



CHAPTER 17

The West Between the Wars

1919–1939

Key Events

As you read this chapter, look for the key events in the history of the Western countries between the wars.

- Europe faced severe economic problems after World War I, including inflation and the Great Depression.
- Dictatorial regimes began to spread into Italy, Germany, and across eastern Europe.
- The uncertainties and disillusionment of the times were reflected in the art and literature of the 1920s and 1930s.

The Impact Today

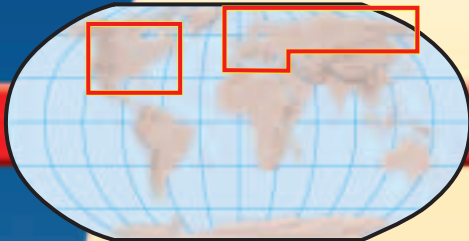
The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.

- The current debate over the federal government's role in local affairs and social problems developed in part from Franklin D. Roosevelt's solution to the Great Depression.
- Automobiles, motion pictures, and radios transformed the ways in which people lived during the 1920s and 1930s and still impact how we live our lives today.



World History—Modern Times Video The Chapter 17 video, "The Rise of Dictators," chronicles the growth of dictatorial regimes in Europe after 1918.

Dorothea Lange's famous photograph, *Migrant Mother*, 1936, captured the human hardship and suffering resulting from the Great Depression.



1920

1922

1924

1926

1928

1922

Communists create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1924

Hitler writes first volume of *Mein Kampf*

1926

Mussolini creates a Fascist dictatorship in Italy

1929

Stalin establishes dictatorship in Soviet Union

1929

The Great Depression begins



Hitler and the Nazi Party used rallies, such as this one at Nuremberg in 1937, to create support for their policies.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

1932
Franklin Delano Roosevelt is elected president of the United States

1936
John Maynard Keynes publishes *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*

1930

1932

1934

1936

1938



Flags of the Hitler Youth organization

1933
Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany

1936
Spanish Civil War begins

HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 17—Chapter Overview** to preview chapter information.

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CONTENTS

A Story That Matters

During the Great Depression, many people had to resort to desperate measures to find food.



The Great Depression

After World War I, Europe was faced with severe economic problems. Most devastating of all was the Great Depression that began at the end of 1929. The Great Depression brought misery to millions of people. Begging for food on the streets became widespread, especially when soup kitchens were unable to keep up with the demand.

More and more people were homeless and moved around looking for work and shelter. One observer in Germany reported, “An almost unbroken chain of homeless men extends the whole length of the great Hamburg-Berlin highway . . . [w]hole families had piled all their goods into baby carriages and wheelbarrows that they were pushing along as they plodded forward in dumb despair.” In the United States, the homeless set up shantytowns they named “Hoovervilles” after President Herbert Hoover.

In their misery, some people saw suicide as the only solution. One unemployed person said, “Today, when I am experiencing this for the first time, I think that I should prefer to do away with myself, to take gas, to jump into the river, or leap from some high place. . . . Would I really come to such a decision? I do not know.”

Social unrest spread rapidly. Some of the unemployed staged hunger marches to get attention. In democratic countries, people began to listen to, and vote for, radical voices calling for extreme measures.

Why It Matters

In the 1920s, many people assumed that Europe and the world were about to enter a new era of international peace, economic growth, and political democracy. These hopes were not realized, however. Most people wanted peace but were unsure how to maintain it. Plans for economic revival gave way to inflation and then to the Great Depression. Making matters worse, economic hard times gave rise to dictatorial regimes across much of Europe. The world was filled with uncertainty.

History and You Make a diagram listing the problems faced by the United States, Germany, and France during the Great Depression. Indicate how the problems were interrelated. Using what you learn from your diagram, explain how recovery would also have a chain effect.

SECTION 1

The Futile Search for Stability

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- Peace and prosperity were short-lived after World War I.
- After 1929, a global economic depression weakened the Western democracies.

Key Terms

depression, collective bargaining, deficit spending

People to Identify

John Maynard Keynes, Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Places to Locate

Ruhr Valley, Switzerland

Preview Questions

1. What was the significance of the Dawes Plan and the Treaty of Locarno?
2. How was Germany affected by the Great Depression?

Reading Strategy

Compare and Contrast Use a table like the one below to compare France's Popular Front with the New Deal in the United States.

Popular Front	New Deal

Preview of Events



Voices from the Past



Hunger marchers in London, 1932

On October 27, 1932, a group of workers marched in London to protest government policies. One observer reported:

“By mid-day approximately 100,000 London workers were moving towards Hyde Park from all parts of London, to give the greatest welcome to the hunger marchers that had ever been seen in Hyde Park. . . . As the last contingent of marchers entered the park gates, trouble broke out with the police. It started with the special constables [police officers]; not being used to their task, they lost their heads, and, as the crowds swept forward on to the space where the meetings were to be held, the specials drew their truncheons [billy clubs] in an effort to control the sea of surging humanity. This incensed the workers, who turned on the constables and put them to flight.”

—*Eyewitness to History*, John Carey, ed., 1987

Worker unrest was but one of the social problems in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s.

Uneasy Peace, Uncertain Security

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



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

One problem was the failure of the United States to join the league. Most Americans did not wish to be involved in European affairs. The U.S. Senate, despite Wilson's wishes, refused to ratify, or approve, the Treaty of Versailles. That meant the United States could not be a member of the League of Nations, which automatically weakened the organization's effectiveness. As time would prove, the remaining League members could not agree to use force against aggression.

French Demands Between 1919 and 1924, desire for security led the French government to demand strict enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles. This tough policy toward Germany began with the issue of reparations, which were the payments that the Germans were supposed to make for the damage they had done in the war.

In April 1921, the Allied Reparations Commission determined that Germany owed 132 billion German marks (33 billion U.S. dollars) for reparations, payable in annual installments of 2.5 billion marks. The new German republic made its first payment in 1921.



By the following year, however, the German government, faced with financial problems, announced that it was unable to pay any more. France was outraged and sent troops to occupy the **Ruhr Valley**, Germany's chief industrial and mining center. France planned to collect reparations by operating and using the Ruhr mines and factories.

Inflation in Germany The German government adopted a policy of passive resistance to French occupation. German workers went on strike, and the government mainly paid their salaries by printing more paper money. This only added to the inflation (rise in prices) that had already begun in Germany by the end of the war.

CONNECTIONS Around The World

The Great Flu Epidemic

A flu epidemic at the end of World War I proved disastrous to people all over the world. Some observers believe that it began among American soldiers in Kansas. When they were sent abroad to fight, they carried the virus to Europe. By the end of 1918, many soldiers in European armies had been stricken with the flu.

The disease spread quickly throughout Europe. The three chief statesmen at the peace conference—the American president Woodrow Wilson, the British prime minister David Lloyd George, and the French premier Georges Clemenceau—all were sick with the flu during the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Versailles.



◀ *Flu victim*

The Spanish flu, as this strain of influenza was called, was known for its swift and deadly action. Many people died within a day of being infected. Complications also arose from bacterial infections in the lungs, which caused a deadly form of pneumonia.

In 1918 and 1919, the Spanish flu spread around the world with devastating results. Death tolls were enormous: in Russia, 450,000; in India, at least 6,000,000; in the United States, 550,000. It has been estimated that 22 million people, or more than twice the number of people killed in World War I, died from the great flu epidemic between 1918 and 1919.

Comparing Cultures

Using outside sources, research the medical advancements made since 1919 in treating and preventing influenza viruses. Could another flu epidemic occur today? Has the flu danger been replaced by other medical concerns?



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

Evidence of runaway inflation was everywhere. Workers used wheelbarrows to carry home their weekly pay. One woman left a basket of money outside while she went into a store. When she came out, the money was there, but the basket had been stolen.

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

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

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

The Locarno pact was viewed by many as the beginning of a new era of European peace. On the day after the pact was concluded, the headlines in *The New York Times* read "France and Germany Ban War Forever." *The London Times* declared "Peace at Last."

The new spirit of cooperation grew even stronger when Germany joined the League of Nations in March 1926. Two years later, the Kellogg-Briand pact brought even more hope. Sixty-three nations signed this accord



Geography Skills

The new nationalism, as reflected by the European political map of the 1920s, did not solve Europe's problems after the war.

- 1. **Interpreting Maps** Compare the map above to the map of Europe before World War I on page 500. List all the countries shown on this map that are *not* shown on the earlier map. What does your list tell you about the political results of World War I?
2. **Applying Geography Skills** Again, compare the map above to the one on page 500. Create a two-column table. Label one column Changed Boundaries, and the other Unchanged Boundaries. List countries under the appropriate column.

written by U.S. secretary of state Frank B. Kellogg and French foreign minister Aristide Briand. These nations pledged "to renounce war as an instrument of national policy." Nothing was said, however, about what would be done if anyone violated the pact.

Unfortunately, the spirit of Locarno was based on little real substance. Promises not to go to war were worthless without a way to enforce these promises. Furthermore, not even the spirit of Locarno could convince nations to cut back on their weapons. The League of Nations Covenant had suggested that

nations reduce their military forces to make war less probable. Germany, of course, had been forced to reduce its military forces. At the time, it was thought that other states would later do the same. However, states were simply unwilling to trust their security to anyone but their own military forces.

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

The Great Depression

TURNING POINT In this section, you will learn how Western nations suffered a major economic collapse in the 1930s. This collapse, called the Great Depression, devastated morale, led to extremist political parties, and created the conditions for World War II.

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

Causes of the Depression Two factors played a major role in the start of the Great Depression. One important factor was a series of downturns in the economies of individual nations in the second half of the 1920s. By the mid-1920s, for example, prices for farm products, especially wheat, were falling rapidly because of overproduction.

The second factor in the coming of the Great Depression was an international financial crisis involving the U.S. stock market. We have seen that

much of the European prosperity between 1924 and 1929 was built on U.S. bank loans to Germany. Germany needed the U.S. loans to pay reparations to France and Great Britain.

During the 1920s, the U.S. stock market was booming. By 1928, American investors had begun to pull money out of Germany to invest it in the stock market. Then, in October 1929, the U.S. stock market crashed, and the prices of stocks plunged.

In a panic, U.S. investors withdrew even more funds from Germany and other European markets. This withdrawal weakened the banks of Germany and other European states. The Credit-Anstalt, Vienna's most famous bank, collapsed in May 1931. Other banks soon followed, industrial production declined, and unemployment rose.

Responses to the Depression Economic depression was by no means new to Europe. However, the extent of the economic downturn after 1929 truly made this the Great Depression. During 1932, the worst year of the depression, one British worker in every four was unemployed. Six million Germans, or 40 percent of the German labor force, were out of work at the same time. The unemployed and homeless filled the streets.

Governments did not know how to deal with the crisis. They tried a traditional solution of cutting costs by lowering wages and raising protective tariffs to exclude foreign goods from home markets. These measures made the economic crisis worse, however, and had serious political effects.

One effect of the economic crisis was increased government activity in the economy. This occurred even in countries that, like the United States, had a strong laissez-faire tradition—a belief that the government should not interfere in the economy.

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

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

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

Economic downturns led to labor unrest in many countries.





Democratic States after the War

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

In a number of states, women could now vote. Male political leaders had rewarded women for their contributions to the war effort by granting them voting rights. (Exceptions were France, Italy, and **Switzerland**. Women gained the right to vote in 1944 in France, 1945 in Italy, and 1971 in Switzerland.)

In the 1920s, Europe seemed to be returning to the political trends of the prewar era—parliamentary regimes and the growth of individual liberties. This was not, however, an easy process. Four years of total war and four years of postwar turmoil made a “return to normalcy” difficult.

Germany The Imperial Germany of William II had come to an end in 1918 with Germany’s defeat in the war. A German democratic state known as the **Weimar (VY•MAHR) Republic** was then created. The Weimar Republic was plagued by problems.

For one thing, the republic had no truly outstanding political leaders. In 1925, Paul von Hindenburg, a World War I military hero, was elected president at the age of 77. Hindenburg was a traditional military man who did not fully endorse the republic he had been elected to serve.

The Weimar Republic also faced serious economic problems. As we have seen, Germany experienced runaway inflation in 1922 and 1923. With it came serious social problems. Widows, teachers, civil servants, and others who lived on fixed incomes all watched their monthly incomes become worthless, or their life savings disappear. These losses increasingly pushed the middle class toward political parties that were hostile to the republic.

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

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



This German woman is using her worthless money to start a fire in her kitchen stove.

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

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

The Popular Front’s policies, however, failed to solve the problems of the depression. By 1938, the French had little confidence in their political system.

Great Britain During the war, Britain had lost many of the markets for its industrial products to the United

States and Japan. Such industries as coal, steel, and textiles declined after the war, leading to a rise in unemployment. In 1921, 2 million Britons were out of work. Britain soon rebounded, however, and experienced limited prosperity from 1925 to 1929.

By 1929, Britain faced the growing effects of the Great Depression. The Labour Party, which had become the largest party in Britain, failed to solve the nation's economic problems and fell from power in 1931. A new government, led by the Conservatives, claimed credit for bringing Britain out of the worst stages of the depression. It did so by using the traditional policies of balanced budgets and protective tariffs.



John Maynard Keynes

Political leaders in Britain largely ignored the new ideas of a British economist, **John Maynard Keynes**, who published his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* in 1936. He condemned the old theory that, in a free economy, depressions should be left to resolve themselves without governmental interference.

Keynes argued that unemployment came not from overproduction, but from a decline in demand. Demand, in turn, could be increased by putting people back to work building highways and public buildings. The government should finance such projects even if it had to engage in **deficit spending**, or had to go into debt.

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

Under these circumstances, the Democrat **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** was able to win a landslide victory in the 1932 presidential election. A believer in free enterprise, Roosevelt realized that capitalism had to be reformed if it was to be "saved." He pursued a policy of active government intervention in the economy known as the **New Deal**.

The New Deal included an increased program of public works, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The WPA, established in 1935, was a government organization that employed about 3 million people at its peak. They worked at building bridges, roads, post offices, and airports.

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

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

Reading Check Explaining What did John Maynard Keynes think would resolve the Great Depression?

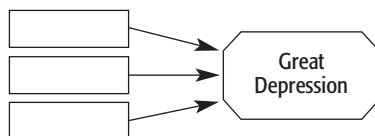
SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define** depression, collective bargaining, deficit spending.
- Identify** Dawes Plan, Treaty of Locarno, John Maynard Keynes, Weimar Republic, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, New Deal.
- Locate** Ruhr Valley, Switzerland.
- Summarize** the intent of the Roosevelt administration's New Deal.
- List** the provisions of the Dawes Plan.

Critical Thinking

- Evaluate** Determine the validity of the following quotation: "Promises not to go to war were worthless without a way to enforce these promises."
- Cause and Effect** Use a diagram like the one below to list the causes of the Great Depression.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examine** the photograph on page 537. How would you survive if currency became worthless? Who would be at an advantage?

Writing About History

- Informative Writing** Research and write an essay that explains how the Great Depression caused extremist political parties to emerge throughout the world. Identify which parties are still active in the United States.

CRITICAL THINKING SKILLBUILDER

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Why Learn This Skill?

What is your favorite comic strip? Why do you read it? Many people enjoy comics because they use interesting or amusing visuals to convey a story or idea.

Cartoons do not only appear in the newspaper's funny pages. They are also in the editorial section, where they give opinions on political issues. Political cartoons have been around for centuries and are good historical sources because they reflect the popular views on current affairs.

Learning the Skill

Using caricature and symbols, political cartoonists help readers see relationships and draw conclusions about events. A caricature exaggerates a detail such as a subject's features. Cartoonists use caricature to create a positive or negative impression. For example, if a cartoon shows one figure three times larger than another, it implies that one figure is more powerful than the other.

A symbol is an image or object that represents something else. For example, a cartoonist may use a crown to represent monarchy. Symbols often represent nations or political parties. Uncle Sam is a common symbol for the United States.

To analyze a political cartoon:

- Examine the cartoon thoroughly.
- Identify the topic and principal characters.
- Read labels and messages.
- Note relationships between the figures and symbols.
- Determine what point the cartoon is making.

Practicing the Skill

In the next section of this chapter, you will be reading about several dictators who rose to power in Europe in the years following World War I.

The political cartoon on this page, published in 1938, makes a statement about these dictators and the reaction of the Western democracies toward them. Study the cartoon and then answer these questions.

- 1 What do the figures represent?
- 2 Why is the standing figure so large?
- 3 What is the standing figure holding and what is it attached to?
- 4 What is the sitting figure doing?
- 5 What is the message of the cartoon?



WOULD YOU OBLIGE ME WITH A MATCH PLEASE?

David Low, *London Evening Standard*

Applying the Skill

Choose a current issue on which you hold a strong opinion. Draw a political cartoon expressing your opinion on this issue. Show it to a friend to find out if the message is clear. If not, revise the cartoon to clarify its point.



Glencoe's *Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2*, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

The Rise of Dictatorial Regimes

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- Mussolini established a modern totalitarian state in Italy.
- As leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin eliminated people who threatened his power.

Key Terms

totalitarian state, fascism, New Economic Policy, Politburo, collectivization

People to Identify

Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, Francisco Franco

Places to Locate

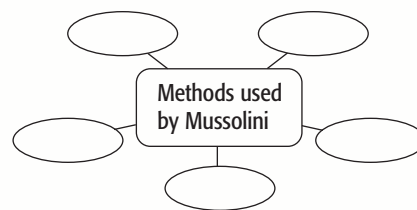
Russia, Madrid

Preview Questions

1. To what extent was Fascist Italy a totalitarian state?
2. How did Joseph Stalin establish a totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union?

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Information Use a web diagram like the one below to list methods used by Mussolini to create a Fascist dictatorship.



Preview of Events

◆ 1920

1919

Mussolini creates the *Fascio di Combattimento*

◆ 1925

1924

Lenin dies

◆ 1930

1928

Stalin launches his First Five-Year Plan

◆ 1935

1929

Mussolini recognizes independence of Vatican City

◆ 1940

1939

The Spanish Civil War ends



Benito Mussolini

Voices from the Past

In 1932, Benito Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, published a statement of his movement's principles:

“Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State. . . . The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist. Thus understood, fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State . . . interprets, develops, and potentiates [makes effective] the whole life of a people . . . fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace. . . . War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those people who have the courage to face it.”

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

These were the principles of the movement Mussolini called fascism.

The Rise of Dictators

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



A new form of dictatorship was the modern totalitarian state. A **totalitarian state** is a government that aims to control the political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural lives of its citizens. New totalitarian regimes pushed the power of the central state far beyond what it had been in the past.

These totalitarian states wanted more than passive obedience. They wanted to conquer the minds and hearts of their subjects. They achieved this goal through mass propaganda techniques and high-speed modern communication. Modern technology also provided totalitarian states with an unprecedented ability to impose their wishes on their subjects.

The totalitarian states that emerged were led by a single leader and a single party. They rejected the ideal of limited government power and the guarantee of individual freedoms. Instead, individual freedom was subordinated to the collective will of the masses. This collective will of the masses, however, was organized and determined by the leader. The totalitarian state expected the active involvement of the masses in the achievement of its goals, whether those goals included war, a socialist state, or a thousand-year empire like the one Adolf Hitler wanted to establish.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What is the goal of a totalitarian state?

Fascism in Italy

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

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

Rise of Fascism Like other European countries, Italy experienced severe economic problems after World War I. Inflation grew, and both industrial and agricultural workers staged strikes. Socialists spoke of revolution. The middle class began to fear a Communist takeover like the one that had recently occurred in **Russia**. Industrial and agricultural strikes created more division. Mussolini emerged from this background of widespread unrest.



Geography Skills

Many European countries adopted dictatorial regimes to solve their problems in the 1920s and 1930s.

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which countries shown on the map above are Fascist? Which are authoritarian? Which are democratic states?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Pose and answer a question that creates a comparison between a country's political status as shown on this map and the side that country fought on in World War I.

In 1920 and 1921, Mussolini formed bands of black-shirted, armed Fascists called *squadristi* or Blackshirts. These bands attacked socialist offices and newspapers. They also used violence to break up strikes. Both middle-class industrialists who feared working-class strikes and large landowners who objected to agricultural strikes began to support Mussolini's Fascist movement.

By 1922, Mussolini's movement was growing quickly. The middle-class fear of socialism, communism, and disorder made the Fascists increasingly attractive to many people. In addition, Mussolini realized that the Italian people were angry over Italy's failure to receive more land in the peace settlement that followed the war. He understood that nationalism was a powerful force. Thus, he demanded more land for Italy and won thousands of converts to fascism with his patriotic and nationalistic appeals.



People In History

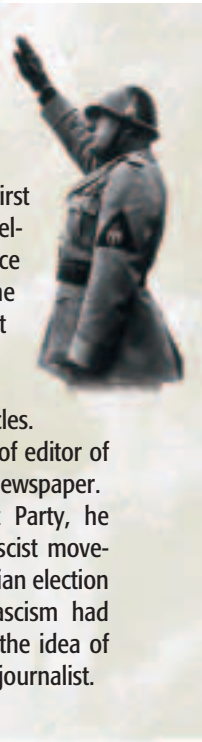
Benito Mussolini

1883–1945—Italian dictator

Benito Mussolini was the founder of the first Fascist movement. He was an unruly and rebellious child who was expelled from school once for stabbing a fellow pupil. Ultimately, he received a diploma and worked for a short time as an elementary school teacher.

Mussolini became a Socialist and gradually became well known in Italian Socialist circles. In 1912, he obtained the important position of editor of *Avanti* (*Forward*), the official Socialist daily newspaper.

After being expelled from the Socialist Party, he formed his own political movement, the Fascist movement. When the Fascists did poorly in the Italian election of November 1919, Mussolini said that fascism had “come to a dead end.” He then toyed with the idea of emigrating to the United States to become a journalist.



In 1922, Mussolini and the Fascists threatened to march on Rome if they were not given power. Mussolini exclaimed, “Either we are allowed to govern, or we will seize power.” Victor Emmanuel III, the king of Italy, gave in and made Mussolini prime minister.

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

In 1926, the Fascists outlawed all other political parties in Italy and established a secret police, known as the OVRA. By the end of the year, Mussolini ruled Italy as *Il Duce* (eel DOO•chay), “The Leader.”

The Fascist State Since Mussolini believed that the Fascist state should be totalitarian, he used various means to establish complete control over the Italian people. As we have seen, Mussolini created a secret police force, the OVRA, whose purpose was to watch citizens’ political activities and enforce government policies. Police actions in Italy, however, were never as repressive or savage as those in Nazi Germany (discussed later in this chapter).

The Italian Fascists also tried to exercise control over all forms of mass media, including newspapers,

radio, and film. The media was used to spread propaganda. Propaganda was intended to mold Italians into a single-minded Fascist community. Most Italian Fascist propaganda, however, was fairly unsophisticated and mainly consisted of simple slogans like “Mussolini Is Always Right.”

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

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

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

Mussolini’s compromise with the traditional institutions of Italy was especially evident in his relationship with the Catholic Church. In the Lateran Accords of February 1929, Mussolini’s regime recognized the sovereign independence of a small area within Rome known as Vatican City. The church had claimed this area since 1870. When Mussolini formally recognized that claim, the pope then recognized the Italian state.

Mussolini’s regime also gave the Church a large grant of money and recognized Catholicism as the “sole religion of the state.” In return, the Catholic Church urged Italians to support the Fascist regime.

In all areas of Italian life under Mussolini and the Fascists, there was a large gap between Fascist ideals and practices. The Italian Fascists promised

HISTORY Online 

Web Activity Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 17—Student Web Activity** to learn more about the rise of fascism.

CLICK HERE

much but delivered considerably less. They would soon be overshadowed by a much more powerful Fascist movement to the north—that of Adolf Hitler, a student and admirer of Mussolini.

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

A New Era in the Soviet Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Rise of Stalin Lenin died in 1924. A struggle for power began at once among the seven members of the **Politburo** (PAH•luht•BYOOR•OH)—a commit-

tee that had become the leading policy-making body of the Communist Party. The Politburo was severely divided over the future direction of the Soviet Union.

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

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

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

Stalin used his post as general secretary to gain complete control of the Communist Party. The thousands of officials Stalin appointed provided him with support in his bid for power. By 1929, Stalin had eliminated from the Politburo the Bolsheviks of the revolutionary era and had established a powerful

People In History

Joseph Stalin

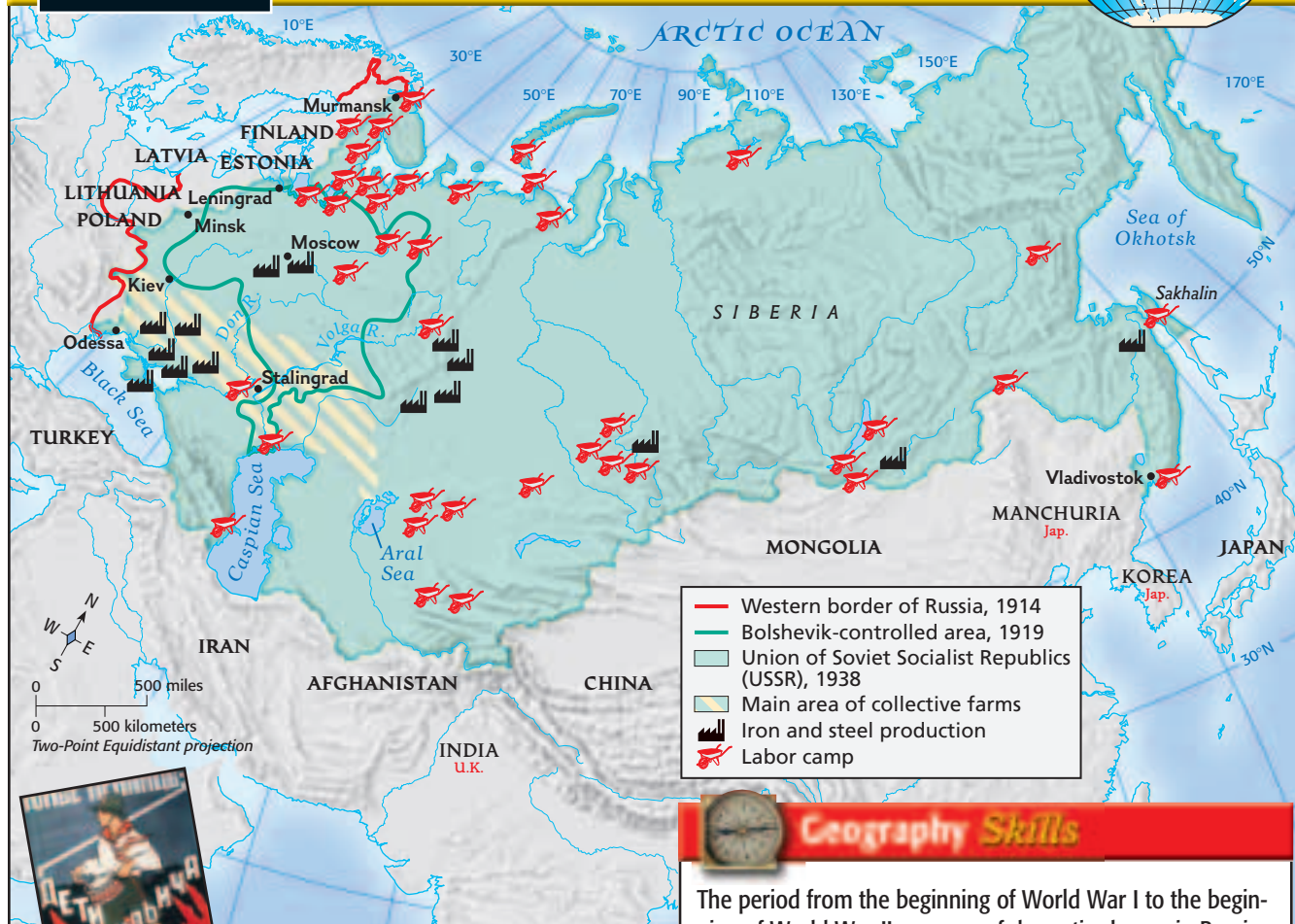
1879–1953—Soviet dictator

Joseph Stalin established a strong personal dictatorship over the Soviet Union. He joined the Bolsheviks in 1903 and came to Lenin’s attention after staging a daring bank robbery to get funds for the Bolshevik cause. His real last name was Dzhugashvili, but he adopted the name Stalin, which means “man of steel.”

Stalin was neither a dynamic speaker nor a forceful writer. He was a good organizer, however. His fellow Bolsheviks called him “Comrade Index-Card.”

Like Hitler, Stalin was one of the greatest mass murderers in human history. It is estimated that his policies and his deliberate executions led to the death of as many as 25 million people. At the time of his death in 1953, he was planning yet another purge of party members.





◀ Soviet propaganda poster

dictatorship. Trotsky, expelled from the party in 1927, eventually made his way to Mexico, where he was murdered in 1940, probably on Stalin's orders.

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

The First Five-Year Plan emphasized maximum production of capital goods (goods devoted to the production of other goods, such as heavy machines) and armaments. The plan quadrupled the production of heavy machinery and doubled oil production. Between 1928 and 1937, during the first two Five-Year Plans, steel production in Russia increased

Geography Skills

The period from the beginning of World War I to the beginning of World War II was one of dramatic change in Russia.

- 1. Interpreting Maps** From Moscow, in which direction would you go to find the Soviet Union's most productive farming area: northeast, southwest, northwest, or southeast?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Identify a particular area of the Soviet Union as shown on the map and explain why that area would have been of particular interest to Stalin during his First Five-Year Plan.

from 4 million to 18 million tons (3.628 to 16.326 million t) per year.

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



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

Strong resistance to Stalin's plans came from peasants, who responded by hoarding crops and killing livestock. However, these actions only led Stalin to step up the program. By 1930, 10 million peasant households had been collectivized. By 1934, 26 million family farms had been collectivized into 250,000 units.

Costs of Stalin's Programs Collectivization was done at tremendous cost. The hoarding of food and the slaughter of livestock produced widespread famine. Stalin himself is supposed to have said that 10 million peasants died in the famines of 1932 and 1933. The only concession Stalin made to the peasants was that each collective farm worker was allowed to have one tiny, privately owned garden plot.

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

Stalin's desire to make all decisions by himself also led to the Great Purge of the 1930s. First to be removed were the Old Bolsheviks—those who had been involved in the early days of the movement.

Between 1936 and 1938, the most prominent Old Bolsheviks were put on trial and condemned to death.

During this same time, Stalin purged army officers, diplomats, union officials, party members, intellectuals, and numerous ordinary citizens. An estimated eight million Russians were arrested. Millions were sent to forced labor camps in Siberia, from which they never returned. Others were executed.

The Stalin Era also overturned much of the permissive social legislation that was enacted in the early 1920s. To promote equal rights for women, the Communists had made the divorce process easier and they had also encouraged women to work outside the home. After Stalin came to power, the family was praised as a small collective in which parents were responsible for teaching the values of hard work, duty, and discipline to their children. Divorced fathers who did not support their children were heavily fined.

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

Authoritarian States in the West

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

Eastern Europe Some of these governments were found among the new states of eastern Europe. At first, it seemed that political democracy would become well established in eastern Europe after the war. Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia (known as the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes until 1929), Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary all adopted parliamentary systems. However, most of these systems were soon replaced by authoritarian regimes.

Parliamentary systems failed in most eastern European states for several reasons. These states had little tradition of political democracy. In addition, they were mostly rural and agrarian. Many of the peasants were illiterate, and much of the land was still dominated by large landowners who feared the peasants. Ethnic conflicts also threatened these countries.

Powerful landowners, the churches, and even some members of the small middle class feared land

What If...

Trotsky had succeeded Lenin?

Lenin's death in 1924 caused a bitter political struggle to determine his successor. Although he had no influence over the final outcome, Lenin's testament, written in December 1922, predicted a split between Trotsky and Stalin. In his testament, read to delegates at the Thirteenth Congress, Lenin advised removing Stalin from his post as general secretary to prevent a power struggle.

Consider the Consequences Consider what would have happened if Stalin had not maintained his position of influence and had lost to Trotsky. Research Trotsky's beliefs, then write a short essay describing the direction the Soviet Union would have taken under his leadership.



History through Art

Guernica by Pablo Picasso, 1937

This famous painting is a strong anti-war statement. **What do the images say about the realities of war?**

reform, communist upheaval, and ethnic conflict. For this reason these groups looked to authoritarian governments to maintain the old system. Only Czechoslovakia, which had a large middle class, a liberal tradition, and a strong industrial base, maintained its political democracy.

Spain In Spain, too, political democracy failed to survive. Led by General **Francisco Franco**, Spanish military forces revolted against the democratic government in 1936. A brutal and bloody civil war began.

Foreign intervention complicated the Spanish Civil War. The Fascist regimes of Italy and Germany aided Franco's forces with arms, money, and men. Hitler used the Spanish Civil War as an opportunity to test the new weapons of his revived air force. The horrible destruction of Guernica by German bombers

in April 1937 was immortalized in a painting by the Spanish artist Pablo Picasso.

The Spanish republican government was aided by forty thousand foreign volunteers and by trucks, planes, tanks, and military advisers from the Soviet Union.

The Spanish Civil War came to an end when Franco's forces captured **Madrid** in 1939. Franco established a dictatorship that favored large landowners, businesspeople, and the Catholic clergy. Because it favored traditional groups and did not try to control every aspect of people's lives, Franco's dictatorship is an example of a regime that was authoritarian rather than totalitarian.

Reading Check Explaining How did Czechoslovakia maintain its political democracy?

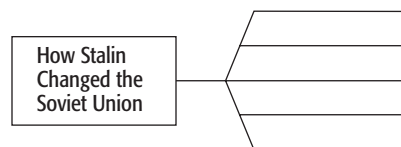
SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define** totalitarian state, fascism, New Economic Policy, Politburo, collectivization.
- Identify** Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, Five-Year Plan, Francisco Franco.
- Locate** Russia, Madrid.
- Explain** how Stalin gained control of the Communist Party after Lenin died.
- List** the countries that participated in the Spanish Civil War.

Critical Thinking

- Evaluate** What was the major purpose of the Five-Year Plans during the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union?
- Organizing Information** Use a diagram like the one below to identify ways in which Stalin changed the Soviet Union. Include the economic, social, and political results of his programs.



Analyzing Visuals

- Contrast** the above painting with the rally photo on page 531. Both images make political statements about war and militarism. How do they differ? How are they similar? Which makes the strongest statement?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** What were the pros and cons of Mussolini's rule? In an essay, argue whether or not Mussolini was good for Italy. Conduct research to support your position and base your statements on fact.



The Formation of Collective Farms

THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE transformed Russia's 26 million family farms into 250,000 collective farms (*kolkhozes*). In this first-hand account, we see how the process worked.

“General collectivization in our village was brought about in the following manner: Two representatives of the [Communist] Party arrived in the village. All the inhabitants were summoned by the ringing of the church bell to a meeting at which the policy of general collectivization was announced. . . . Although the meeting lasted two days, from the viewpoint of the Party representatives, nothing was accomplished.

After this setback, two more officials were sent to reinforce the first two. A meeting of our section of the village was held in a stable which had previously belonged to a kulak [wealthy peasant farmer]. The meeting dragged on until dark. Suddenly someone threw a brick at the lamp, and in the dark the peasants began to beat the Party representatives who jumped out the window and escaped from the village barely alive. The following day seven people were arrested. The militia was called in and stayed in the village until the peasants, realizing their helplessness, calmed down. . . .

By the end of 1930 there were two kolkhozes in our village. Though at first these collectives embraced at most only 70 percent of the peasant households, in the months that followed they gradually absorbed more and more of them.

In these kolkhozes the great bulk of the land was held and worked communally, but each peasant household owned a house of some sort, a small plot of ground and perhaps some livestock. All the members of the kolkhoz were required to work on the kolkhoz a certain number of days each month; the rest of the time they were allowed to work on their own holdings. They derived their income partly from what they grew on their garden strips and partly from their work in the kolkhoz.

When the harvest was over, and after the farm had met its obligations to the state and to various



Russian peasants using scythes to harvest grain

special funds and had sold on the market whatever undesignated produce was left, the remaining produce and the farm's monetary income were divided among the kolkhoz members according to the number of 'labor days' each one had contributed to the farm's work. . . . After they had received their earnings, one of them remarked, 'You will live, but you will be very, very thin. . . .' By late 1932 more than 80 percent of the peasant households had been collectivized.”

—Max Belov, *The History of a Collective Farm*

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. Why did the peasants resist the collective farms?
2. How would you characterize the writer's description of the collectivization process in his village? Was he fair and objective; or, do you think that he reveals a bias either for or against the process? Explain and support your answer using excerpts from his description.



SECTION 3

Hitler and Nazi Germany

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- Hitler and the Nazi Party established a totalitarian state in Germany.
- Many Germans accepted the Nazi dictatorship, while other Germans suffered greatly under Hitler's rule.

Key Terms

Reichstag, concentration camp

People to Identify

Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler

Places to Locate

Munich, Nuremberg

Preview Questions

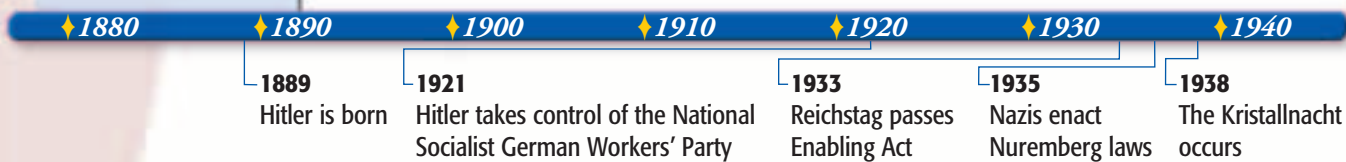
1. How did Adolf Hitler rise to power?
2. What were the chief features of the Nazi totalitarian state?
3. How did the rise of Nazism affect Germany?

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Information Use a chart like the one below to list anti-Semitic policies enforced by the Nazi Party.

Anti-Semitic Policies

Preview of Events



Adolf Hitler

Voices from the Past

In September 1936, Adolf Hitler spoke to a mass rally in the city of Nuremberg:

“Do we not feel once again in this hour the miracle that brought us together? Once you heard the voice of a man, and it struck deep into your hearts; it awakened you, and you followed this voice. . . . When we meet each other here, the wonder of our coming together fills us all. Not everyone of you sees me, and I do not see everyone of you. But I feel you, and you feel me. It is the belief in our people that has made us small men great, that has made brave and courageous men out of us wavering, timid folk; this belief . . . joined us together into one whole! . . . You come, that you may, once in a while, gain the feeling that now we are together; we are with him and he with us, and we are now Germany!”

— *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, Norman Baynes, ed., 1942

Hitler worked to create an emotional bond between himself and the German people.

Hitler and His Views

Adolf Hitler was born in Austria on April 20, 1889. A failure in secondary school, he eventually traveled to Vienna to become an artist but was rejected by the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. He stayed in the city, supported at first by an inheritance. While in Vienna, however, Hitler developed his basic ideas, which he held for the rest of his life.



At the core of Hitler’s ideas was racism, especially anti-Semitism. Hitler was also an extreme nationalist who understood how political parties could effectively use propaganda and terror. Finally, during his Viennese years, Hitler came to believe firmly in the need for struggle, which he saw as the “granite foundation of the world.”

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

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

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

In *Mein Kampf*, extreme German nationalism, strong anti-Semitism, and anticommunism are linked together by a social Darwinian theory of struggle. This theory emphasizes the right of superior nations to lebensraum (LAY•buhnz•ROWM)—living space—

through expansion. It also upholds the right of superior individuals to gain authoritarian leadership over the masses.

✓ Reading Check Summarizing What main ideas does Hitler express in his book *Mein Kampf*?

Rise of Nazism

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

After his release from prison, Hitler expanded the Nazi Party to all parts of Germany. By 1929, it had a national party organization. Three years later, it had 800,000 members and had become the largest party in the **Reichstag**—the German parliament.

No doubt, Germany’s economic difficulties were a crucial factor in the Nazi rise to power. Unemployment had risen dramatically, growing from 4.35 million in 1931 to 6 million by the winter of 1932. The economic and psychological impact of the Great Depression made extremist parties more attractive.

Hitler promised to create a new Germany. His appeals to national pride, national honor, and traditional militarism struck an emotional chord in his listeners. After attending one of Hitler’s rallies, a schoolteacher in Hamburg said, “When the speech was over, there was roaring enthusiasm and applause. . . .—How many look up to him with

Picturing History

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote that mass meetings were important because individuals who feel weak and uncertain become intoxicated with the power of the group. **How do you think Hitler viewed the average person?**



touching faith as their helper, their saviour, their deliverer from unbearable distress.”

✓ Reading Check Explaining What factors helped the Nazi Party to gain power in Germany?

Victory of Nazism

After 1930, the German government ruled by decree with the support of President Hindenburg. The Reichstag had little power, and thus Hitler clearly saw that controlling the parliament was not very important.

More and more, the right-wing elites of Germany—the industrial leaders, landed aristocrats, military officers, and higher bureaucrats—looked to Hitler for leadership. He had the mass support to create a right-wing, authoritarian regime that would save Germany and people in privileged positions from a Communist takeover. In 1933, Hindenburg, under pressure, agreed to allow Hitler to become chancellor and create a new government.

Within two months, Hitler had laid the foundation for the Nazis’ complete control over Germany. The crowning step of Hitler’s “legal seizure” of power came on March 23, 1933, when a two-thirds vote of

the Reichstag passed the **Enabling Act**. This law gave the government the power to ignore the constitution for four years while it issued laws to deal with the country’s problems.

The Enabling Act gave Hitler’s later actions a legal basis. He no longer needed the Reichstag or President Hindenburg. In effect, Hitler became a dictator appointed by the parliamentary body itself.

With their new source of power, the Nazis acted quickly to bring all institutions under Nazi control. The civil service was purged of Jews and democratic elements. Large prison camps called **concentration camps** were set up for people who opposed the new regime. Trade unions were dissolved. All political parties except the Nazis were abolished.

By the end of the summer of 1933, only seven months after being appointed chancellor, Hitler had established the basis for a totalitarian state. When Hindenburg died in 1934, the office of president was abolished. Hitler became sole ruler of Germany. Public officials and soldiers were all required to take a personal oath of loyalty to Hitler as their *Führer* (FYUR•uhr), or “Leader.”

✓ Reading Check Examining Why was the Enabling Act important to Hitler’s success in controlling Germany?

THE WAY IT WAS

YOUNG PEOPLE IN ...

Nazi Germany

In setting up a totalitarian state, the Nazis recognized the importance of winning young people over to their ideas. The Hitler Youth, an organization for young people between the ages of 10 and 18, was formed in 1926 for that purpose.

By 1939, all German young people were expected to join the Hitler Youth. Upon entering, each took an oath: “In the presence of this blood banner [Nazi flag], which represents our Führer, I swear to devote all my energies and my strength to the savior of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am

willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God.”

Members of the Hitler Youth had their own uniforms and took part in a number of activities. For males, these included camping and hiking trips, sports activities, and evenings together in special youth “homes.” Almost all activities were competitive and meant to encourage fighting and heroic deeds.

Above all, the Hitler Youth organization worked to foster military values and virtues, such as duty, obedience, strength, and ruthlessness. Uniforms and drilling became



Young Germans waving flags



The Nazi State, 1933–1939

Hitler wanted to develop a totalitarian state. He had not simply sought power for power's sake. He had a larger goal—the development of an **Aryan** racial state that would dominate Europe and possibly the world for generations to come. (*Aryan* was a term linguists used to identify people speaking Indo-European languages. The Nazis misused the term and identified the Aryans with the ancient Greeks and Romans and twentieth-century Germans and Scandinavians.) Nazis thought the Germans were the true descendants and leaders of the Aryans and would create another empire like the one ruled by the ancient Romans. The Nazis believed that the world had already seen two German empires or Reichs: the Holy Roman Empire and the German Empire of 1871 to 1918. It was Hitler's goal to create a Third Reich, the empire of Nazi Germany.

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

“We must develop organizations in which an individual's entire life can take place. Then every activity and every need of every individual will be regulated by the collectivity represented by the party. There is

no longer any arbitrary will, there are no longer any free realms in which the individual belongs to himself. . . . The time of personal happiness is over.”

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

The State and Terror Nazi Germany was the scene of almost constant personal and institutional conflict. This resulted in administrative chaos. Struggle was a basic feature of relationships within the party, within the state, and between party and state. Hitler, of course, was the ultimate decision maker and absolute ruler.

For those who needed coercion, the Nazi totalitarian state used terror and repression. The *Schutzstaffeln* (“Guard Squadrons”), known simply as the SS, were an important force for maintaining order. The SS was originally created as Hitler's personal bodyguard. Under the direction of **Heinrich Himmler**, the SS came to control not only the secret police forces that Himmler had set up, but also the regular police forces.

a way of life. By 1938, training in the military arts was also part of the routine. Even boys 10 to 14 years old were given small-arms drill and practice with dummy hand grenades. Those who were 14 to 18 years old bore army packs and rifles while on camping trips in the countryside.

The Hitler Youth had a female division, known as the League of German Girls, for girls aged 10 to 18. They, too, had uniforms: white blouses, blue ankle-length skirts, and sturdy hiking shoes. Camping and hiking were also part of the girls' activities. More important, however, girls were taught domestic skills—how to cook, clean houses, and take care of children. In Nazi Germany, women were expected to be faithful wives and dutiful mothers.



Many German children were proud of being part of the Hitler Youth.

CONNECTING TO THE PAST

- 1. Explaining** What ideals and values did the Hitler Youth promote?
- 2. Analyzing** How did the Hitler Youth help support the Nazi attempt to create a total state?
- 3. Writing about History** Do organizations like the Hitler Youth exist today in the United States? How are they similar or different?



Three Dictators: Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler

	Benito Mussolini (1883–1945)	Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)	Adolf Hitler (1889–1945)
Country	Italy	USSR	Germany
Political Title	Prime Minister	General Secretary	Chancellor
Date in Power	1922	1929	1933
Political Party	Fascist Party	Communist Party	National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP, or Nazi)
Type of Government	Fascist	Communist	Fascist
Source(s) of Support	Middle-class industrialists and large land owners	Party officials	Industrial leaders, landed aristocrats, military, and bureaucracy
Methods of Controlling Opposition	Secret police (OVRA), imprisonment, outlawing other parties, propaganda, censorship of the press	Purges, prison camps, secret police, state-run press, forced labor camps, executions	<i>Schutzstaffeln</i> (SS) police force, propaganda, state-run press, terror, repression, racial laws, concentration and death camps
Policies	Support for Catholic Church, nationalism, antisocialism, anticommunism	Five-Year Plans for rapid industrialization, collectivization of farms	Rearmament, public projects to put people to work, anti-Semitism, racism, social Darwinism, extreme nationalism

Chart Skills

Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler all came to power after World War I.

- 1. Making Comparisons** Compare the governments of Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler. How were they similar?
- 2. Identifying** What methods do people in a democracy use to express their opposition to government policies? Why would these methods not have worked under these dictators?

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

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

Unemployment, which had reached 6 million people in 1932, dropped to 2.6 million in 1934 and less than 500,000 in 1937. The regime claimed full credit for solving Germany's economic woes. The new regime's part in bringing an end to the depression was an important factor in leading many Germans to accept Hitler and the Nazis.

Spectacles and Organizations Mass demonstrations and spectacles were also used to make the German people an instrument of Hitler's policies. These meetings, especially the **Nuremberg** party rallies that were held every September, had great appeal. They usually evoked mass enthusiasm and excitement.

Institutions, such as the Catholic and Protestant churches, primary and secondary schools, and universities, were also brought under the control of the Nazi totalitarian state. Nazi professional organizations and leagues were formed for civil servants, teachers, women, farmers, doctors, and lawyers. In addition, youth organizations taught Nazi ideals.

Women and Nazism Women played a crucial role in the Aryan state as bearers of the children who, it

was believed, would bring about the triumph of the Aryan race. The Nazis believed men were destined to be warriors and political leaders, while women were meant to be wives and mothers. By preserving this clear distinction, each could best serve to “maintain the whole community.”

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

Anti-Semitic Policies From its beginning, the Nazi Party reflected the strong anti-Semitic beliefs of Adolf Hitler. Once in power, the Nazis translated anti-Semitic ideas into anti-Semitic policies.

In September 1935, the Nazis announced new racial laws at the annual party rally in Nuremberg. These **Nuremberg laws** excluded Jews from German citizenship and forbade marriages between Jews and German citizens. Jews were also required to wear yellow Stars of David and to carry identification cards saying they were Jewish.

A more violent phase of anti-Jewish activity began on the night of November 9, 1938—the *Kristallnacht*, or “night of shattered glass.” In a destructive rampage against the Jews, Nazis burned synagogues and

“The broad mass of a nation . . . will more easily fall victim to a big lie than to a small one.”

—Adolf Hitler



destroyed some seven thousand Jewish businesses. At least a hundred Jews were killed. Thirty thousand Jewish males were rounded up and sent to concentration camps.

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

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

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define** Reichstag, concentration camp.
- Identify** Adolf Hitler, National Socialist German Workers’ Party, *Mein Kampf*, lebensraum, Enabling Act, Aryan, Heinrich Himmler, Nuremberg laws, *Kristallnacht*.
- Locate** Munich, Nuremberg.
- Summarize** the steps that Hitler took to become the sole ruler of Germany.
- List** the rights taken from the Jews by the Nazi government.

Critical Thinking

- Analyze** How did mass demonstrations and meetings contribute to the success of the Nazi Party?
- Organizing Information** Use a table to describe the policies and programs used by the Nazis to create a Third Reich. Identify the goals for each policy or program.

Policy/Program	Goals

Analyzing Visuals

- Examine** any two photos from this section. Compare and contrast the two photos. How do you think they relate to Hitler’s vision of Nazi Germany?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Find a library book by a German who lived under Nazism. Read several chapters that tell about the author’s life. In a report, give your opinion about whether that person could have resisted the government and why.

SECTION 4

Cultural and Intellectual Trends

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- Radios and movies were popular forms of entertainment that were used to spread political messages.
- New artistic and intellectual trends reflected the despair created by World War I and the Great Depression.

Key Terms

photomontage, surrealism, uncertainty principle

People to Identify

Salvador Dalí, James Joyce, Hermann Hesse

Places to Locate

Berlin, Dublin

Preview Questions

1. What trends dominated the arts and popular culture after 1918?
2. How did the new movements in arts and literature reflect the changes after World War I?

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Information Use a table like the one below to list literary works by Hesse and Joyce. Describe the techniques used in each work.

Literary Works	Techniques

Preview of Events

◆ 1915

◆ 1920

◆ 1925

◆ 1930

1920

First Dada show in Berlin

1922

James Joyce's *Ulysses* is published

1927

Werner Heisenberg explains the uncertainty principle

Voices from the Past



Tristan Tzara

In 1922, Tristan Tzara, a Romanian-French poet, gave a lecture on the new artistic movement called dadaism:

“I know that you have come here today to hear explanations. Well, don't expect to hear any explanations about Dada. You explain to me why you exist. You haven't the faintest idea. . . . Dada is a state of mind. Dada applies itself to everything, and yet it is nothing, it is the point where the yes and the no and all the opposites meet, not solemnly in the castles of human philosophies, but very simply at street corners, like dogs and grasshoppers. Like everything in life, Dada is useless. Dada is without pretension, as life should be.”

—Tristan Tzara, *The Dada Painters and Poets*, Robert Motherwell, ed., 1922

Influenced by the insanity of World War I, dadaists attempted to give expression to what they saw as the absurdity of life.

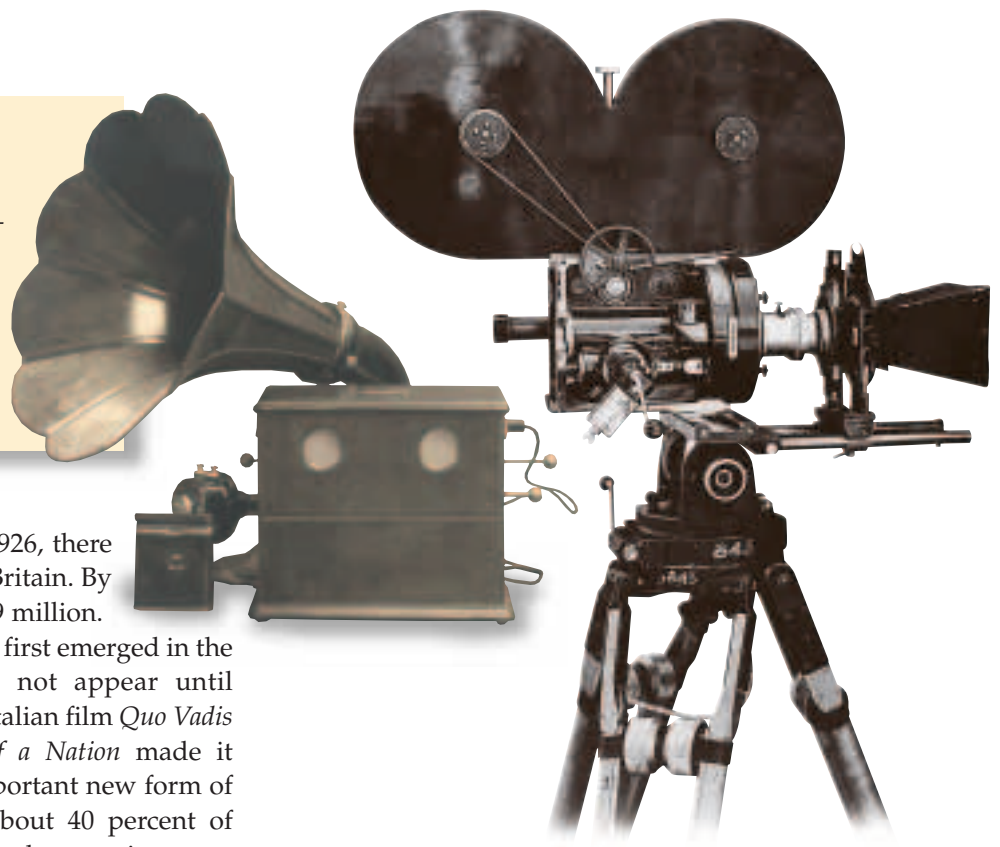
Mass Culture: Radio and Movies

A series of inventions in the late nineteenth century had led the way for a revolution in mass communications. Especially important was Marconi's discovery of wireless radio waves. A musical concert transmitted in June of 1920 had a major impact on radio broadcasting. Broadcasting facilities were built in the United States, Europe, and Japan during 1921 and 1922. At the same time, the mass



Picturing History

This 1920s movie camera (far right) and radio were part of a communications revolution. Millions of people could now hear or see the same entertainment, news, and advertisements. A more homogeneous, or uniform, culture resulted. **What are the positive and negative results of a uniform culture?**



production of radios began. In 1926, there were 2.2 million radios in Great Britain. By the end of the 1930s, there were 9 million.

Although motion pictures had first emerged in the 1890s, full-length features did not appear until shortly before World War I. The Italian film *Quo Vadis* and the American film *Birth of a Nation* made it apparent that cinema was an important new form of mass entertainment. By 1939, about 40 percent of adults in the more industrialized countries were attending a movie once a week. That figure had increased to 60 percent by the end of World War II.

Of course, radio and the movies could be used for political purposes. Hitler said, “Without motor-cars, sound films, and wireless, [there would be] no victory of Nazism.” Radio offered great opportunities for reaching the masses. This became obvious when it was discovered that Adolf Hitler’s fiery speeches made just as great an impact on people when heard over the radio as they did in person. The Nazi regime encouraged radio listening by urging manufacturers to produce inexpensive radios that could be bought on an installment plan.

Film, too, had propaganda potential, a fact not lost on Joseph Goebbels (GUH[R]•buhlz), the propaganda minister of Nazi Germany. Believing that film was one of the “most modern and scientific means of influencing the masses,” Goebbels created a special film division in his Propaganda Ministry.

The Propaganda Ministry supported the making of both documentaries—nonfiction films—and popular feature films that carried the Nazi message. *The Triumph of the Will*, for example, was a documentary of the 1934 Nuremberg party rally. This movie was filmed by Leni Riefenstahl, an actress turned director. It forcefully conveyed to viewers the power of National Socialism.

Reading Check Explaining Why was the radio an important propaganda tool for the Nazis?

Mass Leisure

After World War I, new work patterns provided people with more free time to take advantage of the leisure activities that had developed at the turn of the century. By 1920, the eight-hour day had become the norm for many office and factory workers in northern and western Europe.

Professional sporting events aimed at large audiences were an important aspect of mass leisure. Travel was another favorite activity. Trains, buses, and cars made trips to beaches or holiday resorts increasingly popular and affordable. Beaches, such as the one at Brighton in Great Britain, were mobbed by crowds of people from all social classes.

Mass leisure offered new ways for totalitarian states to control the people. The Nazi regime, for example, adopted a program called *Kraft durch Freude* (“Strength through Joy”). The program offered a variety of leisure activities to fill the free time of the working class. These activities included concerts, operas, films, guided tours, and sporting events. Especially popular were the program’s inexpensive vacations, which were similar to modern package tours. A vacation could be a cruise to Scandinavia or the Mediterranean. More likely for workers, it was a shorter trip within Germany.

Reading Check Examining How did the “Strength through Joy” program help to support the Nazi regime?





History through Art

The Persistence of Memory by Salvador Dalí, 1931 Surrealism gave everyday objects a dream-like quality. Dalí, like many surrealist artists, was influenced by Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious. [Analyze why surrealism developed in the period between the wars.](#)

Artistic and Literary Trends

Four years of devastating war had left many Europeans with a profound sense of despair. To many people, the horrors of World War I meant that something was dreadfully wrong with Western values, that human beings were violent animals who were incapable of creating a sane and rational world. The Great Depression and the growth of violent fascist movements only added to the despair created by the war.

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

Art: Nightmares and New Visions After 1918, artistic trends mainly reflected developments made before the war. Abstract art, for example, became ever more popular. In addition, a prewar fascination with the absurd and the unconscious content of the mind seemed even more appropriate in light of the nightmare landscapes of the World War I battlefronts. "The world does not make sense, so why should

art?" was a common remark. This sentiment gave rise to both the Dada movement and surrealism.

The dadaists were artists who were obsessed with the idea that life has no purpose. They were revolted by what they saw as the insanity of life and tried to express that feeling in their art. Dada artist Hannah Höch, for example, used **photomontage** (a picture made of a combination of photographs) to comment on women's roles in the new mass culture. Her work was part of the first Dada show in **Berlin** in 1920.

A more important artistic movement than dadaism was

surrealism. This movement sought a reality beyond the material world and found it in the world of the unconscious. By portraying fantasies, dreams, and even nightmares, the surrealists sought to show the greater reality that exists beyond the world of physical appearances.

The Spaniard **Salvador Dalí** was the high priest of surrealism. Dalí painted everyday objects but separated them from their normal contexts. By placing recognizable objects in unrecognizable relationships, Dalí created a strange world in which the irrational became visible.

Not everybody accepted modern art forms. Many people denounced what they saw as decay in the arts. Nowhere was this more evident than in Nazi Germany. In the 1920s, Weimar Germany was one of the chief European centers for modern arts and sciences. Hitler and the Nazis, however, rejected modern art as "degenerate." In a speech in July 1937, Hitler proclaimed:

“The people regarded this art [modern art] as the outcome of an impudent and shameless arrogance or of a simply shocking lack of skill; it felt that . . . these achievements which might have been produced by untalented children of from eight to ten years old—could never be valued as an expression of our own times or of the German future.”

Hitler and the Nazis believed that they could create a new and genuine German art. It would glorify the strong, the healthy, and the heroic—the qualities



valued by the Aryan race. The new German art developed by the Nazis, however, was actually derived from nineteenth-century folk art, and emphasized realistic scenes of everyday life.

Literature: The Search for the Unconscious The interest in the unconscious that was evident in art was also found in new literary techniques. For example, “stream of consciousness” was a technique used by writers to report the innermost thoughts of each character. The most famous example of this approach is the novel *Ulysses*, published by the Irish writer **James Joyce** in 1922. *Ulysses* tells the story of one day in the life of ordinary people in **Dublin** by following the flow of their inner thoughts.

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

✓ Reading Check Examining Why were artists and writers after World War I attracted to Freud’s theory of the unconscious?

The Heroic Age of Physics

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

The new picture of the universe that was unfolding in physics undermined the old certainties of the classical physics of Newton. Newtonian physics had made people believe that all phenomena could be completely defined and predicted. In 1927, this belief was shaken when the German physicist Werner Heisenberg explained an observation he called the **uncertainty principle**.

Physicists knew that atoms were made up of smaller parts (subatomic particles). The fact that the behavior of these subatomic particles is unpredictable provides the foundation for the uncertainty principle. Heisenberg’s theory essentially suggests that all physical laws are based on uncertainty. The theory’s emphasis on randomness challenges Newtonian physics and thus, in a way, represents a new worldview. It is unlikely that many nonscientists understood the implications of Heisenberg’s work. Nevertheless, the principle of uncertainty fit in well with the other uncertainties of the interwar years.

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

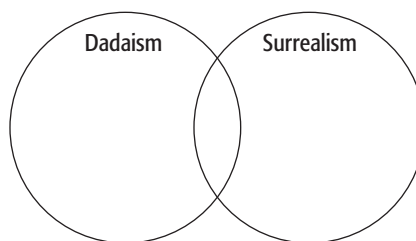
SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Define** photomontage, surrealism, uncertainty principle.
- 2. Identify** *The Triumph of the Will*, Salvador Dalí, James Joyce, Hermann Hesse.
- 3. Locate** Berlin, Dublin.
- 4. Explain** how dadaism and surrealism reflected economic and political developments after World War I. Also explain how the painting on page 556, Dalí’s *The Persistence of Memory*, supports your explanation.
- 5. List** the qualities that the Nazis wanted German art to glorify. Why do you think Hitler was concerned with issues such as the content and style of art?

Critical Thinking

- 6. Evaluate** What impact did technological advances in transportation and communication have on Western culture between the wars?
- 7. Compare and Contrast** Use a Venn diagram like the one below to compare the Dada movement and surrealism.



Analyzing Visuals

- 8. Examine** the photographs on page 555. Describe how our culture has been influenced by radio and movies. What communication technology is most influential today?

Writing About History

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

Using Key Terms

1. A _____ is a picture made of a combination of photographs.
2. A _____ is a period of low economic activity and rising unemployment.
3. The Soviet government followed a policy of _____ when it took private property after World War I without payments to the former owners.
4. A _____ exists when almost all power in a nation is held by the central government.
5. Lenin abandoned war communism in 1921 in favor of his _____, a modified version of the old capitalist system.
6. The government policy of going into debt to pay for public works projects, such as building highways, is called _____.
7. According to the _____, no one could determine the path of subatomic particles, meaning all physical laws had elements of unpredictability.
8. The German parliament is known as the _____.
9. The _____ was the leading policy maker of the Communist Party.
10. _____ is the right of unions to negotiate with employers.

Reviewing Key Facts

11. **History** What did President Roosevelt call the program designed to fight the depression in the United States?
12. **Economics** Why were the Germans unable to pay all of the reparations assessed by the Treaty of Versailles?

13. **History** Why did Germany choose to become involved in the Spanish Civil War?
14. **Culture** Why did Hitler label modern art as degenerate?
15. **Economics** What did Germany do to cause high rates of inflation after World War I?
16. **Government** Describe how Stalin defeated Trotsky.
17. **Culture** What was the significance of the Italian Fascist slogan "Woman into the Home"?
18. **Economics** Describe Lenin's New Economic Policy.
19. **History** What was the basic purpose of the Nuremberg laws?
20. **Government** Why did Trotsky and his followers want to spread communism to other nations?

Critical Thinking

21. **Cause and Effect** Why did the depression help extremist leaders gain power in many nations during the 1930s?
22. **Compare and Contrast** How was Roosevelt's New Deal both similar to and different from Stalin's Five-Year Plan?

Writing About History

23. **Expository Writing** Write an essay in which you relate one of the following to the uncertainties and disillusionment of the interwar years: mass entertainment, mass leisure, professional sports, dadaism, surrealism, or the "stream of consciousness" technique in literature. Research your topic and provide references and a bibliography to accompany your essay.

Chapter Summary

Between 1919 and 1939, the West experienced great economic and political challenges.

Political and Economic Changes

- In Britain, the Conservative Party implements traditional economic policies.
- In the United States, President Roosevelt develops the New Deal, a policy of active government intervention in the economy.
- In France, the Popular Front establishes the French New Deal, which promotes workers' rights.

Rise of Totalitarianism

- In Italy, Mussolini leads the Fascists to power.
- Stalin becomes dictator of the Soviet Union and purges the Communist Party of Old Bolsheviks.
- In Germany, Hitler establishes a totalitarian Nazi regime and starts the large-scale persecution of Jews.

Innovations and Ideas

- The artistic movements of dadaism and surrealism reflect the uncertainty of life created by World War I.
- Radio and film transform communications.
- Literary techniques reflect an interest in the unconscious.
- Heisenberg's uncertainty principle suggests that physical laws are based on uncertainty.

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HISTORY
Online



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 17—Self-Check Quiz** to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Analyzing Sources

The crisis of confidence in Western civilization ran deep. It was well captured in the words of the French poet Paul Valéry in the early 1920s:

“The storm has died away, and we are still restless, Uneasy, as if the storm were about to break. Almost all the affairs of men remain in a terrible uncertainty. We think of what has disappeared, and we are almost destroyed by what has been destroyed; we do not know what will be born, and we fear the future. . . . Doubt and disorder are in us and with us. There is no thinking man, however shrewd or learned he may be, who can hope to dominate this anxiety, to escape from this impression of darkness.”

24. Pretend you do not know when Valéry wrote this poem. What might you be able to conclude about the time in which Valéry lived from this passage?
25. What do the first two lines of this poem convey?

Applying Technology Skills

26. **Creating a Multimedia Presentation** Search the Internet for sources on the Great Depression. Based on your research, create a multimedia presentation about the causes leading up to the depression and the effect the depression had on Europe and the United States. Use images from the Internet in your presentation. Include a plan describing the type of presentation you would like to develop and the steps you will take to ensure a successful presentation.

Making Decisions

27. Imagine that you are living in 1928. Pretend that you know everything that is going to occur because of the Great Depression and that you have the ability to move to any major country in the world. Where would you go and why? Would being part of a particular social class influence your decision?
28. Imagine that you are a young person living in Germany during 1935. Write a letter to your cousin who lives in the United States describing the influence of the increasingly powerful Nazi regime upon your life. Do you support Hitler's rise to power, or are you concerned about his policies?



Analyzing Maps and Charts

Study the map above to answer the following questions.

29. What advantage would the Nationalists seem to have had over the Republicans in February 1939?
30. How would the geographic location of the Republicans in 1939 have affected their supply routes?
31. Where was the most intense fighting concentrated?

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

The *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* by John Maynard Keynes was published in 1936. The book argued for

- A mercantilism.
- B disarmament.
- C deficit spending.
- D isolationism.

Test-Taking Tip: If you do not know the right answer to this question, use common sense to eliminate answer choices that do not make sense. Recall the context in which Keynes has been discussed in class or in your textbook. Think about the title of his book. These clues may help you eliminate incorrect answer choices.