



# The Rise of Dictatorial Regimes

## GUIDE TO READING

### The BIG Idea

**Human Rights** By 1939, many European countries had adopted dictatorial regimes that aimed to control every aspect of their citizens' lives for state goals.

### Content Vocabulary

- totalitarian state (p. 796)
- fascism (p. 797)
- collectivization (p. 800)

### Academic Vocabulary

- unprecedented (p. 796)
- media (p. 798)

### People, Places, and Events

- Russia (p. 797)
- Benito Mussolini (p. 797)
- New Economic Policy (p. 799)
- Politburo (p. 800)
- Joseph Stalin (p. 800)
- Five-Year Plans (p. 800)
- Francisco Franco (p. 803)
- Madrid (p. 803)

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing Information** As you read, use a web diagram like the one below to list methods Mussolini used to create a Fascist dictatorship.



*After World War I, European democracy was under threat. France and Britain remained democratic, but in Italy and Russia, a new kind of dictatorship emerged with Mussolini's fascist state in Italy and Stalin's totalitarian rule in Russia. Other Western states like Spain tried to keep old elites in power with authoritarian regimes.*

## The Rise of Dictators

**MAIN IDEA** The totalitarian states did away with individual freedoms.

**HISTORY & YOU** What if you could listen only to government-sponsored programs? Read to learn about a form of government that controls all aspects of people's lives.

The apparent triumph of democracy in Europe in 1919 was very short-lived. By 1939, only two major European states—France and Great Britain—remained democratic. Italy, the Soviet Union, Germany, and many other European states adopted dictatorial regimes. These regimes took both old and new forms.

A new form of dictatorship was the modern totalitarian state. In a **totalitarian state**, the government aims to control the political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural lives of its citizens. New totalitarian regimes pushed the central state's power far beyond what it had been in the past. These regimes wanted more than passive obedience. They wanted to conquer the minds and hearts of their subjects. They achieved this goal through mass propaganda techniques and high-speed modern communication. Modern technology also gave totalitarian states an **unprecedented** ability to impose their wishes on their subjects.

The totalitarian states were led by a single leader and a single party. They rejected the ideal of limited government power and the guarantee of individual freedoms. Instead, individual freedom was subordinated to the collective will of the masses. The leader determined that collective will, however. The masses were expected to be actively involved in achieving the state's goals. Those goals might include war, a socialist state, or a thousand-year empire like the one Adolf Hitler wanted to establish.

## Fascism in Italy

Like other European countries, Italy experienced severe economic problems after World War I. Inflation grew, and both industrial and agricultural workers staged strikes. Socialists spoke of



**POLITICS IN EUROPE, 1930s**



**Geography SKILLS**

- Regions** Which countries shown on the map switched from democratic to some form of nondemocratic government in the 1930s?
- Location** Why was Czechoslovakia's location a problem for a democracy?

**Maps in Motion** See StudentWorks™ Plus or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

revolution. The middle class began to fear a Communist takeover like the one that had recently occurred in **Russia**. Industrial and agricultural strikes created more division. From this background of widespread unrest emerged Mussolini.

In the early 1920s, **Benito Mussolini** (moo•suh•LEE•nee) set up the first European fascist movement in Italy. Mussolini began his political career as a Socialist. In 1919 he created a new political group, the *Fascio di Combattimento*, or League of Combat. *Fascism* comes from that name.

As a political philosophy, **fascism** (FA•SHIH•zuhm) glorifies the state above the individual by emphasizing the need for a strong central government led by a dictatorial ruler. In a fascist state, the government controls the people and stifles any opposition.

By 1922, Mussolini's movement was growing quickly. The middle-class fear of socialism, communism, and disorder made the Fascists increasingly attractive to many people. Mussolini knew that many Italians were still angry over the peace settlement.





### Student Web Activity—

Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and complete the activity about the rise of fascism.

The failure to receive more land under the treaty was a deep source of resentment. He knew nationalism was a powerful force and demanded more land for Italy. Mussolini converted thousands to the Fascist Party with his nationalistic appeals.

In 1922 Mussolini and the Fascists threatened to march on Rome if they were not given power. Victor Emmanuel III, the king of Italy, gave in and made Mussolini prime minister.

Mussolini used his position as prime minister to create a Fascist dictatorship. New laws gave the government the right to stop any publications that criticized the Catholic Church, the monarchy, or the state. The prime minister was made head of the government with the power to make laws by decree. The police were given unrestricted authority to arrest and jail anyone for either political or nonpolitical crimes.

In 1926 the Fascists outlawed all other political parties in Italy and established a secret police, known as the OVRA. By the

end of the year, Mussolini ruled Italy as *Il Duce* (eel DOO•chay), "The Leader."

## The Fascist State

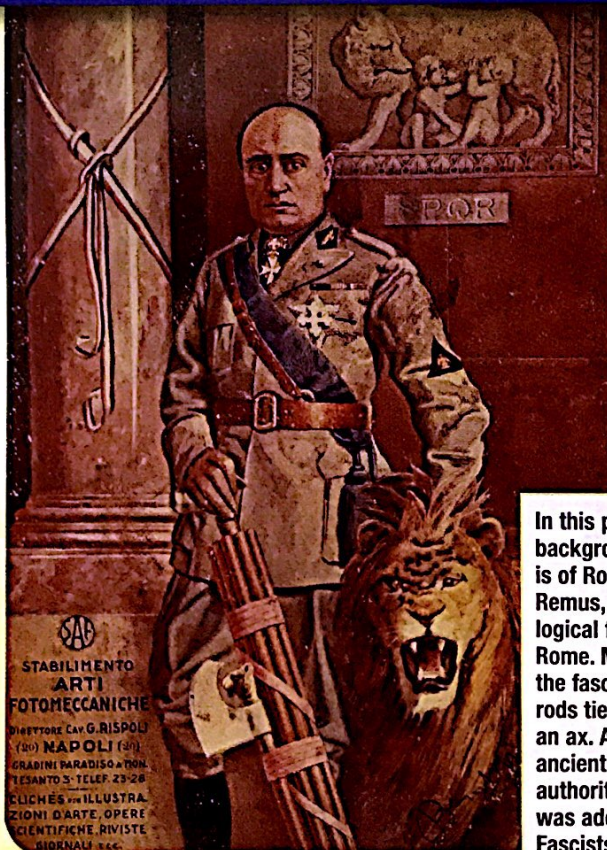
Believing that the Fascist state should be totalitarian, Mussolini used various means to establish complete control over the Italian people. The OVRA watched citizens' political activities and enforced government policies. Police actions in Italy, however, were never as repressive or savage as those in Nazi Germany (discussed later in this chapter).

The Italian Fascists also tried to exercise control over all forms of mass media, including newspapers, radio, and film. The media was used to spread propaganda. Propaganda was intended to mold Italians into a single-minded Fascist community. Most Italian Fascist propaganda, however, was fairly basic and mainly consisted of simple slogans like "Mussolini Is Always Right."

## INFOGRAPHICS

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Fascism in Italy



In this poster, the background engraving is of Romulus and Remus, the mythological founders of Rome. Mussolini holds the fasces, a bundle of rods tied together with an ax. A symbol of ancient Rome's authority, the fasces was adopted by the Fascists as their symbol.



"Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State. . . . War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those people who have the courage to face it."

—Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism," in *Italian Fascisms*, Adrian Lyttleton, ed., 1973

### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

- Explaining** How does Mussolini describe the role of the individual in the Fascist state?
- Making Connections** What is the significance of the background engraving in the poster?



The Fascists also used organizations to promote the ideals of fascism and to control the population. For example, by 1939, Fascist youth groups included about 66 percent of the population between the ages of 8 and 18. These youth groups particularly focused on military activities and values.

With these organizations, the Fascists hoped to create a nation of new Italians who were fit, disciplined, and war-loving. In practice, however, the Fascists largely maintained traditional social attitudes. This is especially evident in their policies regarding women. The Fascists portrayed the family as the pillar of the state. Seen as the foundation of the family, women were to be homemakers and mothers. According to Mussolini, these roles were “their natural and fundamental mission in life.”

In spite of his attempts, Mussolini never achieved the degree of totalitarian control seen in Hitler’s Germany or Stalin’s Soviet Union (discussed later in this chapter). The Italian Fascist Party did not completely destroy the country’s old power structure. Some institutions, including the armed forces, managed to keep most of their independence. Victor Emmanuel III was also retained as king.

Mussolini’s compromise with the traditional institutions of Italy was especially evident in his dealings with the Catholic Church. Mussolini’s regime recognized the sovereign independence of a small area within Rome known as Vatican City. The Church had claimed this area since 1870. In return, the pope recognized the Italian state. Mussolini’s regime also gave the Church a large grant of money and recognized Catholicism as the “sole religion of the state.” In return, the Catholic Church urged Italians to support the Fascist regime.

In all areas of Italian life under Mussolini and the Fascists, a large gap existed between Fascist ideals and practices. The Italian Fascists promised much but delivered considerably less. They would soon be overshadowed by a much more powerful fascist movement to the north—that of Adolf Hitler, a student and admirer of Mussolini.

**✓ Reading Check** Examining How did Mussolini gain power in Italy?

## A New Era in the USSR

**MAIN IDEA** In the Soviet Union, Stalin maintained total power by murdering his political opponents.

**HISTORY & YOU** If a U.S. president dies in office, how is he or she replaced? Read to find out the difficulties for succession when Lenin died.

As discussed earlier, Lenin followed a policy of war communism during the civil war in Russia. The government controlled most industries and seized grain from peasants to ensure supplies for the army.

Once the war was over, peasants began to sabotage the Communist program by hoarding food. The situation became even worse when drought caused a terrible famine between 1920 and 1922. As many as 5 million lives were lost. With agricultural disaster came industrial collapse. By 1921, industrial output was only 20 percent of its 1913 level.

Russia was exhausted. A peasant banner proclaimed, “Down with Lenin and horseflesh. Bring back the czar and pork.” As Leon Trotsky said, “The country, and the government with it, were at the very edge of the abyss.”

### Lenin’s New Economic Policy

In March 1921, Lenin pulled Russia back from the abyss. He abandoned war communism in favor of his **New Economic Policy** (NEP). The NEP was a modified version of the old capitalist system. Peasants were allowed to sell their produce openly. Retail stores, as well as small industries that employed fewer than 20 workers, could be privately owned and operated. Heavy industry, banking, and mines, however, remained in the hands of the government.

### The Soviet Union

In 1922 Lenin and the Communists formally created a new state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The state is also known as the USSR (by its initials) or as the Soviet Union (by its shortened form). By that time, a revived market and a good harvest had brought an end to famine. Soviet agricultural production climbed to 75 percent of its prewar level.



Overall, the NEP saved the Soviet Union from complete economic disaster. Lenin and other leading Communists, however, intended the NEP to be only a temporary retreat from the goals of communism.

## Industrialization

Lenin died in 1924. A struggle for power began at once among the seven members of the **Politburo** (PAH•luht•BYUR•OH)—the Communist Party's main policy-making body. The Politburo was severely divided over the future direction of the Soviet Union.

One group, led by Leon Trotsky, wanted to end the NEP and launch Russia on a path of rapid industrialization, chiefly at the expense of the peasants. This group also wanted to spread communism abroad. It believed that the revolution in Russia would not survive without other communist states.

Another group in the Politburo rejected the idea of worldwide communist revolution. Instead, it wanted to focus on building a socialist state in Russia and to continue Lenin's NEP. This group believed that rapid industrialization would harm the living standards of the Soviet peasants.

## The Rise of Stalin

These divisions were further strained by an intense personal rivalry between Leon Trotsky and another Politburo member, **Joseph Stalin**. In 1924 Trotsky held the post of commissar of war. Stalin held the bureaucratic job of party general secretary. The general secretary appointed regional, district, city, and town party officials. Thus this bureaucratic job actually became the most important position in the party.

Stalin used his post as general secretary to gain complete control of the Communist Party. The thousands of officials Stalin appointed provided him with support in his bid for power. By 1929, Stalin had removed the Bolsheviks of the revolutionary era from the Politburo and had established a powerful dictatorship. Trotsky, pushed out of the party in 1927, eventually made his way to Mexico. There he was murdered in 1940, probably on Stalin's orders.

## Five-Year Plans

The Stalin Era marked the beginning of an economic, social, and political revolution that was more sweeping in its results than were the revolutions of 1917. Stalin made a significant shift in economic policy in 1928 when he ended the NEP. That year he launched his First Five-Year Plan. The **Five-Year Plans** set economic goals for five-year periods. Their purpose was to transform Russia virtually overnight from an agricultural into an industrial country.

The First Five-Year Plan emphasized maximum production of military equipment and capital goods (goods devoted to the production of other goods, such as heavy machines). The plan quadrupled the production of heavy machinery and doubled oil production. Between 1928 and 1937, during the first two Five-Year Plans, steel production in Russia increased from 4 million to 18 million tons (3.6 to 16.3 million t) per year.

## Costs of Stalin's Programs

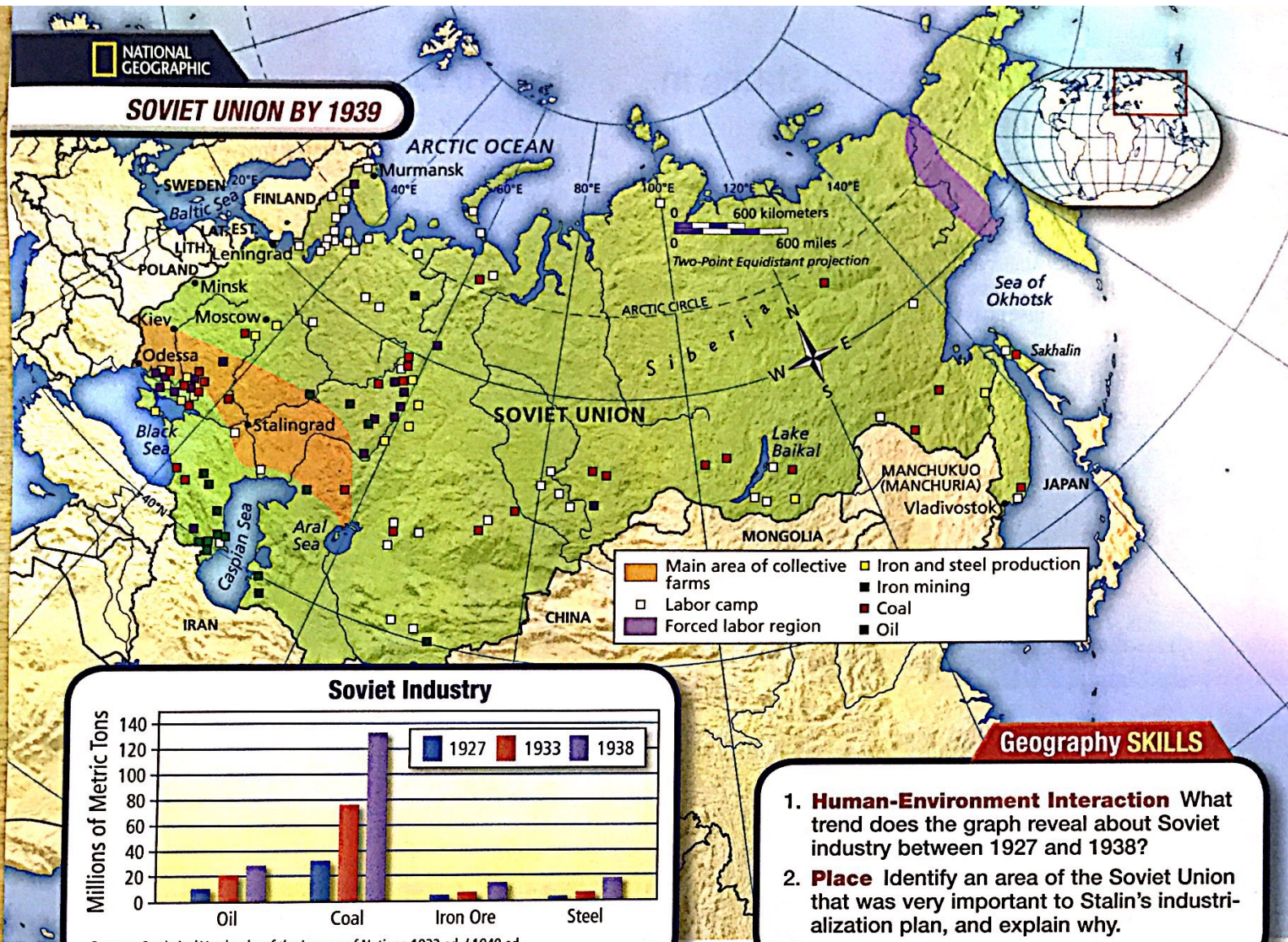
The social and political costs of industrialization were enormous. Little thought was given to caring for the expanded labor force in the cities. The number of workers increased by millions between 1932 and 1940. However, total investment in housing actually declined after 1929. The result was that millions of workers and their families lived in miserable conditions. Real wages in industry also declined by 43 percent between 1928 and 1940. Strict laws even limited where workers could move. To keep workers content, government propaganda stressed the need for sacrifice to create the new socialist state.

With rapid industrialization came an equally rapid collectivization of agriculture. **Collectivization** was a system in which private farms were eliminated. Instead, the government owned all of the land, and the peasants worked it.

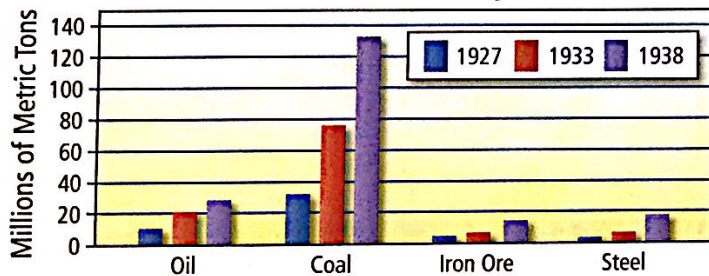
The peasants resisted by hoarding crops and killing livestock. In response, Stalin stepped up the program. By 1930, 10 million peasant households had been collectivized. By 1934, 26 million family farms had been collectivized into 250,000 units.



SOVIET UNION BY 1939



Soviet Industry



Source: Statistical Yearbooks of the League of Nations, 1932 ed. / 1940 ed.

Geography SKILLS

- Human-Environment Interaction** What trend does the graph reveal about Soviet industry between 1927 and 1938?
- Place** Identify an area of the Soviet Union that was very important to Stalin's industrialization plan, and explain why.

Collectivization was done at tremendous cost. Hoarding food and slaughtering livestock led to widespread famine. Stalin is supposed to have said that 10 million died in the famine of 1932 to 1933. In the Ukraine an estimated 5 to 7 million were forced into famine. Stalin gave the peasants only one concession. Each collective farm worker could have one tiny, privately owned garden plot.

Stalin's programs had other costs as well. To achieve his goals, Stalin strengthened his control over the party. Those who resisted were sent into forced labor camps in Siberia.

Stalin's desire to make all decisions led to purges, or removal, of the Old Bolsheviks. These people had been involved in the early days of the movement. Between 1936 and 1938, the most prominent Old Bolsheviks were put on trial and condemned to death.

During a time, known as the Great Purge, Stalin expelled army officers, diplomats, union officials, intellectuals, and ordinary citizens. About 8 million were arrested. Millions were sent to labor camps in Siberia; they never returned. Others were executed.

The Stalin era also overturned permissive social legislation enacted in the early 1920s. To promote equal rights for women, the Communists had made the divorce process easier. They had also encouraged women to work outside the home. After Stalin came to power, the family was praised as a small collective. Parents were responsible for teaching the values of hard work, duty, and discipline to their children.

**✓ Reading Check** Summarizing What were the consequences of Stalin's reforms in the 1930s?



# Authoritarian States in the West

**MAIN IDEA** Authoritarian governments in the West worked to preserve the existing social order.

**HISTORY & YOU** If you were living in a new nation, what kind of government would you want? Read to learn about the types of governments adopted by new states in eastern Europe after World War I.

A number of governments in the Western world were not totalitarian but were authoritarian. These states adopted some of the features of totalitarian states, in particular, their use of police powers. However, these authoritarian governments did not want to create a new kind of mass society. Instead, they wanted to preserve the existing social order.

# Eastern Europe

At first, it seemed that political democracy would become well established in eastern Europe after World War I. Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia (known as the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes until 1929), Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary all adopted parliamentary systems. However, authoritarian regimes soon replaced most of these systems.

Parliamentary systems failed in most eastern European states for several reasons. These states had little tradition of political democracy. In addition, they were mostly rural and agrarian. Many of the peasants were illiterate (could not read or write). Large landowners still dominated most of the land, and they feared the peasants. Ethnic conflicts also threatened these countries.

## HISTORY & ARTS

## PRIMARY SOURCE

### The Destruction of Guernica



### DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

Pablo Picasso created his famous mural *Guernica* for the 1937 World's Fair in Paris. "[In *Guernica*,] I clearly express my loathing for the military caste that has plunged Spain into a sea of suffering and death."

1. **Explaining** What effect did new war technology have in the battle at Guernica?
2. **Analyzing** What one word best describes your response to *Guernica*? Use details from the painting to explain how the artist creates this feeling.

German airplanes equipped with machine guns and bombs completely destroyed the small village of Guernica in April 1937 during the Spanish Civil War.





Powerful landowners, the churches, and even some members of the small middle class feared land reform. They also feared communist upheaval and ethnic conflict. These groups looked to authoritarian governments to maintain the old system. Only Czechoslovakia, which had a large middle class, a liberal tradition, and a strong industrial base, maintained its political democracy.

## Spain

In Spain, too, political democracy failed to survive. Although the middle class and intellectuals supported the Second Republic, the new government began falling apart shortly after it was created in 1931. Rivalries between political parties and personal rivalries between their leaders tore Spain apart. Spain's Second Republic lasted only five years, three months, and three days.

**Francisco Franco** rose rapidly within the military ranks. He became Europe's youngest general. When chaos swept Spain, the Spanish military forces under Franco's leadership revolted against the democratic government in 1936. A brutal and bloody civil war began.

Foreign intervention complicated the Spanish Civil War. The fascist regimes of Italy and Germany aided Franco's forces. They sent him arms, money, and soldiers. Hitler used the Spanish Civil War as an opportunity to test the new weapons of his revived air force. German bombers destroyed the city of Guernica in April 1937. Spanish artist Pablo Picasso immortalized the horrible destruction in his mural *Guernica*.

The Spanish republican government was aided by 40,000 foreign volunteers. The Soviet Union sent in trucks, planes, tanks, and military advisers.

The Spanish Civil War came to an end when Franco's forces captured **Madrid** in 1939. In April of that year, Franco issued a statement:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"Today, the Red Army having been disarmed and captured, the National troops have reached their final military objectives. The war is over.—Burgos, April 1, 1939, the Year of Victory—Generalissimo Franco."

—*Portrait of Spain*, Francisco Franco, as quoted in Tad Szulc, 1972

Franco established a dictatorship that favored large landowners, businesspeople, and the Catholic clergy. Because Franco's dictatorship favored traditional groups and did not try to control every aspect of people's lives, it is an example of an authoritarian rather than a totalitarian regime.

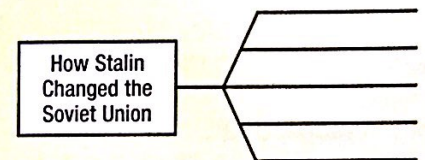
**✓ Reading Check** Explaining How did Czechoslovakia maintain its political democracy?

### Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: totalitarian state, unprecedented, Russia, Benito Mussolini, fascism, media, New Economic Policy, Politburo, Joseph Stalin, Five-Year Plans, collectivization, Francisco Franco, Madrid.

### Main Ideas

2. Describe the methods used by a totalitarian state to control its people.
3. Summarize, by using a diagram like the one below, how Stalin changed the Soviet Union. Include the economic, social, and political results of his programs.



4. List the countries that participated in the Spanish Civil War.

### Critical Thinking

5. **The BIG Idea Analyzing** Why do you think people supported dictatorial regimes?
6. **Evaluating** What was the goal of the Five-Year Plans during the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the painting *Guernica*, shown on page 802. How does the painting's abstract form help convey its message?

### Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a middle-class Italian in the 1920s who is concerned about society. Write a letter to the editor of the local paper supporting Mussolini's new government.

### History ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click Study Central™.