

# Totalitarianism after World War I, c. 1920-1940

Definition: government controls all aspects of the lives of the people.	Concept Outline	Learning Objectives
<p>I. <b>Totalitarianism</b></p> <p>A. Totalitarianism vs. conservative authoritarianism: a contrast</p> <p>1. <b>Conservative authoritarianism:</b> traditional form of anti-democratic government in Europe (<b>absolutism</b>)</p> <p>a. Examples: Louis XIV, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Catherine the Great, Klemens von Metternich</p> <p>b. <u>Regimes sought to prevent major changes from undermining the existing social order.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most people went about their lives and were more concerned with local affairs that directly affected them rather than national affairs.</li> </ul> <p>c. <u>Popular participation in government was forbidden or severely limited.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>This is a stark contrast to 20<sup>th</sup> century totalitarianism where people were expected to <i>participate</i> in the system and actively support the regime.</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Stalin's 5-Year Plans in Russia</li> <li>○ Hitler Youth in Germany</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>d. <u>It was limited in power and in objectives (it usually sought the status quo).</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It lacked modern technology and communications and could not control many aspects of their subjects' lives.</li> <li>• It usually limited its demands to taxes, army recruits, and passive acceptance of the regime.</li> </ul> <p>e. <u>Conservative authoritarianism reemerged after WWI, especially in less-developed eastern Europe and in Spain and Portugal.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only Czechoslovakia remained democratic.</li> </ul> <p>f. The Great Depression in the 1930s ended various levels of democracy in Austria, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Estonia, and Latvia.</p> <p>2. <b>Totalitarianism</b></p> <p>a. New technology made total control possible (e.g., radio, automobile, and telephone).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Governments could wiretap telephone lines to spy on suspected dissenters.</li> <li>• Improved communication enabled regimes to coordinate quickly with local officials.</li> <li>• Radio was a new tool used for propaganda (in addition to the traditional printed media).</li> <li>• Automobiles and trucks gave regimes increased mobility.</li> </ul>	4.2.I/4.2.II	SP-6/8/10/17

- b. Tools of totalitarianism: censorship, indoctrination, and terror
- Virtually no freedom of the press existed; the press became an organ of the government.
  - Education was geared towards creating loyal citizens of the state while demonizing potential enemies.
  - Failure to support or comply with government policy often resulted in physical punishment, imprisonment, or death.

- B. Totalitarian regimes were either **fascist** or **communist** (see table below).
1. Communism in Russia (Soviet Union)
  2. Fascism in Italy and Germany

<b>FASCISM</b>	<b>COMMUNISM*</b>
Glorification of the state	Worldwide "dictatorship of the proletariat" (classless society)
Single party; single ruler (dictator)	One party (communist) under the control of the Politburo. Dictatorship is not the final goal.
Condemns democracy: rival parties destroy unity. Man is unable to successfully govern collectively.	Condemns capitalism for exploiting workers ("haves" vs. "have nots")
Supports the idea of capitalism and owning private property so long as it serves the needs of the state.	Government controls all means of production (industrial & agricultural). No private ownership.
Corporate State: captains of industry become state economic deputies	Economy is centralized under the communist party
Aggressive nationalism	Spread of communism for the benefit of the world's working class (Comintern)
Advocates Social Darwinism (powerful states control weaker ones)	Condemns imperialism: advocates a world without nationalism with workers united
Believes desire for peace shows weakness of gov't	Peace is the ultimate goal
Glorification of war (military sacrifice is glorified)	Violent revolution to bring about the "dictatorship of the proletariat." War is not the ends but merely the means.
Emphasizes the inequalities among humans	Emphasizes the perfectibility of society. Mankind is basically good.

\* While Marxist views may appear more benevolent and utopian in theory, 20<sup>th</sup> century communism in reality became as brutal a system as fascism, perhaps more so considering the massive deaths in the USSR at the hands of the government

II. **Soviet Union (USSR)**

A. **Vladimir I. Lenin**

1. **Marxist-Leninist** philosophy
  - a. Theory of imperialism: imperialism is the highest form of capitalism as the search for new markets and raw materials feeds bourgeois hunger for more profits.
    - Conquered peoples are ruthlessly exploited.
  - b. "New type of party": a cadre of educated professional revolutionaries serve in the development of political class consciousness and guidance of the "Dictatorship of Proletariat."
    - Lenin's view stood in stark contrast to Marx who did not envision a totalitarian dictatorship from above (by elites) but rather from below (by the workers).
  - c. Like Marx, Lenin sought a world-wide communist movement.
    - In 1919, the **Comintern** was created (Third Communists International).
      - It was to serve as the preliminary step of the International Republic of Soviets towards the world wide victory of Communism.
2. **War Communism**
  - a. Its purpose was to win the Russian Civil War (1918-1920).
  - b. It created the first mass communist society in world history.
  - c. The socialization (nationalization) of all means of production and central planning of the economy occurred.
  - d. In reality, the Bolsheviks destroyed the economy: mass starvation resulted from crop failures; a decrease in industrial output occurred.
  - e. The **secret police**—the **Cheka**—liquidated about 250,000 opponents.
3. **Kronstadt Rebellion** (1921)
  - a. A mutiny by previously pro-Bolshevik sailors at Kronstadt naval base had to be crushed with machine gun fire.
  - b. It was caused by the economic disaster and social upheaval of the Russian Civil War.
  - c. It became a major cause for Lenin instituting the NEP.
4. **NEP – New Economic Policy, 1921-28**
  - a. It sought to eliminate the harsh aspects of war communism.
  - b. It was Lenin's response to peasant revolts, military mutiny, and economic ruin.
  - c. Some capitalist measures were allowed (Lenin saw it as a "necessary step backwards").
    - The gov't would not seize surplus grain; peasants could sell grain on the open market.
    - Small manufacturers were allowed to run their own businesses.
  - d. The gov't was still in control of heavy industry, banks, and railroads.

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- e. As a result of the NEP, the Russian economy improved.
  - Industry and agricultural output were back to pre-WWI levels.
  - Workers saw shorter hours and better conditions.
  - The temporary relaxing of terror and censorship occurred.
5. Women
  - a. The Russian Revolution immediately proclaimed complete equality of rights for women.
  - b. In the 1920s divorce and abortion were made easily available.
  - c. Women were urged by the state to work outside the home and liberate themselves sexually.
    - Many women worked as professionals and in universities.
    - Women were still expected to do household chores in their non-working hours as Soviet men considered home and children women's responsibility.
    - Men continued to monopolize the best jobs.
    - Rapid change and economic hardship led to many broken families.
6. Lenin's impact on Russian society
  - a. "Russia" was renamed the "**Soviet Union**" in 1922 (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – **USSR**).
  - b. The old social structure was abolished – titles for nobility were eliminated.
  - c. Loss of influence for the Greek Orthodox Church
  - d. Women gained equality (in theory).
  - e. Russians had a greater expectation of freedom than they had during the tsar's regime (although expectations were later crushed by Stalin).
- B. A power struggle ensued after Lenin's death in 1924.
  1. Lenin left no chosen successor.
  2. **Joseph Stalin** was more of a realist and believed in "**Socialism in one Country.**"
    - a. First, Russia had to be strong internally and should defer efforts for an international communist revolution.
    - b. He sought the establishment of a Socialist economy without the aid of the West.
  3. **Leon Trotsky** was more the Marxist ideologue who believed in "permanent revolution"—a continuation of a world communist revolution.
    - Party leaders believed Trotsky was too idealistic; Russia first had to survive.
  4. Stalin gained effective control of the gov't in 1927 and had total control by 1929.
    - Trotsky was exiled and eventually assassinated by Stalin's agents in Mexico City in 1940.

C. **Joseph Stalin**

1. The entire Politburo from Lenin's time was eventually purged leaving Stalin in absolute control.
2. **The Five-Year Plans**
  - a. **"Revolution from above"** (1<sup>st</sup> Five-Year Plan), 1928; it marked the end of Lenin's NEP.
  - b. Objectives:
    - Increase industrial output by 250%; steel by 300%; agriculture by 150%
    - 20% of peasants were scheduled to give up their private plots and join collective farms.
    - Stalin: "We are 50 or 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in 10 years. Either we do it or we shall go under."
  - c. Results:
    - Steel production up 400%: the USSR was now the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest steel producer in Europe.
    - Oil production increased 300%.
    - Massive urbanization: 25 million people were moved to cities.
    - Yet, the quality of goods was substandard and the standard of living did not rise.
3. **Collectivization** was the greatest of all costs under the Five-year Plans.
  - a. Purpose: bring the peasantry under absolute control of the communist state
    - Machines were used in farm production to free more people to work in industry.
    - The gov't took control over production.
    - Socialism was extended to the countryside.
  - b. It resulted in the consolidation of individual peasant farms into large, state-controlled enterprises.
  - c. Farmers were paid according to the amount of work they did.
    - A portion of their harvest was taken by the gov't.
    - Eventually, the state was assured of grain for urban workers who were more important politically to Stalin than the peasants.
      - Collective farmers first had to meet grain quotas before feeding themselves.
  - d. Results:
    - Farmers opposed it as it placed them in a bound situation (like the *mirs*).
    - **Kulaks**, the wealthiest peasants, offered the greatest resistance to collectivization.
      - Stalin ordered party workers to "liquidate them as a class."
    - 10 million peasants died due to collectivization (7 million were forcibly starved in **Ukraine**).
    - Agricultural output was no greater than in 1913.
    - By 1933, 60% of peasant families were on collective farms; 93% by 1938.

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4. Structure of gov't
    - a. The Central Committee was the apex of Soviet power (about 70 people in the 1930s).
    - b. **Politburo**: About a dozen members; dominated discussions of policy and personnel
    - c. **General Secretary**: highest position of power; created by Stalin
  5. Stalin's propaganda campaign
    - a. Purpose: It sought to glorify work to the Soviet people and encourage higher worker productivity.
    - b. Technology was used for propaganda.
      - Newspapers like *Pravda* ("The Truth"), films, and radio broadcasts emphasized socialist achievements and capitalist plots.
      - **Sergei Eisenstein** (1898-1914): quintessential patriotic filmmaker under Stalin
      - Writers and artists were expected to glorify Stalin and the state; their work was closely monitored.
    - c. Religion was persecuted: Stalin hoped to turn churches into "museums of atheism."
  6. Benefits for workers:
    - a. Old-age pensions, free medical services, free education, and day-care centers for children were provided.
    - b. Education was key to improving one's position: specialized skills and technical education
    - c. Many Russians saw themselves building the world's first socialist society while capitalism crumbled during the Great Depression.
      - The USSR attracted many disillusioned Westerners to communism in the 1930s.
  7. **The "Great Terror"** (1934-38)
    - a. First directed against peasants after 1929, terror was used increasingly on leading Communists, powerful administrators, and ordinary people, often for no apparent reason.
    - b. The "Great Terror" resulted in 8 million arrests.
    - c. **Show trials** were used to eradicate "enemies of the people" (usually ex-party members).
    - d. In the late 1930s, dozens of **Old Bolsheviks** (who had been Lenin's closest followers) were tried and executed.
    - e. **Great Purges**: 40,000 army officers were expelled or liquidated (which later weakened the USSR in WWII).
    - f. Millions of citizens were killed, died in **gulags** (forced labor camps), or simply disappeared.
- III. **Fascist Italy**
- A. Causes for the rise of fascism in Italy
    1. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Italy was a liberal state with civil rights and a constitutional monarchy.
    2. Versailles Treaty (1919): Italian nationalists were angry that Italy did not receive any Austrian or Ottoman territory (*Italia Irredenta*), or Germany's African colonies as promised.

4.2.II.A/B

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- Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando angrily left the Paris Peace Conference before it was completed.
  - 3. A depression in 1919 caused nationwide strikes and class tension.
  - 4. The wealthy classes feared a communist revolution and looked to a strong anti-communist leader.
  - 5. By 1921 revolutionary socialists, conservatives and property owners were all opposed to liberal parliamentary government.
  - 6. Fascism in Italy eventually was a combination of conservative authoritarianism and modern totalitarianism (although not as extreme as Russia or Germany).
- B. **Benito Mussolini** (1883-1945) rises to power ("**Il Duce**")
1. Although he was the editor of a socialist newspaper during the WWI era, he was, at heart, a nationalist.
  2. He organized the **Fascist party**.
    - a. He combined socialism and nationalism: territorial expansion, benefits for workers, and land reform for peasants.
    - b. The party was named after *fasces*: the rods carried by Imperial Roman officials as symbols of power.
    - c. Initially, his party failed to prevail because of competition from the well-organized Socialists.
  3. In 1920, Mussolini gained support of the conservative and middle classes for his anti-Socialist rhetoric; he thus abandoned his socialist programs.
  4. **Blackshirts** (*squadristi*): Mussolini's paramilitary forces attacked Communists, Socialists, and other enemies of the fascist program (later, Hitler's "Brown Shirts" followed this example).
    - This significantly undermined the stability of the government.
  5. The **March on Rome** in October 1922 led to Mussolini taking power.
    - a. Mussolini demanded the resignation of the existing gov't and his own appointment by the king.
    - b. A large group of Fascists marched on Rome to threaten the king into accepting Mussolini's demands.
    - c. The government collapsed; Mussolini received the right to organize a new cabinet (government).
    - d. King Victor Emmanuel III gave him dictatorial powers for one year to end the nation's social unrest.
- C. The **Corporate State** (syndicalist-corporate system) was the economic basis for Italian fascism.
1. **"Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."**
  2. By 1928, all independent labor unions were organized into government-controlled syndicates.
    - a. The system established organizations of workers and employers; it outlawed strikes and walkouts.

- b. It created corporations which coordinated activities between worker-employer syndicates.
  - c. The authority came from the top, unlike socialist corporate states where workers made decisions.
- D. Mussolini created a dictatorship.
1. The right to vote was severely limited.
  2. All candidates for the Italian parliament were selected by the Fascist party.
  3. The gov't ruled by decree.
  4. Dedicated fascists were put in control of schools.
  5. The gov't sought to regulate the leisure time of the people.
    - Fascist youth movement (*Balilla*)
    - Labor unions
    - The *Dopolavoro* ("After Work"): social activities for the working class
  6. Italy never truly became a totalitarian regime.
    - a. Mussolini never became all-powerful.
    - b. He failed in the attempt to "Fascistize" Italian society by controlling leisure time.
    - c. The old power structure of conservatives, the military, and the Church remained intact.
      - Mussolini never attempted to purge the conservative classes.
      - He propagandized and controlled labor but left big business to regulate itself.
      - No land reform occurred.
    - d. He did not establish a ruthless police state (only 23 political prisoners were executed between 1926 and 1944).
    - e. Racial laws were not passed until 1938 and the savage persecution of Jews did not occur until late in WWII when Italy was under German Nazi control.
  7. Women
    - a. Unlike Russia's more modern approach to gender issues, Italy's social structure emphasized a traditional role for women.
      - This also became the case in Nazi Germany.
    - b. Divorce was abolished and women were told to stay home and procreate.
    - c. In an attempt to promote marriage, Mussolini decreed a special tax on bachelors in 1934.
    - d. By 1938, women were limited by law to a maximum of 10% of better-paying jobs in industry and gov't.
- E. Accomplishments under Mussolini
1. Internal improvements were made such as electrification and road building.
  2. More efficient government existed at the municipal (city) level.
  3. He suppressed the Mafia (which was especially strong in southern Italy and Sicily).



4. The justice system was improved (except for “enemies of the state”).
  5. The **Lateran Pact**, 1929, resulted in reconciliation with the papacy.
    - a. The **Vatican** was recognized as a tiny independent state; it received \$92 million for seized Church lands.
    - b. In return, Pope Pius XII recognized the legitimacy of the Italian state.
- F. Fascist legacy
1. Italian democracy was destroyed.
  2. Terrorism became a state policy.
  3. Poor industrial growth was due to militarism and colonialism.
  4. Disastrous wars resulted (from Mussolini’s attempt to recapture the imperialistic glories of Ancient Rome).

#### IV. **Nazi Germany**

- A. Roots of Nazism: Extreme nationalism + racism = Nazism
1. Hyper-nationalism fed the impulse to conquer other nations.
    - The alleged “**stab in the back**”—the Weimar Republic’s signing of the Versailles Treaty—fed the nation’s frustration.
  2. Racist ideas
    - a. Racial superiority of the **Aryan Race**—Germanic peoples
    - b. Inferiority of Jews and Slavs
- B. Rise of **Adolf Hitler**
1. He became leader of **National Socialist German Workers Party (NAZI)** in 1919.
    - The Nazi’s started as a tiny group of only 7 members that under Hitler grew dramatically within just a few years.
  2. **S.A. (“Brown Shirts”)**: Nazi paramilitary group terrorized political opponents on the streets.
    - In effect, it was the private army of the Nazis who were very loyal to Hitler.
  3. **Beer Hall Putsch, 1923**: Hitler failed in his attempt to overthrow the state of Bavaria (and ultimately, Germany) and was sentenced to a one-year jail term.
    - a. The issue gave Hitler national attention.
    - b. Hitler realized in the future he’d have to take control of Germany legally, not through revolution.
  4. **Mein Kampf** (1923) was written while in jail: became the blueprint for Hitler’s future plans.
    - a. **Lebensraum** (“living space”): Germany should expand eastward, remove the Jews, and turn the Slavs into slave labor.
    - b. Anti-Semitism: Hitler blamed the Jews for Germany’s political and economic problems.
    - c. The leader-dictator, **Führer**, would have unlimited arbitrary power.

4.2.II.B

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<p>5. <u>The fall of Weimar Republic was a result of the <b>Great Depression</b>.</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>Unemployment reached 43% by the end of 1932.</li><li><u>Economic chaos and political impotence played into Hitler's hands.</u><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Hitler began promising German voters economic, political, and military salvation.</li><li>Hitler promised big business leaders he would restore the economy by breaking Germany's strong labor movement and reducing workers' wages if necessary.</li><li>Hitler assured top army leaders that the Nazis would reject the Versailles Treaty and rearm Germany.</li><li>The Nazis appealed to Germany's youth:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>40% of the party was under age 30 in 1931; 67% were under 40.</li></ul></li></ul></li><li>In 1930, Germany's Chancellor gained permission from President Hindenburg for emergency rule by decree.<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The struggle between the Social Democrats and the Communists contributed to the breakdown of the Weimar gov't.</li></ul></li><li>The Nazis won the largest percentage of votes in the Reichstag in the 1933 elections (though not a majority).<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>They demanded that Hitler play a leadership role in the government.</li></ul></li><li><u>Hitler became Chancellor on January 30, 1933; he was appointed by President Paul von Hindenburg.</u></li></ol>	4.2.III.C	PP-11 SP-5
<p>C. The <b>Third Reich</b> (1933-1945)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>Hitler quickly consolidated power<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>The <b>Reichstag fire</b> occurred during the violent electoral campaign in 1933.<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The incident was used by the Nazis to crack down on the communists.</li></ul></li><li>The S.A. stepped up its terrorism of political opponents.</li><li><u>The <b>Enabling Act</b> (March 1933) was passed by the Reichstag.</u><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><u>It gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power for four years.</u></li><li><u>Only the Nazi party was legal.</u></li></ul></li><li>Hitler outlawed strikes and abolished independent labor unions.</li><li>Publishers, universities, and writers were brought into line.<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Democratic, socialist, and Jewish literature was put on blacklists.</li><li>Students and professors burned forbidden books in public squares.</li><li>Modern art and architecture were prohibited (dubbed "degenerate art" by the Nazis).</li></ul></li></ol></li><li><b>Joseph Goebbles</b>: minister of propaganda who effectively glorified Hitler and the Nazi state.<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><b>Leni Riefenstal's <i>Triumph of the Will</i></b> (a documentary of the Nuremburg rally of 1934) was used by the regime as propaganda to make Hitler look larger than life and glorify the Nazi regime.</li></ul></li></ol>	4.2.II.A	PP-8 OS-9/12 SP-6/8/10 IS-10

3. **"Night of Long Knives"** (June 1934)
  - a. Hitler was warned that the army and big business were suspicious of the **S.A.**
  - b. To please conservatives, Hitler's elite personal guard—the **S.S.**—arrested and shot without trial about 1,000 S.A. leaders and other political enemies.
  - c. The **S.S.** grew dramatically in influence as Hitler's private army and secret police.
    - Led by **Heinrich Himmler**
4. The S.S. joined with the political police, the **Gestapo**, to expand its network of special courts and concentration camps.
5. **Hitler Youth**: Nazis indoctrinated German youths with views of German racial superiority and Jews as the source of Germany's problems.
  - a. Eventually, membership in the Hitler Youth effectively became mandatory.
    - This is an example of how totalitarian regimes demanded *participation* by the masses (in contrast to 17<sup>th</sup> century absolutism where regimes merely sought obedience).
  - b. Children were encouraged to turn in their teachers or even their parents if they seemed disloyal to the Reich.
6. Persecution of Jews
  - a. By the end of 1934, most Jewish lawyers, doctors, professors, civil servants, and musicians had lost their jobs and the right to practice their professions.
  - b. **Nuremburg Laws** of 1935 deprived Jews of all rights of citizenship.
    - Marriage or sex between Jews and other Germans was prohibited.
    - Jews could not hire German women under the age of 45 as domestic workers.
    - Jews were forbidden from displaying the Reich or national flag.
  - c. Other laws were passed: Jews could not use hospitals; could not be educated past the age of 14; were prohibited from using parks, libraries and beaches; war memorials were to have Jewish names removed.
  - d. By 1939, 50% of Germany's 500,000 Jews had emigrated (many were the "cream of the crop").
    - Huge emigration fees and confiscation of Jewish property helped the government to finance economy recovery.
  - e. **Kristallnacht** ("The Night of Broken Glass"), 1938
    - Hitler ordered an attack on Jewish communities (using the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a young Jewish boy as a pretense).
    - A well-organized wave of violence destroyed homes, synagogues, and businesses.
    - Thousands of Jews were arrested and made to pay for the damage.

4.1.III.D

IS-10

- f. **Holocaust:** 6 million European Jews were eventually killed during WWII—the "**Final Solution**" (See Period 4.6 )
  - 7. Other victims of Nazi persecution included Slavs, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, communists, homosexuals, mentally handicapped, and political opponents (totaled 6 million by 1945).
    - a. T4 project: 200,000 handicapped and elderly people were murdered by 1939 in the name of maintaining Aryan purity.
- D. German economic recovery
- 1. German economic growth was a major reason for Hitler's soaring popularity.
    - Hitler delivered on his economic promise of "work and bread."
  - 2. A large public works program started to get Germany out of the depression.
    - It included superhighways (autobahn), offices, gigantic sports stadiums, and public housing.
  - 3. The 1936 Olympics were held in Berlin, signaling Germany's legitimacy by the international community.
  - 4. In 1936, Germany began rearmament and government spending began to focus on the military.
  - 5. Results of Nazi economic policies:
    - a. Unemployment dropped from 6 million in January 1933, to about one million in late 1936.
    - b. By 1938, a shortage of workers existed; women took many jobs earlier denied by the antifeminist Nazis.
    - c. By 1938 the standard of living for the average employed worker increased moderately.
    - d. Profits of business rose sharply.
- E. Nazi society: was there a social revolution?
- 1. The well-educated classes held on to most of the advantages they possessed prior to the rise of Hitler
  - 2. Only a modest social leveling occurred.
  - 3. Like fascist Italy, women were viewed as housewives and mothers.
    - a. Hitler implored German women to "make babies for the Reich."
    - b. Birth control information and abortions were forbidden for German women (although allowed for unwanted groups such as Jews, Gypsies and Slavs).
    - c. Women were denied most meaningful occupations outside the home
    - d. Only in wartime were large numbers of women mobilized for work in offices and factories.

4.2.II.A

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V. Authoritarian dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I

4.2.II.D

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A. Attempts at parliamentary democracy failed in every country in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans with the exception of democratic Czechoslovakia.

1. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the weakening of Russia left the region in transition.
2. Ethnic tensions rose in several countries.
3. Nationalists often condemned the Treaty of Versailles in its redrawing of the European map.
4. The Great Depression further destabilized the economies of eastern European countries leading to a surge in authoritarianism.

B. **Hungary**

1. A communist revolution led by Béla Kun in 1919 ultimately failed in 1920.
2. Hungary lost 2/3 of its territory and 60% of its pre-war population in the Treaty of Trianon (1920).
3. Between 1921 and 1931 Miklós Horthy led an authoritarian right-wing government.
4. In 1932, the Hungarian head of state appointed a fascist prime minister but then staved off fascist attempts to overthrow the gov't.

C. **Poland**

1. Poland gained independence in 1918 through the support of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson who had included Poland's independence in his Fourteen Points.
2. Catholic Poland included millions of Ukrainians and Belorussians who were Orthodox Christians, 1 million Germans (mostly Protestant) and 3 million Jews.
3. **Joseph Pilsudski** established a temporary dictatorship in 1918 to counter the ethnic, economic, and political tensions in Poland.
4. Pilsudski invaded Ukraine hoping to extend Poland's influence eastward as a bulwark against future Soviet expansion.
  - a. The Soviets nearly won the war by nearly taking Warsaw before the Poles rallied to save their new country.
  - b. The Treaty of Riga (1921) established the Soviet-Polish border that lasted throughout the interwar period.
5. Poland became the first state in eastern Europe to establish a dictatorship.
  - a. A parliamentary multi-party system had emerged after 1920 with Pilsudski as the leader.
  - b. The ineffectiveness of the multi-party system (which fell nearly twice per year, on average) eventually led to Pilsudski overthrowing the parliamentary gov't in 1926.
  - c. Political parties remained in principal and freedom of the press remained intact.
6. Pilsudski continued increasing the power of his military dictatorship after 1930 by arresting opponents and

sanctioning an even more authoritarian constitution until his death in 1935, after which army officers continued his policies until Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939.

D. **Romania**

1. As a result of the Treaty of Trianon, Romania gained much of Hungary's former territory; 1/3 of Romania's population now contained Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews.
  - These ethnic minorities were unhappy to be separated from their traditional homelands.
2. Between 1918 and 1938 Romania was a liberal constitutional monarchy that had to defend against right-wing challenges.
3. In 1938, King Carol II established a dictatorship as a way to defend against the rising fascist influence and fanatical Orthodox Christian insurrectionists who were strongly anti-Semitic.

E. **Yugoslavia**

1. The country emerged as the largest of the "successor" states created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after WWI.
  - It eventually contained Serbia (Orthodox Christians), Croatia (Catholic), Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Muslim), Montenegro, Kosovo (Muslim), and Macedonia.
2. From the outset, two competing views of emerged: a "Greater Serb" vision of Yugoslavia with Serbia as the dominant political player, and a federalist structure where all nationalities and religions would play equal or proportional roles.
3. Parliamentary democracy lasted until 1929 when King Alexander I (r. 1921-1934) outlawed political parties and dissolved the parliament.
4. In 1934, the king was assassinated with the help of a right-wing Croatian party that demanded independence.
5. Croatia gained autonomy but Yugoslavia remained an authoritarian gov't with Serbia as the dominant state.

F. Greece established a fascist dictatorship in 1938 with the blessing of the king.

G. Austria struggled as a parliamentary system in the 1920s but became increasingly dominated by right-wing challenges after 1927.

1. The Austrian parliament was dissolved in 1933 and an authoritarian state emerged.
2. Fascism dominated politics thereafter and the Austrian Nazi Party later facilitated Hitler's takeover in 1938.

## Terms to Know

totalitarianism	Lateran Pact
conservative authoritarianism	Vatican
communism	Weimar Republic
fascism	Nazism
Soviet Union (USSR)	"stab in the back"
Vladimir Lenin	Aryan race
Marxist-Leninist philosophy	National Socialist German Workers Party (NAZI)
Comintern	Adolf Hitler
war communism	S.A. ("Brown Shirts")
Cheka	Beer Hall Putsch
Kronstadt Rebellion	<i>Mein Kampf</i> , 1923
New Economic Policy (NEP)	<i>lebensraum</i> , "living space"
Joseph Stalin	Führer
"socialism in one country"	Great Depression
Leon Trotsky	Third Reich
Five-Year Plans	Reichstag fire
"Revolution from Above"	Enabling Act, 1933
Collectivization	Joseph Goebbels
kulaks	Leni Riefenstahl, <i>Triumph of the Will</i>
Politburo	"Night of Long Knives"
General Secretary	S.S.
Sergei Eisenstein	Heinrich Himmler
"Great Terror"	Gestapo
show trials	Hitler Youth
"Old Bolsheviks"	Nuremberg Laws
"Great Purges"	Kristallnacht
gulag	Holocaust, "Final Solution"
Fascist Italy	Hungary
Benito Mussolini, <i>Il Duce</i>	Poland
Fascist party	Joseph Pilsudski
"Black Shirts"	Romania
March on Rome	Yugoslavia
corporate state	Greece
"Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."	Austria

## **Essay Questions**

*Note: This sub-unit is a very high probability area for the free-response portion of the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 8 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams or may appear on future exams.*

1. Compare and contrast conservative authoritarianism in Fascist Italy with totalitarianism in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.
2. To what extent did Lenin and Stalin adhere to the ideas of Karl Marx in governing the USSR between 1918 and 1940?
3. Compare and contrast totalitarianism in the USSR and Nazi Germany.
4. Compare and contrast totalitarianism in the 1920s and 1930s with absolutism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
5. To what extent did the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany constitute a social revolution in each of those two countries?
6. Analyze the extent to which women's roles changed in the USSR, Italy and Germany in the years 1917 to 1940.

## **Overarching Questions and Themes from the AP® Curriculum Framework for Period 4.5**

- **How has the organization of society changed as a result of or in response to the development and spread of capitalism?**  
**PP-8:** Analyze socialist, communist, and fascist efforts to develop responses to capitalism and why these efforts gained support during times of economic crisis. **(4.2.II)**
- **What were the causes and consequences of economic and social inequality?**  
**PP-11:** Analyze the social and economic causes and consequences of the Great Depression in Europe. **(4.2.III)**
- **How did individuals, groups, and the state respond to economic and social inequality?**  
**PP-16:** Analyze the social and economic causes and consequences of the Great Depression in Europe. **(4.2.I)**
- **How and why did Europeans come to rely on the scientific method and reason in place of traditional authorities?**  
**OS-9:** Explain how new theories of government and political ideologies attempted to provide a coherent explanation for human behavior and the extent to which they adhered to or diverged from traditional explanations based on religious beliefs. **(4.2.2)**
- **How and why did Europeans come to value subjective interpretations of reality?**  
**OS-12:** Analyze how artists used strong emotions to express individuality and political theorists encouraged emotional identification with the nation. **(4.2.2)**



➤ **What forms have European governments taken, and how have these changed over time?**

**SP-5:** Assess the role of colonization, the industrial revolution, total warfare, and economic depressions in altering the government's relationship to the economy, both in overseeing economic activity and in addressing its social impact. **(4.2.I, 4.2.III)**

**SP-6:** Explain how new ideas of political authority and the failure of diplomacy led to world wars, political revolutions, and the establishment of totalitarian regimes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. **(4.1.I, 4.2.I, 4.2.II)**

➤ **In what ways and why have European governments moved toward or reacted against representative and democratic principles and practices?**

**SP-8:** Explain how and why various groups, including communists and fascists, undermined parliamentary democracy through the establishment of regimes that maintained dictatorial control while manipulating democratic forms. **(4.1.I, 4.2.I, 4.2.II)**

➤ **How did civil institutions develop apart from governments, and what impact have they had upon European states?**

**SP-10:** Trace the ways in which new technologies, from the printing press to the Internet, have shaped the development of civil society and enhanced the role of public opinion. **(4.2.I, 4.2.II)**

➤ **How and why did changes in warfare affect diplomacy, the European state system, and the balance of power?**

**SP-14:** Analyze the role of warfare in remaking the political map of Europe and in shifting the global balance of power in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. **(4.1.I)**

➤ **How did the concept of a balance of power emerge, develop, and eventually become institutionalized?**

**SP-17:** Explain how the French Revolution and the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars shifted the European balance of power and encouraged the creation of a new diplomatic framework. **(4.2.I, 4.2.II)**

➤ **How and why has the status of specific groups within society changed over time?**

**IS-10:** Analyze how and why Europeans have marginalized certain populations (defined as "other") over the course of their history. **(4.1.III, 4.2.II)**

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