land characterized by wooded hillsides and alluvial valleys which runs northwestward along the Zagros Mountains of Iran, loops around the northern rim of the Syrian Desert, and extends southward parallel to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The Tigris-Euphrates and Jordan river valleys are also conventionally considered part of the Fertile Crescent. The earliest physical traces of farming settlements in the world are located in this region. The American scholar James Harvey Breasted invented the term in 1916.

globalization: The process by which peoples around the world have become increasingly interconnected through rapid communication and transport. Globalization involves the intensification of economic, social, cultural, political, and biological interchange worldwide, resulting on the one hand in a general acceleration of change and on the other in efforts to strengthen the bonds of identity and community on the local and regional levels.

global warming: An increase in the earth's surface temperature caused by a rise in atmospheric levels of carbon dioxide.

government: An organization having the power to make and enforce laws and to maintain social order over a territory or a group of people. A government may regulate society through a consensus of leaders, thorough democratic elections and decision-making, or through authoritarian force. In a state, the government is the central decision-making authority.

Great Arid Zone: The belt of arid and semi-arid land that extends generally northeastward across Afroeurasia from the Sahara Desert in the west to Manchuria (northern China) in the east. The Great Arid Zone has been home to both pastoral nomadic communities and to farming societies where water from rivers, wells, and periodic rainfall is available. In addition to the Sahara, the large deserts of the Great Arid Zone include the Arabian Desert, the Great Indian Desert, the Takla Makan Desert, and the Gobi Desert.

Great Depression: A period of global economic contraction that began in 1929 and that lasted in some regions until the late 1930s. The Great Depression affected production, trade, finance, employment, and standards of living throughout most of the world.

Great Dying:

1. An extinction event that occurred about 250 million years ago and that wiped out many marine and land species.
2. The massive die-off of American Indian peoples that followed contact with humans from Afroeurasia beginning in the late fifteenth century. This mortality, which in some areas may have reduced populations by 90 per cent, followed the introduction from Afroeurasia of infectious disease microorganism for which American Indians lacked immunities. Warfare, enslavement, and social disorder associated with European conquests in the Americas also contributed to high mortality. Only in the seventeenth century did indigenous populations began partly to recover.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): The total market value of the goods and services that a country produces during a specific period of time. It includes final goods and services, that is, those that are not resold in any form. Per capita GDP is the total value of goods and services divided by the country's population.

Hajj: The Arabic term for the formal pilgrimage to the city of Mecca undertaken by Muslims as a religious duty. Islamic teaching enjoins Muslims to make the hajj at least once in their lifetime if they are physically and financially able.

hegemony: The dominance or preponderant influence of one state or group over others. Hegemony may take military, political, economic, or cultural forms. Also "hegemonic," as in "hegemonic power."

hunter-gatherers: Also hunter-foragers. Humans that rely on naturally occurring sources of food, obtained by scavenging, gathering, or hunting. Because hunter-gatherers require much more extensive land areas from which to secure food than do farmers or stock-raisers, their communities have necessarily been small. Hunter-gatherer communities were the exclusive form of human economic and social organization until the emergence of farming about 12,000 years ago. Today, hunter-gatherer groups account for only a tiny percent of the human population.

import substitution: An economic policy that promotes substituting locally made products for imported products, usually manufactured goods. National advocates of import substitution typically support domestic industrialization and protective tariffs.

industrialization: Also the Industrial Revolution. The process beginning in the eighteenth century CE whereby humans exploited fossil fuels and related technologies to mass produce goods with machines on an unprecedented scale and to distribute those goods worldwide. Industrialization is also associated with an accelerating global population growth rate, large-scale urbanization, complex technological advances, and great intensification of human intercommunication and interchange.

Inner Eurasia: The huge interior land mass of Eurasia, whose dominant features are flat, semi-arid regions of steppe and forest. Inner Eurasia generally corresponds to the territories ruled by the Soviet Union before its collapse, together with Mongolia and parts of western China. Poland and Hungary to the west and Manchuria (northeastern China) to the east may be thought of as Inner Eurasia's borderlands. The northern margins are boreal forest and Arctic tundra. To the south are the Black and Caspian seas and the Himalayas and other mountain ranges. A mountain-free corridor connects Inner Eurasia to Iran.

khan: The title of a Turkic or Mongol tribal leader; a common title of sovereigns in Inner Eurasia. The feminine form is khatun, a typically carried by wives and daughters of khans.

League of Nations: The predecessor of the United Nations, the League of Nations was created in 1919 in the aftermath of World War I for the purpose of mediating international disputes and preventing armed conflicts between countries.

liberalism: A political and social philosophy rooted in eighteenth-century Europe that champions civil liberties, property rights, self-determination, and the reduction of the state's political and economic power over the individual. In the twentieth century, however, liberalism became associated in the United States and to some extent in Europe with advocacy of the use of government power to achieve more equitable distribution of wealth and to further the political rights and economic status of both the poor and disadvantaged minorities.

life expectancy: The probable life span, or the expected age at death, of an individual; a statistical determination of the probable life span of an individual or category of persons.

lineage: A form of social and political organization in which the fundamental principle of solidarity is kinship. A lineage is typically a local kinship group of several generations, both living and deceased individuals. Several lineages may constitute a clan.

Manhattan Project: A secret operation undertaken in the United States in 1942 to develop atomic weapons for potential use in World War II. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in 1945.

Marxism: A variant of socialism based initially on the ideas of Karl Marx (1818–1883). A theory that economic interests fundamentally determine human behavior, that struggle among socio-economic classes is the drive-wheel of history, and that establishment of a “dictatorship of the proletariat” (working class) will lead to a classless society.

Mecca: A city in the western Arabian Peninsula and birthplace of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, in the seventh century CE. Although Mecca never became a large city, it is Islam's holiest center and the principal destination of Muslim pilgrims making the Hajj.

mercantilism: An economic philosophy and set of state policies that encouraged government action to build the country's wealth by increasing its reserves of precious metals. Mercantilism promoted state intervention to increase exports and limit imports in order to accumulate surpluses of gold. Mercantilist ideas guided European states in the early modern era up to the early nineteenth century, when the liberal ideology of free trade and limited government interference in commerce superseded it.

mestizo: A person of mixed Spanish and Native American ancestry.

Modern Revolution: The profound changes for humankind and the earth's natural and physical environment associated primarily with unprecedented global population growth, industrialization, and the accelerating consumption of fossil fuels (fossil fuel revolution). The Modern Revolution got underway in the eighteenth century CE and continues today.

monopoly: Exclusive control of a product or service in a market; an exclusive privilege to undertake production or trade that is granted by a sovereign state; a firm or corporation that possesses exclusive control of a production process or commercial market, especially involving the ability to manipulate prices.

monotheism: The doctrine or belief that there is one God.

nation: A community of people who believe they share a common culture, history, and future destiny. The members of the nation typically believe that they share rights, including the right to occupy a territory and to constitute a sovereign government to rule that territory.

nation-state: A sovereign state that generally coincides with, or aspires to coincide with, a single national community or nation. A state, on the other hand, may also be multinational, for example, an empire.

nationalism: The modern ideology based on the principle that an individual's loyalty and dedication to the national community or nation-state surpasses loyalty to any other group interest. The scholar Benedict Anderson characterized the national community as an "imagined community:" its members do not for the most part know one another but nonetheless have common bonds of aspiration and loyalty.

natural philosophy: The study of nature and the physical universe. The intellectual discipline that prefigured modern science.

pandemic: An outbreak of contagious disease that is not confined to a single locality but spreads from one locality to the next, possibly over a great distance. The Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century was a pandemic that reached across Afroeurasia. The influenza pandemic of 1918 was worldwide. See also Epidemic.

patriarchy: A society in which males are socially and politically dominant over women. All complex societies have been more or less patriarchal, though in the past two centuries women have in many parts of the world gained legal and civil rights that have helped to constrain patriarchal attitudes and behavior.

periodization: In the study of history, periodization is the dividing or categorizing of time into separate sections. Historians periodize the past for a number of reasons. "One is simply to identify and isolate chunks of time in order to study them one by one, since all periods cannot be studied simultaneously. A second is to distinguish one cluster of interrelated historical events from another in order to discover patterns of change. A third is to identify significant shifts in those patterns in terms of discontinuities or turning points, which serve as the start and end of periods. A fourth is to highlight trends or events that appear dominant or important during a particular span of time" (Ross E. Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* [Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000], 359).

populism: A political or social ideology emphasizing advancement of the rights and interests of common people. From the Latin word *populus*, the people.

primary and secondary sources: Primary sources are items of historical evidence, including both written documents (legal contracts, government papers, personal letters, bills of sale, biographies) and artifacts (material objects, works of art, elements of language) that were generated during or relatively close to the historical period being studied. Secondary sources are documents, mainly books, articles, and illustrations, based on primary sources and generated some time after the historical event which they describe or interpret.

protectionism: An economic philosophy or policy advocating government protection of domestic agriculture and industries from foreign competition by institution of tariffs, quotas, or other restrictions on foreign imports.

revolution: A drastic change in a political system, institution, condition, or idea. A revolution may be political, social, economic, or cultural.

secularism: Pertaining to worldly, as opposed to supernatural or religious, beliefs, values and behavior. Any movement that questions or rejects religious faith or the social influence of religious organizations and hierarchies. Secularization is any social process that strives to imbue society with secular values. In the Christian tradition, the term “secular” is also used to refer to members of the clergy who live “in the world,” that is, who have not taken monastic vows or live in a monastery.

sedentary: The practice of residing in a specific locality, as opposed to a mobile way of life centered on hunting and gathering or on pastoral nomadism. Farming societies are necessarily sedentary.

slavery: The state of an individual held in servitude as the property, or chattel, of another individual, a household, or the state; the practice of owning slaves. The legal, economic, moral, and personal condition of slaves have varied widely in history from one society to another.

Southwest Asia: The region of Afroeurasia extending from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to Afghanistan, including Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula. The common term for this region has conventionally been the Middle East or Near East. Many scholars, however, now regard these expressions as obsolete, except in the context of the history of the past century or so, because these terms evoke a specifically European perspective on the world, that is, that all of Afroeurasia may be thought of as constituting two primal zones, the West (Europe) and the East (all lands east of Europe).

sovereignty: A state’s authority, claimed to be absolute in matters of law within its own borders. Members of the United Nations, for example, are sovereign states. A monarch is also sometimes referred to as the “sovereign.”

standard of living: The level of subsistence or comfort that a group or individual is able to maintain in daily life; an economy’s ability to produce the material goods and services that individuals want or need; a society’s average per capita gross domestic product.

state: A population and territory over which a central government holds authority.

steppe: Flat or rolling grassland characterized by semi-aridity. Equivalent to what Americans call “prairie” and Argentineans call “pampas.”

sultan: A title designating rulership of a Muslim state, usually implying administrative and military authority as opposed to religious leadership. A sultanate is a state headed by a sultan.

syncretism: A blend or combination of different beliefs and practices, usually religious; the adoption of one group's religious or other cultural beliefs and practices by another group.

totalitarian: A form of authoritarian government in which the political and military leaders attempt to intervene in and control both the public and private lives of citizens, typically through coercion and violence. The Soviet Union under Stalin and Nazi Germany under Hitler are the prime examples of totalitarian government in the twentieth century.

tribe: A form of social and political organization in which the fundamental principle of solidarity is kinship. The members of a tribe claim to be descended from a common ancestor. A tribe is typically the largest group in a region claiming shared descent. Tribal organization is common among pastoral nomadic and stateless societies. In tribal societies, individuals identify primarily with kinship groups rather than with a specific geographical territory.

urbanization: The growth of urban areas, or cities; the movement of people from rural communities to cities.

world religion: A belief systems that embraces people of diverse languages and cultural traditions and that has had significant influence on the course of human history. The major world religions are Buddhism, Christianity, Daoism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism. Confucianism is a major belief system, though some scholars reject classifying it as a religion because it addresses mainly moral and ethical issues rather than the spiritual or supernatural realm.

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