Descent into the Abyss: World War I and the Crisis of the European Global Order

The Coming of the Great War

- Germany, led by Kaiser Wilhelm II, was increasingly powerful and aggressive in the 1890s. Britain joined with Russia and France, forming the Triple Entente, while Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Germany formed the Central Powers. Italy’s membership was made problematic because of its conflicts with Austria-Hungary. Tensions in Europe were exacerbated around the world. France and Germany faced off in North Africa, coming to the brink of hostility more than once. The formation of the two alliances added to the war of rhetoric. An arms race between Britain and Germany over naval power was matched by growing land forces. Mounting international conflict was made worse by internal strife, largely resulting from industrialization.

- European concerns focused on the Balkans, where a multiplicity of ethnicities struggled. It was the assassination of the heir to Austria-Hungary, Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo, by a Serbian, that triggered the war. Russia supported the Serbians, as fellow Slavs, transforming a regional crisis into a European war. Britain entered the war, involving its vast empire and making the conflict a global war. Germany and France carefully planned the kind of war they were sure would give them a quick victory.

A World at War

- Germany’s strategy of quickly moving through Belgium was stopped by British support of the latter. The war all had expected to soon win turned into a long standoff on the Western Front. Digging trenches was the only defense against the new artillery. Staggering casualties and the inability to gain any ground made the war a new experience. Leaders on both sides failed to adapt to the conditions, sending one group of soldiers after another “over the top” to die quickly from machine-gun fire.

- In the east, Germany pushed Russia back, inflicting large casualties. Nicholas II personally led the fighting, but with such poor results that it was one of the causes of the Revolution of 1917. Russia had some success against Austria-Hungary, but gained little ground. Austria-Hungary and Italy turned against each other. British and French aid helped stop the Austrian assault on Italy, but widespread desertion and the threat of invasion panicked Italy.
While soldiers faced the inglorious reality of trench warfare, those at home continued to view the war with undiminished zeal. States expanded to control transportation, direct the media, and impose rationing. Propaganda was used to keep the home front loyal to the war. Although labor leaders were given a voice in industrial management, workers’ protests were not silenced. Germany faced revolution in 1918–1919, as food shortages and labor unrest created a precarious situation. Women took men’s places in factories, gaining better wages than ever. Many of these gains were lost after the war, but women won the vote in Britain, Germany, and the United States.

Conflicts between European powers extended to their empires. Colonial subjects were called to serve the war. Britain’s empire in particular expanded the scope of the war. Britain’s 1902 alliance with Japan drew the latter in. Troops from Britain’s dominions were particularly important in the Middle East, for example in the fighting at Gallipoli in 1915. British Indian and African troops, and French and German Africans fought in the war. The Ottoman Empire supported Germany, following cooperation between Germany and the Young Turks. Blaming the Armenian Christians for Turkish military disasters, the latter launched the Armenian genocide in 1915. The United States entered the war in 1917, heralding its real entry into world affairs. Americans were divided on the question of joining the war, but U.S. businesses profited. German attacks on neutral shipping finally pushed the United States into the war. By 1918, the large numbers of U.S. soldiers shipped to Europe had begun to impact the war.

On the Eastern Front, Russia’s withdrawal allowed the Germans to focus on the other front. With U.S. help, the Germans were halted and then pushed back. The Austro-Hungarian fronts failed, and the Empire broke apart. Germany agreed to an armistice on November 11, 1918. Having been informed only of victories, the Germans were stunned, a feeling of betrayal that was later used by Adolph Hitler. With ten million dead and twenty million wounded, the war far outstripped any that had preceded it. The influenza pandemic that followed claimed millions more.

Failed Peace

Peace negotiations were greatly influenced by pressures from each leader’s constituency. Georges Clemenceau of France wanted the Germans to be punished, as did many British, while their prime minister, David Lloyd George, balanced those demands with a desire for a more moderate peace. All of the Western powers, including U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, were agreed in applying the principle of self-determination only to European peoples. Western overseas empires were not disturbed. The Peace of Paris laid down the terms of a peace that the Germans subsequently fought to overturn. The Germans were intentionally humiliated both in negotiations and in the terms of the peace. The Russians, Arabs, Chinese, and Vietnamese—in the person of Ho Chi Minh—were also treated with disdain. The U.S. Congress refused to approve the League of Nations charter.
The Nationalist Assault on the European Colonial Order

World War I saw the first outright conflict over colonial possessions. Although the colonial powers held onto their colonies, the war was a period of growing industrial and commercial power for India, and gave the subjugated peoples a lesson in the barbaric behavior of their masters. In addition, the European overseas military presence was necessarily lessened. The potential danger this caused was held off by attractive promises, which were not made good after the war. In short, the war shook imperial control, both by spreading doubts about Western racial superiority and by weakening of the means of control.

India’s nationalist movement led the way in the colonies by virtue of the size of the colony and because of the central role it had long held in the British Empire. The movement had all of the elements that were to appear in later, similar developments: influential groups educated in the West, charismatic leaders that brought the movement to the masses, and nonviolent means. India’s National Congress Party brought together disparate groups, and was acknowledged by the British in 1885. Hoping to use the Congress Party to identify rebellious elements, the British found instead that it became a powerful force for criticism of imperial rule. Many initially loyal Indians became outraged at their treatment by racist British leaders.

Looking for a cause to mobilize more of their fellow Indians, nationalist leaders began to make use of the negative economic impact of colonization. Indians paid for British armies, British civil servants, and public works built using British materials, all of which helped the British economy. In the countryside, subsistence agriculture and farming for Indian consumption had given way to crops for British consumption. The peasants were beset by food shortages and epidemics, which were blamed on the British.

The Indian nationalist movement was split by the religious divisions between Hindus and Muslims. Leaders such as B. G. Tilak supported the establishment of the Hindu religion as a state religion, largely ignoring the Muslim population. Tilak gained a large following, but left out all but conservative Hindus. British rule was also threatened by radical groups that sought change through terrorism. Yet more moderate leaders emerged, aided by the British Morley-Minto reforms, leading to a more peaceful, inclusive independence movement.

The First World War saw the adherence of many Indians to the British cause. At the same time, economic dislocations had an adverse effect. British failure, in 1818, to honor promises made to Indian leaders during the war was ameliorated the next year. In 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms gave Indians some control of legislation and administration, yet at the same time the Rowlatt Act attacked basic civil rights. In this climate, Mohandas Gandhi emerged. His attraction lay in his successes in a similar situation in British South Africa, his nonviolent protests—called satyagraha or truth force—his legal background, and the charisma of a guru. He appealed both to intellectuals and to the mass of Indians.

Nationalism in Egypt, unlike other colonized areas, predated conquest. Lord Cromer’s rule as high commissioner included reforms that benefited the ruling
elite and some urban areas. The ayan, rural landowners, took advantage of the reforms to amass larger holdings, while spending their time luxuriating in Cairo. Younger sons from the small but growing middle class, the effendi or professional and business class, formed the independence movement. Arabic newspapers voiced increasing criticism of the British rulers. In 1906, the Dinshawi incident, resulting in the hanging of four Egyptian villagers, sparked Egyptian demonstrations. By 1918, the force of nationalism led the British to grant a constitution and representation.

The Ottoman Empire was ended by division. Mustafa Kemal, called Atatürk, rallied the Turks against Greek nationalism, establishing an independent Turkey by 1923. His rule advanced westernization, but also followed the line of development begun in the 19th century. France and Britain continued to occupy Arab portions formerly under the Ottomans. Hussein led Arabian resistance to Britain, helped along by failed British promises for Arab independence. British and French mandates were threatened from the outset by the Arabs' sense of betrayal. The Balfour Declaration, promising land in the Middle East to European Zionists, was made good. The Zionist movement, fueled by pogroms in the late 19th century, was led by such leaders as Leon Pinsker and Theodor Herzl. The Society for the Colonization of Israel began the process of forming a Jewish nation. The wrongful conviction of Alfred Dreyfus gave further momentum, as French Jews joined the movement. The World Zionist Organization included Jews from across Europe. Herzl's success in gaining Palestine for the Jews was a clear message to the area's Arabic peoples. British attempted to control both groups.

Egypt's post-war situation differed from that of the Arab world, because it was already under British control and did not experience the sense of betrayal over failed promises. However, Egypt was used as a staging ground for the Entente forces, draining resources. Growing anger, increased when the Egyptian delegation to Versailles—the wafd—was shunned, led to revolts. The Wafd party was led by Sa'd Zaghlul. British inquiries into the situation led a decision to a withdrawal from Egypt from 1922 to 1936. Increased political power was used by many Egyptian leaders to consolidate their position and increase their wealth. Bankruptcy in the 1940s led to Gamal Abdul Nasser's coup of 1952. Massive economic inequities had fed unrest.

Africa differed from India in being colonized just decades before World War I broke out. Again, Western-educated groups were influential. Again, broken promises had their effect. Again, increasing knowledge of European weaknesses and repressive measures changed colonial attitudes. Although African resources were instrumental in the war efforts, economic dislocation had an adverse impact in Africa. African Americans such as Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. du Bois were influential, creating pan-African organizations. Although these did not lead directly to independence, they helped arouse anticolonial feelings. The négritude literary movement gained Africans more respect among the French. Léopold Sédar Senghor, Léon Damas, and Aimé Césaire used their writings to celebrate their culture. In the post-war decade, many British colonials were given more political freedom. Early groups such as the National Congress of
The World Between the Wars: Revolutions, Depression, and Authoritarian Response

The “Roaring Twenties”

- Europe faced massive economic problems after the First World War, yet an optimistic attitude prevailed. In the arts, Pablo Picasso led the cubist movement, while writers and composers forged new styles. Albert Einstein’s work challenged traditional physics. Mass consumption was a powerful force, changing as women became important consumers. Yet signs of economic troubles worried some.

- Canada, Australia, and New Zealand gained independence and became equal members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In the United States, the pace of industrialization continued, with attendant changes. Production was improved by the innovations of Henry Ford and others. The United States exported its own culture for the first time, in the form of jazz music and Hollywood films. The nation withdrew into isolation after a period of involvement in world affairs. Japan continued to industrialize, relying on exports. Internal strains increased in Japan between the military and the government.

- In 1919, Benito Mussolini founded the fascio di combattimento, which gave fascism its name. Reliant on aggressive nationalism, the movement called for a corporative state. The roots of nationalism lay in the post-Enlightenment disenchantment with liberalism. Postwar Italy was a land ripe for an ideology that rejected liberal ideals in favor of action. In 1927, the king of Italy invited Mussolini to form a government. Mussolini suspended elections in 1926.

- New nations in Eastern Europe were born in a climate of intense nationalism. Rivalries weakened them from the outset. The fall of agricultural prices in the 1920s and the Great Depression led to social tensions that paved the way for authoritarian governments.

- Political developments in the 1920s defy broad generalizations. The advance of democracy in some nations was paralleled by challenges to democracy in others, or even in the same country.

Revolution: The First Waves

- In Latin America, industrialization brought social conflict. Some political change had taken place. Syndicalism tapped labor unrest, while in Mexico, outright revolution occurred.
The Mexican Revolution was in part a response to the outbreak of World War I. During the Great War, Latin American countries lost important markets and became more economically independent. By the end of the war, however, U.S. influence had replaced that of Britain. The dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, in place since 1876, had led the way in industrialization, but at the cost of silencing dissent. Even so, tensions persisted. The United States owned up to twenty percent of Mexican territory. In 1910, Francisco Madero intended to run against Díaz. When he was imprisoned and a rigged election put Díaz back in power, rebellion followed. The revolt was led in the north by Pancho Villa, in the south by Emiliano Zapata. Díaz was replaced by Madero, and then Zapata removed Madero. Victoriano Huerta began a dictatorship, but he too was forced out. Alberto Obregón finally became president in 1921. The long war had led to 1.5 million deaths. The new Constitution of 1917 promised liberal reforms.

The revolution was largely fought over the issues of nationalism and indigenism. These also inspired such artists as Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco. Writers and composers also took up these themes. At the same time, the Cristeros fought against secularization. The war also brought renewed U.S. intervention. The Partido del Institutionalismo Revolucionario—the PRI—dominated Mexican politics in the 1920s and 1930s.

Food shortages resulting from World War I led to food riots and strikes in St. Petersburg in 1917. The workers’ soviet took the city, and the tsar then abdicated. Alexander Kerensky and other moderates sought liberal reforms. However, as the war dragged on and the revolutionary leaders failed to implement real land reform, unrest broke out. Lenin led the November Revolution of the Bolsheviks in 1917. Peace with Germany was soon made irrelevant by Germany’s defeat. The Russian delegation was snubbed at Versailles. Lenin and his followers lost to the Social Revolutionary Party in parliamentary elections. In response, Lenin put in its place a Congress of Soviets, imposing Communist Party control. The United States, Britain, France, and Japan intervened, with little impact. Economic and political chaos resulted from Lenin’s actions.

Leon Trotsky’s Red Army imposed order. Lenin’s New Economic Policy of 1921 helped to stabilize the economy. By 1923, a new system was in place: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Supreme Soviet, nominally a parliament, was made up of representatives chosen by the Communist Party.

The first years of communism in Russia saw a great deal of experimentation and debate. Lenin’s death in 1924 led to a struggle for power. Joseph Stalin emerged as victor. While Lenin had hoped the Russian example would engender a global wave of communism, to be organized by the Comintern, Stalin emphasized nationalism. He also pushed industrialization through a program of collectivization.

In China, the Qing dynasty fell when the last emperor abdicated in 1912. The conflict that followed led to the rise of Mao Zedong. Military leaders such as Yuan Shikai were prominent. University students, intellectuals, and secret societies presented their own solutions, but Japan’s intervention decided the issue.

Sun Yat-sen led a coalition of anti-Qing groups. He was elected president in 1911 by his Revolutionary Alliance, but he ceded power to Yuan Shikai in 1912. It soon became clear that Yuan wanted to be emperor. Japan entered the European war.
as a British ally, quickly taking German territory in the region. Indecision vis-à-vis aggressive Japanese demands led to Yuan's fall in 1916. Japan gained control of northern China in the peace of Versailles. Chinese outrage at the concessions to Japan led to demonstrations and the **May Fourth Movement**. Calling for democracy and repudiating traditional systems, the movement had a large following. Yet with warlords in power, more was needed. The Bolshevik success in Russia prompted Chinese intellectuals to adapt Marxism to China. **Li Dazhao** postulated that in China, peasants would take the place of urban workers in the revolution. **Mao Zedong** was highly influenced by Li. A meeting of Marxists in Shanghai in 1921 formed the nucleus of the Chinese Communist Party.

**The Guomindang**, or Nationalist party, led by Sun Yat-sen, prevailed in the south. They concentrated on international and political issues, leaving aside critical domestic issues, including land reform. An alliance with the Communists was declared in 1924. The **Whampoa Military Academy**, founded in 1924, was first headed by **Chiang Kai-shek**.

The death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 left an opening filled by Chiang Kai-shek. His nationalists took Shanghai and Beijing. He attacked the Communists, bringing Mao Zedong forward in opposition. The latter led the **Long March** in 1934 to create a new base in Shanxi. The Japanese invasions in the 1930s distracted Chiang from opposing Mao.

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**The Global Great Depression**

The **Great Depression** was caused by structural weaknesses in industrial economies. A price collapse occurred as a result of cheap agricultural imports and rising European production. Recovery in the 1920s was based partly on U.S. loans. Production from Africa and Latin America also outstripped demand, causing hardship in those areas. Responses were local: protectionism and other measures intended to protect national economies worsened the situation.

In 1929, the New York stock market collapsed. Bank failures in Europe followed. Agricultural investment slowed, production fell, and then unemployment followed, reaching new highs. Although similar to earlier depressions, the Depression of 1929–1933 was more intense and of longer duration. Social disruptions included suicides and shantytowns. Massive unemployment led to volatile criticism of governments. The Depression also provoked disenchantment with the optimism of the postwar period. Depression in the West spread to the rest of the world.

National responses to the Depression fed existing political and social problems. Parliamentary systems were challenged everywhere, either becoming ineffective or being eliminated. In France, new political parties emerged: socialist, communist, and the **Popular Front**. Deep divisions led to stagnation. In some countries, such as Sweden, governments grew to resemble modern welfare states.

Elected president of the United States in 1933, Franklin Roosevelt presented the country with his **New Deal**. The Social Security system offered protection in unemployment and old age, while the government took a larger role in stimulating industry and regulating banking. While the New Deal did not end the Depression, it did promote faith in the government, sidestepping the problems of paralysis and revolt that beset so many countries.
The Authoritarian Response

- In Germany, the Depression brought to power a fascist government. A result of the Great War, fascism offered a different response than the discredited liberal program. The German National Socialist, or Nazi, Party made fascism a major international force, stopping the spread of liberal democracies. Adolph Hitler promised a return to traditional values, ridding Germany of Jewish influence, and solving Germany's economic problems. Through agreements with German leaders, Hitler then established a totalitarian state. He used the Gestapo to implement control over every facet of life. Targeting Jews as the cause for most of Germany's problems, after 1940 Hitler aimed to eliminate all Jews from Germany in the Holocaust. Behind all of these goals lay intensive military preparations.

- Hitler's success in Germany led to fascist movements in Hungary, Romania, Austria, and Spain. Mussolini was emboldened, attacking Ethiopia in 1935. The League of Nations took no action, and the Italians took over the country. In Spain, the advent of fascism led to the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Francisco Franco was backed by the fascist Falange against forces supporting the Republic. After three years of fighting, Franco won in 1939.

- Liberalism in Latin America was foundering by the 1930s. Traditional social divisions were little changed. Intellectuals, writers, and artists looked to Latin American solutions for Latin American problems. A reform movement spread from Argentina to the rest of the continent. Socialist and communist movements arose.

- The Great Depression had its impact on Latin America. Corporatism, echoing some of the ideals of fascism, took hold. President Lázaro Cárdenas of Mexico began thorough land reform, winning broad support.

- In Brazil Gétulio Vargas was elected president in 1929. His Estado Novo took Mussolini's Italy as its model. Joining the Western powers in World War II, Brazil benefited economically. Vargas's suicide in 1954 ironically ensured his policies would dominate subsequent regimes.

- In Argentina, in 1929, an attempt to overthrow the Radical Party regime failed. Federations of workers emerged as industrialization progressed. The military backed conservative governments in the 1930s, until in 1943 a military government took power. Juan D. Perón was one of many military nationalist leaders. With the support of his wife, Eva Duarte, he gained popular support, especially after failed U.S. attempts to discredit him. Perón nationalized the railways, telephone systems, and the petroleum industry. In spite of broad support, his coalition fell apart. He was forced into exile by the military, returning briefly in 1973. His death the next year opened the door to military dictatorship.

- The Depression had a deep impact on Japan, creating political schisms. In 1932, the military took control of the government. War with China broke out in 1937 and led to Japanese control of Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan. Control turned to brutal oppression, particularly in Korea.

- Political developments in Japan eased the effects of the Depression. Industrialization resumed in the 1930s, at an accelerating pace. To boost loyalty, large companies awarded lifetime employment contracts to some.

- The Soviet Union had been somewhat immune to the Depression. Stalin continued his program of industrialization. Borrowing technology from the West, he nevertheless maintained government control of production.
Collectivization—the establishment of state-run farms—began in 1928. It was a means of control as well as of improving production. Although peasants in general welcomed reform, the kulaks did not. Failing to cooperate, millions were killed or deported to Siberia. After intense disruption and famine in the move to collectivization, the system did work. In the industrial sector, Stalin's five-year plans were very successful. Unlike the West, industrialization in the Soviet Union concentrated on heavy industry. Strict distribution of resources was used to produce remarkable results.

As in the West, industrialization led to overcrowded cities, but with the difference that welfare systems were in place. In spite of strict control of all levels of production, workers' issues gained more attention early on than they had in the West.

Under Stalinism, the arts were carefully managed. Socialist realism celebrated the progress and camaraderie of the socialist experiment. Stalin's methods included use of the secret police, and purges of possible opponents. The Politburo became just a rubber stamp for Stalin's policies. Isolation gave way in the 1920s to some international diplomacy. Hitler's rise was a threat to Russia, especially given his disdain for the Slavic peoples. An agreement with Hitler in 1939 gave the Soviet Union time to arm itself.
CHAPTER 30

A Second Global Conflict and the End of the European World Order

Old and New Causes of a Second World War

Chiang Kai-shek's leadership of the Guomindang led the Nationalists to power in southern China, and they then moved north. Japan was fearful of renewed Chinese control of Manchuria and invaded, eventually creating the independent Manchukuo. In Germany, the Weimar Republic had been hard-hit by the Depression. Hitler promised to end economic hardship and stop the advance of communism. Both Germany and Italy under Mussolini rearmed and took part in the Spanish Civil War. The conflict prepared Germany and the other nations that took part for World War II. Under Franco's dictatorship, Spain withdrew from European affairs.

Unchecked Aggression and the Coming of War in Europe and the Pacific

World War II began officially on September 1, 1939, but conflicts began much earlier in Asia. Europeans and their leaders hoped to avoid a major war by pacifying Hitler. Some, including Winston Churchill, warned against this policy. The Japanese, from their new base in Manchukuo, attacked China in 1937. After capturing Shanghai and Canton, they also took Nanjing and slaughtered its citizens. The Guomindang moved into the interior. In Europe, Hitler and Stalin signed a nonaggression pact in 1939, and then divided Poland. Hitler's plans were now clear, and Britain and France declared war.

Conduct of a Second Global War

Ally delays permitted Axis victories in the early phase of the war, but when Hitler turned to Russia, victory eluded him.

The German strategy of blitzkrieg—lightning war—was highly successful. Poland was taken in 1939 and much of France by 1940. France had been divided politically and had not prepared for war. Only the south was semi-autonomous under the Vichy regime. Germany failed in its massive assault on Winston Churchill's Britain, the Battle of Britain. Yet the Germans controlled much of Europe and the Mediterranean by the middle of 1941. Erwin Rommel led German troops victoriously across north Africa, adding to the resources available to the Germans. Hitler moved east and then on to Russia, but met Napoleon's
fate. Again, in 1942–1943, an assault on Russia failed, destroying the German army. As the Germans retreated, the Russians retook areas of eastern Europe.

- German attacks on the Jews and others deemed deleterious to the nation had begun in 1940. In 1942, Hitler undertook the complete eradication of Jews and other undesirables. The Holocaust claimed as many as 12 million lives, at least half of which were Jews. The Allies failed to take action against the Holocaust.

- The Battle of Britain absorbed most of the British war effort for almost two years. The United States joined the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Britain and the United States joined forces against Rommel in north Africa and then moved into Italy. Mussolini was captured and killed. Anglo-American forces then attacked Germany in north Europe, via Normandy. The Battle of the Bulge, 1944–1945, led the Allies into Germany. Adolph Hitler committed suicide in 1945.

- Following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the Japanese took British possessions in China, then Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines. They were pushed out again by the British and fierce local resistance, but U.S. forces played the largest part in the fighting. The Pacific theater centered on strategic islands. In the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Japanese were halted and a month later defeated on Midway Island. Nearing Japan, General Curtis LeMay ordered the bombing of the country in March, 1945. The United States then went further that summer, dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese surrendered unconditionally.

**War's End and the Emergence of the Superpower Standoff**

- The peace treaties ending World War II lacked the scope of the Versailles Peace. The United Nations was established, to be based in New York City. Control over world affairs was no longer to be monopolized by Western powers. Although the primary mandate of the U.N. was to facilitate diplomacy, more specialized branches were subsequently created.

- The Cold War, which was to last four decades, resulted from a stalemate in the peace settlement. The Tehran Conference, in 1944, allowed the Soviet Union to control portions of eastern Europe, in the face of U.S. objections. The Yalta Conference the next year confirmed the U.N. and divided Europe into four occupation zones. A meeting at Potsdam, the same year, allowed the Soviet Union to keep Poland. Austria was occupied by the United States and the Soviet Union, and the two powers divided Korea. In the Middle East, Africa, India, and Asia, much of the old colonial territory was reestablished. Two themes emerged. The first was decolonization, the second was the Cold War.

**Nationalism and Decolonization**

- Japanese defeat of the Western powers in Asia added to a growing sense that victory over the colonial rulers was possible. Total war had exhausted Europe, which was surpassed in global influence by the United States and the Soviet Union. The Atlantic Charter of 1941, negotiated by Roosevelt and Churchill, included self-determination for all.

- A British representative, Sir Stafford Cripps, was sent to India in 1942 to try to
negotiate with the Indian National Congress. The Quit India Movement began that year, making debate impossible. The British attempted suppression. The Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was more willing to work with Britain. The Labor government that came to power in Britain after 1945 decided to work with India to achieve independence. Jinnah was persuasive in calling for a separate Muslim state. In 1947, the British handed control of the subcontinent to the Congress Party in India and to Jinnah, first president of Pakistan. Sectarian violence followed the partition. Gandhi was assassinated in 1948. Burma (Myanmar) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) gained their independence soon after. Other Asian empires also dissolved. The Philippines and Indonesia won their independence.

During World War II, many African recruits fought for the Allies, but they gained nothing by their loyalty. Industrialization to aid the war effort reversed European policies in Africa, and urbanization followed. Kwame Nkrumah is an example of a leader that took the radical path to independence. Returning to the Gold Coast, he formed the Convention People’s Party. Standing firm against British threats, he gained a large following and was recognized as prime minister of Ghana in 1957. In other areas, independence came with few confrontations. Léopold Sédar Senghor led Senegal peacefully to independence from France. Belgium retreated hastily from the Congo. By the mid-1960s, decolonization was achieved in all but the settler states.

In the settler colonies, large numbers of Europeans blocked indigenous nationalist and independence movements. European settlers opposed both the African majority and European administrators’ pushes for change. African leaders, thus stymied, often turned to violence. In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya African Union supported radical action. The Land Freedom Army used terrorism and guerrilla tactics, but imprisonment of leaders blocked that strategy. Yet the British negotiated with nationalists, in spite of resistance from European settlers. Kenya gained independence, with Kenyatta in charge. In Algeria, the independence movement gathered around the National Liberation Front. As in Kenya, although defeated, the Algerians gained freedom through negotiation. However, French settlers formed the Secret Army Organization (OAS), which was responsible for ending France’s Fourth Republic. A brief war ended with Algerian independence in 1962.

Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe won independence by violent means. Only in South Africa did a white majority retain control against a black majority. Afrikaners, distanced from their original home, felt themselves to be natives and, moreover, were buttressed by convictions of their racial superiority. The Afrikaner National Party created apartheid, through a mass of legislation. Black Africans were denied equality with white Afrikaners.

In the Middle East, many countries had freed themselves of European governance, if not influence. Palestine was a point of contention. Muslim rebellions, in 1936–1939, convinced Britain to slow the movement of Jews into the nascent Israel. A Zionist military force, the Haganah, was created. At the end of World War II, a stalemate existed. In 1948, the U.N. approved the partition of Palestine. Israel defended itself effectively and gained some territory.