Nationalism Around the World
1919–1939

Key Events
As you read this chapter, look for the key events in the history of nationalism around the world.
• The Balfour Declaration issued by the British foreign secretary in 1917 turned Palestine, a country with an 80 percent Muslim population, into a homeland for the Jews.
• Chiang Kai-shek positioned his Nationalist forces against Mao Zedong’s Communists.
• Key oil fields were discovered in the Persian Gulf area in 1938.

The Impact Today
The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.
• The conflict over Palestine continues to bring violence and unrest to the region.
• Today China remains a communist state, and Mao Zedong is remembered as one of the country’s most influential leaders.
• The Western world is very dependent upon oil from the Middle East.

The Destruction of the Old Order by José Clemente Orozco, c. 1922

1930
Gandhi’s Salt March protests British laws in India

1931
Japanese forces invade Manchuria

1933
Franklin D. Roosevelt announces the Good Neighbor policy

1938
Oil is discovered in Saudi Arabia

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Aramco oil refinery in Ras Tanura, Saudi Arabia
In 1930, Mohandas Gandhi, the 61-year-old leader of the Indian movement for independence from British rule, began a march to the sea with 78 followers. Their destination was Dandi, a little coastal town some 240 miles (386 km) away. The group covered about 12 miles (19 km) a day.

As they went, Gandhi preached his doctrine of nonviolent resistance to British rule in every village through which he passed: “Civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man.” By the time Gandhi reached Dandi, 24 days later, his small group had become a nonviolent army of thousands.

When Gandhi and his followers arrived at Dandi, Gandhi picked up a pinch of crystallized sea salt from the sand. Thousands of people all along the coast did likewise. In so doing, they were openly breaking British laws that prohibited Indians from making their own salt. The British had long profited from their monopoly on the making and selling of salt, an item much in demand in India. They used coastal saltflats to collect crystallized sea salt to sell.

By their simple acts of disobedience, Gandhi and the Indian people had taken yet another step on their long march to independence from the British. The Salt March was one of many nonviolent activities that Gandhi undertook to win India’s national independence between World War I and World War II.

Why It Matters
With Europe in disorder after World War I, people living in colonies controlled by European countries began to think that the independence they desired might now be achieved. In Africa and Asia, movements for national independence began to take shape. In the Middle East, World War I ended the rule of the Ottoman Empire and created new states. For some Latin American countries, the fascist dictatorships of Italy and Germany provided models for change.

History and You You have read about many religious conflicts. In this chapter, you will learn about the conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus in India. Make a chart listing the differences between the groups. Explain how religious differences expand into other areas of conflict. How did this rivalry affect the development of India?
In 1925, Hayyim Bialik, a Ukrainian Jew who had settled in Palestine the year before, spoke at the opening of the Hebrew University of Palestine:

"Through cruel and bitter trials and tribulations, through blasted hopes and despair of the soul, through innumerable humiliations, we have slowly arrived at the realization that without a tangible homeland, without private national premises that are entirely ours, we can have no sort of a life, either material or spiritual. . . . We have not come here to seek wealth, or dominion, or greatness. How much of these can this poor little country give us? We wish to find here only a domain of our own for our physical and intellectual labor."

— *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, eds., 1998

Bialik was a believer in Zionism, a movement that supported the establishment of Palestine as a homeland for Jews.

**Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire**

The empire of the Ottoman Turks—which once had included parts of eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa—had been growing steadily weaker since the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, European nations called it “the sick man of Europe.”
The empire’s size had decreased dramatically. Much of its European territory had been lost. In North Africa, Ottoman rule had ended in the nineteenth century when France seized Algeria and Tunisia and Great Britain took control of Egypt. Greece also declared its independence in the nineteenth century.

In 1876, Ottoman reformers seized control of the empire’s government and adopted a constitution aimed at forming a legislative assembly. However, the sultan they placed on the throne, Abdulhamid II, suspended the new constitution and ruled by authoritarian means.

Abdulhamid paid a high price for his actions—he lived in constant fear of assassination. He kept a thousand loaded revolvers hidden throughout his guarded estate and insisted that his pets taste his food before he ate it.

The suspended constitution became a symbol of change to a group of reformers named the Young Turks. This group was able to force the restoration of the constitution in 1908 and to depose the sultan the following year. However, the Young Turks lacked strong support for their government. The stability of the empire was also challenged by many ethnic Turks who had begun to envision a Turkish state that would encompass all people of Turkish nationality.

Impact of World War I The final blow to the old empire came from World War I. After the Ottoman government allied with Germany, the British sought to undermine Ottoman rule in the Arabian Peninsula by supporting Arab nationalist activities there. The nationalists were aided by the efforts of the dashing British adventurer T. E. Lawrence, popularly known as “Lawrence of Arabia.”

In 1916, the local governor of Makkah, encouraged by Great Britain, declared Arabia independent from Ottoman rule. British troops, advancing from Egypt, seized Palestine. After suffering more than three hundred thousand deaths during the war, the Ottoman Empire made peace with the Allies in October 1918.

Massacre of the Armenians During the war, the Ottoman Turks had alienated the Allies with their policies toward minority subjects, especially the Armenians. The Christian Armenian minority had been pressing the Ottoman government for its independence for years. In 1915, the government violently reacted to an Armenian uprising by killing Armenian men and expelling women and children from the empire.

Within seven months, six hundred thousand Armenians had been killed, and five hundred thousand had been deported (sent out of the country). Of those deported, four hundred thousand died while marching through the deserts and swamps of Syria and Mesopotamia.

By September 1915, an estimated 1 million Armenians were dead. They were victims of genocide, the deliberate mass murder of a particular racial, political, or cultural group. (A similar practice would be called ethnic cleansing in the Bosnian War of 1993 to 1996.) One eyewitness to the 1915 Armenian deportation wrote:

“She saw vultures hovering over children who had fallen dead by the roadside. She saw beings crawling along, maimed, starving and begging for bread. From time to time she passed soldiers driving before them with whips and rifle-butts whole families, men, women and children, shrieking, pleading, wailing. These were the Armenian people setting out for exile into the desert from which there was no return.”

Armenian children who have been orphaned wait to board a ship that will take them from Turkey to Greece. The Turks killed approximately 1 million Armenians and deported half a million.
Emergence of the Turkish Republic  At the end of World War I, the tottering Ottoman Empire collapsed. Great Britain and France made plans to divide up Ottoman territories in the Middle East. Only the area of present-day Turkey remained under Ottoman control. Then, Greece invaded Turkey and seized the western parts of the Anatolian Peninsula.

The invasion alarmed key elements in Turkey, who were organized under the leadership of the war hero Colonel Mustafa Kemal. Kemal resigned from the army and summoned a national congress calling for the creation of an elected government and a new Republic of Turkey. His forces drove the Greeks from the Anatolian Peninsula. In 1923, the last of the Ottoman sultans fled the country, which was now declared to be the Turkish Republic. The Ottoman Empire had finally come to an end.

Reading Check  Evaluating How did the Ottoman Empire finally end?

The Modernization of Turkey  

President Kemal was now popularly known as Atatürk (AT•uh•TUHRK), or “father Turk.” Over the next several years, he tried to transform Turkey into a modern state. A democratic system was put in place, but the president did not tolerate opposition and harshly suppressed his critics.

Atatürk’s changes went beyond politics. Many Arabic elements were eliminated from the Turkish language, which was now written in the Roman alphabet. Popular education was introduced. All Turkish citizens were forced to adopt family (last) names, in the European style.

Atatürk also took steps to modernize Turkey’s economy. Factories were established, and a five-year plan provided for state direction over the economy.
Atatürk also tried to modernize farming, although he had little effect on the nation’s peasants.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Atatürk’s reform program was his attempt to break the power of the Islamic religion. He wanted to transform Turkey into a secular state—a state that rejects religious influence on its policies. Atatürk said, “Religion is like a heavy blanket that keeps the people of Turkey asleep.”

The caliphate was formally abolished in 1924. Men were forbidden to wear the fez, the brimless cap worn by Turkish Muslims. When Atatürk began wearing a Western panama hat, one of his critics remarked, “You cannot make a Turk into a Westerner by giving him a hat.”

Women were forbidden to wear the veil, a traditional Islamic custom. New laws gave women marriage and inheritance rights equal to men’s. In 1934, women received the right to vote. All citizens were also given the right to convert to other religions.

The legacy of Kemal Atatürk was enormous. In practice, not all of his reforms were widely accepted, especially by devout Muslims. However, most of the changes that he introduced were kept after his death in 1938. By and large, the Turkish Republic was the product of Atatürk’s determined efforts.

The Beginnings of Modern Iran

A similar process of modernization was underway in Persia. Under the Qajar dynasty (1794–1925), the country had not been very successful in resolving its domestic problems. Increasingly, the dynasty had turned to Russia and Great Britain to protect itself from its own people, which led to a growing foreign presence in Persia. The discovery of oil in the southern part of the country in 1908 attracted more foreign interest. Oil exports increased rapidly, and most of the profits went to British investors.

The growing foreign presence led to the rise of a native Persian nationalist movement. In 1921, Reza Khan, an officer in the Persian army, led a military mutiny that seized control of Tehran, the capital city. In 1925, Reza Khan established himself as shah, or king, and was called Reza Shah Pahlavi. The name of the new dynasty he created, Pahlavi, was the name of the ancient Persian language.

During the next few years, Reza Shah Pahlavi tried to follow the example of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey. He introduced a number of reforms to strengthen and modernize the government, the military, and the economic system. Persia became the modern state of Iran in 1935.

Unlike Kemal Atatürk, Reza Shah Pahlavi did not try to destroy the power of Islamic beliefs. However, he did encourage the creation of a Western-style educational system and forbade women to wear the veil in public.

Foreign powers continued to harass Iran. To free himself from Great Britain and the Soviet Union, Reza Shah Pahlavi drew closer to Nazi Germany. During World War II, the shah rejected the demands of Great Britain and the Soviet Union to expel a large number of Germans from Iran. In response, the Soviet Union and Great Britain sent troops into the country. Reza Shah Pahlavi resigned in protest and was replaced by his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

Comparing How was Reza Shah Pahlavi’s modernization of Persia different from Atatürk’s transformation of Turkey?

Arab Nationalism

World War I offered the Arabs an opportunity to escape from Ottoman rule. However, there was a question as to what would replace that rule. The Arabs were not a nation, though they were united by their language and their Islamic cultural and religious heritage.

Because Britain had supported the efforts of Arab nationalists in 1916, the nationalists hoped this support would continue after the war ended. Instead, Britain made an agreement with France to create a number of mandates in the area. These mandates were former Ottoman territories that were now supervised by the new League of Nations. The league, in
turn, granted league members the right to govern particular mandates. Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan were assigned to Great Britain; Syria and Lebanon to France.

For the most part, Europeans created these Middle Eastern states. The Europeans determined the nations’ borders and divided the peoples. In general, the people in these states had no strong identification with their designated country. However, a sense of Arab nationalism remained.

In the early 1920s, a reform leader, Ibn Saud, united Arabs in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Devout and gifted, Ibn Saud (from whom came the name Saudi Arabia) won broad support. He established the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932.

At first, the new kingdom, which consisted mostly of the vast desert of central Arabia, was desperately poor. Its main source of income came from the Muslim pilgrims who visited Makkah and Madinah.

During the 1930s, however, U.S. prospectors began to explore for oil. Standard Oil made a successful strike at Dhahran, on the Persian Gulf, in 1938. Soon, an Arabian-American oil company, popularly called Aramco, was created. The isolated kingdom was suddenly flooded with Western oil industries that brought the promise of wealth.

Examining How were many Middle Eastern states created after World War I?

The Problem of Palestine

The situation in Palestine made matters even more complicated in the Middle East. While Palestine had been the home of the Jews in antiquity, Jews had been forced into exile in the first century A.D. A Jewish presence always remained, but Muslim Arabs made up about 80 percent of the region’s population. In Palestine, the nationalism of Jews and Arabs came into conflict because both groups viewed the area as a potential national state.

Since the 1890s, the Zionist movement had advocated that Palestine should be established as a Jewish state. Jews recalled that the ancient state of Israel had been located there. Arabs pointed out that their ancestors had also lived in Palestine for centuries.

As a result of the Zionist movement and growing anti-Semitism in Europe, more Jews began to migrate to Palestine. Then during World War I, the British government, hoping to win Jewish support for the Allies, issued the Balfour Declaration. It expressed support for a national home for the Jews in Palestine, but it also added that this goal should not undermine the rights of the non-Jewish peoples living there.

The Balfour Declaration drew even more Jews to Palestine. In 1933, the Nazi regime in Germany began policies that later led to the Holocaust and the murder of 6 million Jews. During the 1930s, many Jews fled to Palestine. Tensions grew and violence between Jewish and Muslim inhabitants flared.

Trying to end the violence, the British declared in 1939 that only 75,000 Jewish people would be allowed to immigrate to Palestine over the next five years; after that, no more Jews could do so. This decision, however, only intensified the tension and increased the bloodshed.

Explaining Why did the Balfour Declaration produce problems in Palestine?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding
1. Define genocide, ethnic cleansing.
3. Locate Tehran, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Palestine.
4. Explain why the British supported Arab nationalist activities in 1916.
5. List the mandates assigned to Great Britain and France.

Critical Thinking
6. Evaluate Why was it difficult for the Arab peoples to form one nation?
7. Summarizing Information Make a diagram like the one below showing eight aspects of the modernization of Turkey.

Analyzing Visuals
8. Examine the photo on page 564 showing Armenian children who lost their parents. Why were hundreds of thousands of Armenians killed or driven from their homes by the Turks?

9. Expository Writing Locate information regarding the current political policies of Iran. Write two paragraphs comparing this information with the policies of Reza Shah Pahlavi. Document your sources.
Jomo Kenyatta, an advocate of independence in Kenya, wrote:

> By driving the African off his ancestral lands, the Europeans have reduced him to a state of serfdom incompatible with human happiness. The African is conditioned, by the cultural and social institutions of centuries, to a freedom of which Europe has little conception, and it is not in his nature to accept serfdom forever. He realizes that he must fight unceasingly for his own complete emancipation [freedom]; for without this he is doomed to remain the prey of rival imperialisms, which in every successive year will drive their fangs more deeply into his vitality and strength.

—Facing Mount Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, 1959

Between 1919 and 1939, leaders emerged in Africa and Asia who sought to free their people from the power of the West. While none of these nationalist movements were successful before World War II, they did begin the journey toward independence.

**Movements toward Independence in Africa**

Black Africans had fought in World War I in British and French armies. Many Africans hoped they would be rewarded with independence after the war. As one newspaper in the Gold Coast argued, if African volunteers who fought on European battlefields were “good enough to fight and die in the Empire’s cause, they were good enough to have a share in the government of their countries.”
The peace settlement after World War I was a great disappointment. Germany was stripped of its African colonies, but these colonies were awarded to Great Britain and France to be administered as mandates for the League of Nations. Britain and France now governed a vast portion of Africa.

**African Protests** After World War I, Africans became more active politically. Africans who had fought in World War I had learned new ideas about freedom and nationalism in the West. In Africa itself, missionary schools taught their pupils about liberty and equality. As more Africans became aware of the enormous gulf between Western ideals and practices, they decided to seek reform.

Reform movements took different forms. In **Kenya** in 1921, the Young Kikuyu Association, organized by Harry Thuku, a telephone operator, protested the high taxes levied by the British rulers. His message was simple: “Hearken, every day you pay . . . tax to the Europeans of Government. Where is it sent? It is their task to steal the property of the Kikuyu people.” Thuku was arrested. When an angry crowd stormed the jail and demanded his release, government authorities fired into the crowd and killed at least 20 people. Thuku was sent into exile.

A struggle against Italian rule in Libya also occurred in the 1920s. Forces led by Omar Mukhtar used guerrilla warfare against the Italians and defeated them a number of times. The Italians reacted ferociously. They established concentration camps and used all available modern weapons to crush the revolt. Mukhtar’s death ended the movement.

Although colonial powers typically responded to such movements with force, they also began to make some reforms. They made these reforms in the hope of satisfying African peoples. Reforms, however, were too few and too late. By the 1930s, an increasing number of African leaders were calling for independence, not reform.
Calls for independence came from a new generation of young African leaders. Many had been educated abroad, in Europe and the United States. Those who had studied in the United States were especially influenced by the ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey.

Du Bois, an African American educated at Harvard University, was the leader of a movement that tried to make all Africans aware of their own cultural heritage. Garvey, a Jamaican who lived in Harlem in New York City, stressed the need for the unity of all Africans, a movement known as Pan-Africanism. His Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, issued in 1920, had a strong impact on later African leaders.

Leaders and movements in individual African nations also appeared. Educated in Great Britain, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya argued in his book Facing Mount Kenya that British rule was destroying the traditional culture of the peoples of Africa. Léopold Senghor, who had studied in France and written poetry about African culture, organized an independence movement in Senegal. Nnamdi Azikiwe, of Nigeria, began a newspaper, The West African Pilot, in 1937 and urged nonviolence as a method to gain independence. These are but three of the leaders who worked to end colonial rule in Africa. Success, however, would not come until after World War II.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did many Africans become more politically active after World War I?

The Movement for Indian Independence

As you read, you will learn how Mohandas Gandhi called on Indians to protest British laws by using the technique of civil disobedience. Gandhi was one leader in India’s independence movement.

Mohandas Gandhi had become active in the movement for Indian self-rule before World War I. By the time of World War I, the Indian people had already begun to refer to him as India’s “Great Soul,” or Mahatma. After the war, Gandhi remained an important figure, and new leaders also arose.

Protest and Reform Gandhi left South Africa in 1914. When he returned to India, he began to organize mass protests to achieve his aims. A believer in nonviolence, Gandhi protested British laws by using the methods of civil disobedience—refusal to obey laws considered to be unjust.

In 1919, the protests led to violence and a strong British reaction. British troops killed hundreds of unarmed protesters in the city of Amritsar, in northwestern India. Horrified at the violence, Gandhi briefly retreated from active politics. He was later arrested for his role in protests against British rule and spent several years in prison.

In 1935, Great Britain passed the Government of India Act. This act expanded the role of Indians in the governing process. Before, the Legislative Council had only given advice to the British governor. Now, it became a two-house parliament. Two-thirds of its Indian members were to be elected. Similar bodies were created at the provincial level. Five million Indians (still only a small percentage of the total population) were given the right to vote.

A Push for Independence The Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in 1885 to seek reforms in Britain’s government of India (see Chapter 14). Reforms, however, were no longer enough for many members of the INC. Under its new leader, Motilal Nehru, the INC wanted to push for full independence.

Gandhi, now released from prison, returned to his earlier policy of civil disobedience. He worked hard to inform ordinary Indians of his beliefs and methods. It was wrong, he said, to harm any living being. Hate could only be overcome by love, and love, rather than force, could win people over to one’s position.

Nonviolence was central to Gandhi’s campaign of noncooperation and civil disobedience. To protest unjust British laws, Gandhi told his people: “Don’t pay your taxes or send your children to an English-supported school. . . . Make your own cotton cloth by spinning the thread at home, and don’t buy English-made goods. Provide yourselves with home-made salt, and do not buy government-made salt.”

Britain had introduced measures increasing the salt tax and prohibiting the Indian people from manufacturing or harvesting their own salt. In 1930, Gandhi protested these measures. Accompanied by supporters, he walked to the sea on what became known as the Salt March. On reaching the coast, Gandhi picked up a pinch of salt. Thousands of Indians followed his act of civil disobedience. Gandhi
and many other members of the INC were arrested. (See page 779 to read excerpts from Gandhi Takes the Path of Civil Disobedience in the Primary Sources Library.)

New Leaders and New Problems  In the 1930s, a new figure entered the movement. Jawaharlal Nehru, the son of Motilal Nehru, studied law in Great Britain. The younger Nehru was an example of a new kind of Indian politician. He was upper class and intellectual.

The independence movement split into two paths. The one identified with Gandhi was religious, Indian, and traditional. The other, identified with Nehru, was secular, Western, and modern. The existence of two approaches created uncertainty about India’s future path.

In the meantime, another problem had arisen in the independence movement. Hostility between Hindus and Muslims had existed for centuries. Muslims were dissatisfied with the Hindu dominance of the INC and raised the cry “Islam is in danger.”

By the 1930s, the Muslim League, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was beginning to believe in the creation of a separate Muslim state of Pakistan (meaning “the land of the pure”) in the northwest.

Reading Check  Identifying What three non-British conflicts affected the Indian independence movements in the 1930s?

The Rise of a Militarist Japan  During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Japanese society developed along a Western model. The economic and social reforms launched during the Meiji Era led to increasing prosperity and the development of a modern industrial and commercial sector.

A Zaibatsu Economy  In the Japanese economy, various manufacturing processes were concentrated within a single enterprise called the *zaibatsu*, a large financial and industrial corporation. These firms gradually developed, often with government help, into vast companies that controlled major segments of the Japanese industrial sector. By 1937, the four largest *zaibatsu* (Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda) controlled 21 percent of the banking sector.

**Paths to Modernization**

After World War I, new states in the Middle East and Asia sought to modernize their countries. To many people, modernization meant Westernization, the adoption of political and economic reforms based on Western models. These models included government based on democratic principles and a free-market, or capitalist, economic system based on industrialization.

After the success of the Communist revolution in Russia, however, a second model for modernization appeared. To some people, a Marxist system seemed to offer a better and quicker way to transform an agricultural state into a modern industrial state. The new system would be a socialist model in which an authoritarian state, not private industry, would own and control the economy.

Between World War I and World War II, some new republics combined features of both systems. In Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, creator of the new Turkish republic, set up a national assembly but ruled with an iron fist. His economic modernization combined private industries with state direction of the economy.

In China, the Nanjing Republic under Chiang Kai-shek supported the idea of democracy but maintained the need for dictatorial government as a first stage to prepare the Chinese people for democracy. Economic modernization in the new Chinese republic combined a modern industrial state with the traditional Chinese values of hard work and obedience.

Comparing Cultures  Using outside sources, research the current government of Turkey. How has the government developed since the rule of Kemal Atatürk? Does the current government reflect the influence of Western principles or has it evolved according to a Marxist model?
industry, 26 percent of mining, 35 percent of shipbuilding, and over 60 percent of paper manufacturing and insurance.

The concentration of wealth led to growing economic inequalities. City workers were poorly paid and housed. Economic crises added to this problem shortly after World War I when inflation in food prices led to food riots. A rapid increase in population led to food shortages. (The population of the Japanese islands increased from 43 million in 1900 to 73 million in 1940.) Later, when the Great Depression struck, workers and farmers suffered the most.

With hardships came calls for a return to traditional Japanese values. Traditionalists especially objected to the growing influence of Western ideas and values on Japanese educational and political systems. At the same time, many citizens denounced Japan’s attempt to find security through cooperation with the Western powers. Instead, they demanded that Japan use its own strength to dominate Asia and meet its needs.

**Japan and the West** In the early twentieth century, Japanese leaders began to have difficulty finding sources of raw materials and foreign markets for the nation’s manufactured goods. Until World War I, Japan had dealt with the problem by seizing territories—such as Formosa, Korea, and southern Manchuria—and making them part of the growing Japanese Empire. That policy succeeded but aroused the concern of the Western nations.

The United States was especially worried about Japanese expansion. The United States wanted to keep Asia open for U.S. trading activities. In 1922, the United States held a major conference of nations with interests in the Pacific. The major achievement of this conference was a nine-power treaty that recognized the territorial integrity of China and the maintenance of the Open Door policy. Japan accepted the provisions in return for recognition of its control of southern Manchuria.

During the remainder of the 1920s, the Japanese government tried to follow the rules established by the Washington Conference. This meant using diplomatic and economic means to realize Japanese interests in Asia. However, this approach did not prove popular.

Japanese industrialists began to expand into new areas, such as heavy industry, mining, chemicals, and the manufacturing of appliances and automobiles. These industries desperately needed resources not found in abundance in Japan. The Japanese government came under increasing pressure to find new sources for raw materials abroad.

**The Rise of Militarism** During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Japan moved toward a more democratic government. The parliament and political parties grew stronger. The influence of the old ruling oligarchy, however, remained strong. At the end of the 1920s, new problems led to the emergence of militant forces that encouraged Japan to become a militaristic state.

The rise of militant forces in Japan resulted when a group within the ruling party was able to gain control of the political system. The parliament and political parties grew stronger. The influence of the old ruling oligarchy, however, remained strong. At the end of the 1920s, new problems led to the emergence of militant forces that encouraged Japan to become a militaristic state.

The rise of militant forces in Japan resulted when a group within the ruling party was able to gain control of the political system. Some of the militants were civilians convinced that the parliamentary system had been corrupted by Western ideas. Others were members of the military who were angered by the cuts in military spending and the government’s pacifist policies during the early 1920s.
During the early 1930s, civilians formed extremist patriotic organizations, such as the Black Dragon Society. Members of the army and navy created similar societies. One group of middle-level army officers invaded Manchuria without government approval in the autumn of 1931. Within a short time, all of Manchuria had been conquered.

The Japanese government opposed the conquest of Manchuria but the Japanese people supported it. Soon Hideki Tojo and other military leaders dominated the government and supported Japanese expansionism. Emperor Hirohito, fearing that the monarchy would be abolished, refused to oppose the action of the military leaders.

Japanese society was put on wartime status. A military draft law was passed in 1938. All political parties were merged into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which called for Japanese expansion abroad. Culture was purged of most Western ideas. Militant leaders insisted on the need for stressing traditional Japanese values instead.

Reading Check

Examining How did the Japanese government change from the 1920s to the 1930s?

Nationalism and Revolution in Asia

Before World War I, the Marxist doctrine of social revolution had no appeal for Asian intellectuals. After all, most Asian societies were still agricultural and were hardly ready for revolution.

That situation began to change after the revolution in Russia in 1917. The rise to power of Lenin and the Bolsheviks showed that a revolutionary Marxist party could overturn an outdated system—even one that was not fully industrialized—and begin a new one.

The Spread of Communism In 1920, Lenin adopted a new revolutionary strategy aimed at societies outside the Western world. The chief means of spreading the word of Karl Marx was the Communist International, or Comintern for short. Formed in 1919, the Comintern was a worldwide organization of Communist parties dedicated to the advancement of world revolution.

At the Comintern’s headquarters in Moscow, agents were trained and then returned to their own countries to form Marxist parties and promote the cause of social revolution. By the end of the 1920s, practically every colonial society in Asia had a Communist party.

Communist Parties in Asia How successful were these new parties? In some countries, the local Communists were briefly able to establish a cooperative relationship with existing nationalist parties in a common struggle against Western imperialism. This was true in French Indochina, where Vietnamese Communists were organized by the Moscow-trained revolutionary Ho Chi Minh in the 1920s. The strongest Communist-nationalist alliance was formed in China (see Section 3). In most colonial societies, though, Communist parties had little success in the 1930s. They failed to build a secure base of support among the mass of the population.

Reading Check

Evaluating What was the relationship between communism and imperialism?
The Path to Liberation

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY
Ho Chi Minh learned about the revolution in Bolshevik Russia in 1919 while living in France. He became a dedicated follower of Lenin and eventually became a leader of the Vietnamese Communist movement. In the following passage, Ho Chi Minh talks about his reasons for becoming a Communist.

"After World War I, I made my living in Paris, now as a retoucher at a photographer’s, now as a painter of ‘Chinese antiquities’ (made in France!). I would distribute leaflets denouncing the crimes committed by the French colonialists in Vietnam.

At that time, I supported the Russian Revolution only instinctively, not yet grasping all its historic importance. I loved and admired Lenin because he was a great patriot who liberated his compatriots; until then, I had read none of his books.

The reason for my joining the French Socialist Party was that these ‘ladies and gentlemen’—as I called my comrades at that moment—had shown their sympathy toward me, toward the struggle of the oppressed peoples. But I understood neither what was a party, a trade-union, nor what was Socialism nor Communism. . . . A comrade gave me Lenin’s ‘Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions’ to read.

There were political terms difficult to understand in this thesis. But by dint of reading it again and again, finally I could grasp the main part of it. What emotion, enthusiasm, clear-sightedness, and confidence it instilled in me! I was overjoyed to tears. Though sitting alone in my room, I shouted aloud as if addressing large crowds. ‘Dear martyrs, compatriots! This is what we need, this is the path to our liberation!’

After that, I had entire confidence in Lenin."

—Ho Chi Minh,
The Path which Led Me to Leninism

Analyzing Primary Sources
1. Why was Ho Chi Minh living in France?
2. What were Ho Chi Minh’s feelings toward Lenin?
3. Why did Ho Chi Minh join the French Socialist Party?
In the fall of 1926, the young Communist Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-Tung) submitted a report to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee calling for a massive peasant revolt against the ruling order:

"In a very short time, in China's Central, Southern, and Northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the restraints that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants, and evil gentry into their graves. . . . In force and momentum the attack is tempestuous; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish."

—Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, 1954

The report shows Mao's confidence that peasants could play an active role in a Chinese revolution.

**Nationalists and Communists**

Revolutionary Marxism had its greatest impact in China. By 1920, central authority had almost ceased to exist in China. Two political forces began to emerge as competitors for the right to rule China: Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party, which had been driven from the political arena several years earlier, and the Chinese Communist Party.
In 1921, a group of young radicals, including several faculty and staff members from Beijing University, founded the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the commercial and industrial city of Shanghai. Comintern agents soon advised the new party to join with the more experienced Nationalist Party.

Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Nationalists (see Chapter 15), welcomed the cooperation. He needed the expertise that the Soviet Union could provide. His anti-imperialist words had alienated many Western powers. One English-language newspaper in Shanghai wrote, “All his life, all his influence, are devoted to ideas that keep China in turmoil, and it is utterly undesirable that he should be allowed to prosecute those aims here.” In 1923, the two parties—Nationalists and Communists—formed an alliance to oppose the warlords and drive the imperialist powers out of China.

For three years, the two parties overlooked their mutual suspicions and worked together. They mobilized and trained a revolutionary army to march north and seize control over China. This Northern Expedition began in the summer of 1926. By the following spring, revolutionary forces had taken control of all of China south of the Chang Jiang (Yangtze), including the major river ports of Wuhan and Shanghai.

Tensions between the two parties eventually rose to the surface. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925 and was succeeded as head of the Nationalist Party by the general Chiang Kai-shek (JEE•AHNG KY•SHEHK).

Chiang pretended to support the alliance with the Communists. In April 1927, however, he struck against the Communists and their supporters in Shanghai, killing thousands in what is called the Shanghai Massacre. The Communist-Nationalist alliance ceased to exist.

In 1928, Chiang Kai-shek founded a new Chinese republic at Nanjing. During the next three years, he worked to reunify China. Although Chiang saw Japan as a serious threat to the Chinese nation, he believed that Japan was less dangerous than his other enemy, the Communists. He once remarked that “the Communists are a disease of the heart.”

How did Chiang Kai-shek change the Communist-Nationalist alliance?

The Communists in Hiding

After the Shanghai Massacre, most of the Communist leaders went into hiding in the city. There, they tried to revive the Communist movement among the working class. Shanghai was a rich recruiting ground for the party. People were discontented and looking for leadership.

Some party members fled to the mountainous Jiangxi (jee•AHNG•SHEE) Province south of the Chiang Jiang. They were led by the young Communist organizer Mao Zedong (MOW DZUH•DOONG). Unlike most other leading members of the Communist Party, Mao was convinced that a Chinese revolution would be driven by the poverty-stricken peasants in the countryside rather than by the urban working class.
Chiang Kai-shek now tried to root the Communists out of their urban base in Shanghai and their rural base in Jiangxi Province. He succeeded in the first task in 1931. Most party leaders in Shanghai were forced to flee to Mao’s base in South China.

Chiang Kai-shek then turned his forces against Mao’s stronghold in Jiangxi Province. Chiang’s forces far outnumbered Mao’s, but Mao made effective use of guerrilla tactics, using unexpected maneuvers like sabotage and subterfuge to fight the enemy. Four slogans describe his methods: “When the enemy advances, we retreat! When the enemy halts and camps, we trouble them! When the enemy tries to avoid battle, we attack! When the enemy retreats, we pursue!”

**Understanding** Which group did Mao believe would start the Communist revolution in China?

**The Long March**

In 1934, Chiang’s troops, using their superior military strength, surrounded the Communist base in Jiangxi. However, Mao’s army, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), broke through the Nationalist lines and began its famous Long March.

Moving on foot through mountains, marshes, and deserts, Mao’s army traveled almost 6,000 miles (9,600 km) to reach the last surviving Communist base in the northwest of China. His troops had to fight all the way. Many froze or starved. One survivor remembered, “As the days went by, there was less and less to eat. After our grain was finished, we ate the horses, and then we lived on wild vegetables. When even the wild vegetables were finished, we ate our leather belts. After that we had to march on empty stomachs.”

One year later, Mao’s troops reached safety in the dusty hills of North China. Of the ninety thousand troops who had embarked on the journey, only nine...
thousand remained. In the course of the Long March, Mao Zedong had become the sole leader of the Chinese Communist Party. To people who lived at the time, it must have seemed that the Communist threat to the Nanjing regime was over. To the Communists, however, there remained hope for the future.

**Reading Check** Why did it seem that communism was no longer a threat to China after the Long March?

**The New China of Chiang Kai-shek**

In the meantime, Chiang Kai-shek had been trying to build a new nation. Chiang had publicly declared his commitment to the plans of Sun Yat-sen, which called for a republican government. First, however, there would be a transitional period. In Sun’s words:

> "China . . . needs a republican government just as a boy needs school. As a schoolboy must have good teachers and helpful friends, so the Chinese people, being for the first time under republican rule, must have a farsighted revolutionary government for their training. This calls for the period of political tutelage, which is a necessary transitional stage from monarchy to republicanism. Without this, disorder will be unavoidable."

In keeping with Sun’s program, Chiang announced a period of political tutelage (training) to prepare the Chinese people for a final stage of constitutional government. In the meantime, the Nationalists would use their dictatorial power to carry out a land-reform program and to modernize industry.

It would take more than plans on paper to create a new China, however. Years of neglect and civil war had severely weakened the political, economic, and social fabric of the nation. Most of the people who lived in the countryside were drained by warfare and civil strife. The peasants there were still very poor and overwhelmingly illiterate, and they made up 80 percent of China’s population.

A westernized middle class had begun to form in the cities. It was there that the new Nanjing government found much of its support. However, the new westernized elite pursued the middle-class values of individual advancement and material accumulation. They had few links with the peasants in the countryside.

Chiang Kai-shek was aware of the problem of introducing foreign ideas into a population that was still culturally conservative. Thus, while attempting to build a modern industrial state, he tried to bring together modern Western innovations with traditional Confucian values of hard work, obedience, and integrity. With his U.S.-educated wife Mei-ling Soong, Chiang set up a “New Life Movement.” Its goal was to promote traditional Confucian social ethics, such as integrity, propriety, and righteousness.
At the same time, it rejected what was viewed as the excessive individualism and material greed of Western capitalist values. Chiang Kai-shek faced a host of other problems as well. The Nanjing government had total control over only a handful of provinces in the Chang Jiang Valley. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Japanese threatened to gain control of northern China. The Great Depression was also having an ill effect on China’s economy.

In spite of all of these problems, Chiang did have some success. He undertook a massive road-building project and repaired and extended much of the country’s railroad system as well. He also established a national bank and improved the education system. In other areas, Chiang was less successful and progress was limited. For example, a land-reform program was enacted in 1930, but it had little effect. Because Chiang’s support came from the rural landed gentry, as well as the urban middle class, he did not press for programs that would lead to a redistribution of wealth, the shifting of wealth from a rich minority to a poor majority.

The government was also repressive. Fearing Communist influence, Chiang suppressed all opposition and censored free expression. In so doing, he alienated many intellectuals and political moderates.

**Reading Check**

Identifying What was the intended final stage of Chiang Kai-shek’s reform program?
Using an Electronic Spreadsheet

Why Learn This Skill?

Electronic spreadsheets can help people manage data quickly and easily. For example, if you want to know your grade average throughout the year, you could create a spreadsheet in which you enter your latest test and homework scores.

Learning the Skill

A spreadsheet is an electronic worksheet. All spreadsheets follow a basic design of columns and rows.

- Each column (vertical) is assigned a letter or number.
- Each row (horizontal) is assigned a number.
- A cell is where a column and row intersect.
- A cell’s position on the spreadsheet is labeled according to its corresponding column and row—Column A, Row 1 (A1); Column B, Row 2 (B2); and so on (see diagram).

Spreadsheets use standard formulas to calculate the numbers. You create a simple mathematical equation that uses these standard formulas and the computer does the calculations for you.

You can make changes in the spreadsheet by using the mouse or cursor to move to the appropriate cell. If you change any number in the cell, the computer will automatically recompute the totals. The computer will even copy a formula from one cell to another.

Practicing the Skill

Suppose you want to know the population densities (populations per square mile or square kilometer) of the countries in South Asia. Use these steps to create a spreadsheet.

1. In cell A1 type Country, in cell B1 type Population, in cell C1 type Land Area, and in cell D1 type Population Density.
2. In cells A2–A5 type India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. In cell A6, type Total for South Asia.
3. In cells B2–B5, enter the population of each country shown in cells A2–A5.
4. In cells C2–C5, enter the land area (square miles or square kilometers) of each country.
5. In cell D2, use the mathematical formula \( \frac{B2}{C2} \) to calculate the population density of each country. Copy this formula into cells D3–D5, changing the cell numbers in the formula as you enter each row.
6. In cell B6, create a formula to calculate the total population of South Asia \((B2+B3+B4+B5)\).
7. In cells C2–C5, enter the land area (square miles or square kilometers) of each country.
8. In cell D6, create a formula to calculate the total population density of South Asia \((B6÷C6)\).

Applying the Skill

Use a spreadsheet to enter your test scores and your homework grades for each of your classes. Calculate your average grade in each class, and then calculate your average grade in all your classes.
Nationalism in Latin America

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas
• Before the Great Depression, the United States was the foremost investor in Latin America.
• The Great Depression created instability in Latin America, which led to military coups and the creation of military dictatorships.

Key Terms
oligarchy

People to Identify
Juan Vicente Gómez, Hipólito Irigoyen, Getúlio Vargas, Lázaro Cárdenas

Places to Locate
Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Mexico

Preview Questions
1. What was the Good Neighbor policy?
2. How did the Great Depression affect the economies of Latin America?

Reading Strategy
Summarizing Information
Make a chart like the one below listing the main exports of Latin America.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preview of Events

1920 United States becomes the main investor in Latin America
1930 Latin American exports decrease by 50 percent
1938 Getúlio Vargas establishes his New State in Brazil

Voices from the Past

In July 1938, Getúlio Vargas spoke to the Brazilian nation to explain his dictatorial regime, which he called the New State:

“If you would ask me what is the program of the New State, I would tell you that its program is to crisscross the nation with railroads, highways, and airlines; to increase production; to provide for the workers and to encourage agriculture; to expand exports; to prepare the armed forces; to organize public opinion so that there is, body and soul, one Brazilian thought . . . finally [that] the preparation of internal and external defense by the rearmament of our brave armed forces and the simultaneous education of the new generations [is] inculcating [implanting] in them the spirit and love of the fatherland.”

—A Documentary History of Brazil, Bradford E. Burns, 1966

Vargas’s New State drew much of its inspiration from the Fascist regimes of Mussolini and Hitler.

The Latin American Economy

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Latin American economy was based largely on the export of foodstuffs and raw materials. Some countries relied on only one or two products for sale abroad. Argentina, for example, sent beef and wheat; Chile, nitrates and copper; Brazil and Caribbean nations, sugar; and
Central America, bananas. A few reaped large profits from these exports. For the majority of the population, however, the returns were small.

**Role of the United States** Beginning in the 1920s, the United States began to replace Great Britain as the foremost investor in Latin America. British investors had put money into stocks and other forms of investment that did not give them direct control of Latin American companies. Unlike British investors, U.S. investors put their funds directly into production enterprises and ran companies themselves. In this way, large segments of Latin America’s export industries fell into the hands of United States companies. A number of smaller Central American countries became independent republics, but their economies were often dependent on large, wealthy nations. The U.S.-owned United Fruit Company, for example, owned land, packing plants, and railroads in Central America. American firms also gained control of the copper-mining industry in Chile and Peru, as well as of the oil industry in Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia.

The fact that investors in the United States controlled many Latin American industries angered Latin Americans. A growing nationalist consciousness led many of them to view the United States as an imperialist power. It was not difficult for Latin American nationalists to show that profits from U.S. businesses were sometimes used to keep ruthless dictators in power. In Venezuela, for example, U.S. oil companies had a close relationship with the dictator Juan Vicente Gómez.

The United States had always cast a large shadow over Latin America. It had intervened militarily in Latin American affairs for years. This was especially true in Central America and the Caribbean. Many Americans considered both regions vital to the security of the United States.

The United States made some attempts to change its relationship with Latin America, however. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the **Good Neighbor policy**. This policy rejected the use of U.S. military force in Latin America. Adhering to his word, the president withdrew the last United States Marines from Haiti in 1934. For the first time in 30 years, there were no U.S. troops in Latin American countries.

**Impact of the Great Depression** The Great Depression was a disaster for Latin America’s economy. The weakening of the economies in the United States and Europe led to a decreased demand for Latin American foodstuffs and raw materials, especially coffee, sugar, metals, and meat. The total value of Latin American exports in 1930 was almost 50 percent below the figures for the years between 1925 and 1929. The countries that depended on the export of only one product, rather than multiple products, were especially damaged.

The Great Depression had one positive effect on the Latin American economy. With a decline in exports, Latin American countries no longer had the revenues to buy manufactured goods. Many Latin American governments encouraged the development of new industries that would produce goods that were formerly imported. This process of industrial development was supposed to achieve greater economic independence for Latin America.
Often, however, the new industries were not started by individual capitalists. Because of a shortage of capital in the private sector, governments frequently invested in the new industries. This led to government-run steel industries in Chile and Brazil, along with government-run oil industries in Argentina and Mexico.

**Comparing** How did the United States’s method of investing in Latin America differ from that of Britain?

### The Move to Authoritarianism

Most Latin American countries had republican forms of government. In reality, however, a relatively small group of church officials, military leaders, and large landowners dominated each country. This elite group controlled the masses of people, who were mostly poverty-stricken peasants. Military forces were crucial in keeping these special-interest groups in power. Indeed, military leaders often took control of the government.

This trend toward authoritarianism increased during the 1930s, largely because of the impact of the Great Depression. Domestic instability caused by economic crises led to the creation of many military dictatorships at the beginning of the 1930s. This trend was especially evident in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Together, these nations possessed over half of the land and wealth of Latin America.

**Argentina** Argentina was controlled by an oligarchy, a government where a select group of people exercises control. This oligarchy of large landowners who had grown wealthy from the export of beef and wheat failed to realize the growing importance of industry and cities in their country. It also ignored the growing middle class, which reacted by forming the Radical Party in 1890.

In 1916, Hipólito Irigoyen (ee•PAW•lee•TOH IH•ih•GOH•YEHN), leader of the Radical Party, was elected president of Argentina. The Radical Party, however, feared the industrial workers, who were using strikes to improve their conditions. The party thus drew closer to the large landowners and became more corrupt.

The military was also concerned with the rising power of the industrial workers. In 1930, the Argentine army overthrew President Irigoyen and reestablished the power of the large landowners. Through this action, the military hoped to continue the old export economy and thus stop the growth of working-class power that would come with more industrialization.

During World War II, restless military officers formed a new organization, known as the Group of United Officers (GOU). They were unhappy with the government and overthrew it in June 1943. Three years later, one GOU member, Juan Perón, was elected president of Argentina (see Chapter 22).

**Brazil** In 1889, the army had overthrown the Brazilian monarchy and established a republic. The republic was controlled chiefly by the landed elites, who had become wealthy by growing coffee on large plantations.

By 1900, three-quarters of the world’s coffee was grown in Brazil. As long as coffee prices remained high, the ruling oligarchy was able to maintain its power. The oligarchy largely ignored the growth of urban industry and the working class that came with it.

The Great Depression devastated the coffee industry. By the end of 1929, coffee prices had hit a record low. In 1930, a military coup made Getúlio Vargas, a wealthy rancher, president of Brazil. Vargas ruled Brazil from 1930 to 1945. Early in his rule, he appealed to workers by instituting an eight-hour day and a minimum wage.

Faced with strong opposition in 1937, Vargas made himself dictator. Beginning in 1938, he established his New State. It was basically an authoritarian state with some Fascist-like features. Political parties were outlawed and civil rights restricted. A secret police used torture to silence Vargas’s opponents.

*The price of coffee has had a major impact on almost every aspect of life in Brazil.*
Vargas also pursued a policy of stimulating new industries. The government established the Brazilian steel industry and set up a company to explore for oil. By the end of World War II, Brazil had become Latin America’s chief industrial power. In 1945, the army, fearing that Vargas might prolong his power illegally after calling for new elections, forced him to resign.

**Mexico** Mexico was not an authoritarian state, but neither was it truly democratic. The Mexican Revolution of the early twentieth century had been the first significant effort in Latin America to overturn the system of large landed estates and raise the living standards of the masses (see Chapter 14). Out of the revolution had emerged a relatively stable political order.

The government was democratic in form. However, the official political party of the Mexican Revolution, known as the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI, controlled the major groups within Mexican society. Every six years, party bosses of the PRI chose the party’s presidential candidate. That candidate was then dutifully elected by the people.

A new wave of change began with *Lázaro Cárdenas* (KAHR•duhn•AHS), president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. He moved to fulfill some of the original goals of the revolution. His major step was to distribute 44 million acres (17.8 million ha) of land to landless Mexican peasants, an action that made him enormously popular with the peasants.

Cárdenas also took a strong stand with the United States, especially over oil. By 1900, Mexico was known to have enormous oil reserves. Over the next 30 years, foreign oil companies from Britain and, in particular, the United States, made large investments in Mexico. After a dispute with the foreign-owned oil companies over workers’ wages, the Cárdenas government seized control of the oil fields and the property of the oil companies.

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**Selected Nationalist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
<th>Africa and Asia</th>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>Northern Arabian Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentine army; Group of United Officers</td>
<td>Getúlio Vargas</td>
<td>Lázaro Cárdenas</td>
<td>Harry Thuku (Young Kikuyu Association); Jomo Kenyatta</td>
<td>Omar Mukhtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of workers; dissatisfaction with government</td>
<td>Bad economy</td>
<td>Foreign control of oil industry</td>
<td>High taxes; British rule</td>
<td>Italian rule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Chart Skills**

Between World War I and World War II, many countries around the world struggled to achieve independence and national identity.

1. **Analyzing** What was the most frequent motivation for revolt in the countries identified above?

2. **Summarizing** How successful were those who sought to create a new nation or a new form of government? Using the information above and in this chapter, write a paragraph that summarizes the attempts at independence and nationalism made by the above countries.
The U.S. oil companies were furious and asked President Franklin D. Roosevelt to intervene. He refused, reminding them of his promise in the Good Neighbor policy not to send U.S. troops into Latin America. Mexicans cheered Cárdenas as the president who had stood up to the United States.

Eventually, the Mexican government did pay the oil companies for their property. It then set up PEMEX, a national oil company, to run the oil industry.

**Reading Check**

**Examining** How was the Mexican government democratic in form but not in practice?

---

**Culture in Latin America**

During the early twentieth century, European artistic and literary movements began to penetrate Latin America. In major cities, such as Buenos Aires in Argentina and São Paulo in Brazil, wealthy elites expressed great interest in the work of modern artists.

Latin American artists went abroad and brought back modern techniques, which they often adapted to their own native roots. Many artists and writers used their work to promote the emergence of a new national spirit. An example was the Mexican artist Diego Rivera.

Rivera had studied in Europe, where he was especially influenced by fresco painting in Italy. After his return to Mexico, he developed a monumental style that filled wall after wall with murals. Rivera’s wall paintings can be found in such diverse places as the Ministry of Education, the Chapel of the Agriculture School at Chapingo, and the Social Security Hospi-

tal. His works were aimed at the masses of people, many of whom could not read.

Rivera sought to create a national art that would portray Mexico’s past, especially its Aztec legends, as well as Mexican festivals and folk customs. His work also carried a political and social message. Rivera did not want people to forget the Mexican Revolution, which had overthrown the large landowners and the foreign interests that supported them.

**Reading Check**

**Examining** How did Diego Rivera use his artistic talent as a political tool?

---

**History through Art**

*The Arrival of Cortez at Veracruz (detail) by Diego Rivera, 1929–1935*

In this mural, what is Rivera saying about the impact of Europeans on Mexico’s past?

---

**SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Define oligarchy.

2. Identify Juan Vicente Gómez, Good Neighbor policy, Hipólito Irigoyen, Getúlio Vargas, Lázaro Cárdenas, PEMEX.

3. Locate Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Mexico.

4. Explain how Vargas’s dictatorship ended.

5. List some of the industries the United States owned in Latin America.

**Critical Thinking**

6. Examine Why did the Great Depression cause many Latin American countries to improve their economic systems and gain more independence from foreign economic dominance?

7. Compare and Contrast Make a chart like the one below comparing and contrasting political struggles in Argentina and Brazil.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. Analyze the photo on page 583. What does this photo reveal about what working conditions were like on Brazilian coffee plantations?

9. Descriptive Writing Using outside sources, find one or two examples of Diego Rivera’s murals. In an essay, compare Rivera’s paintings to the frescoes of medieval Italian painters like Giotto. How do Rivera’s murals reflect the influence of Italian frescoes? How are they different?

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**CHAPTER 18 Nationalism Around the World**

585
### Using Key Terms

1. The name given by his followers to Mohandas Gandhi was **Mahatma**, which means “great soul.”

2. Serbian forces in the recent war in Bosnia followed a policy called **ethnic cleansing** when they tried to eliminate Muslims from their land.

3. A policy of killing people of a particular ethnic or racial group is called **genocide**.

4. An advocate of nonviolence, Gandhi urged **satyagraha** as a powerful method to achieve justice and bring an end to oppressive British rule in India.

5. When Mao Zedong’s forces were outnumbered at their rural base in Jiangxi Province, they used **guerrilla tactics** such as sabotage and subterfuge to fight Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist troops.

6. Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico were controlled by **military governments** where only a select group of people exercises control.

7. Chinese peasants did not support Chiang Kai-shek because he did not favor **nationalism**.

8. The concentration of various manufacturing processes within a single Japanese industry is called a **horizontal integration** or large financial and industrial corporation.

9. **Pan-Africanism** was a movement stressing unity of all Africans.

### Reviewing Key Facts

10. **Citizenship** Why were many Arabs opposed to the Balfour Declaration?

11. **Government** Identify the Comintern and explain why it was formed.

12. **Government** What reforms did Atatürk implement to transform the Turkish Republic into a modern and secular state?

13. **History** What happened to cause Chinese Communists to undertake the Long March in 1933?

14. **History** What did the United States hope to accomplish through its Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America?

15. **History** Why did the Nationalists and Communists in China form an alliance in 1928?

16. **Economics** Explain an import-export economy.

17. **Government** What did the British do to make Indian people less opposed to their colonial government in 1935?

18. **Citizenship** Why do people in some apparently democratic Latin American nations have little voice in their country’s government?

19. **Economics** Explain how the entrenched system of **zaibatsu** contributed to increased nationalism and a move toward militarism in Japan.

20. **Citizenship** What message did Jomo Kenyatta use as the basic theme of his book *Facing Mount Kenya*?

### Critical Thinking

21. **Cause and Effect** How did harsh treatment of Jewish people in Europe create problems for Arab people in the Middle East?

22. **Evaluating** How did Chiang Kai-shek’s fear of communism cause him to alienate many intellectuals and political moderates?

23. **Making Generalizations** What was the cultural impact of World War I on Africans? How did the political status of Africa change after the war?

---

### Chapter Summary

Between the two World Wars, a growing sense of nationalism inspired many countries to seek their independence from foreign rulers, as shown in the chart below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>Africa and Asia</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The decline of the Ottoman Empire results in the emergence of many new Arab states.</td>
<td>Black Africans who fought in World War I became more politically active. They organize reform movements then call for independence.</td>
<td>In 1923, the Nationalists and the Communists form an alliance to oppose the warlords and drive the imperialist powers out of China.</td>
<td>After the Great Depression, Latin American countries work to become economically independent by creating new industries to produce goods that were formerly imported.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analyzing Maps and Charts
Use the map above to answer the following questions.

30. Near what latitudes are the cities of Beijing and Tokyo located?

31. Name the bodies of water that separate Japan from Korea, and Japan from China.

32. List three geographical features of China.

33. Compare this map to the map shown on page 572. What major territory did Japan acquire between the date indicated on the above map and 1933?

Self-Check Quiz
Visit the Glencoe World History—Modern Times Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 18—Self-Check Quiz to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Writing About History
24. Expository Writing Nationalism first became a significant political force in the movement against Napoleon. Write an essay comparing the early nationalist movements to the later battles against imperialism discussed in this chapter.

Analyzing Sources
Chiang Kai-shek declared his commitment to Sun Yat-sen’s plans for building a new nation. Chiang announced a period of political training, as described by Sun in the following quote.

"China . . . needs a republican government just as a boy needs school. As a schoolboy must have good teachers and helpful friends, so the Chinese people, being for the first time under republican rule, must have a farsighted revolutionary government for their training. This calls for the period of political tutelage, which is a necessary transitional stage from monarchy to republicanism. Without this, disorder will be unavoidable."

25. What did Chiang Kai-shek mean when he compared China to a boy in school?

26. What does the quote seem to say, compared to what you think it really means? Is there a self-serving bias in Sun’s statement? If so, explain.

Applying Technology Skills
27. Using the Internet Use the Internet to determine how the contemporary governments of Argentina and Brazil compare with the dictatorships that ruled these countries in the 1930s.

28. Using the Internet Use the Internet to learn more about Jomo Kenyatta, Léopold Senghor, Nnamdi Azikiwe, or other nationalist leaders who worked to end colonial rule in Africa. What methods did they use and how successful were they?

Making Decisions
29. Imagine that you are a female American foreign exchange student. Which Middle Eastern country would you choose to live in for a year? Discuss the reasons for your choice and also the concessions that would be required of you.

Analyzing Maps and Charts
Use the map above to answer the following questions.

30. Near what latitudes are the cities of Beijing and Tokyo located?

31. Name the bodies of water that separate Japan from Korea, and Japan from China.

32. List three geographical features of China.

33. Compare this map to the map shown on page 572. What major territory did Japan acquire between the date indicated on the above map and 1933?

Standardized Test Practice
Directions: Choose the best answer to the question below.

Which of the following is a true statement about the relationship between World War I and nationalism?
A World War I brought nationalist movements to a standstill.
B Most nationalist movements had reached their goals by the conclusion of World War I.
C The weakening of European countries fostered national independence movements.
D World War I helped the European economy, which fueled nationalist movements.

Test-Taking Tip: Read each answer choice carefully and eliminate any statements that you know are false. Getting rid of these wrong answer choices will help you find the correct answer.