**Chapter 35: Nationalism and Political Identities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America**

**Chapter Outline**

1. **Asian Paths to Autonomy**
   1. India's quest for home rule
      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 nationalist 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 DisobedienceMovement
      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
         5. Great Depression worsened conflict between Hindus and Muslims
         6. Muslims believed Hindus discriminated against them
         7. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, proposed two states, one of which would be Pakistan
   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 ParisPeace 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 Yatsen favored democracy and nationalism
         3. Two parties formed alliance, assisted by the Soviet Union, against foreigners
      4. Civil war after death of Sun Yatsen, 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 and Imperialist 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
      6. League of Nations called for withdrawal of Japanese troops and restoration of Chinese sovereignty; Japan responded by leaving the League
      7. The new militant Japanese national identity helped set the stage for global conflagration
2. **Africa under colonial domination**
   1. Africa and the Great War
      1. Many belligerents were colonial powers in Africa; nearly every colony took sides
      2. German colonial administration faced combined colonial forces of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Portugal
         1. Britain sought to maintain naval supremacy and to secure victor's spoils after war
         2. France sought recovery of territory earlier ceded to Germany
         3. Germans, outnumbered ten to one, could not win but 15,000 troops tied down 60,000 Allied forces until late in the war
      3. Large numbers of Africans participated actively in the war as soldiers or carriers
         1. Some volunteered; some were impressed; some were formally conscripted
         2. Greater than 150,000 African soldiers and carriers died and many were injured or disabled
      4. During the war, Africans challenged European colonial authority
         1. Colonial subjects noticed that an already thin European presence became even thinner as war channeled colonial personnel elsewhere
         2. Africans stage armed revolts, requiring colonial powers to divert military resources to meet these challenges
         3. The cause of revolts varied but they included pan-Islamic opposition to war; anti-European and anti-Christian sentiment; and compulsory conscription of Africans
      5. Colonial authorities ruthlessly put down all the revolts
   2. The colonial economy
      1. After the war, Africa was transformed by the pursuit of two economic objectives by colonial powers
         1. Ensuring that the costs of colonial administration were borne by the colonized
         2. Developing export-oriented economies in which unprocessed raw materials or minimally processed crops were sent abroad
      2. Previously self-sufficient African economies were destroyed in favor of colonial economies dependent upon a European-dominated economy
      3. During the Great Depression, colonial economies suffered as trade volume and prices fell dramatically
      4. Africa's economic integration required infrastructure
         1. Port facilities, roads, railways, and telegraph wires were built or installed
         2. Infrastructure facilitated conquest and rule, but also linked the agricultural and mineral wealth of the colony to the outside world
         3. Europeans and their businesses were the main beneficiaries of modern infrastructure, even though Africans paid for it with labor and taxes
      5. Farming and mining were the main enterprises in colonial economies
         1. Whites owned the enterprises, and used taxation policies to drive Africans in the labor market
         2. Africans became cash crop farmers or wage laborers on plantations or in mines in order to pay taxes levied on land, houses, livestock, and peoples themselves
         3. Large areas of richly productive lands were controlled by Europeans
         4. Colonial mining enterprises recruited men from rural areas and paid them minimal wages, which impoverished rural areas
         5. Officials resorted to outright forced labor where taxation policies failed to create a suitable native labor force
         6. Forced labor essentially a variant of slavery and could be quite brutal, especially among laborers forced to work on road and railway projects, in which many thousands of workers died from starvation, disease, and maltreatment
   3. African Nationalism
      1. After the war, ideas concerning self-determination gained acceptance among a group of African nationalists, giving rise to incipient nationalist movements
      2. An emerging class of native urban intellectuals—a new African elite—became heavily involved in these movements offering freedom from colonial rule and new ideas concerning African identity
         1. Members of the elite class were often educated in Europe
         2. The elites included high-ranking civil servants, physicians, lawyers, and writers
         3. Jomo Kenyatta: a good example of this trend
      3. African nationalists embraced European concept of the nation-state as the best model for realizing their goals of mobilizing resources, organizing societies, and resisting colonial rule
      4. Different opinions prevailed regarding what constituted a people's national identity
         1. Some based identity on ethnicities, religion, and languages of pre-colonial times, and believed that institutions crucial to these identities must be recreated
         2. Some regarded the African race as the foundation for identity, solidarity, and nation-building
         3. Pan-Africanists such as Marcus Garvey called for the unification of all people of African descent into a single African state
         4. Still others looked to an African identity rooted in geography; they would build nations on the basis of borders that defined existing colonial states
      5. After World War II, these ideas would be translated into demands for independence from colonial rule
3. **Latin American struggles with neocolonialism**
   1. The impact of the Great War and the Great Depression
      1. Having gained independence in the nineteenth century, Latin American nations continued to struggle to achieve stability in the midst of interference from foreign powers
      2. Interference usually took the form of neocolonialism: foreign economic domination and, frequently, military intervention and interference in the workings of a nation's political system
      3. This new imperial influence emanated from wealthy, industrialized powerhouses such as the United States and Great Britain, not former colonial rulers
      4. The Great War and the Great Depression led to a reorientation of political and nationalist ideals in Latin America
         1. Marxism, Lenin's theories on imperialism, and concern for workers shaped the views of many intellectuals and artists
         2. Revolutionary doctrines come to be seen as viable political alternatives to Enlightenment-based liberalism
         3. In the 1920s, inspired by the Mexican and Russian revolutions, university students began to demand reforms such as more representation within the educational system
         4. Students become imbued with Marxist thought and anti-imperialist ideas as universities became training grounds for future political leaders such as Fidel Castro
      5. New political parties were formed that openly espoused communism or rebellious agendas for change
         1. In Peru, José Carlos Mariátegui embraced Marxism and in 1928 established the Socialist Party of Peru
         2. Numerous other radical political movements critical of Peru's ruling system emerged during the 1920s and 1930s
         3. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who supported anti-imperialism and workers' rights, influenced the APRA, which advocated a non-communist alternative to existing political arrangements
      6. Diego Rivera and his radical artistic visions
         1. This Mexican artist, active in the Mexican Communist Party, blended artistic vision and radical political ideas in large murals created for public buildings, for the appreciation of working people
         2. Rivera's art provoked controversy in the United States, as his paintings, particularly *Imperialism*, visualized the economic dependency and political repressiveness engendered by U.S. neo-colonialism
         3. Rivera's art publicized the impact of U.S. imperialism and helped spread political activism in the Americas
   2. The evolution of economic imperialism
      1. The export-oriented economies of Latin American states had long been controlled by U.S. and British investors
      2. The main trend of neocolonialism of the 1920s was increasing U.S. control of economic affairs of Latin American countries
      3. From 1924-1929, investments of U.S. banks and businesses grew from $1.5 to $3.5 billion, mostly in mineral extraction and oil drilling enterprises
      4. U.S. President Taft argued for substitution of "dollars for bullets" in Latin America, promoting peaceful commerce over expensive military intervention.
         1. Critics referred to these policies as "dollar diplomacy"
         2. Such policies illustrate what Latin Americans perceived as "Yankee imperialism"
      5. Great Depression halted economic growth as prices for Latin American commodities plummeted
      6. Foreign capital investment fell and foreign trade was restricted but domestic manufacturing and internal economic development made important gains, as under the Vargas regime in Brazil, for instance
      7. Vargas experimented by implementing protectionist policies, which pleased industrialists and urban workers, and social welfare initiatives to benefit workers
   3. Conflicts with a "good neighbor"
      1. In late 1920s and 1930s, U.S. reassessed foreign policy in Latin America
         1. Since military intervention expensive and ineffective, rely increasingly on "dollar diplomacy"
         2. Neocolonialism persists in form of "sweetheart treaties" in which U.S. financial interests controlled economies of Latin American states
         3. FDR and "good neighbor policy": pursue cordial relations with Latin American states and have U.S. marines train indigenous police forces to quell unrest
      2. Limitations of this policy revealed in Nicaragua where, in the past, widely prevalent U.S. financial interests had engendered U.S. intervention in times of civil unrest
         1. Civil war in mid-to-late 1920s and the insertion of U.S. Marines to restore order provoked nationalist opposition by Augusto Cesar Sandino, who insisted upon removal of Marines from his country
         2. The U.S.-supervised election of 1932 brought Juan Batista Sarcasa to the presidency, and the brutal but effective Anastacio Somoza Garcia installed as commander of the National Guard; the U.S. departed
         3. Somoza's guard troops murdered Sandino in 1934 (making him a martyr) and soon Somoza became president
         4. As president, Somoza maintained the loyalty of the National Guard, worked to prove himself a good neighbor of the U.S., built the largest fortune in Nicaragua's history, and established a long-lived political dynasty
      3. The nationalization crisis in Mexico under President Lázaro Cárdenas
         1. Cárdenas's 1938 nationalization of the oil industry tested the limits of Roosevelt's more conciliatory approach to Latin American relations
         2. Roosevelt resisted pressure from U.S. and British companies to intervene
         3. Negotiations resulted in foreign companies accepting $24 million in compensation rather than the $260 million originally demanded
      4. U.S. desire to cultivate Latin American markets for exports, and to avoid militarist behavior, led to neighborly cultural exchanges reflective of a more conciliatory approach
         1. During and after the Great War Mexicans migrated to the U.S. in large numbers to serve as agricultural and industrial laborers (but many were deported during the Great Depression)
         2. Hollywood promoted Brazilian singing and dancing sensation Carmen Miranda in order to promote more positive images of Latin America
         3. The United Fruit Company used Miranda's image to sell bananas, which symbolized U.S. economic control of various regions of Latin America
         4. Through its ads, the United Fruit Company gave its neocolonial policies a softer image for consumers in the U.S., which provided a counterpoint to Rivera's *Imperialism*