



A poster from 1937 recommending eye tests for children with learning difficulties. The notice in background reads: *John, in fact, is not really dull, he may only need his eyes examined.* The poster was issued by the Department of Labour Development, the largest and most ambitious agency, employing millions of workers for public works. It also dealt with feeding and caring for children's health.

The policy of state intervention was also adopted in other countries. In Germany, the armaments industry was supported by a planning and administrative system. This form of direct and long-lasting state intervention is called **statism** (or etatism). Italy used its **corporate system** to influence the country's economy, as well as the nationalisation of some industries. Other countries adopted their own programmes based on their financial resources and the state's authority.

By 1936-1937 the world economy returned to the level of 1929. Exceptional

measures in the economy were abandoned; however, the policy of state intervention became the rule.

### *corporate system* (corporatism)

Non-democratic political system based on occupational associations of employers and employees in corporate groups.

### Remember

- Rebuilding economies after a severe war was a long-lasting process and demanded reforms and modernisation of the state.
- After the war the United States became a political and economic leader.
- The crisis of 1929-1933 began in the United States and spread all over the world.
- In the United States the policy of state intervention was adopted.

### Exercises

1. List the consequences of the First World War. Which of them do you consider the most severe?
2. Show on the map the areas where the biggest migrations of population took place. What were the reasons for these changes?
3. Explain why the United States intervened in the German payment of war reparations. What were the main points of the Dawes Plan?
4. Explain the concept of an overproduction crisis.
- 5 Justify the effectiveness of state intervention and statism.

### 3. TOTALITARIANISM IN WESTERN EUROPE

#### Revision questions:

What were the causes of the collapse of the post-war democracy in Europe?  
In which countries did the democratic systems continue?

Fear of war and revolution and the collapse of public confidence in the decisions made by citizens in democratic systems led first to the authoritarian systems and then to attempts at building a new society. Deprived of all freedoms and subordinated to the state, citizens were supposed to serve the state and also accept violence used against them. Such solutions were adopted by **fascism**, **Nazism** and **communism**. What distinguished them was the degree of citizens' political incapacity. Developed means of communication, such as posters, newspaper and radio became important tools of propaganda.

#### 1. Rise of Fascism in Italy

Abandoning allies during the war and joining the Coalition did not bring Italy the expected benefits. Economic differences between the North and the South of the country increased considerably. Too many parties did not guarantee proper parliamentary decisions. War veterans who were not granted social security were among disillusioned groups of the society.

In 1919, **Benito Mussolini**, a socialist politician and journalist, founded the **Fascia di Combattimento**, veterans' organisations aiming at building Italy based on the tradition of the Roman Empire. They also planned the reforms of the state, progressive taxes and confiscation of church property. The goal of the foreign policy was to strengthen the international position of Italy and expand colonial possessions. These ideas had many followers who demonstrated their support by wearing black shirts.

In 1921 the **National Fascist Party** was founded. Its members organised the March on Rome in October 1922 by which King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form the Cabinet. Mussolini established the **Grand Council of**

#### *fascism*

Political movement originated in Italy, rejecting democratic solutions, planning to build a new society and the monopoly power of the fascist party.

#### *Nazism*

National Socialism – German extreme form of fascism, which added racism and anti-Semitism to its ideology.

#### *communism*

The ideology of a classless society, based on the program of equality and social justice, social control of the economy, ownership of the means of production and fair distribution of wealth. Power was exercised by one party and its opponents were brutally eliminated.

## 2. Popularisation of Inventions and Social Changes

Increasing access to electricity and the inventions of the early twentieth century led to many changes in people's lives. Medical progress restricted epidemics of infectious diseases and infections. As a result of the use of synthetic fibre the production of cheaper and easily available silk and nylon fibres became widespread. The increase in production of fuel and improved fuel engines greatly reduced costs of transport. The production of low-cost cars contributed to the development of the car industry. Therefore, passenger and freight road transport developed. Motorways were built, high-speed railways and airlines appeared. Public transport in cities improved. The car became a popular means of private transport.

Transmission of images meant the beginning of **television**. In 1927 a TV programme was broadcast in New York, and in 1936 the first outside broadcast took place. The coronation of the British King George VI was shown in 1937. As radio did before, television accelerated and facilitated the exchange of information and recorded the participation of citizens in political life. The **film** became a popular pastime. In 1922 40 million tickets a week were sold in the United States and in the 1930s the sale amounted to 80 million.

Technological progress made daily life much easier. In the twenties **washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, electric heaters and mixers** became necessary household equipment. Eight-hour working day gave people a great deal of free time. This created the possibility of using various forms of

recreation thanks to the development of the mass media: press, radio, or music played mechanically. Excursions became popular, resulting from the development of low-cost means of transport.

Sport, popularised for health reasons, became an important element of popular culture. Amateur sport gained growing popularity. At the same time governments supported the development of highly skilled sport and personally participated in **the Olympic Games**. In the interwar period there were five Olympic Games: in Antwerp, Paris, Amsterdam, Los Angeles and Berlin.



Philo T. Farnsworth is demonstrating a new combination of radio and television in 1935. Farnsworth was a pioneer in television. He invented, among other things, an important part of a television camera – the lamp turning the optical image into a corresponding electrical signal.

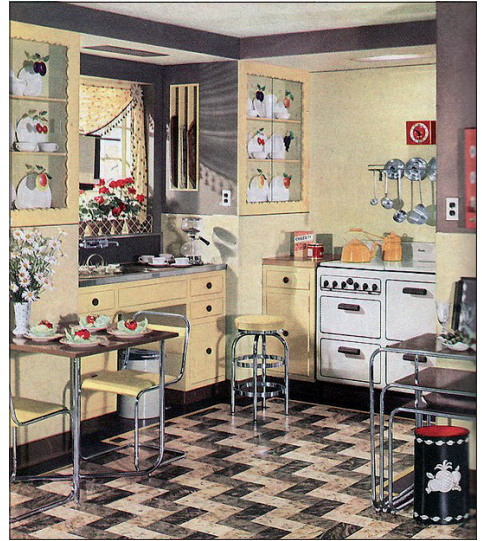


1911

1928

Please note the changes in costume styles that occurred over several years.

The role of women and their situation changed. Since they worked professionally and had the right to vote, their abilities increased. Better organised household duties and changes in child-raising left free time for education and entertainment. The postwar years brought a significant change in fashion for men and women, which generally aimed at simplicity. The changes also affected accommodation. Modern principles of hygiene recommended well-lighted houses, easy to keep clean. The newly built buildings were equipped with sanitary facilities, running water and bathrooms. According to the contemporary tendency, houses were planned to be surrounded by greenery.



A kitchen from a U.S. catalogue from 1936. Compare the fittings shown here to modern ones.

### 3. New Tendencies in Art and Architecture

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was dominated by **Art Nouveau** (known also as **Secession** in some countries). Antonio Gaudi (1851-1926), a Catalan architect, played an important role in the history of architecture. Many of his buildings characterised by sinuous lines and varied decorations can be admired in his hometown, Barcelona.

The interwar period was dominated by artistic movements, such as **Expressionism**, **Cubism** and **Abstraction**. Changes affected both painting and literature.

#### Expressionism

Art movement rejecting “copying reality”, and promoting distortion to express the deep feelings of the author and cause a profound artistic experience for the recipient.

#### Abstraction

Art not reproducing recognisable objects or the visible reality. Abstract work was composed of abstract systems of lines, forms, colours and shapes.



## 8. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EASTERN FRONTIER

### Revision question:

What decisions concerning Polish border were made at the Paris Conference?

### 1. Conceptions of the Polish Borders Held by the Versailles Conference

The Treaty of Versailles restored the Polish state. However, there were two conceptions of the creation of borders, conditioned by the ambitions of the Soviet Russia planning to spread revolution in Western Europe and the aspirations of Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Czechs to achieve independence.

**The conception of federation**, advocated by Józef Piłsudski, provided for the creation of a federation of the Baltic States and Belarus, Ukraine and Poland within the Polish borders of 1772; this idea ignored the territorial ambitions of Russia.

**The conception of incorporation**, supported by Roman Dmowski, was based on the belief that agreement with Russia was necessary, regardless of her political system, as Germany was the biggest enemy of Poland. Therefore, initially only western Ukraine and Belarus, where Poles constituted a majority, were expected to be incorporated.

In order to obtain favourable borders politicians kept up dynamic diplomatic activity and were preparing for military action in the East.

### 2. The Defence of Lviv

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire revived both Ukrainian and Polish ambitions for independence. Eastern Galicia was ethnically diverse. Villages were dominated by a Ukrainian population, Jews were a prevailing ethnic group in towns and cities while the Polish population constituted a majority in Lviv.

The creation of the **Western-Ukrainian People's Republic** (Ukrainian: ZUNR) and an attempt to seize power by Ukrainian troops in Lviv initiated the warfare. The first stage of fighting lasted from 1<sup>st</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1918. Polish troops, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Michał Karaszewicz-Tokarzewski, forced Ukrainians to withdraw from the city. Both regular army and volunteer forces fought in defence of Lviv including about 1,400 fighters under 17. In December 1918 the Ukrainian army began the siege of the city. Armed clashes spread across eastern Galicia.

The **Directorate** (government) of the **Ukrainian People's Republic** (Ukrainian: UNR), the second (next to ZUNR) Ukrainian state, formed after World War I,

## THE REBIRTH OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1918-1922)



Find territories where battles were fought while establishing the Polish border. Find the furthest range of the Bolshevik army operations in the summer of 1920.

RZECZPOSPOLITA POLSKA  
Lito wojtkowosci i Ksiegi ludnosci

Województwo \_\_\_\_\_  
Powiat \_\_\_\_\_  
Gmina \_\_\_\_\_  
Rz.-Kat. Parafia \_\_\_\_\_  
Miało \_\_\_\_\_  
Wicł \_\_\_\_\_  
Poczt \_\_\_\_\_

Nr. 150 aktu.  
Rok 1932

**Świadcstwo o zawarciu małżeństwa**  
Wydane na zasadzie ksiąg Stanu Cywilnego

Zawiedzani, iż: Mieczysław Tomaszewski mający lat 25  
z ojca Kazimiera z matki Pelagii z domu Kucmella  
i Zofia Goszczyńska mająca lat 28  
z ojca Felicjana z matki Marji Anny z domu Kutna  
zawarli związek  
dnia dwunastego miesiąca czerwca roku chiwycet -  
małżeński tyndru stego drugiego 1932 r.  
Z oryginałem zgodne: 15 dnia 15 mca 1932 r.

Prowadzący akta Stanu Cywilnego \_\_\_\_\_

Wyd. Księg. Księgi Rodziny, Warszawa, Plac Złoty (Podwórko)  
Druk P. Łaskowskiego w Warszawie, Tel. 1000

The documents of Zofia Tomaszewska are examples of legalisation documents. Based on a fictitious marriage certificate, changed maiden name and date of birth, the official proof of identity, the Kennkarte and other documents were forged.

**ST. KOPCZYŃSKI**  
CHEMISCHE und TECHNISCHE ARTIKEL  
WARSAU, SKORUPKISTE. 3 W. 7. RUF. 859-69

Bankverbindungen: \_\_\_\_\_  
WARSAU, DEN. 1. März 1944

**Bescheinigung.**

Wir bescheinigen hiermit, dass Frau  
Zofia Tomaszewska geb. Goszczyńska  
in unserer Firma als Sekretärin tätig ist.

**ST. KOPCZYŃSKI**  
ART. CHEM. u. TECH.

Zofia Tomaszewska  
geb. Goszczyńska  
geb. den 15. Mai 1904.  
Zofia Tomaszewska.

**GENERALGOUVERNEMENT**  
**GENERALNE GUBERNATORSTWO**

**KENNKARTE**  
**KARTA ROZPOZNAWCZA**

Karaj. pod l. T.  
Mil. Obw. Proj. 3.  
(Główny Meldunek)  
d. 16. 11. 45.  
3 kom. M.O.  
kom. 1

Kennort \_\_\_\_\_  
Miejsce wystawienia \_\_\_\_\_

Kreish. Warschau-Land Distrikt Warschau  
Starostwo powiat. \_\_\_\_\_ Okręg \_\_\_\_\_

Kennnummer 6180-  
Numer rozpoznawczy \_\_\_\_\_

Gültig bis 26. Jan. 1948  
Ważne do \_\_\_\_\_

Name Tomaszewska  
Nazwisko \_\_\_\_\_

Geburtsname (b. Ehefrau) Goszczyńska  
Nazwisko panieńskie (u wdów) \_\_\_\_\_

Vorname Zofia  
Imię \_\_\_\_\_

Geboren am 15. 5. 1904-  
Urodzony (a) w dn. \_\_\_\_\_

Geburtsort Lemberg  
Miejsce urodzenia \_\_\_\_\_

Kreish. Lemberg Distrikt Lemberg  
Starostwo pow. \_\_\_\_\_ Okręg \_\_\_\_\_

Land \_\_\_\_\_  
Kraj \_\_\_\_\_

Beruf Beautician  
Zawód } erlernter wyuczony }  
ausgeübter wykonywany }

Religion \_\_\_\_\_  
Wyznanie \_\_\_\_\_

Besondere Kennzeichen Keine  
Szczególne znaki rozpoznawcze \_\_\_\_\_



it illegally to the city and sold it as pedlars. This situation led to the development of the so-called black market, where large-scale wholesalers operated.

### Source text

In August 1942 a senior official of the Third Reich wrote in his report about his stay in the GG, among other things:

*At one station 16 wagons of wheat were stolen, and when it was sold, they also tried to cash in on selling the wagons. This case was revealed only because they suddenly offered wagons on the black market.*

Quoted from: Ślaski J., *Polska Walcząca (1939-1945)*, T. 3, Noc, Warszawa 1986.

Social organisations, acting with the consent of the GG authorities, played an important role in mitigating the effects of increasing poverty and the policy of physical destruction of Poles. The **Central Welfare Council** (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, RGO) helped many thousands of Poles. It ran boarding schools, nursing homes and canteens and fed children in schools. The RGO organised comprehensive assistance for displaced persons and families of Polish soldiers held in POW camps, sent food parcels to prisoners of war and if possible to people detained by the Nazis. The RGO obtained funds mainly from public donations and grants received from the Delegation, but also from the government of the occupying power. Thus the paradox was created that the GG authorities, although insignificantly, financed the organisation acting against their policy towards the occupied territories. The **Polish Red Cross** carried out similar activities.

**Roundups** carried out in the streets became one of the forms of gaining free labour. Captured men and women of working age were sent to the Reich to do forced labour. People unfit for work were shipped to death camps. Soon a warning system against these actions appeared spontaneously. It was an expression of solidarity of the public in opposing various actions of the occupying forces on a daily basis.

The case of the Zamość Region (Zamojszczyzna) was a very important action that affected daily lives of many people in the GG. The Reich Main Security Office under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler developed the General Plan East (**Generalplan Ost**) according to which the expulsion or extermination of the local population in the areas east of the Reich was planned and German colonists were to settle there.



Rickshaws gained great popularity. Money earned in this way often proved to be the only means of maintenance.



### *denazification*

Actions taken in order to remove the influence of the ideology of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party.

**Denazification**, which was implemented by the Americans, had a broad spectrum. Former Nazis were divided into five categories. Consequently, a system of penalties varied from 10 years' imprisonment to payments to the victims of the Third Reich. In the British

zone only people applying for jobs in public administration had to go through the denazification procedure. The French conducted rigorous cleansing among teachers.

## 2. The Berlin Crisis

About **12 million refugees and displaced persons** – from the lands attached to Poland and the Soviet Union as well as from Czechoslovakia and Hungary came into the occupation zones. The victorious powers had different plans concerning Germany. The United States wanted Germany to be defeated politically and free from industry and the armed forces. Stalin advocated the maintenance of the unity of Germany. He hoped that the unified state, through the influence of communism, would be under the control of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, France wanted to detach major industrial centres – the Ruhr and the Saar from Germany.

In the Soviet zone Stalin supported the Communist Party. Liquidation of private industry and trade began. Land reform was carried out. In the western zones political life was organised from the bottom up. Democratic elections to local assemblies and later representative bodies and then to representative bodies

in the states (lands) were conducted.

The United States and the United Kingdom joined their occupation zones together. It resulted in the **Bizone** (existing since January 1947). Next, the executive and the legislature and even the Supreme Court were appointed. Soon the western zones were covered by the Marshall Plan, and in March 1948 the Soviet representative left



Not only food but even coal were delivered by air to the western sectors of Berlin.

### *Bizone*

The Bizone – two zones.  
The Trizone – three zones.

the Allied Control Council. Three months later in the western zones a separate currency was introduced. In response, Stalin ordered the **blockade of West Berlin** – roads and waterways were closed, and later energy was cut off. The Americans and the British launched an airlift providing supplies by air. The Blockade lasted from June 1948 to May 1949. It proved to be ineffective.

### 3. The Creation of the FRG and the GDR

In these circumstances, France abandoned its own goals against Germany and agreed to join its zone of occupation called the Bizone. In 1948 the **Trizone** was created. Soon, residents of the western zone elected their members to the Bundestag (federal parliament).



Compare the size of the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany to the territory of the German Democratic Republic. Say which state the capital of the FRG is located in. Because of different interests between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, the future of Austria was not settled until 1955. Try to assess the geopolitical situation of the country.

## Source

Read the following demands raised by the Gdańsk Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS). Decide which of them are of a political nature, and which ones are economic ones.

1. Acceptance of free trade unions independent of the Communist Party and of enterprises [...].
2. A guarantee of the right to strike [...].
3. Observation guaranteed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of freedom of speech, press and publications [...].
4. a) a return of former rights to people dismissed from work after the 1970 and 1976 strikes and to students expelled because of their views.  
b) the release of all political prisoners [...].
7. Payments for all workers [...] for the period of the strike [...].
12. The selection of management personnel on the basis of qualifications, not political affiliation [...].
13. The introduction of ration cards for meat and meat products [...].
21. A day of rest on all Saturdays.

Quotation from: *Dokumenty. Protokoły porozumień Gdańsk, Szczecin, Jastrzębie. Statut NSZZ „Solidarność”*, Warszawa 1980.

In these circumstances, social agreements were signed **in Szczecin (30<sup>th</sup> August), in Gdańsk (31<sup>st</sup> August) and in Jastrzębie (3<sup>rd</sup> September)**. The government recognised the demands of the strikers.



The signing of the Gdańsk Accords (or the Gdańsk Agreements) on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1980. In the middle there is Lech Wałęsa, to the right of him there is the chairman of the government delegation – Deputy Prime Minister Mieczysław Jagielski. Define the symbolic importance of the bust of Lenin and mock-up of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers shown in the background of the picture.

## 2. The Creation of “Solidarność”

The strikes led to changes in the leadership of the PZPR. Edward Gierek was replaced by **Stanisław Kania**. He announced a “renewal” programme, but the situation in the country remained tense.

During a congress organised in Gdańsk on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1980, delegates from many workplaces decided to create the **Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) “Solidarność” (Solidarity)**. They chose the **National Coordinating Commission (KKP)**, whose chairman was **Lech Wałęsa**. “Solidarność” was



offered help by representatives of the intellectual elite. A great number of the opposition activists, especially from the Committee for Social Self-defence KOR (KSS “KOR”) and the Movement of Young Poland (Ruch Młodej Polski), emerged in the structures of “Solidarność”.

The state authorities unsuccessfully attempted to stop the growing support for the Union. For a few weeks they blocked its registration. On 10<sup>th</sup> November they gave in to the threat of a general strike. However, the farmers’ unions and **Independent Students’ Union** (Niezależne Zrzeszenie Studentów, NZS) did not successfully achieve registration.

At stake there was the role of the PZPR in the state. Many of its members joined the Union. In some parts of the country political structures called “*poziomki*” began to be created.

“Solidarność” was not just a trade union, it became a mass social movement.

The situation in Poland raised concern among the Soviet authorities, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev demanded that Kania should take more decisive steps against the counter-revolution. However, it was believed that Brezhnev promised that the Soviet Union would not take a military action without the consent of the Polish authorities. The authorities in the Kremlin wanted to avoid taking a military intervention in Poland due to the ongoing war in Afghanistan (see page 272-273).

At the end of 1980 “Solidarność” consisted of about 9 million members. This represented nearly 30% of the entire adult population.

### “poziomki”

Political structures or agreements of the local committees created without the approval of the higher party authorities.



In April 1981 the weekly “Solidarność” (Solidarity) began to be published. Tadeusz Mazowiecki was the chief editor. Explain the meaning of the arrangement of the letters in the name “Solidarność”.

## 3. Between Compromise and Confrontation

At the beginning of 1981 the wave of concern spread across the country. The matters under debate included free Saturdays and censorship restrictions and registration of the Independent Students’ Union (NZS).

In February General Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected Prime Minister. A few weeks later the Warsaw Pact manoeuvres began in the Polish territory. During the manoeuvres, there was a provocation organised by the authorities. Tension in the country had been growing. “Solidarność” threatened to begin an indefinite

The arguers rejected the principle of productivity, which forces one to fight for own career and for a rising income. They recognised the **principle of pleasure** as an important goal of life. The external

manifestation of rebellion was to emphasize the naturalness of clothing (jeans, loose skirts) and a way of life (sexual promiscuity, drug use). **Hippies** manifested these ideas in a demonstrative way.

New slogans were expressed at the concerts which gave young people a sense of community. The biggest rock festival, with half a million people, was held in August 1969 on a farm **Woodstock**, near New York.

The poster showing the Woodstock festival as *three days of peace and music*. Participating in the festival, guitarist and singer Jimi Hendrix tried to convince the audience: *We have to stop pretending and express what we like*.



## Remember

- The scientific and technological revolution had a significant impact on the lives of people in the second half of the twentieth century.
- In the post-industrial society, the majority of employed people work in the service sector. The decisive role in the society belongs to the middle class.
- As a result of the development of the electronic media, the world was becoming a global village.
- Young people's music became one of the new developments in popular culture.
- In 1968 in many Western countries rebellions of the young broke out.

## Exercise

1. Using selected examples, evaluate the impact of scientific and technological revolution on the lives of individuals and societies.
2. Compare features of industrial and post-industrial societies.
3. Characterise and evaluate the demographic trends in the second half of the twentieth century.
4. Explain the causes and consequences of the transformation of the world into a global village.
- 5 Prepare a presentation in a group, developing the subject of the music in the sixties and its impact on the attitudes of young people.

## 50. THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

### Revision questions:

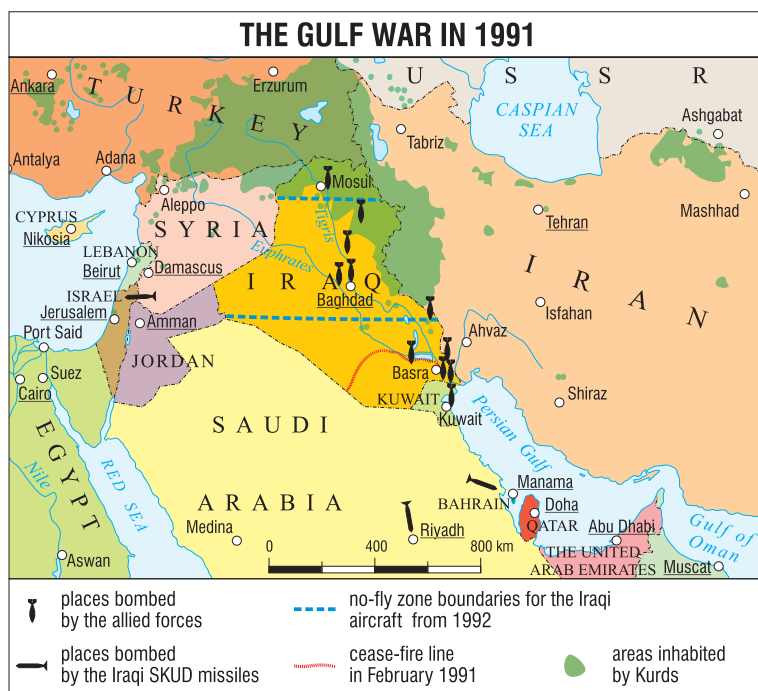
Why did the USSR collapse?

What were the causes of the conflict in the Middle East?

### 1. “Desert Storm”

As a result of the dissolution of the USSR, the bipolar order of the world ceased to exist. The belief strengthened that the free market and democracy should be the models of development to follow for all countries. This opinion was confirmed by the integration processes in Europe.

The conflict in the Persian Gulf was a sign of the **domination of the United States**, which imposed a new international order on the world. In August 1990 Iraq, where **Saddam Hussein** maintained a dictatorial rule, began a military action against **Kuwait**. The Iraqi army gained control over this emirate, small but rich in oil. This act of aggression was condemned by the UN Security Council, which then adopted a resolution authorising the use of force against Iraq. On the initiative of the United States, an **anti-Iraq coalition** was formed. More than twenty countries joined it. In January 1991 the coalition forces, which were dominated by the American soldiers, launched the operation “Desert Storm”. The aerial bombardment lasted for four weeks. Next, they launched a land offensive and smashed the Iraqi



Try to explain why the unrest in Iraq affected the security of the entire region.