**Chapter 34: An Age of Anxiety**

**Chapter Outline**

1. **Probing cultural frontiers**
   1. Postwar pessimism
      1. The "lost generation"
         1. Term used to describe pessimism of U.S. and European thinkers after the war
         2. Postwar poetry and fiction reflected disillusionment with western culture
         3. Scholars--Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee--lamented decline of the west
      2. Religious thought reflected uncertainty and pessimism
         1. Karl Barth attacked liberal Christian theology embracing idea of progress
         2. Older concepts of original sin and human depravity revived
      3. Attacks on the ideal of progress
         1. Science tarnished by the technological horrors of World War I
         2. Most western societies granted suffrage to all men and women
         3. Many intellectuals disillusioned with democracy
         4. Conservatives decried "the rule of inferiors"
   2. Revolutions in physics and psychology
      1. Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, 1906
         1. Space and time relative to the person measuring them
         2. Implication: reality or truth merely a set of mental constructions
      2. Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, 1927
         1. Impossible to state the position and velocity of a subatomic particle at same time
         2. Atomic universe indeterminate; can only speak of probabilities
         3. Challenged long-held assumptions about truth, cause and effect
      3. Freud's psychoanalytic theory, 1896
         1. Sought psychological causes of mental illness
         2. Conflict between conscious and unconscious mental processes
         3. Sexual repression frequent cause of neuroses
         4. Freud's ideas shaped psychiatric profession, influenced literature and arts
   3. Experimentation in art and architecture
      1. Modern painting: when photography can reproduce nature, why should painting?
         1. Painters like Pablo Picasso soughtfreedom of expression, emotional expression
         2. Borrowed from artistic traditions of Asia, Pacific, and Africa
         3. No widely accepted standards of good or bad art
      2. Modern architecture: the Bauhaus schoolstarted in Germany, 1920
         1. An international style for twentieth-century urban buildings  
            (a) Walter Gropius: form should follow function; combined engineering and art  
            (b) Simple shapes, steel frames, and walls of glass
         2. International style dominated urban landscapes well after 1930s
2. **Global depression**
   1. The Great Depression
      1. The weaknesses of global economy
         1. The tangled financial relationships: Germany and Austria borrowed money from United States, used it to pay reparations to Allies, who used the money to pay war debt to United States
         2. 1928 U.S. lenders withdrew capital from Europe; financial system strained
         3. Industrial innovations reduced demand for raw materials--rubber, coal, cotton
         4. Postwar agriculture depressed in Europe, United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia
      2. The crash of 1929
         1. U.S. economic boom prompted many to speculate, invest beyond their means
         2. Black Thursday (24 October 1929): stock prices dropped, investors lost life savings
         3. Lenders called in loans, forcing investors to keep selling
      3. Economic contraction in U.S. economy and the world
         1. Overproduction and reduced consumer demand
         2. Widespread business failure and unemployment
         3. By 1932 U.S. industrial production and national income dropped by half
      4. Industrial economies felt banking crisis, unemployment
         1. Germany and Japan unable to sell manufactured goods to purchase fuel and food
         2. Germany by 1932: 35 percent unemployment, 50 percent decrease in industrial production
         3. European industrial states and Japan unable to sell to United States because of tariffs
      5. Primary producing economies especially vulnerable
         1. Export prices declined sharply after 1929: sugar, coffee, beef, tin, nitrates, and so on
         2. Latin American states enacted import tariffs that actually helped domestic industry
         3. Brazil under dictator Betulio Dornelles Vargas built up steel and iron production
         4. Impact on colonial Africa varied: exports hurt, but not local markets
         5. China not integrated into world economy, less affected
         6. Philippines was a U.S. colony; its sugar production protected by the United States
      6. Economic nationalism favored over international cooperation
         1. High tariffs, import quotas, and prohibitions to promote economic self-sufficiency
         2. U.S. trade restrictions provoked retaliation by other nations
         3. International trade dropped 66 percent between 1929 and 1932
   2. Despair and government action
      1. Government policies to reduce female employment, especially of married women
      2. Great Depression caused enormous personal suffering
         1. Millions struggled for food, clothing, and shelter
         2. Marriage and birthrates declined, suicide increased
         3. Intensified social divisions and class hatreds
         4. John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*criticized U.S. policy of "planned scarcity"
   3. Economic experimentation
      1. John M. Keynes challenged classical economic theory
         1. Classic theory: capitalism self-correcting, operated best if unregulated
         2. Keynes argued the depression was a problem of inadequate demand, not supply
         3. Governments should play active role in stimulating economy, consumer demand
      2. The New Deal of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt anticipated Keynes's ideas
         1. After 1932, protected banking system, massive public works, farm subsidies
         2. Also, legislation established minimum wage, social security, workers' unions
         3. Military spending in WWII ultimately ended the depression in United States
3. **Challenges to the liberal order**
   1. Communism in Russia
      1. Civil war, 1918-1920, between Bolsheviks and anticommunist forces, or the Whites
         1. The Red Terror: secret police arrested and killed two hundred thousand suspected Whites
         2. Bolsheviks executed Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family, June 1918
         3. Despite some foreign support, the Whites were defeated by Red Army in 1920
         4. Perhaps ten million died during civil war
      2. Lenin's "war communism" transformed economy
         1. Policy included nationalizing banks, industry, and church holdings
         2. Private trade abolished; peasants reduced production
         3. By 1920, industrial output at one-tenth, agricultural at half prewar levels
      3. Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP), 1921
         1. Reversed war communism, restored market economy
         2. Returned small-scale industries to private ownership
         3. Allowed peasants to sell their surplus at free market
         4. Programs of electrification and technical schools were carried out
         5. Lenin died, 1924; bitter power struggle followed
      4. Joseph Stalin (1879-1953)
         1. "Man of steel": Georgian by birth, Russian nationalist by conviction
         2. Stalin favored "socialism in one country," not international socialism
         3. Eliminated all rivals; by 1928, unchallenged dictator of Soviet Union
      5. First Five-Year Plan, 1928-1932, replaced Lenin's NEP
         1. Set production quotas, central state planning of entire economy
         2. Emphasized heavy industry at expense of consumer goods
      6. Collectivization of agriculture
         1. States seized private farms, created large collective farms
         2. Believed to be more productive, to feed industrial workers
         3. Collectivization strongly resisted by peasants, especially the wealthier *kulaks*
         4. Half of farms collectivized by 1931; three million peasants killed or starved
      7. As an alternative to capitalism during the depression, Soviet Union offered full employment and cheap housing and food, but few luxuries or consumer goods
      8. The Great Purge, 1935-1938
         1. Ruthless policy of collectivization led to doubts about Stalin's administration
         2. Stalin purged two-thirds of Central Committee members and more than half of the army's high-ranking officers
         3. By 1939, eight million people were in labor camps; three million died during "cleansing"
   2. The fascist alternative
      1. Fascism: new political ideology of 1920s
         1. Started in Italy, then Germany; also found in other countries around the world
         2. Fascism hostile to liberal democracies and to socialism and communism
         3. Sought subordination of individuals to the service of state
      2. Emphasized an extreme form of nationalism, often expressed as racism
         1. Veneration of the state, devotion to charismatic leaders
         2. Militarism exalted, uniforms, parades
   3. Italian fascism
      1. Benito Mussolini, founder of Italian fascism, 1919
         1. Armed fascist squads called Blackshirts terrorized socialists
         2. After march on Rome, Mussolini invited by king to be prime minister
      2. The fascist state in Italy
         1. All other political parties banned, Italy became a one-party dictatorship
         2. Supported by business, the party crushed labor unions, prohibited strikes
         3. Not aggressively anti-Semitic until after alliance with Hitler in 1938
   4. Germany's national socialism
      1. Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)
         1. Born in Austria, schooled in Vienna; hated Jews and Marxists
         2. Moved to Munich and fought in German army in WWI
         3. 1921, joined obscure group, National Socialist German Workers Party
      2. The emergence of the Nazi party
         1. 1923: attempt to take over Weimar Republic failed; Hitler jailed
         2. Released in 1924, he organized party for a legal takeover, through elections
      3. The struggle for power after 1929
         1. National socialism enjoyed broad appeal, especially from lower-middle class
         2. Public lost faith in democracy: associated with defeat, depression, inflation
         3. 1930-1932, Nazi party became the largest in parliament
         4. 1932, President Hindenburg offered Hitler the chancellorship
      4. Rapid consolidation of power, 1933-1935
         1. Nazis created one-party dictatorship; outlawed all other political parties
         2. Took over judiciary, civil service, military
      5. Nazi ideology emphasized purity of race
         1. Women praised as wives and mothers; were discouraged from working
         2. Cult of motherhood: propaganda campaign to increase births was unsuccessful
      6. Nazi eugenics: deliberate policies to improve the quality of the German "race"
         1. Compulsory sterilization of undesirables: mentally ill, disabled
         2. State-sponsored euthanasia of physically and mentally handicapped
      7. Anti-Semitism central to Nazi ideology
         1. 1935, Nuremberg Laws deprived Jews of citizenship, outlawed intermarriage
         2. Jews economically isolated, lost jobs, assets, businesses
         3. 1938, *Kristallnacht*: official attacks on synagogues and Jewish businesses
         4. 250,000 Jews fled to other countries; many others trapped
4. **Struggles for national identity in Asia**
   1. India's quest for independence
      1. Indian National Congress and Muslim League
         1. After WWI, both organizations dedicated to achieving independence
         2. Indian nationalists inspired by Wilson's fourteen Points and the Russian Revolution
         3. Frustrated by Paris Peace settlement: no independence for colonies
         4. British responded to nationalistic movement with repressive measures
      2. Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948), leader of Indian nationalism
         1. Raised as a well-to-do Hindu, studied law in London
         2. Spent twenty-five years in South Africa, embraced tolerance and nonviolence
         3. Developed technique of passive resistance, followed a simple life
         4. Became political and spiritual leader, called the Mahatma ("Great Soul")
         5. Opposed to caste system, especially the exclusion of untouchables
         6. 1920-1922, led Non-Cooperation Movement; 1930, Civil Disobedience Movement
      3. The India Act of 1937
         1. 1919 British massacre at Amritsar killed 379 demonstrators, aroused public
         2. Repression failed, so the British offered modified self-rule through the India Act
         3. Unsuccessful because India's six hundred princes refused to support
         4. Muslims would not cooperate, wanted an independent state
   2. China's search for order
      1. The republic, after 1911
         1. 1911 revolution did not establish a stable republic; China fell into warlords' rule
         2. Through unequal treaties, foreign states still controlled economy of China
      2. Growth of Chinese nationalism
         1. Chinese intellectuals expected Paris Peace Conference to end treaty system
         2. Instead, Paris treaties approved Japanese expansion into China
         3. May Fourth Movement: Chinese youths and intellectuals opposed to imperialism
         4. Some were attracted to Marxism and Leninism; CCP established in 1921
      3. CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and*Guomindang* (The Nationalist Party)
         1. CCP leader Mao Zedong advocated women's equality, socialism
         2. *Guomindang* leader Sun Yat-sen favored democracy and nationalism
         3. Two parties formed alliance, assisted by the Soviet Union, against foreigners
      4. Civil war after death of Sun Yat-sen, 1925
         1. Led by Jiang Jieshi, both parties launched Northern Expedition to reunify China
         2. Successful, Jiang then turned on his communist allies
         3. 1934-1935, CCP retreated to Yan'an on the Long March, 6,215 miles
      5. Mao emerged as the leader of CCP, developed Maoist ideology
   3. Imperial Japan
      1. Japan emerged from Great War as a world power
         1. Participated in the League of Nations
         2. Signed treaty with United States guaranteeing China's integrity
      2. Japanese economy boosted by war: sold munitions to Allies
         1. Prosperity short-lived; economy slumped during Great Depression
         2. Labor unrest, demands for social reforms
      3. Political conflict emerged between internationalists, supporters of western-style capitalism, and nationalists, hostile to foreign influences
      4. The Mukden incident, 1931, in Manchuria
         1. Chinese unification threatened Japanese interests in Manchuria
         2. Japanese troops destroyed tracks on Japanese railroad, claimed Chinese attack
         3. Incident became pretext for Japanese attack against China
      5. Military, acting without civilian authority, took all Manchuria by 1932