Chapter 26

The Futile Search for Stability: Europe between the Wars, 1919–1939

Learning Objectives

In this chapter, students will focus on:

- Impact of World War I and the problems faced by European countries in the 1920’s
- The responses of France, Great Britain, and the United States to the Great Depression and other crises
- World War I’s effect on Europe’s colonies in Asia and Africa
- The retreat from democracy and the characteristics of totalitarian states: Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Stalinist Russia
- What role did mass culture and mass leisure play in totalitarian states
- What were the main cultural and intellectual trends in the interwar years
- Why the 1920’s has been called both an age of anxiety, and a period of hope

Lecture Outline

I. An Uncertain Peace: The Search for Security
   A. Impact of World War I
      1. The numbers: causalities and mourning
      2. The lost generation
   B. Weaknesses of the League of Nations
   C. The French Policy of Coercion (1919 – 1924)
      1. Desire for strict enforcement the Treaty of Versailles
      2. Allied Reparations Commission, April 1921 $33 billion
      3. Paid in annual installments of billion gold marks
      4. Germany unable to pay in 1922
      5. French occupation of the Ruhr Valley
      6. German mark fall to 4.2 trillion to $1, end of November 1923
   C. The Hopeful Years (1924 – 1929)
      1. Dawes Plan, 1924
      2. Treaty of Locarno, 1925
      3. Coexistence with Soviet Union

II. The Great Depression
A. Problems in domestic economies
B. International financial crisis
C. Crash of the American stock market, October 1929
   1. Affects European markets
D. Unemployment
E. Social Repercussions
F. Powerlessness of Governments

III. The Democratic States
A. Great Britain
   1. Labour Party failed to solve problems
   2. Coalition claimed credit for prosperity
   3. John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)
      a. Keynes says the government should create jobs
B. France
   1. Was the strongest power in Europe
   2. Could not solve financial problems
   3. Popular Front
C. Scandinavian States
   1. Social Democrats
D. The United States
   1. Herbert Hoover, (1929-1933)
   2. Franklin D. Roosevelt, (1933-1945)
      a. New Deal
      b. Public works projects
      c. World War II ends the depression

IV. European States and the World: Colonial Empires
A. Rising tide of unrest in Asia and Africa
B. The Middle East
   1. Division of Ottoman Empire
   2. Turkey
      a. Colonel Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)
C. India
   1. Mohandas Gandhi (1869 – 1948) and Civil Disobedience
D. Africa
   1. Britain and France awarded German colonies
   2. Protest movements

V. Retreat from Democracy: The Authoritarian and Totalitarian States
A. Totalitarianism
   1. By 1939 only France and Great Britain are democracies
   2. The modern totalitarian state
      a. Causes
      b. Active commitment of citizens
      c. Mass propaganda techniques
      d. High speed communication
e. Led by single leader and single party

V. Fascist Italy
   A. Impact of World War I
      1. Italians angry over failure to receive territory after World War I
   B. Birth of Fascism
      1. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945)
      2. Fascio di Combattimento (League of Combat), 1919
      3. Growth of the socialist
      4. Squadristi, armed Fascists
      5. Fascist movement gains support from industrialists
      6. March on Rome, 1922
      7. Mussolini appointed prime minister, October 29, 1922

VI. Mussolini and the Italian Fascist State
   A. Fascist Government
   B. All parties outlawed, 1926 – Fascist dictatorship established
   C. Mussolini’s view of a Fascist state
   D. Young Fascists
   E. Family is the pillar of the state
   F. Never achieves the degree of totalitarianism like Germany or Soviet Union
   G. Lateran Accords, February 1929

VII. Hitler and Nazi Germany
   A. Weimar Germany
      1. No leaders
      2. Paul von Hindenberg elected president, 1925
      3. Great Depression
   B. The Emergence of Adolf Hitler
      1. Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)
      2. Vienna
         a. Lanz von Liebenfels
      1. Munich
   C. The Rise of the Nazis
      1. German Workers’ Party
      2. National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP), 1921
      3. Sturmabteilung (SA), Storm Troops
   D. The Nazi Seizure of Power
      1. Munich Beer Hall Putsch, November 1923
      2. Hitler imprisoned
         a. Mein Kampf, (My Struggle)
         b. Lebensraum (living space)
      3. Reorganization of the party
      4. New strategies
      5. Nazi party largest in the Reichstag after 1932 election
      6. Support from right-wing elites
      7. Becomes chancellor, January 30, 1933
8. Reichstag fire, February 27, 1933  
9. Successes in 1933 election  
10. Gleichschaltung, coordination of all institutions under Nazi control  
11. President Paul von Hindenburg dies, August 2, 1934

VIII. The Nazi State (1933-1939)  
A. Parliamentary republic dismantled  
B. Mass demonstrations and spectacles to create collective fellowship  
C. Constant rivalry gives Hitler power  
D. Economics and the drop in unemployment  
E. Heinrich Himmler and the SS  
F. Churches, schools, and universities brought under Nazi control  
G. Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth) and Bund deutscher Mädel (League of German Maidens)  
H. Influence of Nazi ideas on working women  
I. Aryan Racial State  
1. Nuremberg laws, September 1935  
2. Kristallnacht, November 9-10, 1938  
3. Restrictions on Jews

IX. The Soviet Union  
A. New Economic Policy  
1. Modified capitalism  
B. Union of Socialist Republics established, 1922  
1. Revived economy  
C. Lenin suffers strokes, (1922-1924)  
D. Division  
1. Leon Trotsky  
2. Joseph Stalin  
a. General Party Secretary

X. The Stalinist Era, (1929-1939)  
A. First Five Year Plan, 1928  
1. Emphasis on industry  
2. Real wages declined  
3. Use of propaganda  
B. Rapid collectivization of agriculture  
1. Famine of 1932-1933; 10 million peasants died  
C. Political Control  
1. Stalin’s dictatorship established, 1929  
2. Political purge, 1936-1938; 8 million arrested  
D. Role of Women  
1. Reversed liberal social legislation  
E. Positive Attributes  
1. Education

XI. Authoritarianism in Eastern Europe  
A. Conservative Authoritarian Governments
Chapter 26

The Futile Search for Stability: Europe Between the Wars, 1919–1939

B. Eastern Europe
   1. Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia adopted parliamentary systems
   2. Romania and Bulgaria gained new parliamentary constitutions
   3. Greece became a republic
   4. Hungary parliamentary in form; controlled by landed aristocrats

C. Problems
   1. Little or no tradition of liberalism and parliamentary form
   2. Rural and agrarian society
   3. Ethnic conflicts

XII. Dictatorship in the Iberian Peninsula
   A. General Miguel Primo de Rivera and the End of Parliamentary Government (1923)
   B. The Spanish Civil War
      1. The Popular Front
      2. General Francisco Franco (1892 – 1975)
      3. Foreign intervention
      4. Franco emerges victorious (March 28, 1939)
   C. The Franco Regime
      1. Traditional, conservative, dictatorship
   D. Portugal

XIII. Expansion of Mass Culture and Mass Leisure
   A. The Roaring Twenties
   B. Berlin, the entertainment center of Europe
   C. Josephine Baker (1906-1975)
   D. Jazz Age

XIV. Radio and Movies: Mass forms of Communication & Entertainment
   A. Radio
      1. Nellie Melba, June 16, 1920
      2. BBC, 1926
   B. Movies
      1. Quo Vadis; Birth of a Nation
   C. Stars became subjects of adoration
      1. Marlene Dietrich
   D. Used for political purposes
      1. Nazis encourage cheap radios
      2. Triumph of the Will, 1934

XV. Mass Leisure
   A. Sports
   B. Tourism
   C. Organized Mass Leisure in Italy and Germany
      1. Dopolavoro in Italy
      2. Kraft durch Freude in Germany
XVI. Cultural & Intellectual Trends in the Interwar Years
A. Prewar avant-garde culture becomes acceptable
B. Political, economic, and social insecurities
C. Radical changes in women’s styles
D. Theodor van de Velde
   1. *Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique*
E. Nightmares and New Visions: Art and Music
   1. Abstract painting; fascination with the absurd
   2. German Expressionism
      a. George Grosz (1893-1958)
      b. Otto Dix (1891-1959)
   3. Dadaism
      a. Tristan Tzara (1896-1945)
   4. Surrealism
F. Functionalism in Modern Architecture
   1. Bauhaus School in Germany
G. A Popular Audience
   1. Kurt Weill, *The Threepenny Opera*
H. Art in Totalitarian Regimes
   1. Art in service of the state
I. A New Style in Music
   1. Arnold Schönberg (1874 – 1951)
XVII. Literature & Physics Between the Wars
A. The Search for the Unconscious
   1. James Joyce (1882-1941), *Ulysses*
   2. Hermann Hesse (1877-1962)
   3. Impact of Freud
B. The “Heroic Age of Physics”
   1. Ernest Rutherford (1871-1937), atom could be split

Lesson Plan

AP Standards
1. Intellectual and Cultural History
   • Major trends in literature and the arts
   • Relationship to social values and political events
   • Developments in social, economic, and political thought, including ideologies characterized as “-isms,” such as socialism, liberalism, and nationalism
   • The diffusion of new intellectual concepts among different groups
• Developments in elite and popular culture: religion, family, work, and ritual

2. Political and Diplomatic History
• The rise and functioning of the modern state
• Relations between Europe and the world: colonialism, imperialism
• Political elites, and the development and ideologies of political parties
• The extension and limitation of rights, liberties, and political persecutions
• Forms of political protest, reform, and revolution
• Relationship between domestic and foreign policies
• Efforts to restrain conflict: treaties, diplomacy, international organizations

3. Social and Economic History
• The character of, and changes in, agricultural production and organization
• Urbanization: transformation of cultural values, social relationships
• The shift in social structures, and changing distribution of wealth and poverty
• Changing definitions and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races, and ethnicities within and outside Europe
• Gender roles and their influence on work, social, and family structure
• Competition and interdependence in national and world markets
• Private and state roles in economic activity
• Development of racial and ethnic group identities

Suggested Time
5 traditional classes or 3 blocks — The entire chapter covers AP material.

Assessment
See Tutorial Quiz for Chapter 26 at www.academic.cengage.com/history/spielvogel.

Glossary

Authoritarian state: a state that has a dictatorial government and some other trappings of a totalitarian state, but does not demand that the masses be actively involved in the regime’s goals as totalitarian states do.

Civil disobedience: an attempt to promote political reform by peaceful protest or refusal to submit to unjust law.

Collective farms: large farms created in the Soviet Union by Stalin by combining many small holdings into one large farm worked by the peasants under government supervision.
Dadaism: absurdist art movement of the interwar years.

Depression: a very severe, protracted economic downturn with high levels of unemployment.

Fascism: an ideology or movement that exalts the nation above the individual and calls for a centralized government with a dictatorial leader, economic and social regimentation, and forcible suppression of opposition; in particular, the ideology of Mussolini’s Fascist regime in Italy.

Functionalism: movement in modern architecture; based on the idea that buildings should be use and fulfill the purpose for which they were intended.

Führerprinzip: the leadership principle; strong leader, single-minded party.

Inflation: a sustained rise in the price level.

Lebensraum: “living space.” The doctrine, adopted by Hitler, that a nation’s power depends on the amount of land it occupies; thus, a nation must expand to be strong.

New Economic Policy: a modified version of the old capitalist system introduced in the Soviet Union by Lenin in 1921 to revive the economy after the ravages of the civil war and war communism.

Reparations: payments made by a defeated nation after a war to compensate another nation for damage sustained as a result of the war; required from Germany after World War I.

Squadristi: bands of fascists who attacked Socialists in the early 1920s in Italy.

Surrealism: artistic movement that sought reality beyond the material world and explored the unconscious; works often portrayed fantasies, dreams and nightmares

Totalitarian state: a state characterized by government control over all aspects of economic, social, political, cultural, and intellectual life, the subordination of the individual to the state, and insistence that the masses be actively involved in the regime’s goals.

Uncertainty principle: a principle in quantum mechanics, posited by Heisenberg, that holds that one cannot determine the path of an electron because the very act of observing the electron would affect its location.

See interactive Flashcards for Chapter 26 at www.academic.cengage.com/history/spielvogel.
Lecture and Discussion Topics

1. The Birth of Fascism: Mussolini and the Italian Model.


5. The Arts in an Era of Uncertainty [a slide lecture].

Group Work Suggestions and Possible Projects

1. Have students discuss or debate the statement: “The seeds of World War II were planted in the peace of World War I.”

2. Suggest that students examine the German reparations crisis of 1923 and the resultant problems and turmoil, focusing particularly on the depth of the emotions aroused by the French occupation of the Ruhr and upon the possible impact the event had upon discrediting the Weimar government.

3. Have students do a comparative essay, discussing the similarities and differences in Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany.

4. Have students compare the economic philosophies and practices of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Communist Russia. Ask them to determine if any were successful. Is so, which one(s) and why?

5. Have students discuss or debate what part, if any, United States domestic and foreign policies in the 1920s and 1930s “caused” the Great Depression and led to World War II.

6. Invite students to research the impact of the Great Depression on European society as to which groups in society were particularly impacted by the disaster. Ask them to consider the possible connections, if any, between the depression and the popularity of fascism or Nazism.
7. Have students compare the twentieth-century artistic movements (Dadaism, Surrealism) with those of previous centuries (Renaissance, Baroque, etc.). How were they different in theme and application?

8. Ask students to consider why Dadaism, Surrealism, and “the unconscious” seemed.

See online simulations and At the Movies activities in the Western Civilization Resource Center at www.wadsworth.com/history.

**Media Menu**


**Handout Masters & Black Line Transparency Masters**

See Multimedia Manager and Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM with ExamView® Computerized Testing.

**Test Bank**

For an online Test Bank, see Chapter 26 in Instructor Resources at www.academic.cengage.com/history/spielvogel.

**Suggested Readings**

See comprehensive list of suggested readings at the end of Chapter 26.

**Web Exercises**

See Internet Exercises for Chapter 26 at www.academic.cengage.com/history/spielvogel.

**Document Based Questions**

**Directions:** The following question is based on the listed documents, available on the corresponding pages in your textbook. Some of the documents have been edited or excerpted. You will be graded based upon the Advanced Placement European History standards for Document Based Questions (DBQs). According to the College Board, DBQs are designed to test your ability to:

…understand some of the principal themes in modern European history, analyze historical evidence and historical interpretation, and express historical understanding in writing.

**Part A:** Answer the questions that pertain to each document. The questions are designed to help build your understanding of the documents and develop your ability to analyze documents during the beginning of the course. Some of the questions ask you to utilize knowledge outside of the documents. Although you are not required to use outside knowledge on the exam, outside historical context may earn you a higher score. The
Advanced Placement examination and DBQs in later chapters will not contain these questions.

**Part B:** The Advanced Placement examination will require you to write an essay based on a series of documents. You will see the following instructions on the examination:

Write an essay that:
- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with evidence from the documents.
- Uses a majority of the documents.
- Analyzes the documents by grouping them in as many appropriate ways as possible.
- **Does not simply summarize the documents individually.**
- Takes into account both the sources of the documents and the authors’ points of view.

You may refer to relevant historical information not mentioned in the documents.

**Question:** Using the documents and illustrations, analyze the ways in which the countries of Europe addressed the crises of the interwar years. What crises did Europe face following World War I? In what ways did the responses to these crises differ?

**Background:** World War I devastated the European mainland and, to a lesser extent, Great Britain. A generation of men were decimated—killed in the war or suffering from the psychological effects of the brutal trench warfare. Although the late entry of the United States had turned the tide of war in favor of the Allies, World War I was essentially a draw. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson came to the treaty negotiations at Versailles with a proposal for “peace without victory.” Georges Clemenceau, of France, and David Lloyd George, of Britain, however insisted on treaty provisions that blamed Germany and forced Germany to pay heavy reparations. The resulting Treaty of Versailles did little to address the causes of World War I or its aftermath.

**Part A Questions**

A. Illustration: The Effects of Inflation
- What are the children doing with the bundles of money in this picture?
- What contributed to high inflation in post-war Germany?

B. Document: The Great Depression: Unemployed and Homeless in Germany
- What scene left the strongest impression on the author?
- How does the author compare the Depression with the later years of World War I?
- To what extent did the Great Depression emerge from World War I and the Treaty of Versailles?
C. Document: The Struggles of a Democracy: Unemployment and Slums in Great Britain
   • In what ways did the British government offer help to the unemployed?
   • Was this assistance sufficient?
   • What observation does Orwell make about the woman he sees in the slum?

D. Document: The Voice of Italian Fascism
   • Why does fascism reject pacifism?
   • Why is Marxian socialism the complete opposite of fascism?
   • For what reasons does fascism combat democratic ideology?
   • What does fascism promote?
   • To what extent is fascism a response to the post-war issues?

E. Document: Adolph Hitler’s Hatred of the Jews
   • What does Hitler say he came to realize?
   • Why does Hitler say he hates the Jews?
   • To what extent did the post-war situation in Germany contribute to the acceptance of Hitler’s anti-Semitic ideas?

F. Document: Propaganda and Mass Meetings in Nazi Germany
   • What sense does Hitler hope to create among his listeners at his party rallies?
   • Based on the second selection, how successful is Hitler in this goal?
   • What is the system and what are the parties that Hitler criticizes?

G. Document: The Formation of Collective Farms
   • How was the author’s village collectivized?
   • How did the villagers fare under collectivization?
   • Why did the kolkhoz workers receive so little?
   • In what ways is collectivization an example of authoritarian central planning?

H. Document: Mass Leisure: Strength Through Joy
   • How does the Strength Through Joy program address the issue of mass leisure?
   • Why is the program so popular?
   • In what ways does this program further the Nazi regime’s goals?
   • To what extent is this program successful?

I. Illustration: Hanna Hoch, Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany
   • With what movement is this work associated?
   • How does this piece reflect the ideas associated with this movement?
   • How did the conflict evident in this work grow out of World War I?

J. Document: Hesse and the Unconscious
   • How does Hesse’s interest in the unconscious first appear in this excerpt?
• Why was a dislike of mechanized society particularly intense after World War I?