

# Nationalism Around the World 1919-1939

Section 1 Nationalism in the Middle East

Section 2 Nationalism in Africa and Asia

**Section 3** Revolutionary Chaos in China

**Section 4** Nationalism in Latin America

#### **MAKING CONNECTIONS**

# How can nationalism affect a country?

Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas sparked an era of change with policies promoting land reforms and workers' rights and limiting foreign investment—all goals of the Mexican Revolution. Known as the president who stood up to the United States, Cárdenas seized the property of foreign oil companies in Mexico. In this chapter you will learn how nationalist movements affected individual nations.

- How did nationalism influence the historical path of the world's nations?
- How does patriotism influence the behavior of Americans today?



THE WORLD

**1919** 

Comintern formed by Lenin 1921

Young Kikuyu Association protests British taxes in Africa 1927

Chiang Kai-shek organizes the Shanghai Massacre

1920

1925

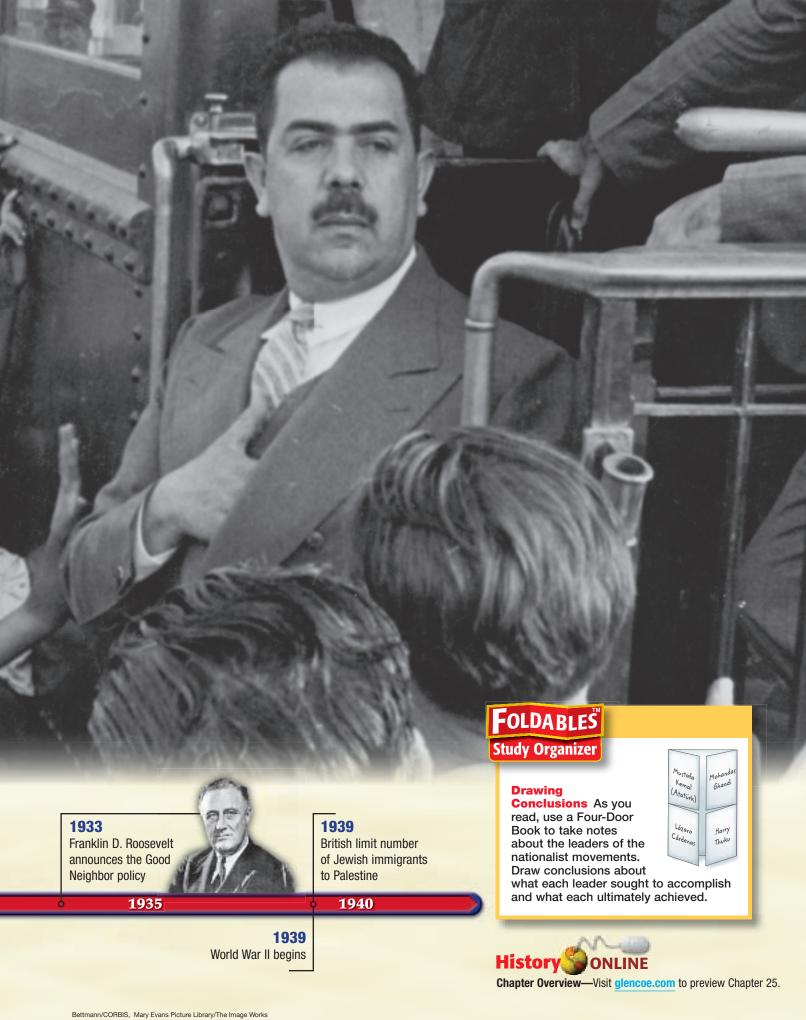
1930

1919

League of Nations formed



1929 Great Depression begins





# **Nationalism in the Middle East**

#### **GUIDE TO READING**

#### The BIG Idea

**Self-Determination** After World War I, the quest for national self-determination led to the creation of Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. In the same period, the Balfour Declaration supported the creation of a national Jewish homeland in Palestine.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- genocide (p. 824)
- ethnic cleansing (p. 824)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

- legislature (p. 822)
- element (p. 824)

#### **People and Places**

- Abdülhamīd II (p. 822)
- T. E. Lawrence (p. 822)
- Atatürk (p. 825)
- Tehran (p. 825)
- Reza Shah Pahlavi (p. 825)
- Iran (p. 825)
- Ibn Sa'ūd (p. 827)
- Saudi Arabia (p. 827)
- Palestine (p. 827)

#### **Reading Strategy**

**Comparing and Contrasting** As you read, make a Venn diagram like the one below comparing and contrasting the national policies of Atatürk and Reza Shah Pahlavi.



The Ottoman Empire ended shortly after World War I. While the new Turkish Republic modernized, Persia evolved into the modern state of Iran and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia was established. In Palestine, tensions mounted as both Arabs and Jews viewed the area as their homeland.

### **Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire**

The Ottoman Empire, which had been steadily declining since the late 1700s, finally ended after World War I.

**HISTORY & YOU** Do you think it is possible for an empire to exist in the world today? Read to learn about the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

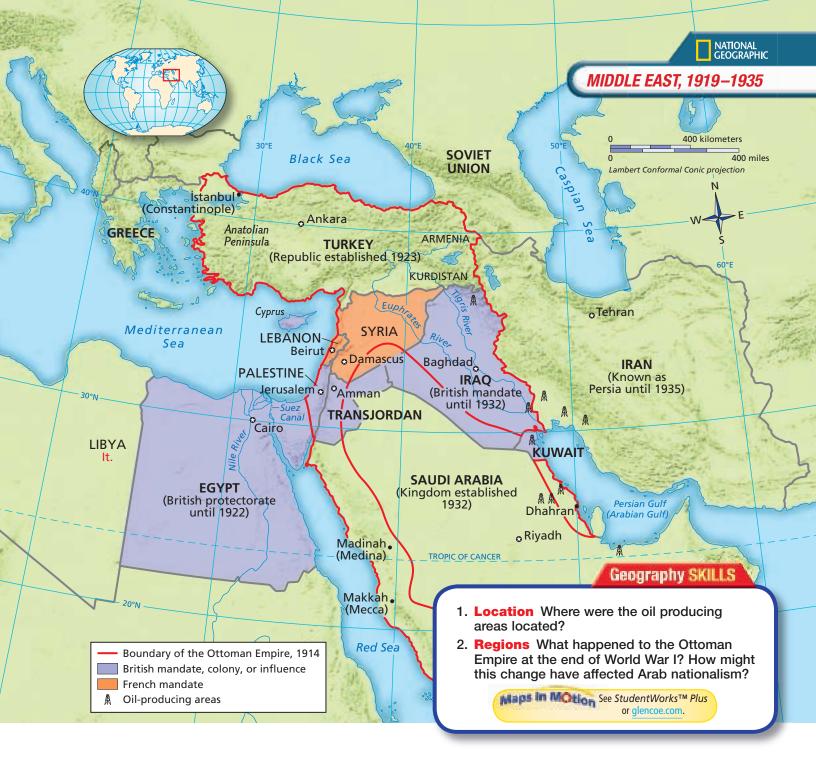
The Ottoman Empire—which once had included parts of eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa—had been growing steadily weaker. The empire's size had decreased dramatically during the nineteenth century. Greece achieved its independence during the course of the 1820s and 1830s, and the empire subsequently lost much more European territory. Ottoman rule also ended in North Africa.

In 1876 Ottoman reformers seized control of the empire's government and adopted a constitution that set up a legislature. However, the sultan they placed on the throne, Abdülhamīd II, suspended the new constitution. Abdülhamīd paid a high price for his authoritarian 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 forced the restoration of the constitution in 1908 and deposed 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 dashing British adventurer T. E. Lawrence, popularly known as "Lawrence of Arabia."



In 1916 Arabia declared its independence from Ottoman rule. British troops advanced from Egypt and seized Palestine. After suffering more than 300,000 deaths during the war, the Ottoman Empire made peace with the Allies in October 1918.

#### The Armenian Genocide

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 began killing Armenian men and expelling women and children from the empire.

Within 7 months, 600,000 Armenians had been killed, and 500,000 had been deported (sent out of the country). Of those deported, 400,000 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 1993–1996.) One eyewitness to the 1915 Armenian deportation said:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"[She] saw vultures hovering over children who had fallen dead by the roadside. She saw beings crawling along, maimed, starving and begging for bread....[S]he passed soldiers driving before them . . . whole families, men, women and children, shrieking, pleading, wailing . . . setting out for exile into the desert from which there was no return."

—as quoted in *The First World War,* by Martin Gilbert

By 1918, another 400,000 Armenians had been massacred. Russia, France, and Britain denounced the Turkish actions as being "crimes against humanity and civilization." Because of the war, however, the killings continued.

#### **The Turkish Republic**

At the end of World War I, the tottering Ottoman Empire collapsed. Great Britain and France made plans to divide 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.

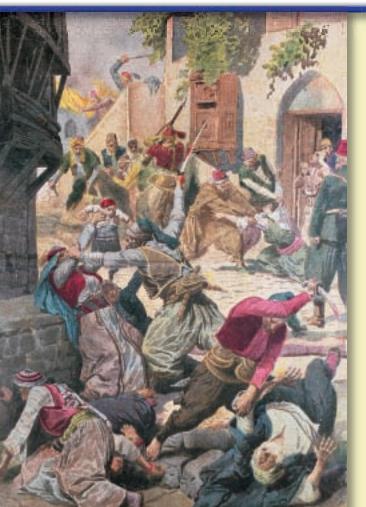
The invasion alarmed key **elements** in Turkey, who were organized under the leadership of the war hero Colonel Mustafa Kemal. Kemal summoned a national congress calling for the creation of an elected government and a new Republic of Turkey. His forces drove the Greeks from the Anatolian Peninsula. 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?

#### **HISTORY & ARTS**

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### The Armenian Genocide



As the Ottoman Empire eroded, ethnic tensions increased. When the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) seized power in 1913, leaders responded to Armenian calls for reform with force. Seeking a purely Turkish state, they began a campaign of genocide. Beginning in 1915, Armenian Christians were murdered, deported, and sent to concentration camps.

"The Ottoman Empire should be cleaned up of the Armenians and the Lebanese. We have destroyed the former by the sword, we shall destroy the latter through starvation."

—Enver Pasha, leader of the Young Turks, May 19, 1916

Allied with the Central Powers in World War I, CUP leaders massacred Armenians under the cover of war. Despite Allied warnings to end the genocide, the killing continued until 1919. To this day, Turkey refuses to acknowledge the Armenian genocide.

#### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

The Massacre of the Armenians appeared in Le Petit Journal in France December 12, 1915. The lithograph shows the April 24, 1915, murder of 300 Armenian leaders, writers, and professionals as well as thousands of impoverished Armenians.

- 1. Identifying What elements of the lithograph create sympathy for the Armenians?
- 2. Making Inferences Why do you think Allied forces failed to intervene directly in the genocide?

### **Middle East Changes**

Turkey's president Kemal changed the political system and the Turkish culture to create a modern state, while government and economic reforms changed Persia into the modern country of Iran.

**HISTORY & YOU** If you had the power to make your community more modern, what changes would you make? Read to learn about the modernization of Turkey and Persia.

While Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia emerged as modern states, tensions mounted between the Jewish and Muslim inhabitants in Palestine.

#### **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 Atatürk 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 Qājār 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 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.

#### The Balfour Declaration

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild.

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-jewish the civil and religious rights of existing non-jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Arthur James Balfour

It was just a simple letter written by Arthur James Balfour, Britain's foreign secretary, to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the Jewish community in Britain. Yet relations in the Middle East today still reflect its impact.

By supporting the Zionist desire for a homeland in Palestine, Britain hoped to gain Jewish support for the Allies in World War I. The British also hoped that the settlement of Palestine by a Jewish population friendly to Britain would help protect British interests around the important Suez Canal.

A week after the letter was written, it was published in the *Times* of London. It became known as the Balfour Declaration. This letter became the basis of international support for the modern state of Israel.

#### **CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS**

- 1. Explaining In what way did the Balfour Declaration fall short of Zionist desires?
- 2. **Determining Cause and Effect** How did the Balfour Declaration affect events in the Middle East?

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, Great Britain and the Soviet Union sent troops into the country. Reza Shah Pahlavi resigned in protest and was replaced by his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

#### Arab Nationalism

World War I offered the Arabs an excellent 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. However, efforts by generations of political leaders to create a single Arab nation have been unsuccessful.

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 the new League of Nations now supervised. The League, in turn, granted its 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 Sa'ūd**, united Arabs in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Devout and gifted, Ibn Sa'ūd (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 central desert of the Arabian Peninsula, was desperately poor. Its main source of income came from the Muslim pilgrims who visited Makkah (Mecca) and Madinah (Medina). 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, the Arabian-American oil company Aramco was created. The isolated kingdom was suddenly flooded with Western oil industries that brought the promise of wealth.

#### **The Problem of Palestine**

The situation in **Palestine** complicated matters in the Middle East even more. 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 was located there. Arabs pointed out that their ancestors had also lived in Palestine for centuries.

#### **The Balfour Declaration**

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 six million Jews. During the 1930s, many Jews fled to Palestine. Violence flared between Jewish and Muslim inhabitants.

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.

Reading Check Explaining Why did the Balfour Declaration produce problems in Palestine?



#### Vocabulary

 Explain the significance of: legislature, Abdülhamīd II, T. E. Lawrence, genocide, ethnic cleansing, element, Atatürk, Tehran, Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iran, Ibn Sa'ūd, Saudi Arabia, Palestine.

#### **Main Ideas**

- Explain how the Ottoman alliance with Germany in World War I contributed to the fall of the Ottoman Empire.
- Summarize the steps Atatürk took to modernize Turkey, using a diagram like the one below.



 Explain why more Jewish people began to migrate to Palestine.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 5. The BIG Idea Evaluating Why was it difficult for the Arab peoples to form one nation?
- Making Connections Why did foreign interest in Persia and Saudi Arabia increase in the first half of the twentieth century?
- Analyzing Visuals Examine the illustration on page 824. Would a Turkish magazine have depicted this scene in the same way? Explain your answer.

#### **Writing About History**

8. Expository Writing Review information in your textbook about the fall of these two empires: the Han Dynasty (Chapter 3) and the Roman Empire (Chapter 5). Then create a multimedia presentation that compares the collapse of these empires to the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

# **History** ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to **glencoe.com** and click Study Central.



# **Nationalism in Africa and Asia**

#### **GUIDE TO READING**

#### The BIG Idea

**Self-Determination** Nationalism led the people of Africa and Asia to seek independence.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- Pan-Africanism (p. 830) zaibatsu (p. 834)
- civil disobedience (p. 832)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

- volunteer (p. 828)
- compensation (p. 829)

#### **People and Places**

- Kenya (p. 829)
- W.E.B. Du Bois (p. 830)
- Marcus Garvey (p. 830)
- Ho Chi Minh (p. 831)
- Mohandas Gandhi (p. 832)
- Mahatma (p. 832)
- Jawaharlal Nehru (p. 832)
- o. 831) Manchuria (p. 835)

#### **Reading Strategy**

**Contrasting** As you read, use a table like the one below to contrast the backgrounds and values of Gandhi and Nehru.

Mohandas Gandhi	Jawaharlal Nehru

Nationalism spread throughout Africa and Asia in the early twentieth century. Calls for independence came from a new generation of Western-educated African leaders. As communism spread in Asia, Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru worked for the independence of India. Meanwhile, militarists gained control of the Japanese government.

### **African Independence Movements**

MAIM IDEA After World War I, many Africans organized to end colonial rule in their countries.

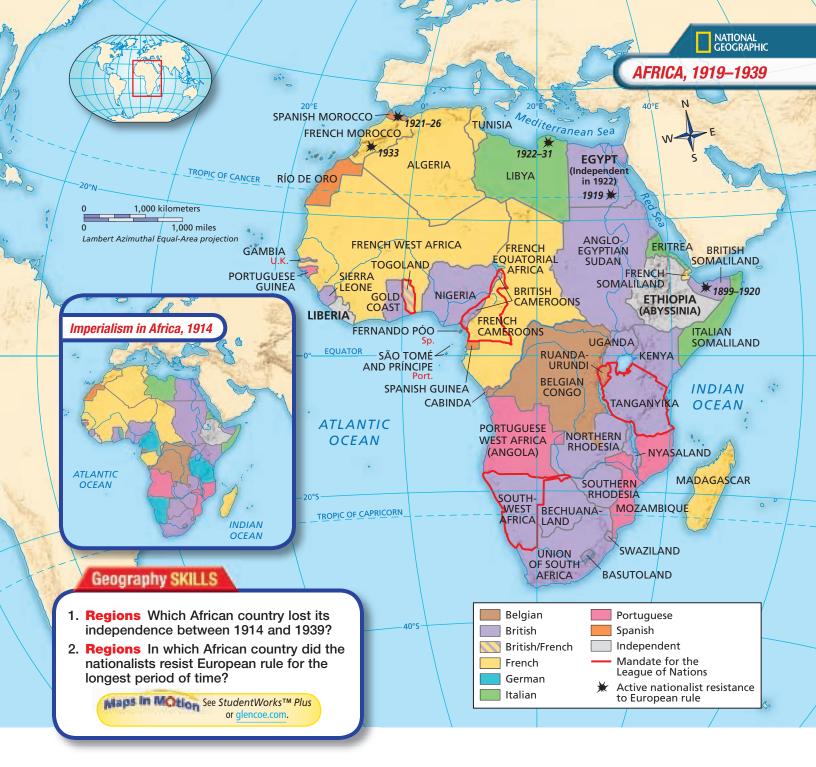
**HISTORY & YOU** Have you ever worked with a group to promote a cause you believe in? Read to learn about ideas that inspired Africans to work toward independence after World War I.

Black Africans had fought in World War I in British and French armies. Many Africans hoped that independence after the war would be their reward. 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." Most European leaders, however, were not ready to give up their colonies.

The peace settlement after World War I was a huge 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. The foreign powers that had conquered and exploited Africa also introduced Western education. In educating Africans, the colonial system introduced them to the modern world and gave them visions of a world based on the ideals of liberty and equality. In Africa itself, the missionary schools taught these ideals to their pupils. The African students who studied abroad, especially in Britain and the United States, and the African soldiers who served in World War I learned new ideas about freedom and nationalism in the West. As more Africans became aware of the enormous gulf between Western ideals and practices, they decided to seek reform.



Opposition to the British colonial administration escalated in Nigeria during and after World War I. Resistance was a combined effort of the traditional authority, the king of Lagos, and of educated Africans who wanted a democratic government. Leading the nationalists was Herbert Macaulay, a civil engineer who held a position in the colonial government. Macaulay and the editor of the *Lagos Weekly Record* carried on a years-long editorial campaign against the colonial government.

Political unrest also took place in Kenya. One of the most important issues concerned the redistribution of land. Large tracts of land on the highlands had been taken from black Africans and given to white settlers. The Africans had received little if any compensation for this land. Instead, they were forced to become squatters on the land they believed was their own.

During the 1920s, protest organizations, mostly founded by the Kikuyu, emerged in Kenya. These first groups were moderate.

#### History ONLINE Student Web Activity—

Visit glencoe.com to learn how to create a multimedia presentation and create a presentation on nationalist movements. The Kikuyu Association, founded in 1920 by farmers, was intent on blocking further land confiscation. This association was willing to work toward reform within the existing colonial structure.

Some of the Kenyan protesters were more radical, however. The Young Kikuyu Association, organized by Harry Thuku in 1921, challenged European authority. Thuku, a telephone operator, protested against the high taxes levied by the British rulers. His message was simple:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"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."

—Harry Thuku

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.

Libya also struggled against foreign rule 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.

#### **New Leaders**

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, impacted 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. Kenyatta understood that it would take a determined effort to shake off European control. He described the African peoples' struggle:

#### Primary Source

"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."

-Jomo Kenyatta

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 just a few 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?

#### **Revolution in Asia**

MAIN IDEA In the 1920s, the Comintern helped to spread communism throughout Asia.

**HISTORY & YOU** Do you remember the Marxist theory that industrial workers would defeat capitalism? Read to learn how Lenin's revised idea of Marxism was spread 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 hardly ready for revolution. That situation changed after the revolution in Russia in 1917. 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.

In 1920 Lenin adopted a new revolutionary strategy aimed at societies outside the Western world. He spread the word of Karl Marx through the Communist International, or Comintern, a worldwide organization of Communist parties formed in 1919 to advance world revolution. Agents were trained in Moscow and then returned to their own countries to form Marxist parties. By the end of the 1920s, practically every colonial society in Asia had a Communist party.

How successful were these new parties? In some countries, the local Communists established a cooperative relationship with nationalist parties to struggle against Western imperialism. This was true in French Indochina. Moscow-trained Ho Chi Minh organized the Vietnamese Communists in the 1920s. The strongest Communistnationalist alliance was formed in China (see Section 3). In most colonial societies. though, Communist parties of the 1930s failed to gain support among the majority of the population.

**✓ Reading Check Evaluating** What was the relationship between communism and imperialism?

#### INFOGRAPHICS PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Ho Chi Minh: Vietnam's Communist Leader

At the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) tried to give U.S. president Woodrow Wilson a list of Vietnam's grievances against the French. Yet Wilson and the Allies chose not to address his concerns.

In the years following World War I, Ho continued to protest French colonialism in Vietnam. He also became increasingly drawn to the ideas of Lenin. Describing his reasons for becoming a Communist, he wrote:

"I loved and admired Lenin because he was a great patriot who liberated his compatriots. . . .

The reason for my joining the French Socialist Party was that these 'ladies and gentlemen' . . . had shown sympathy toward me—toward the struggle of the oppressed peoples."

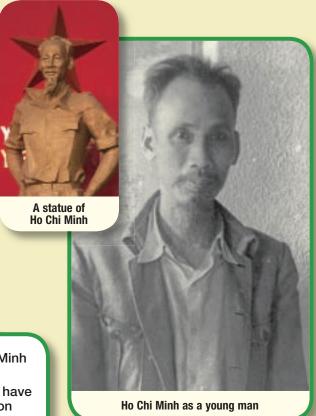
--- Ho Chi Minh, The Path Which Led Me to Leninism

In 1929 Ho formed the Indochinese Communist Party. He eventually rose to become president of Vietnam, as well as one of the most influential Communist leaders of the twentieth century. During his lifetime, Vietnam won independence from the French and fought a war over communism in

Vietnam, Vietnam remains Communist today.

#### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

- 1. Interpreting Why did Ho Chi Minh become a Communist leader?
- 2. Evaluating How might history have been different if Woodrow Wilson had not ignored Ho Chi Minh?



### **Indian Independence**

MAIII IDEA Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru led India's independence movement.

**HISTORY & YOU** Do your methods for solving a problem differ from those of your friends? Read to learn about Mohandas Gandhi's unusual methods.

Mohandas Gandhi had been active in the Indian National Congress and the movement for Indian self-rule before 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 organized mass protests against British laws. A believer in nonviolence, Gandhi used the methods of civil disobedience—refusal to obey laws considered to be unjust.

In 1919 British troops killed hundreds of unarmed protesters in Amritsar, in northwestern India. Horrified at the violence, Gandhi briefly retreated from active politics, but was later arrested and imprisoned for his role in protests.

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

#### A Push for Independence

The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, sought reforms in Britain's government of India (see Chapter 21). Reforms, however, were no longer enough. 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 increased the salt tax and prohibited the Indians 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.

#### **New Leaders and Problems**

In the 1930s, **Jawaharlal Nehru** entered the movement. The son of Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal studied law in Great Britain. He was a new kind of Indian politician—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 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 was under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The league believed in the creation of a separate Muslim state of Pakistan ("the land of the pure") in the northwest.

Reading Check Comparing How did Nehru's approach differ from Gandhi's?



# 

We generally think of revolutions and independence movements as being violent. Yet Mohandas Gandhi, leader of India's independence movement, used a nonviolent approach—civil disobedience—to protest British control in India.

Gandhi's methods included boycotts of British goods and institutions as well as prolonged fasting (giving up food) to draw attention to issues. These protests eventually led to independence for India—and inspired civil rights leaders throughout the world.

In 1930 Gandhi launched a protest to oppose the British Salt Acts. These laws made it illegal to prepare salt from seawater, which would deprive the British government of tax revenue from its monopoly on the sale of salt. Gandhi set out with 78 followers for the coast to collect seawater to make salt. The British jailed Gandhi and more than 60,000 of his followers. Yet the protesters had sent a powerful message to the British. A year later, the government agreed to negotiate with Gandhi as the representative of the Indian National Congress.





This famous photo of Gandhi shows him with a spinning wheel, symbolizing the Indian boycott of British taxes on cloth.

Gandhi described the difference between nonviolence and other forms of protest:

"Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. . . . For instance, the Government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence I force the Government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self."

—Mohandas K. Gandhi, Non-Violence (Satyagraha)

#### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

- 1. **Explaining** Explain how each photograph shows an example of nonviolence.
- 2. **Analyzing** In what ways was Gandhi's Indian independence movement a turning point in history?

### **A Militarist Japan**

MAIM IDEA By the late 1920s, militant forces in Japan were campaigning for an end to peaceful policies.

**HISTORY & YOU** Do you own anything made by Sony, Mitsubishi, or Toshiba? Read to learn how Japan developed its modern industrial economy.

Japanese society developed along a Western model. The economic and social reforms launched during the Meiji Era led to increasing prosperity and 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 vast companies 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 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. After World War I, 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.

# CONNECTING TO THE UNITED STATES THE ZAIBATSU ECONOMY

▼ American teenagers shopping for electronics at a mall in California

During Japan's Meiji Era, family-controlled conglomerates known as *zaibatsu* began to form. By the time World War II began, four *zaibatsu* controlled much of Japan's banking, trade, and heavy industry. The Japanese government aided the growth of the *zaibatsu* by granting monopolies and special privileges in return for their help with government projects.

After World War II, the Allies broke up the *zaibatsu*. In the 1950s, however, new groups called *keiretsu* formed, based on the old *zaibatsu* and often retaining their old names. By pooling their resources, the *keiretsu* helped make Japan a global economic power. Today, Japanese *keiretsu* such as Mitsubishi, Mitsui, and Fuyo produce brands popular around the world.

- Mitsubishi: Mitsubishi Electric, Mitsubishi Motors
- Mitsui: Fuji, Toshiba, Toyota
- Fuyo: Canon, Hitachi, Yamaha, Nissan, Ricoh



- 1. **Analyzing** What advantages aided the growth of the *zaibatsu* and *keiretsu* into powerful corporations?
- 2. **Identifying** Name three products made by Japanese *keiretsu* that are commonly sold in the United States.

#### **Japan and the West**

In the early twentieth century, Japan had difficulty finding sources of raw materials and foreign markets for its manufactured goods. Until World War I, Japan fulfilled these needs by seizing territories, such as Taiwan (Formosa), Korea, and southern Manchuria. This policy succeeded but aroused the concern of the Western nations.

The United States was especially concerned. It wanted to keep Japan open to U.S. trade. In 1922 the United States held a major conference of nations with interests in the Pacific. This conference achieved a nine-power treaty that recognized the territorial integrity of China and the maintenance of the Open Door policy. Japan agreed, in return for recognition of its control of southern Manchuria.

However, this agreement did not prove popular. Expansion into heavy industry, mining, and manufacture of appliances and automobiles needed resources not found in abundance in Japan. The Japanese government came under pressure to find new sources for raw materials abroad.

#### The Rise of Militarism

During the early 1900s, Japan had 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, a militant group within the ruling party gained control of the political system. Some militants were civilians convinced that Western ideas had corrupted the parliamentary system. Others were military members angered by the cuts in military spending and the government's pacifist policies of 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, but the Japanese people supported it. Unable to act, the government was soon dominated by the military and other supporters of Japanese expansionism.

Japanese society was put on wartime status. A military draft law was passed in 1938. Economic resources were placed under strict government control. All political parties were merged into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which called for Japanese expansion abroad. Labor unions were disbanded. Education and culture were purged of most Western ideas. Militant leaders stressed traditional Japanese values.

Reading Check Examining Why did the Japanese government shift to wartime status?

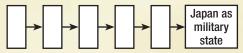


#### Vocabulary

 Explain the significance of: volunteer, Kenya, compensation, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Pan-Africanism, Ho Chi Minh, Mohandas Gandhi, Mahatma, civil disobedience, Jawaharlal Nehru, zaibatsu, Manchuria.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. **Identify** at least three leaders who worked to end colonial rule in Africa.
- Explain how Lenin spread the ideas of Karl Marx.
- List five events that contributed to Japan's becoming a military state in the 1930s.
   Use a diagram like the one below to make your list.



#### **Critical Thinking**

- 5. The BIG Idea Comparing What did young African leaders who wanted independence for their countries have in common?
- 6. **Contrasting** How did Gandhi's methods for achieving his nationalist goals differ from those of many other revolutionaries?
- 7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the photograph and caption about Gandhi and the spinning wheel on page 833. Why do you think it has become famous?

#### Writing About History

Expository Writing Japanese
conglomerates today are called keiretsu.
Research one of them, such as Mitsui or
Mitsubishi, and write two paragraphs
comparing their operations to American
industry.

# **History** ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to **glencoe.com** and click Study Central.

# **Revolutionary Chaos in China**

#### **GUIDE TO READING**

#### The BIG Idea

**Order and Security** During the 1920s, two men, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, struggled to lead a new Chinese state.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- guerrilla tactics (p. 838)
- redistribution of wealth (p. 841)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

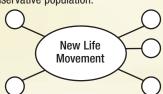
- cease (p. 836)
- eventually (p. 837)

#### **People, Places, and Events**

- Shanghai (p. 836)
- Nanjing (p. 837)
- Sun Yat-sen (p. 836)
- Mao Zedong (p. 838)
- Chang Jiang (p. 836)
- People's Liberation
- Chiang Kai-shek
- Army (PLA) (p. 839)
- Chiang Kai-snek (p. 837)
- Shanghai Massacre (p. 837)

#### **Reading Strategy**

**Summarizing Information** As you read, make a cluster diagram like the one below showing the Confucian values that Chiang Kai-shek used to bring modern Western ideas into a culturally conservative population.



In 1923 the Nationalist and Communist Parties formed an alliance to drive the imperialists out of China. Tensions between the two parties grew, however. Sun Yat-sen's successor, Chiang Kai-shek, struck against the Communists. Many Communists went into hiding or fled to the mountainous north, where Mao Zedong set up a Communist base.

#### **Nationalists and Communists**

Cooperating to drive the imperialists from China, the Nationalists and Communists then fought one another fiercely for the right to rule China.

\*\*HISTORY & YOU\*\* Can you work with people you do not trust? Learn how the alliance between the Nationalists and the Communists in China worked out.

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.

#### **The Nationalist-Communist Alliance**

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 22), 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 over three years, the two parties overlooked their mutual suspicions and worked together. They formed 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 River), including the major river ports of Wuhan and Shanghai.



Tensions between the parties **eventually** rose to the surface. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, and General **Chiang Kai-shek** (JYAHNG KY•SHEHK) succeeded him as head of the Nationalist Party. Chiang pretended to support the alliance with the Communists until April 1927, when he struck against them in Shanghai, killing thousands. After the **Shanghai Massacre**, the Nationalist-Communist 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, he believed that the Communists were more dangerous. He once remarked that "the Communists are a disease of the heart."

#### 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 (JYAHNG•SHEE) Province south of the Chang Jiang. They were led by the young Communist organizer Mao **Zedong** (MOW DZUH•DUNG). 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 southern 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 methods like sabotage and deception 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!"

#### INFOGRAPHICS PRIMARY SOURCE

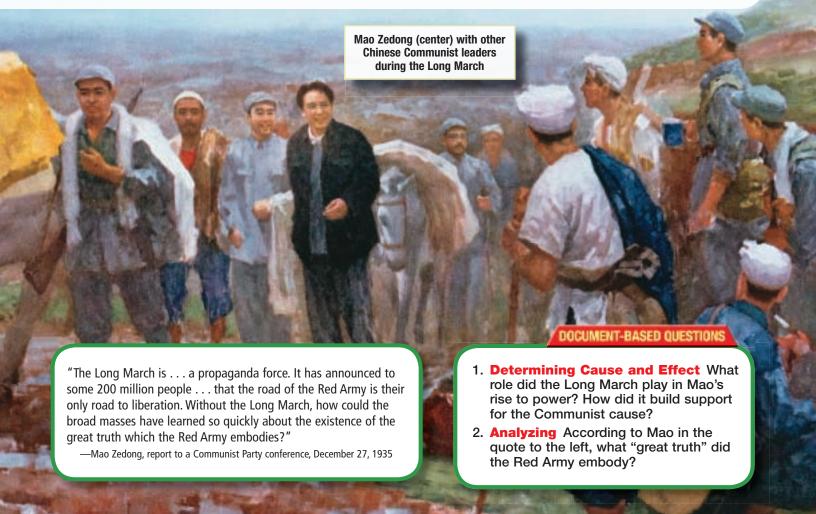
#### The Long March: Mao Zedong's Rise to Power

The Long March was physically demanding, zigzagging through mountains and marshes. It took over a year. Only one-tenth of the troops reached their destination in northern China.

Despite the great difficulty of the journey, the Long March was crucial for the Communists, because it helped build support among the Chinese people. Unlike the Nationalist soldiers, who often acted rudely and stole from the peasants, the People's Liberation Army

(PLA) soldiers followed Mao's instructions to treat the peasants with respect. Their behavior helped the PLA gain the support of the masses, which would prove to be key to eventual victory.

Mao Zedong's leadership during the Long March also helped establish him as the clear leader of the Communists. In January 1935, the Red Army arrived in Zunyi. Soon, the Chinese Communist Party held a conference and elected Mao as party leader.



#### **The Long March**

In 1934 Chiang's troops, with their superior military strength, surrounded the Communist base in Jiangxi and set up a blockade of the stronghold. With the villages behind Chiang's troops, no food or supplies could pass to the Communist base. Chiang even built small forts to prevent Communist raids. However, Mao's army, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), broke through the Nationalist lines and began its famous Long March.

Both Mao and Chiang knew that unless Mao's army could cross the Chang Jiang, it would be wiped out. Mao's army began a desperate race. Moving on foot through mountains, marshes, rivers, and deserts, the army traveled almost 6,000 miles (9,600 km), averaging 24 miles (38 km) each day, to reach the last surviving Communist base in northwest China. All along those miles, Mao's troops had to fight Chiang's army.

Many of Mao's troops froze or starved. One survivor of the Long March told of soldiers eating their horses and wild vegetables once their grain was gone. Another survivor remembered:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"We were disheartened. Broken units. No food. The commanders dead. Only spirits got us through."

—Li Xiannian, as quoted in *The Long March: The Untold Story,* Harrison E. Salisbury

One year later, Mao's troops reached safety in the dusty hills of northern China. Of the 90,000 troops who had embarked on the journey, only 9,000 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 Explaining Why did communism no longer seem a threat to China after the Long March?

#### The New China

to building a new China with a republican government.

**HISTORY & YOU** How does a republic differ from a monarchy? Read what Chiang Kai-shek believed must happen before China could be a republic.

Even while trying to root out Mao's Communist forces, Chiang had been trying to build a new Chinese nation. He had publicly declared his commitment to Sun Yat-sen's plans for a republican government. But first, there would be a transitional period. In Sun's words:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"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."

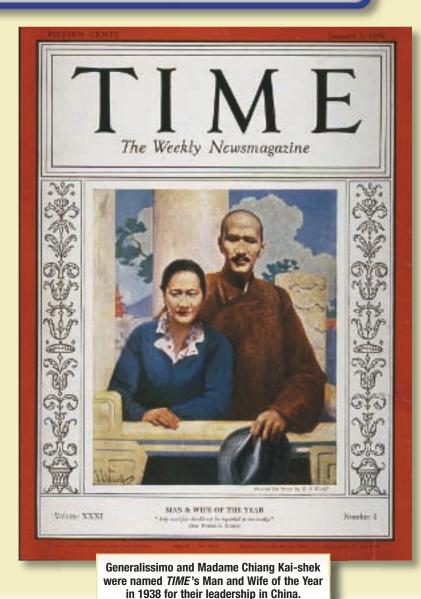
—Sun Yat-sen, as quoted in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, William Theodore de Bary et al. (eds.)

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. Even the humblest peasant would be given time to understand the country's problems and the new government. In the meantime, the Nationalists would use their dictatorial power to carry out a land-reform program and to modernize industry.

#### **A Class Divide**

It would take more than plans on paper to create a new China, however. Years of neglect and civil war had severly 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. Rural peasants—up to 80 percent of China's population—were still very poor and overwhelmingly illiterate.

China's New Life Movement



China in the early 1930s faced many social and economic problems, as Communists and Nationalists fought for control of the troubled nation. In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Mei-ling formed a plan to rally the people against the Communists and increase Chinese national pride. Their New Life Movement called for a renewal of values such as social discipline, courtesy, and service. Four ancient Confucian virtues would serve as guides for living: Li (courtesy), I (duty), Lien (honesty), and Chih (honor).

The movement began with rules regulating clothing and prohibiting behavior such as spitting or smoking in public. The Chiangs hoped that adherence to these rules would unify the Chinese and prepare them to confront China's larger social and economic issues. Despite this grand vision, however, the New Life Movement became overly preoccupied with its rules for daily life. In the end it failed to grow into the larger social movement the Chiangs had envisioned.

"... [T]he new life movement is based upon preservation of these four [Confucian] virtues, and it aims to apply them to actual, existing conditions, in order that the moral character of the nation shall attain the highest possible standard. The Generalissimo observed that communism crushed the spirit of the people."

-Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 1935

#### CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS

- 1. Summarizing What did the Chiangs hope to achieve with the New Life Movement?
- 2. Making Inferences Why do you think the Chiangs believed a return to ancient Confucian values would help reunify China?

Meanwhile, a Westernized middle class had begun to form in the cities. Here, observers would have believed that Chiang Kai-shek had lifted China into the modern world. Young people in the cities wore European clothes; they went to the movies and listened to the radio. It was here in the cities that the new government of Chiang Kai-shek found most of its support.

The Westernized middle class had little in common with the peasants in the countryside. They pursued the middleclass values of individual achievement and the accumulation of wealth.

#### **Innovations and Traditions**

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 Meiling 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.

#### **Limited Progress**

In spite of all 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. More than 50,000 miles (80,467 km) of highways were built around and through the coastal areas. New factories, most of which the Chinese owned, were opened. Through a series of agreements, the foreign powers ended many of their leases, gave up extraterritorial rights, and returned the customs service to Chinese control. Chiang 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. For the peasants and poor townspeople, there was no real improvement under the Nanjing government.

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

Sun Fo, Sun Yat-sen's son, expressed disapproval of the Nanjing government:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"We must frankly admit the fact that in these twenty years the machinery and practice of the Kuomintang [Chinese Nationalist Party] have turned in a wrong direction, inconsistent with the party constitution drafted by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1923 and contrary to the spirit of democracy."

-Sun Fo, as guoted in China in Revolution, John Robottom, 1969

Reading Check Identifying What was the intended final stage of Chiang Kai-shek's reform program?

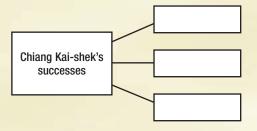


#### **Vocabulary**

 Explain the significance of: cease, Shanghai, Sun Yat-sen, Chang Jiang, eventually, Chiang Kai-shek, Shanghai Massacre, Nanjing, Mao Zedong, guerrilla tactics, People's Liberation Army (PLA), redistribution of wealth.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. **Explain** why the Communist Party allied with the Nationalist Party.
- Identify the group of people that Mao Zedong believed would be the driving force behind the Chinese revolution.
- List Chiang Kai-shek's successes during the 1930s. Use a diagram like the one below to make your list.



#### **Critical Thinking**

- 5. The BIG Idea Analyzing What did Mao's Long March accomplish?
- 6. Making Inferences Why did Chiang Kaishek believe a period of political tutelage was necessary?
- 7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the magazine cover on page 840. How does this image illustrate the Chiangs' connection to the West?

#### **Writing About History**

 Persuasive Writing Research how the United States supported Chiang Kai-shek and why. Write an editorial for or against the intervention of the United States in China.

# **History** ONLINE

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# **Social History**

# The Two Chinas of the 1930s

In the 1930s, four-fifths of the Chinese population lived in rural areas. To build a strong modern nation, Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government sharply increased the peasants' taxes. Because the projects primarily benefited the urban areas of the country, society was divided into two distinct sectors.



urban middle class. Increasingly Westernized, the residents of China's cities

grew further apart from the country's rural population.

842



# RURAL CHINA

Though about half of China's farmers owned their own land, many peasants fell into debt. Bandits, natural disasters, and warfare added to the hardships facing them. Being forced to pay for projects that primarily benefited city dwellers created resentment among people in rural China. This discontent allowed the Chinese Communist Party to develop rural programs to win the support of the peasant masses.

- in urban China in the 1930s different from life in rural China at that time?
- 2. Speculating How could modernization programs focusing on rural areas have more effectively benefited Chinese peasants in the 1930s?



# **Nationalism in Latin America**

#### **GUIDE TO READING**

#### The BIG Idea

**Order and Security** In Latin America, the Great Depression made politics unstable, and in many cases, military dictatorships were the result.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

• oligarchy (p. 847)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

• investor (p. 844)

• establish (p. 847)

#### **People, Places, and Events**

- Argentina (p. 844)
- Chile (p. 844)
- Brazil (p. 844)
- Peru (p. 844)
- Mexico (p. 844)
- Juan Vicente Gómez (p. 845)
- Good Neighbor policy (p. 845)
- Hipólito Irigoyen (p. 847)
- Getúlio Vargas (p. 847)
- Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (p. 847)
- Lázaro Cárdenas (p. 847)
- PEMEX (p. 848)
- Diego Rivera (p. 849)

#### Reading Strategy

**Summarizing Information** As you read, make a chart like the one below listing the main exports of Latin America.

Country	Exports

During the 1920s, U.S. investors poured funds directly into Latin American businesses. The Great Depression devastated Latin America's economy and created instability. This turmoil led to the creation of military dictatorships and authoritarian states in Latin America in the 1930s.

### **The Latin American Economy**

During the 1920s and 1930s, foreign investments and the Great Depression led some Latin American nations to emphasize domestic industry to balance the economy.

**HISTORY & YOU** Have you ever enjoyed a banana split? Most likely, the banana came from Latin America. Read to learn about Latin America's changing economic relationship with the United States.

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, exported 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 most of the people, however, the returns were small.

#### **Role of the United States**

Beginning in the 1920s, the United States began to replace Great Britain as the major **investor** in Latin America. British investors had put money into stocks and other forms of investment that did not give them direct control of the companies. U.S. investors, however, put their funds directly into production facilities and actually ran the companies. In this way, large segments of Latin America's export industries fell into U.S. hands. A number of smaller Central American countries became independent republics. However, their economies often depended on 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.

Many Latin Americans resented U.S. control of Latin American industries. A growing nationalist awareness 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 close ties to 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 U.S. security.

The United States made some attempts to change its relationship with Latin America in the 1930s. In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the Good Neighbor policy, rejecting the use of U.S. military force in Latin America on principle. 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. Weak U.S. and European economies meant there was less demand for Latin American exports, 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 1925 through 1929. The countries that depended on the export of only one product were especially hurt.

The Great Depression had one positive effect on the Latin American economy. When exports declined, Latin American countries no longer had the revenues necessary to buy manufactured goods from abroad. Thus they were forced to meet their own needs. Their governments began to encourage the development of new industries to produce manufactured goods. The hope was that industrial development would bring greater economic independence.

Often, however, individuals could not start new industries because capital was scarce in the private sector. Governments then invested in the new industries. This led to government-run steel industries in Chile and Brazil and oil industries in Argentina and Mexico.

Reading Check Comparing How did the U.S. method of investing in Latin America differ from that of Britain?

#### **Authoritarian Rule**

In most Latin American countries, a small group of church leaders, military leaders, and large landowners controlled politics.

**HISTORY & YOU** Do you think all Americans have an equal say in our government, or do some groups have more influence than others? Read to learn about Latin American politics in the 1930s.

Most Latin American countries had republican forms of government. In reality, however, a relatively small group of church officials, military leaders, and large landowners ruled each country. This elite group controlled the masses of people, who were mostly poor 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 in the early 1930s. This trend

#### INFOGRAPHICS

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

	LATIN AMERICA			AF	RICA AND AS	IA	MIDDLE EAST		
Country	Argentina	Brazil	Mexico	Kenya	Libya	India	Turkey	Persia	Northern Arabian Peninsula
Leader	Argentine army; Group of United Officers	Getúlio Vargas	Lázaro Cárdenas	Harry Thuku (Young Kikuyu Association); Jomo Kenyatta	Omar Mukhtar	Mohandas Gandhi	Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)	Reza Khan (Reza Shah Pahlavi)	lbn Saʻūd
<b>Driving</b> Force	Fear of workers; dissatisfaction with government	Bad economy	Foreign control of oil industry	High taxes; British rule	Italian rule	British rule	Greek seizure of Anatolian Peninsula	British and Soviet presence	European creation of states
Outcome	New governments (1930, 1943)	Vargas's New State (1938)	Seizure of oil and property (1938); PEMEX	Exile of Thuku (1922)	Revolt crushed (1920s)	Govern- ment of India Act (1935)	Turkish Republic (1923)	Iran (1935)	Saudi Arabia (1932) KILLS

- 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?

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 IHR 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, 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 29).

#### **Brazil**

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

By 1900, three-fourths 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 establishing 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. Secret police silenced Vargas's opponents.

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 21). 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.

Anew 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. This action made him enormously popular with the peasants.

President Cárdenas also took a strong stand with the United States over oil. By 1900, Mexico was known to have enormous oil reserves, especially in the Gulf of Mexico. Over the next 30 years, oil companies from Britain and, in particular, the United States, made large investments in Mexico and the oil industry there. 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 foreign-owned oil companies.

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. PEMEX did not do well at first, however, because exports fell. Still for many, PEMEX was a symbol of Mexican independence.

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

#### HISTORY & ARTS

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### The Political Art of Diego Rivera

A2 Karl Marx holds a page from *The Communist Manifesto* calling for the formation of a new society

**B1-B2** Workers in various fields, in typical poses and actions

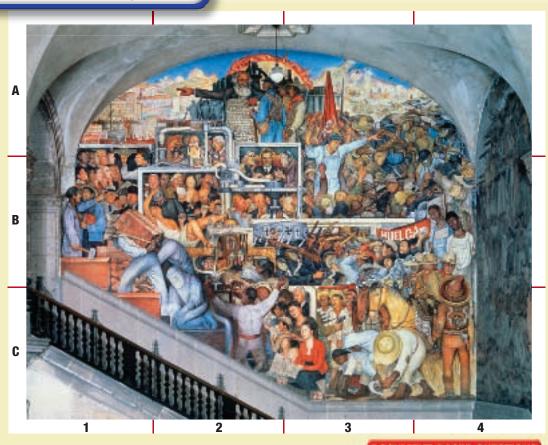
A2-B2-B3 In compartments under Marx: (a) capitalists around a ticker-tape machine; (b) Mexican president Calles with his evil advisers, a general and a priest; (c) members of the upper class and the clergy behaving decadently

**C2-C3** Reading and teaching revolutionary texts

A3 Communist flag

A3-A4 Mexico City burns in class warfare

- B3-B4 A worker agitates a crowd
- B3 Government troops put down a strike (huelga)
- C3 Government troops attack peasants



DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

In 1929 Diego Rivera began to paint murals in the National Palace in Mexico City. The murals portray the history of Mexico from pre-Columbian times to the future. The mural above is called *Mexico Today and Tomorrow*.

- 1. **Identifying** Who does Rivera portray favorably in the mural?
- 2. Recognizing Bias How does Rivera reveal his political biases in the mural?

#### **Culture in Latin America**

Latin American artists adapted European modern art techniques to their own native roots.

**HISTORY & YOU** Think about the meaning of the word *abstract*. What would you expect "abstract art" to look like? Read to learn about abstract modern art 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 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. Modern artists, such as Roberto Matta from Chile and Carlos Merida from Guatemala, created abstract art, which did not closely resemble the way objects really appear. Gunther Gerzso, considered Mexico's most significant twentieth-century abstractionist, once said:

#### **PRIMARY SOURCE**

"Many people say I am an abstract painter. Actually, I think my paintings are very realistic. They are real because they express very accurately what I am all about, and in doing so they are to some degree about everybody else."

—Gunther Gerzso

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 Hospital. 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. Rivera's 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.

Rivera's work was often controversial. U.S. business tycoon Nelson Rockefeller hired Rivera to paint a mural on the wall of the RCA building at Rockefeller Center in New York City. Before Rivera finished, Rockefeller had the mural destroyed because it included a portrait of Soviet leader V. I. Lenin.

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



#### **Vocabulary**

 Explain the significance of: Argentina, Chile, Brazil, investor, Peru, Mexico, Juan Vicente Gómez, Good Neighbor policy, oligarchy, Hipólito Irigoyen, establish, Getúlio Vargas, Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), Lázaro Cárdenas, PEMEX, Diego Rivera.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. **Explain** why most individuals could not start new businesses in Latin America.
- List the political struggles in Argentina and Brazil during the first half of the twentieth century. Use a table like the one below to make your list.

Argentina	Brazil

 Describe how Diego Rivera portrayed Mexico's native roots.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 5. The BIG Idea Determining Cause and Effect Why did the Great Depression cause many Latin American countries to try to gain more independence from foreign economic dominance?
- 6. Making Predictions How might the Cárdenas government's dispute with foreign-owned oil companies affect future foreign investment in Mexico?
- 7. **Analyzing Visuals** Choose one of the details from the painting on page 848 and explain why Diego Rivera chose to include it in this mural.

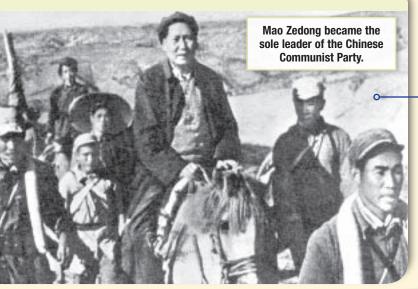
#### **Writing About History**

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

### **History** ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to **glencoe.com** and click Study Central.

MAO ZEDONG ON THE LONG MARCH





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# THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHINA Influenced by Nationalism and Revolution

- The Ottoman Empire ended after World War I.
- Modernization and nationalist movements helped Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia become modern states.
- In China, the Nationalist and Communist Parties formed a brief alliance to drive out imperialists.
- After the alliance split in China, the Communists went into hiding, and Chiang Kai-shek tried to build a republic.

# AFRICA AND ASIA Influenced by Nationalism

- Nationalism led Africa and Asia to seek independence from colonial rule.
- Comintern spread Marxist ideas to Asia, resulting in Communist parties in all colonies.
- India's independence movement split into two paths, led by Gandhi and Nehru.
- Japan moved from a democratic government to a militaristic state.

# OIL GUSHER IN MEXICO



## CELEBRATIONS IN MOSCOW MARK THE SECOND MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



# **LATIN AMERICA Influenced** by Nationalism

- Latin American nationalists resented foreign investors and viewed them as imperialist powers.
- The Great Depression devastated Latin America's economy and created instability.
- Turmoil led to military dictatorships and authoritarian rule by small groups.
- Artists combined European modern art with their native culture, often promoting a national spirit.

#### STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE



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.

#### **Reviewing Vocabulary**

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

- **1.** Mao Zedong used \_\_\_\_\_\_, or unexpected methods like sabotage and deception, to fight Chiang Kai-shek's forces.
  - A trench warfare
  - **B** querrilla tactics
  - C war of attrition
  - **D** total war
- **2.** What is the term for the deliberate mass murder of a particular racial, political, or cultural group?
  - A Patricide
  - **B** Suicide
  - **C** Homicide
  - **D** Genocide
- **3.** In Argentina in the early 1930s, the \_\_\_\_\_\_ that controlled the government was made up of large landowners.
  - A oligarchy
  - **B** zaibatsu
  - **C** hierarchy
  - **D** bureaucracy
- **4.** As a form of protest, Mohandas Gandhi advocated \_\_\_\_\_\_, or the refusal to obey laws considered to be unjust.
  - A collective bargaining
  - **B** extraterritoriality
  - C civil disobedience
  - **D** querrilla tactics

#### **Reviewing Main Ideas**

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 822-827)

- **5.** Between 1915 and 1918, what Christian minority group was targeted by the Ottoman Turks?
  - **A** Armenians
  - **B** Zionists
  - **C** Slavs
  - **D** Communists
- **6.** Who began transforming Turkey into a modern state in the early 1920s?
  - A Reza Shah Pahlavi
  - B Ibn Sa'ūd
  - C Mustafa Kemal
  - D Abdülhamīd II
- **7.** What British document supported the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine?
  - A The Zionist Act
  - **B** The Dawes Plan
  - C The Palestine Act
  - **D** The Balfour Declaration

**Section 2** (pp. 828–835)

- 8. Who founded the Pan-Africanism movement?
  - A Nnamdi Azikiwe
  - **B** Marcus Garvey
  - C Jomo Kenyatta
  - **D** Léopold Senghor

#### **Need Extra Help?**

If You Missed Questions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go to Page	838	824	847	832	823	824	827	830





- **9.** Where did some Indian Muslims want to form a separate state in the 1930s?
  - A Pakistan
  - **B** Taiwan (Formosa)
  - **C** Palestine
  - **D** Liberia

#### **Section 3** (pp. 836–841)

- 10. In what city did Chiang Kai-shek form a new Chinese republic?
  - A Beijing
  - **B** Shanghai
  - **C** Tianjin
  - **D** Nanjing
- **11.** Which of the following was a result of the Long March?
  - A The Communists surprised the Nationalists in Jiangxi and drove them out.
  - **B** The Communists formed an alliance with the Chinese Nationalists.
  - **C** The Communists chose Mao Zedong as their leader.
  - **D** The Communists lost the support of the rural peasants.

#### **Section 4** (pp. 844–849)

- **12.** Which of the following was part of the Good Neighbor policy in 1934?
  - A The last U.S. investors left Latin America.
  - **B** The last U.S. troops were removed from Latin America.
  - **C** U.S. troops removed several ruthless Latin American dictators.
  - **D** U.S. troops protected Latin America against European aggression.
- **13.** Which Latin American countries were most harmed by the Great Depression?
  - A Countries that exported a wide variety of foodstuffs and raw materials
  - **B** Countries that had a large manufacturing base
  - **C** Countries that depended on the export of only one product
  - **D** Countries that had large government-run industries

#### **Critical Thinking**

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Use the following map to answer question 14.



- **14.** How did Japan's territory change between 1910 and 1933?
  - A Japan acquired Manchuria in 1910, doubling its size.
  - **B** Japan acquired Korea and Manchuria.
  - **C** Japan gave up Manchuria, losing half its territory.
  - **D** Japan acquired Manchuria by 1933, doubling its size.
- 15. Why did Chiang's land-reform program have little effect?
  - A There was little unowned land to divide.
  - **B** His council favored more land taxes.
  - **C** His support came from the landed gentry.
  - **D** He spent too much on building railways.
- **16.** Why was Mexico not "truly democratic" in the 1930s?
  - A There was a military dictatorship.
  - **B** The authoritarian New State refused to hold elections.
  - **C** There was a ruling oligarchy.
  - **D** There was one dominant political party.

Need Extra Help?				1	D IIICI	c was one	aominant p	ontical part
If You Missed Questions	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
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- **17.** Which of the following statements represents an effect of the *zaibatsu* economy on Japan?
  - A Internal tension decreased, as economic success brought wealth to all social classes.
  - **B** Militarism increased, as Japan needed to expand to find resources to fuel its industries.
  - **C** Relations with other Asian nations improved, as trade among them increased.
  - **D** Population decreased, as fewer children were needed to work on family farms.

Base your answer to question 18 on the cartoon below and your knowledge of world history.



Which statement best expresses the cartoon's message?

- A England will use its economic power to save the Armenians.
- **B** England will not help the Armenians because it fears war with the Ottoman Turks.
- **C** England's vast economic power will not be enough to save the Armenians.
- **D** England will not give up its economic interests in the region to help the Armenians.

#### **Document-Based Questions**

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

In the fall of 1926, the young Communist Mao Zedong submitted a report to the Chinese Communist Party. In that report, Mao wrote:

"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

- **19.** According to Mao Zedong, who would be the driving force in the Chinese revolution?
- **20.** Why would this driving force in the revolution be so powerful?

#### **Extended Response**

**21.** Europeans created the Middle Eastern states of Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon from former Ottoman territories after World War I. The Europeans determined the borders and divided the peoples. Why might this national origin lead to future conflicts in the Middle East?



For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 25 at glencoe.com.

#### **Need Extra Help?**

If You Missed Questions	17	18	19	20	21
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