

CHAPTER
30

Revolution and Nationalism, 1900–1939

Connect History *and* Geography

In March 1917, a revolt by Russian workers toppled the czarist government. Later that year, Bolshevik revolutionaries rose up and seized power. As the map at the right shows, however, by mid-1919 the Bolsheviks still controlled only a portion of Russia. Use the map to help you answer the following questions.

1. What portion of Russia was under Bolshevik control in mid-1919?
2. What cities had Bolshevik uprisings but remained outside of Bolshevik control?
3. Why do you think those cities did not fall to the Bolsheviks?
4. Why would the rail line shown on the map have been important?

For more information about revolution . . .



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In January 1905, about 200,000 workers and their families marched to the czar's royal palace in St. Petersburg. The marchers demanded reforms. Soldiers fired on the unarmed crowd. An eyewitness described the slaughter, known as "Bloody Sunday": "With shouts and cries, the procession scattered, and the dead and wounded lay upon the snow."

1905

Russian workers protest, asking for better conditions.

1912

Chinese Nationalists oust the last Qing emperor.



1920 Gandhi leads Indian campaign of civil disobedience.

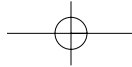
1923 Turkey becomes a republic under Mustafa Kemal.

1929 Stalin exiles Trotsky from Soviet Union.

1934 Mao Zedong heads Long March.

1935 India gains self-rule.

1939



Interact *with* History

You are living in a country in which the government benefits a small, wealthy class and ignores the demands of the vast majority. Thousands of poor peasants and workers have few rights. The government has failed to tackle economic, social, and political problems. Various

revolutionary groups are all clamoring for change. Some groups call for a violent overthrow of the government. Others believe in battling injustice and achieving change through nonviolent methods, such as peaceful strikes and protests.

In 1920, Mohandas K. Gandhi became the leader of the independence movement to free India of British rule.



“[Nonviolent] resistance . . . is superior to the force of arms . . . One who is free from hatred requires no sword.”

*How do you resist
oppressive rule—
with violent
or nonviolent
action?*

In the late 1920s, Communist leader Mao Zedong believed revolution would solve China's problems.



“A revolution is not a dinner party . . . A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.”

EXAMINING *the* ISSUES

- What situations might provoke some people to take violent steps to achieve change?
- What strengths would a person need to remain nonviolent in the face of violent attacks?
- How might armed and powerful opponents respond to groups committed to nonviolent action?
- Which strategy—violence or nonviolence—would prove more successful and bring more long-lasting consequences? Why?

As a class, discuss these questions. In your discussion, consider what you have learned about the strategies revolutionaries used to accomplish change in other countries, such as France, the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Haiti, and so on.

As you read about the revolutions in Russia and China and the independence movement in India, see which strategy was used and rate its effectiveness for achieving change.

1

Revolutions in Russia

TERMS & NAMES

- pogrom
- Trans-Siberian Railway
- Bolsheviks
- V. I. Lenin
- Duma
- Rasputin
- provisional government
- soviet

MAIN IDEA

Long-term social unrest in Russia erupted in revolution, ushering in the first Communist government.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Communist Party controlled the Soviet Union until the country's breakup in 1991.

SETTING THE STAGE The Russian Revolution was like a firecracker with a very long fuse. The explosion came in 1917. Yet the fuse had been burning for nearly a century. The cruel, oppressive rule of most 19th-century czars caused widespread social unrest for decades. Anger over social inequalities and the ruthless treatment of peasants grew. The czars' unfair governing sparked many violent reactions. Army officers revolted in 1825. Hundreds of peasants rioted. Secret revolutionary groups formed and plotted to overthrow the government. In 1881, student revolutionaries were angry over the slow pace of political change. They assassinated the reform-minded czar, Alexander II. Russia was heading toward a full-scale revolution.

Alexander III Upholds the Autocracy

In 1881, Alexander III succeeded his father, Alexander II, to the throne and halted all reforms in Russia. Like his grandfather, Nicholas I, Alexander III clung to the principles of autocracy, a government in which he had total power. Alexander III was determined to strengthen “autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality.” Anyone who questioned the absolute authority of the czar, worshiped outside the Russian Orthodox Church, or spoke a language other than Russian was tagged as dangerous.

To wipe out revolutionaries, Alexander III used harsh measures. He imposed strict censorship codes on published materials and written documents, including private letters. His secret police carefully watched both secondary schools and universities. Teachers had to send detailed reports on every student. Political prisoners were exiled to Siberia, a region of eastern and central Russia.

To establish a uniform Russian culture, Alexander III oppressed other national groups within Russia. He made Russian the official language of the empire and forbade the use of minority languages, such as Polish, in schools. Alexander made Jews the target of persecution. He subjected them to new laws that encouraged prejudice. Jews could not buy land or live among other Russians. Universities set strict quotas for Jewish students. A wave of **pogroms**—organized violence against Jews—broke out in many parts of Russia. Police and soldiers stood by and watched Russian citizens loot and destroy Jewish homes, stores, and synagogues.

Nicholas II Resists Change

When Nicholas II became czar in 1894, he announced, “The principle of autocracy will be maintained by me as firmly and unswervingly as by my lamented father [Alexander III].” Nicholas stubbornly refused to surrender any of his power. His trust in the tradition of Russian autocracy blinded him to the changing conditions of his times. Yet the sweeping forces of change would override his pledge to preserve the czarist rule of Russia's past.

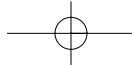


Alexander III turned Russia into a police state, teeming with spies and informers.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Summarizing

What methods did Alexander III use to maintain his authority over the Russian people?



SPOTLIGHT ON

The Trans-Siberian Railway

The Trans-Siberian Railway ran about 5,800 miles across the vast area of Siberia, from Moscow to the city of Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan. Like the transcontinental railroad in the United States (built from 1863 to 1869), the Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed over difficult terrain and completed in sections.

To celebrate the opening of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Czar Nicholas II had the jewelry firm of Fabergé create a golden Easter egg (shown below) for Czarina Alexandra. The inscription on the silver band encircling the egg reads, "Great Siberian

Railway, 1900." Hidden inside the egg is a wonderful surprise—a miniature replica of a train studded with precious gems. The tiny engine is actually a wind-up toy that can pull the cars attached to it.



would overthrow the czar. The industrial class would then form "a dictatorship of the proletariat." In such a state, the workers would rule.

In 1903, Russian Marxists split into two groups over revolutionary tactics. The Mensheviks (MEHN-shuh-vihks) wanted a broad base of popular support for the revolution. The **Bolsheviks** (BOHL-shuh-vihks) supported a small number of committed revolutionaries willing to sacrifice everything for radical change.

The major leader of the Bolsheviks was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (ool-YAH-nuhf). He adopted the name of **Lenin**. He had an engaging personality and was an excellent organizer. He was also ruthless. These traits would ultimately help him gain command of the Bolsheviks. In the early 1900s, Lenin fled to western Europe to avoid arrest by the czarist regime. He maintained contact with other Bolsheviks. Lenin then waited until he could safely return to Russia.

Crises at Home and Abroad

The revolutionaries would not have to wait long to realize their visions. Between 1904 and 1917, Russia faced a series of crises. These events showed the czar's weakness and paved the way for revolution.

The Russo-Japanese War In the late 1800s, Russia and Japan were imperialist powers. They both competed for control of Korea and Manchuria. The two nations signed a series of agreements over the territories, but Russia broke them. In retaliation, Japan attacked the Russians at Port Arthur, Manchuria, in February 1904.

Though Russian soldiers and sailors went confidently to war, the Japanese defeated them. News of repeated losses sparked unrest at home and led to revolt in the midst of the war.

Economic Growth and Its Impact The number of factories more than doubled between 1863 and 1900. In spite of this, at the beginning of Nicholas II's reign, Russia lagged behind the industrial nations of western Europe. In the 1890s, Sergey Witte (VYEET-tyih), the czar's most capable minister, launched a program to move the country forward. Through higher taxes and foreign investments, Witte helped finance the buildup of Russian industries. Witte's steps also boosted the growth of heavy industry, particularly steel. By around 1900, Russia had become the world's fourth-ranking producer of steel. Only the United States, Germany, and Great Britain produced more steel.

Witte also pushed for the building of the great **Trans-Siberian Railway**—the world's longest continuous rail line. With the help of British and French investors, work began in 1891. The Trans-Siberian Railway was completed in 1904. It connected European Russia in the west with Russian ports on the Pacific Ocean in the east.

The Revolutionary Movement Grows Rapid industrialization also stirred discontent among the people of Russia. The growth of factories brought new problems. Among these problems were grueling working conditions, miserably low wages, and child labor. Trade unions were outlawed. Still, exploited laborers who worked in factories and built the railway lines organized strikes. Workers were unhappy with their low standard of living and lack of political power. The gap between rich and poor was enormous.

Amid the widespread unrest of workers and other members of Russian society, various revolutionary movements began to grow. They also competed for power. The group that would eventually succeed in establishing a new government in Russia followed the views of Karl Marx. These revolutionaries believed that the industrial class of workers

Vocabulary

minister: person in charge of an area of government, such as finance.

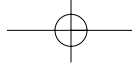
THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Analyzing

Causes Why did industrialization in Russia lead to unrest?

Background

Karl Marx, a 19th-century German philosopher, argued that the workers of the world would one day overthrow the ruling class and share equally in society's wealth.



Bloody Sunday: The Revolution of 1905 On January 22, 1905, about 200,000 workers and their families approached the czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. They carried a petition asking for better working conditions, more personal freedom, and an elected national legislature. Nicholas II was not at the palace. His generals and police chiefs were. They ordered the soldiers to fire on the crowd. Between 500 and 1,000 unarmed people were killed. Russians quickly named the event "Bloody Sunday." Lenin called the incident a "dress rehearsal" for the later revolution that would usher in a Communist regime.

Bloody Sunday provoked a wave of strikes and violence that spread across the country. Though Nicholas still opposed reform, in October 1905 he reluctantly promised more freedom. He approved the creation of the **Duma** (DOO-muh)—Russia's first parliament. The first Duma met in May 1906. Its leaders were moderates who wanted Russia to become a constitutional monarchy similar to Britain. Hesitant to share his power, the czar dissolved the Duma after ten weeks. Other Dumas would meet later. Yet none would have real power to make sweeping reforms.

World War I: The Final Blow In 1914, Nicholas II made the fateful decision to drag Russia into World War I. Russia, though, was unprepared to handle the military and economic costs. Russia's weak generals and poorly equipped troops were no match for the German army. Before a year had passed, more than 4 million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. German machine guns mowed down advancing Russians by the thousands. Defeat followed defeat. As in the Russo-Japanese War, Russia's involvement in World War I revealed the weaknesses of czarist rule and military leadership.

In 1915, Nicholas moved his headquarters to the war front. From there, he hoped to rally his discouraged troops to victory. His wife, Czarina Alexandra, ran the government while he was away. She ignored the czar's chief advisers. Instead, she continued to fall under the influence of the mysterious **Rasputin** (ras-PYOO-tihn)—a self-described "holy man." He claimed to have magical healing powers.

Alexis, Nicholas and Alexandra's son, suffered from hemophilia, a life-threatening disease. Rasputin seemed to ease the boy's symptoms. To show her gratitude, Alexandra allowed Rasputin to make key political decisions. He opposed reform measures and obtained powerful positions for his friends. He spread corruption throughout the royal court. In 1916, a group of nobles murdered Rasputin. They feared his increasing role in government affairs.

Meanwhile, the war was destroying the morale of Russian troops. Soldiers mutinied, deserted, or ignored orders. On the homefront, food and fuel supplies were dwindling. Prices were wildly inflated. People from all classes were clamoring for change and an end to the war. Neither Nicholas nor Alexandra proved capable of tackling these enormous problems.

The March Revolution

In March 1917, women textile workers in Petrograd led a citywide strike. Soon afterward, riots flared up over shortages of bread and fuel. Nearly 200,000 workers swarmed the streets. At first the soldiers obeyed orders to shoot the rioters but later sided with them. The soldiers fired at their commanding officers and joined the rebellion. Large crowds gathered, shouting "Down with the autocracy!" and "Down with the war!"

Vocabulary

constitutional

monarchy: a form of government in which a single ruler heads the state and shares authority with elected lawmakers.

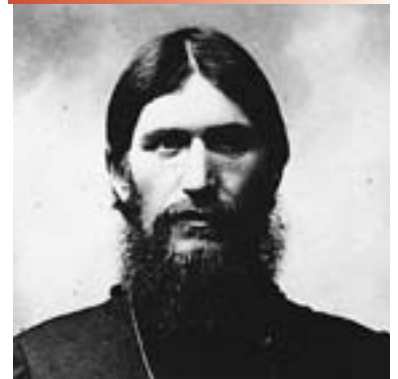
Background

Hemophilia is a rare blood disease in which blood fails to clot. A deep cut may cause uncontrollable bleeding.

Background

St. Petersburg was renamed Petrograd in 1914 because the original name seemed too German. In 1924, the name was changed to Leningrad. In 1991, the name St. Petersburg was restored.

HISTORY MAKERS

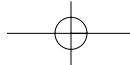


Rasputin
1872–1916

Born a peasant in Siberia, Rasputin became a religious teacher, although he was never ordained as a priest. The sinister monk seemed to cast a hypnotic spell on people, especially Czarina Alexandra and her ailing son. Rasputin's reputation for having mysterious powers followed him to his grave.

In December 1916, a small group of young aristocrats plotted his assassination because he was reportedly taking control of the government. They lured him to a mansion and fed him poisoned cakes. The poison apparently had no effect on Rasputin's extraordinary strength. The conspirators then shot him several times. Assuming he was finally dead, they threw him in the Neva River. When his body was discovered three days later, doctors confirmed the cause of his death—drowning.

Rasputin's death threw the czarina into shock. His prediction haunted her: "If I die or you desert me, in six months you will lose your son and your throne."



CONNECT to TODAY

DNA Solves the Mystery of Anastasia

For about 65 years after the execution of Czar Nicholas II and his family, a woman named Anna Anderson claimed that she was the Grand Duchess Anastasia, the czar's sole surviving daughter (circled above). According to Anna, she managed to escape her assassins.

Anna's regal manners and detailed knowledge about the Romanov family convinced many that she was telling the truth. Others believed she was a fraud seeking personal gain. Anna held fast to her story until her death in 1984.

In 1993, scientists finally solved the 75-year-old mystery. Prince Philip of Britain is a living descendant of Czarina Alexandra. Scientists compared his DNA to Anna Anderson's. The DNA proved that Anna was not a blood relative of the Romanovs. Instead, she carried the DNA of Polish peasants.

The Czar Steps Down The local protest exploded into a general uprising—the March Revolution. It forced Czar Nicholas II to abdicate his throne. A year later revolutionaries executed Nicholas and his family. The czarist rule of the Romanovs, which spanned over three centuries, had finally collapsed. The March Revolution succeeded in bringing down the czar. Yet it failed to set up a strong government to replace his regime.

Leaders of the Duma established a **provisional government**, or temporary government. It was eventually headed by Alexander Kerensky. His decision to continue fighting the war cost him the support of both soldiers and civilians. As the war dragged on, conditions inside Russia worsened. Angry peasants demanded land. City workers grew more radical. Social revolutionaries, competing for power, formed soviets. **Soviets** were local councils consisting of workers, peasants, and soldiers. In many cities, especially Petrograd, the soviets had more influence than the provisional government.

Lenin Returns to Russia The Germans launched their own “secret weapon” that would erode the provisional government's authority. They arranged Lenin's return to Russia after many years of exile. The Germans believed that Lenin and his Bolshevik supporters would stir unrest in Russia and hurt the Russian war effort. Traveling in a sealed railway boxcar, Lenin reached Petrograd in April 1917.

The Bolshevik Revolution

Lenin and the Bolsheviks recognized their opportunity to seize power. They soon gained control of the Petrograd soviet, as well as the soviets in other major Russian cities. By the fall of 1917, people in the cities were rallying to the call, “All power to the soviets.” Lenin's slogan—“Peace, Land, and Bread”—was gaining widespread appeal. Lenin decided to take action.

The Provisional Government Topples In November 1917, without warning, Bolshevik Red Guards made up of armed factory workers stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd. They took over government offices and arrested the leaders of the provisional government. The Bolshevik Revolution was over in a matter of hours. Kerensky and his colleagues disappeared almost as quickly as the czarist regime they had replaced.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Making

Inferences Why did Kerensky's decision to continue fighting the war cost him the support of the Russian people?

Causes and Effects of Two Russian Revolutions

Causes

- Widespread discontent among all classes of Russian society
- Agitation from revolutionaries
- Weak leadership of Czar Nicholas II
- Defeat in Russo-Japanese War (1905)
- Bloody Sunday (1905)
- Losses in World War I
- Strikes and riots

Russian Revolutions of 1917

- Abdication of Czar Nicholas
- Failure of provisional government
- Growing power of soviets
- Lenin's return to Russia
- Bolshevik takeover under Lenin

Effects

- Civil war (1918–1920)
- Czar and his family killed—end of czarist rule
- Peace with Germany under Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918)
- Bolshevik control of government
- Russian economy in ruins

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Based on the chart, form a generalization about why the Russian Revolutions occurred.
2. What similarities exist between the causes of the Revolution and the effects?

Russian Revolution and Civil War, 1905–1922

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps**

- Region** What was the extent (north to south, east to west) of the Bolshevik territory in 1919?
- Region** What European countries were no longer within Russian boundaries by 1922 because of the Brest-Litovsk treaty?

Bolsheviks in Power Lenin's next step was tackling the problems he inherited from czarist rule. Within days after the Bolshevik takeover, Lenin ordered that all farmland be distributed among the peasants. Lenin and the Bolsheviks gave control of factories to the workers. The Bolshevik government also signed a truce with Germany to stop all fighting on the eastern war front and began peace talks.

In March 1918, Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The price of peace was costly. Russia surrendered a large chunk of its territory to Germany and its allies. The humiliating terms of this treaty triggered widespread anger among many Russians. They objected to the Bolsheviks and their policies.

Civil War Rages in Russia Still recovering from their painful losses of land to Germany, the Bolsheviks now faced a new challenge—stamping out their enemies at home. Their opponents formed the White Army. The revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, who helped negotiate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, expertly commanded the Bolshevik Red Army. From 1918 to 1920, civil war raged in Russia. Several Western nations, including the United States, sent military aid and forces to Russia to help the White Army.

Russia's civil war proved far more deadly than the earlier revolutions. Around 15 million Russians died in the three-year struggle and in the famine that followed. The destruction and loss of life from fighting, hunger, and a worldwide flu epidemic left Russia in chaos.

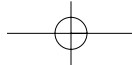
In the end the Red Army triumphed and finally crushed all opposition to Bolshevik rule. The victory showed that the Bolsheviks were able both to seize power and to maintain it. Yet in the aftermath of the civil war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks faced overwhelming problems.



During the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, these Petrograd workers seized an armored car from the provisional government's forces.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY**D. Identifying**

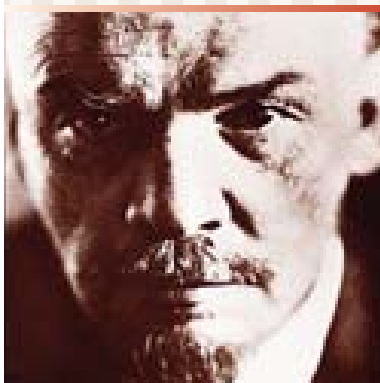
Problems What problems did Lenin and the Bolsheviks face after the revolution?



Lenin Restores Order

War and revolution destroyed the Russian economy. Trade was at a standstill. Industrial production dropped and many skilled workers fled to other countries. Lenin, who helped mastermind the Bolshevik Revolution, shifted his role. He turned to reviving the economy and restructuring the government.

HISTORY MAKERS



V. I. Lenin
1870–1924

A brilliant student, Lenin enrolled in law school as a young man but was expelled for taking part in a student protest meeting. In 1887, when he was 17, his brother, Alexander, was hanged for plotting to kill the czar. Legend has it that this event turned Lenin into a revolutionary.

Though Alexander's execution influenced Lenin, Lenin already harbored feelings against the government. By the early 1900s, he planned to overthrow the czar. After 1917, Russians revered him as the "Father of the Revolution."

Following Lenin's death in 1924, the government placed his tomb in Red Square in Moscow. His preserved body, encased in a bulletproof, glass-topped coffin, is still on display. Many Russians, though, favor moving Lenin's corpse away from public view.

New Economic Policy In March 1921, Lenin launched the New Economic Policy (NEP) by temporarily putting aside his plan for a state-controlled economy. Instead, he resorted to a small-scale version of capitalism. The reforms under the NEP allowed peasants to sell their surplus crops instead of turning them over to the government. Individuals could buy and sell goods for profit. The government kept control of major industries, banks, and means of communication, but it let some small factories, businesses, and farms operate under private ownership. Lenin also tried to encourage foreign investment.

Political Reforms The many different nationalities within Russia had always posed an obstacle to national unity. Communist leaders also saw nationalism as a threat to unity and party loyalty. To keep nationalism in check, Lenin organized Russia into several self-governing republics under the central government. In 1922, the country was named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in honor of the councils that helped launch the Bolshevik Revolution. Each republic was controlled from the new capital—Moscow.

The Bolsheviks also renamed their party the Communist Party. The name came from the writings of Karl Marx. He had used the word *communism* to describe the classless society that would exist after workers had seized power. In 1924, the Communists created a constitution based on socialist and democratic principles. In reality, the Communist Party held all the power. Lenin had established a dictatorship of the Communist Party, not "a dictatorship of the proletariat," as Marx had promoted.

Thanks partly to the new policies and to the peace that followed the civil war, the USSR slowly recovered. By 1928, the country's farms and factories were producing as much as they had before World War I.

Lenin did not live to see this recovery. He had several strokes and spent the last 18 months of his life as a semi-invalid. His death in 1924 opened a power struggle for control of the party and the country. You will learn about the outcome of this struggle in Section 2.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

E. Making

Inferences What steps did the Communist government take to prevent nationalism from threatening the new state created by the Russian Revolution?

Section 1 Assessment

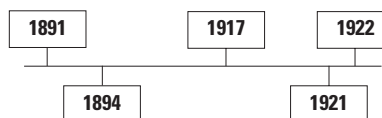
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- pogrom
- Trans-Siberian Railway
- Bolsheviks
- V. I. Lenin
- Duma
- Rasputin
- provisional government
- soviet

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a time line like the one below to show significant events during the last phases of czarist rule and the beginning of Communist rule.



Write a paragraph explaining one of these events in more detail.

3. EVALUATING DECISIONS

What do you think were Czar Nicholas II's worst errors in judgment during his rule? Why?

THINK ABOUT

- the czar's military decisions
- the political outcome of "Bloody Sunday"

4. ANALYZING THEMES

Revolution Why was Lenin's leadership crucial to the success of the Russian Revolution?

THINK ABOUT

- Lenin's personal traits
- his slogan—"Peace, Land, and Bread"
- his role in organizing the Bolsheviks
- his role after the Revolution



2 Totalitarianism

PATTERNS
OF CHANGE

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

TERMS & NAMES

- Joseph Stalin
- totalitarianism
- command economy
- collective farm
- kulak
- Great Purge
- socialist realism

MAIN IDEA

After Lenin died, Stalin seized power and transformed the Soviet Union into a totalitarian state.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

More recent dictators have used Stalin's tactics for seizing total control over individuals and the state.

SETTING THE STAGE Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin were among Lenin's revolutionary supporters. They both helped create the Soviet state. After Lenin died, these two men became bitter rivals for control of the Communist Party. The outcome of this struggle would determine the future course of the Soviet Union. Stalin, Lenin's successor, would aim at dramatically transforming the government and controlling every aspect of citizens' lives.

Stalin Becomes Dictator

Joseph Stalin was a quiet man who rarely received much public notice. During his early days as a Bolshevik, he changed his name from Dzhughashvili (joo-guhsh-VEEL-yih) to Stalin, which means "man of steel" in Russian. The name fit well. Stalin was cold, hard, and impersonal. Lenin, unsure of his successor, began to distrust Stalin. Lenin believed that Stalin was a dangerous man. Shortly before Lenin died, he wrote, "Comrade Stalin has concentrated enormous power in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution."

From 1922 to 1927, Stalin began his ruthless climb to the head of the government. In 1922, as general secretary of the Communist Party, he worked behind the scenes. He shrewdly moved his followers into strategic government offices. By 1924, he had placed many of his supporters in key positions. By 1928, Stalin was in total command of the Communist Party. Trotsky, forced into exile in 1929, was no longer a threat. Stalin now stood poised to wield absolute power as a dictator.

Background

While in exile, Trotsky published articles and books criticizing Stalin's regime. In 1940, Stalin's agents murdered Trotsky in Mexico.

Stalin Builds a Totalitarian State

Lenin and Trotsky promoted a worldwide Communist revolution. Stalin, however, focused on Russian development. He coined the phrase "socialism in one country" to describe his aims of perfecting a Communist state in Russia. To realize his vision, Stalin would transform the Soviet Union into a totalitarian state.

The term **totalitarianism** describes a government that takes total, centralized state control over every aspect of public and private life. Totalitarian leaders, such as Stalin, appear to provide a sense of security and to give a direction for the future.

Totalitarianism challenges the highest values prized by Western democracies—reason, freedom, human dignity, and the worth of the individual. As the chart on the next page shows, all totalitarian states share basic characteristics.

HISTORY MAKERS

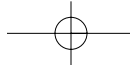


Joseph Stalin
1879–1953

Stalin was born in bitter poverty in Georgia, a region in southern Russia. Unlike the well-educated and cultured Lenin, Stalin was rough and crude.

Despite having millions of Russians killed, Stalin tried to create a myth that he was the country's father and savior. Stalin glorified himself as the symbol of the nation. He encouraged people to think of him as "The Greatest Genius of All Times and Peoples."

Many towns, factories, and streets in the Soviet Union were named for Stalin. A new metal was called Stalinite. An orchid was named Stalinchid. Children standing before their desks every morning said, "Thank Comrade Stalin for this happy life."



PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Totalitarianism

Key Traits	Description
Dictatorship and One-Party Rule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exercises absolute authority • Dominates the government
Dynamic Leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps unite people toward meeting shared goals or realizing a common vision • Encourages people to devote their unconditional loyalty and uncritical support to the regime • Becomes a symbol of the government
Ideology (set of beliefs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justifies government actions • Glorifies the aims of the state
State Control Over All Sectors of Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • business • family life • labor • youth groups • housing • religion • education • the arts
State Control Over the Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demands total obedience to authority and personal sacrifice for the good of the state • Denies basic liberties
Dependence on Modern Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relies on mass communication, such as radios, newsreels, and loudspeakers, to spread propaganda • Builds up advanced military weapons
Organized Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses force, such as police terror, to crush all opposition • Targets certain groups, such as national minorities and political opponents, as enemies

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Based on the chart, how are individuals in a totalitarian state molded into obedient citizens?
2. How would your life change if you lived in a totalitarian state?

Other totalitarian governments besides the Soviet Union emerged in the twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s, two other European dictators—Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy—were shaping their visions of a totalitarian state. After Communists formed the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Mao Zedong used tactics similar to Stalin’s to establish totalitarian control. The North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung ruled over a totalitarian Communist state from 1948 to 1994.

By 1928 Stalin began taking great strides to build a totalitarian state. He had achieved personal power and was ready to begin overhauling the economy.

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

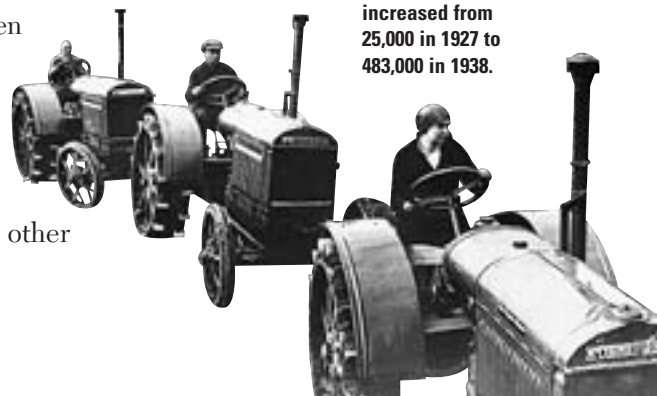
Stalin Seizes Control of the Economy

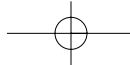
While Lenin’s New Economic Policy (NEP) was a mixture of free enterprise and state control, Stalin’s economic policies involved total state control. His plans called for a **command economy**—a system in which the government made all economic decisions. Under this system, political leaders identify the country’s economic needs and determine how to fulfill them. To modernize the Soviet state, Stalin ushered in revolutions in industry and agriculture.

An Industrial Revolution In 1928, Stalin outlined the first of several Five-Year Plans for the development of the Soviet Union’s economy. The government would take drastic steps to promote rapid industrial growth and to strengthen national defense. Stalin announced, “We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it or we shall be crushed.”

The Five-Year Plans set impossibly high quotas, or numerical goals, to increase the output of steel, coal, oil, and electricity. To reach these targets, the government limited production of consumer goods. As a result, people faced severe shortages of housing, food, clothing, and other necessary goods.

The number of tractors in the Soviet Union increased from 25,000 in 1927 to 483,000 in 1938.





Under Stalin's totalitarian regime, the government controlled every aspect of the worker's life. Officials chose the workers, assigned them jobs, and determined their working hours. Workers needed the police's permission to move. The secret police were ready to imprison or execute those who did not contribute to the Soviet economy. These forceful means of making the Soviet Union a modern industrial nation took a great toll on people's personal lives. Many families and marriages broke up.

Stalin's grim methods, however, also produced fantastic economic results. Although most of the targets of the first Five-Year Plan fell short, the Soviets made impressive gains. A second plan, launched in 1933, proved equally successful. From 1928 to 1937, industrial production increased more than 25 percent.

An Agricultural Revolution Stalin's agricultural revolution was also successful—and far more brutal—than his industrial revolution. In 1928, the government began to seize over 25 million privately owned farms in the USSR. It combined them into large, government-owned farms, called **collective farms**. Hundreds of families worked on these farms, producing food for the state. The government expected that the modern machinery on the collective farms would boost food production and reduce the number of workers.

Peasants resisted fiercely. Many killed livestock and destroyed crops in protest. Stalin used terror and violence to force peasants to work on collective farms. Soviet secret police herded them onto collective farms at the point of a bayonet. Between 5 million and 10 million peasants died as a direct result of Stalin's agricultural revolution. Millions more were shipped to Siberia.

Resistance was especially strong among **kulaks**, a class of wealthy peasants. The Soviet government decided to eliminate them. Thousands were executed or sent to work camps.

By 1938, more than 90 percent of all peasants lived on collective farms. Agricultural production was on the upswing. That year the country produced almost twice the wheat than it had in 1928 before collective farming.

Weapons of Totalitarianism

To dominate an entire nation, Stalin, like other totalitarian leaders, devised methods of control and persuasion.

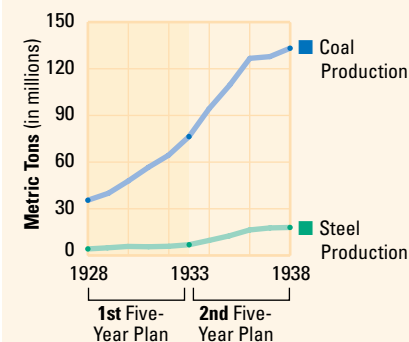
Police Terror Dictators of totalitarian states use terror and violence to force obedience and to crush opposition. Stalin began building his totalitarian state by destroying his enemies—real and imagined. Stalin's secret police used tanks and armored cars to stop riots. They monitored telephone lines, read mail, and planted informers everywhere. Even children told authorities about disloyal remarks they heard at home. The secret police arrested and executed millions of so-called traitors.

In 1934, Stalin turned against members of the Communist Party. He launched the **Great Purge**—a campaign of terror. It was directed at eliminating anyone who threatened his power. Thousands of old Bolsheviks who helped stage the Revolution in 1917 stood trial. They were executed for "crimes against the Soviet state."

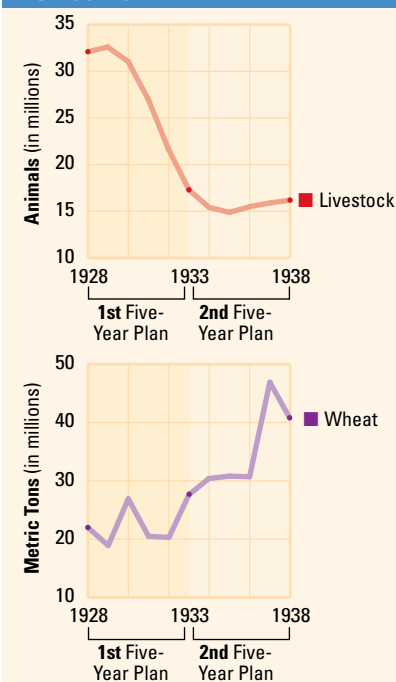
The state had the authority to punish even the most minor acts. The police arrested the director of the Moscow Zoo because his monkeys got tuberculosis. The police

The Buildup of the Soviet Economy

INDUSTRY



AGRICULTURE



Source: *European Historical Statistics*

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Graphs

- How many more metric tons of coal were produced in 1938 than in 1928?
- What do the graphs show about the contrast between the progress of industry and livestock production under Stalin's first Five-Year Plan?

Background

Many peasants had only recently won their own land. For centuries, they had struggled against the nobles. Now they were forced to submit to yet another landlord—the Soviet government.

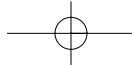
THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Summarizing

What methods did Stalin use to bring agriculture under state control?

Vocabulary

purge: a systematic effort to eliminate a targeted group of people.



SPOTLIGHT ON

1984

George Orwell wrote the chilling novel *1984* in response to the threat of two totalitarian regimes. They were Communist Russia under Stalin and Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler. The novel depicts a frightening world in which personal freedom and privacy have vanished. The sinister slogan “Big Brother Is Watching You” appears everywhere. Even citizens’ homes have television cameras that constantly survey their behavior.

Orwell intended his novel, published in 1949, as a warning, not as a prophecy. He sounded an alarm about a world that a totalitarian state could create through modern technology. For millions of people in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, the world of totalitarianism was not fiction. It was terrifying fact.



themselves were not above suspicion, especially if they did not arrest their quotas of “criminals.” Every family came to fear the knock on the door in the early morning hours, which usually meant the arrest of a family member.

When the Great Purge ended in 1939, Stalin had gained total control of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. Historians estimate that he was responsible for 8 million to 13 million deaths.

Indoctrination and Propaganda Totalitarian states rely on indoctrination—instruction in the government’s beliefs—to mold people’s minds. Party leaders in the Soviet Union lectured workers and peasants on the ideals of communism. They also stressed the importance of sacrifice and hard work to build the Communist state. State-supported youth groups trained future party members.

Totalitarian states also spread propaganda—biased or incomplete information used to sway people to accept certain beliefs or actions.

Soviet newspapers and radio broadcasts glorified the achievements of communism, Stalin, and his economic programs.

Under Stalin, art also was used for propaganda. In 1930, an editorial in the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* explained the purpose of art: “Literature, the cinema, the arts are levers in the hands of the proletariat which must be used to show the masses positive models of initiative and heroic labor.” **Socialist realism** was an artistic style that praised Soviet life and Communist values. Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a Russian poet, described this form of artistic expression:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Blankly smiling workers and collective farmers looked out from the covers of books. Almost every novel and short story had a happy ending. Painters more and more often took as their subjects state banquets, weddings, solemn public meetings, and parades.

YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO, *A Precocious Autobiography*

Censorship Many Soviet writers, composers, and other artists also fell victim to official censorship. Stalin would not tolerate individual creativity that threatened the conformity and obedience required of citizens in a totalitarian state. The government also controlled all newspapers, motion pictures, radio, and other sources of information.

Religious Persecution Communists aimed to replace religious teachings with the ideals of communism. Under Stalin, the government and the League of the Militant Godless, an officially sponsored group of atheists, spread propaganda attacking religion. “Museums of atheism” displayed exhibits to show that religious beliefs were mere superstitions. Yet many people in the Soviet Union still clung to their faiths.

The Russian Orthodox Church was the main target of persecution. Other religious groups also suffered greatly. The police destroyed magnificent churches and synagogues; and many religious leaders were killed or sent to labor camps.

Comparing Revolutions In its immediate and long-term effects, the Russian Revolution was more like the French Revolution than the American Revolution. The American Revolution expanded English political ideas into a constitutional government that built on many existing structures. In contrast, both the French and Russian revolutions attempted to destroy existing social and political structures. Revolutionaries in France and Russia used violence and terror to control people. France eventually became a constitutional monarchy, but the Russian Revolution established a totalitarian state that lasted for decades.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

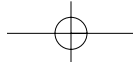
B. Evaluating What was one of the most extreme methods Stalin used in the Great Purge?

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Making Inferences What forms of art did Stalin encourage?

Vocabulary

atheists: people who do not think there is a god.



HISTORY THROUGH ART: Posters

Propaganda Through Art

Low-cost printing techniques made socialist realism posters an important form of propaganda in the Soviet Union. People might not listen to the radio or go to propaganda films. However, if they left their houses, they could not avoid viewing the posters plastered on buildings and walls in every town.

Images of energetic laborers, such as the special groups called “shock brigades,” urged Soviets to work harder. Portraits glorifying Stalin were also popular subjects of Soviet posters.



The slogan on the above poster reads, “Day Laborers and Young Communists—Join the Tractor Shock Brigades for Spring Sowing.”

This profile of Stalin is imposed on a shadowy image of Lenin. Miniature portraits of other Communist leaders trail off in the background.

The slogan on this poster reads, “Young Communists [are] the Shock Brigade of the Five-Year Plan.”



Connect to History

Analyzing Issues What messages do you think these posters communicate?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R12

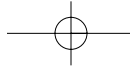
Connect to Today

Comparing How do the Soviet posters resemble the billboards of modern-day advertisers? Support your answer with examples.

For an Internet activity on Propaganda in Art...



NET ACTIVITY
CLASSZONE.COM



Daily Life Under Stalin

Stalin's totalitarian rule revolutionized Soviet society. Women's roles greatly expanded. People became better educated and mastered new technical skills. The dramatic changes in people's lives had a downside, though. As servants of a totalitarian state, they would make great sacrifices in exchange for progress.



This Soviet woman worked in a textile factory during Stalin's regime.

Soviet Women With the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, women won equal rights. After Stalin became dictator, women helped the state-controlled economy prosper. Under his Five-Year Plans, they had no choice but to join the labor force in increasing numbers. Young women performed the same jobs as men. Millions of women worked in factories and built dams and roads.

Given new educational opportunities, women prepared for careers in engineering and science. Medicine, in particular, attracted many women. By 1950, they made up 75 percent of Soviet doctors.

Soviet women paid a heavy price for their rising status in society. Besides their full-time jobs, they were responsible for housework and child care. Motherhood was also considered a patriotic duty in totalitarian regimes. Soviet women were expected to provide the state with future generations of loyal, obedient citizens.

Education Under Stalin, the government controlled all education—from nursery schools through the universities. Schoolchildren learned the virtues of the Communist Party. College professors and students who questioned the Communist Party's interpretations of history or science risked losing their jobs or faced imprisonment.

Education was not merely indoctrination. Stalin's economic plans created a high demand for many skilled workers. University and technical training became the key to a better life. As one young man explained, "If a person does not want to become a collective farmer or just a cleaning woman, the only means you have to get something is through education."

By the mid-1930s, Stalin had forcibly transformed the Soviet Union into a totalitarian regime and an industrial and political power. He stood unopposed as dictator and maintained his authority over the Communist Party. He also ushered in a period of total social control and rule by terror, rather than constitutional government. His network of laws and regulations guided every aspect of individual behavior.

Like Russia, China would fall under the influence of Karl Marx's theories and Communist beliefs. The dynamic leader Mao Zedong would pave the way for transforming China into a totalitarian Communist state, as you will read in Section 3.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
D. Evaluating What were the pros and cons of women's new roles in Soviet society under Stalin?

Section 2 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Joseph Stalin
- totalitarianism
- command economy
- collective farm
- kulak
- Great Purge
- socialist realism

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a chart like the one below listing the weapons of totalitarianism. Cite examples from Stalinist Russia for each method shown.

Weapons	Examples
Police Terror	
Propaganda	
Censorship	
Religious Persecution	

Which method do you think was most influential in maintaining Stalin's totalitarian rule? Why?

3. CONTRASTING

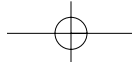
How do totalitarian states and constitutional governments differ?

THINK ABOUT

- the chart explaining the key traits of totalitarianism
- what you have learned about constitutional government in the United States
- what you learned about the Soviet Constitution on page 774

4. THEME ACTIVITY

Economics Role-play an industrial worker in a steel mill, a peasant on a collective farm, or a student at a technical school. Write a secret journal entry describing what your life is like under Stalin's economic plans.



3

Collapse of Chinese Imperial Rule

TERMS & NAMES

- Kuomintang
- Sun Yixian
- Mao Zedong
- May Fourth Movement
- Long March

MAIN IDEA

After the fall of the Qing dynasty, nationalist and Communist movements struggled for power.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The seeds of China's late-20th-century political thought, communism, were planted at this time.

SETTING THE STAGE In the early 1900s, China was ripe for revolution. China had faced years of humiliation at the hands of outsiders. Foreign countries controlled China's trade and economic resources. Many Chinese believed that modernization and nationalism held the country's keys for survival. They wanted to build up the army and navy, to construct modern factories, and to reform education. Yet others feared change. They believed that China's greatness lay in its traditional ways.

Nationalists Overthrow Qing Dynasty

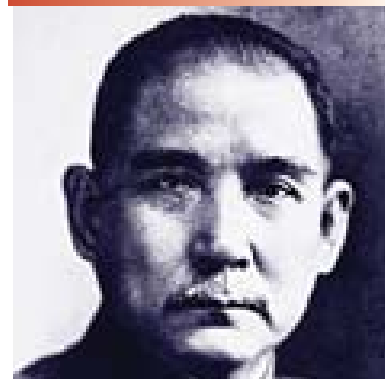
Among the groups pushing for modernization and nationalization was the **Kuomintang** (KWOH-mihn-TANG), or the Nationalist Party. Its first great leader, **Sun Yixian** (soon yee-shyahn), was a physician who had spent many years in the United States. In 1912, Sun's Revolutionary Alliance, a forerunner of the Kuomintang, succeeded in overthrowing the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. The Qing had ruled China since 1644.

Shaky Start for the New Republic In 1912, Sun became president of the new Republic of China. He held the post for just six weeks. Sun hoped to establish a modern government based on the "Three Principles of the People": (1) nationalism—an end to foreign control, (2) people's rights—democracy, and (3) people's livelihood—economic security for all Chinese. Sun Yixian considered nationalism vital. He said, "The Chinese people . . . do not have national spirit. Therefore even though we have four hundred million people gathered together in one China, in reality, they are just a heap of loose sand." Despite his lasting influence as a revolutionary leader, Sun lacked the authority and the military support to secure national unity.

Sun turned over the presidency to Yuan Shikai (yoo-ahn shee-ky), a powerful general. Yuan quickly betrayed the democratic ideals of the revolution. By 1913, he was ruling as a military dictator. His actions sparked local revolts. Even Yuan's own generals refused to fight the rebels. After Yuan died in 1916, chaos reigned. China remained divided and Sun's Kuomintang powerless. Civil war broke out as one rival group battled another. Sun tried to reorganize his Kuomintang. Real authority, though, fell into the hands of provincial warlords. They ruled territories as large as their armies could conquer.

As always during times of unrest, the Chinese peasants suffered most. Warlord armies terrorized the countryside. They pillaged and looted everywhere. Roads and bridges fell into disrepair, and crops were destroyed. Famine took the lives of millions. This was the situation in China as World War I was being waged in Europe.

HISTORY MAKERS



Sun Yixian
1866–1925

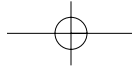
A traditional Chinese proverb says that knowing what to do is easier than doing it. Sun Yixian disagreed. "Knowledge is difficult," he said. "Action is easy."

Sun led an action-filled life. He traveled, organized, and plotted tirelessly to bring down the Qing dynasty. Aware of Sun's activity and influence, Qing officials tracked him down in London. They kidnapped him and held him prisoner. They planned to ship him back to China, where he faced probable execution.

Sun would meet his death, he said, by "first having my ankles crushed in a vise and broken by a hammer, my eyelids cut off, and finally being chopped up into small fragments so that none could claim my mortal remains." Sun's British friends helped him escape his captors. The episode made him world-famous as a leader of the revolution in China. Sun Yixian is still known as the "father of modern China."

Vocabulary

warlord: powerful military leader.



World War I Spells More Problems In 1917, the government in Beijing, hoping for an Allied victory, declared war against Germany. For China's participation, some leaders mistakenly believed that the thankful Allies would return control of China to the Chinese. Under the Treaty of Versailles, however, the Allied leaders gave Japan the territories and privileges that had previously belonged to Germany.

The May Fourth Movement When news of the Treaty of Versailles reached China, outrage swept the country. On May 4, 1919, over 3,000 angry students gathered in the center of Beijing. "Down with the European imperialists!" they shouted. "Boycott Japan!" **Mao Zedong** (MOW dzuh-dahng), a young schoolteacher who had studied at Beijing University, supported the student protesters. He would later become China's greatest revolutionary leader, sometimes called "The Great Helmsman."

Student protesters gathered at Tiananmen Square in summer 1919.



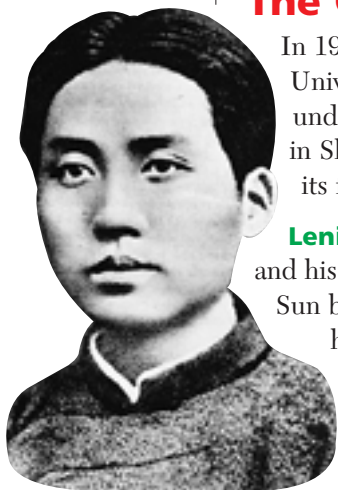
The demonstrations spread to other cities and exploded into a national movement. It was called the **May Fourth Movement**. Workers, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and professionals joined the cause. Though not officially a revolution, these demonstrations showed the Chinese people's commitment to the goal of establishing a strong, modern nation. Sun Yixian and members of the Kuomintang also shared the aims of the movement. But they could not strengthen central rule on their own. Many young Chinese intellectuals turned against Sun Yixian's beliefs in Western democracy in favor of Lenin's brand of Soviet communism.

Vocabulary
helmsman: person who steers a ship.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
A. Identifying Problems What problems did the new Republic of China face?

The Communist Party in China

In 1920, small groups of young intellectuals were meeting in Shanghai and Beijing University to discuss Marx's revolutionary beliefs. They viewed the Soviet Union under Lenin as a model for political and economic change. In 1921, a group met in Shanghai to organize the Chinese Communist Party. Mao Zedong was among its founders.



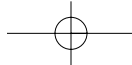
This portrait of Mao Zedong was taken around 1919, when he was a young revolutionary.

Lenin Befriends China While the Communist Party was forming, Sun Yixian and his Nationalist Party set up a government in south China. Like the Communists, Sun became disillusioned with the Western democracies that refused to support his struggling government. Sun decided to ally the Kuomintang with the newly formed Communist Party. Sun used Lenin's blueprint for organizing his party along Bolshevik lines. Sun hoped to unite all the revolutionary groups for common action.

After Western governments failed to aid Sun, he accepted an offer from the Soviets. Lenin preached worldwide revolution. He seized the opportunity to help China's Nationalist government. In 1923, Lenin began sending military advisers and equipment to the Nationalists in return for allowing the Chinese Communists to join the Kuomintang. Several Chinese Nationalist leaders traveled to Moscow for military training.

Nationalists and Communists Clash After Sun Yixian died in 1925, Jiang Jieshi (Jee-ahng jee-shee), formerly called Chiang Kai-shek, headed the Kuomintang. Jiang was the son of a middle-class merchant. Many of Jiang's followers were bankers and

Background
Jiang was Sun's brother-in-law and military assistant.



businesspeople. Like Jiang, they feared the Communists' goal of creating a socialist economy modeled after the Soviet Union's.

At first, Jiang put aside his differences with the Communists. Together Jiang's Nationalist forces and the Communists successfully fought the warlords. Soon afterward, though, he turned against the Communists.

In April 1927, Nationalist troops and armed gangs moved into Shanghai. They killed many Communist leaders and trade union members in the city streets. Similar killings took place in other cities. The Nationalists nearly wiped out the Chinese Communist Party. Its few survivors went into hiding.

In 1928, Jiang became president of the Nationalist Republic of China. Great Britain and the United States both formally recognized the new government. The Soviet Union, as a result of the Shanghai massacre, did not. Jiang's treachery also had long-term effects. The Communists' deep-seated rage over the massacre erupted in a civil war that would last until 1949.

Peasants Align Themselves with the Communists Jiang had promised democracy and political rights to all Chinese. Yet his government became steadily less democratic and more corrupt. It launched programs to modernize and develop the cities. However, Jiang did nothing to improve the life of China's rural peasants. As a result, many peasants threw their support to the Chinese Communist Party. To enlist the support of the peasants, Mao divided land that the Communists won among the local farmers.

Communist leader Mao Zedong had survived Jiang's bloody rampage by fleeing to the countryside. He had already begun to develop his own brand of communism. Lenin had shown that a Marxist revolution could take place in a largely rural country, but he had based his organization in Russia's cities. Mao envisioned a different setting. He believed he could bring revolution to a rural country where the peasants could be the true revolutionaries. He argued his point passionately in 1927:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The force of the peasantry is like that of the raging winds and driving rain. It is rapidly increasing in violence. No force can stand in its way. The peasantry will tear apart all nets which bind it and hasten along the road to liberation. They will bury beneath them all forces of imperialism, militarism, corrupt officialdom, village bosses and evil gentry.

MAO ZEDONG, quoted in *A History of World Societies*

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Contrasting How did Mao's vision of revolution differ from Lenin's?

Civil War Rages in China

By 1930, Nationalists and Communists were fighting a bloody civil war. Mao and other Communist leaders established themselves in the hills of south-central China. Mao referred to this tactic of taking his revolution to the countryside as "swimming in the peasant sea." He recruited the peasants to join his Red Army. He then trained them in guerrilla warfare. Nationalists attacked the Communists repeatedly but failed to drive them out.

The Long March In 1933, Jiang gathered an army of at least 700,000 men. Jiang's army then surrounded the Communists' mountain stronghold. Outnumbered nearly six to one,

Along with the Red Army, Mao (riding on horseback) and his wife He Zizhan (wearing a round hat) made the grueling Long March to safety in western China.





GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- 1. Movement** What was the course of the Long March, in terms of direction, beginning in Riujan and ending near Yan'an?
- 2. Region** What geographic barriers did Mao's forces face during the Long March?

Communist Party leaders realized that they faced defeat. In 1934, the Communist forces fled. They began a hazardous, 6,000-mile-long journey called the **Long March**. Over the next year, the Communists kept only a step ahead of Jiang's forces.

Mao's Red Army crossed many rivers and climbed over mountain ranges. They fought several major battles and faced minor skirmishes almost every day. They also crossed miles of swampland. They had to sleep sitting up, leaning back-to-back in pairs, to keep from sinking into the mud and drowning.

The chase lasted more than a year. About 100,000 people began the march. From 10,000 to 30,000 reached safety in northwestern China, beyond the reach of Jiang's forces.

Mao and the other Communist survivors settled in caves in northwestern China. Despite the discouraging turn of events, they quickly gained new followers. Meanwhile, as civil war between Nationalists and Communists raged, Japan invaded China.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Recognizing Effects What were the results of the Long March?

Japan's Invasion Suspends the Civil War In 1931, as Chinese fought Chinese, the Japanese watched the power struggles with rising interest. Japanese forces took advantage of China's weakening situation. They invaded Manchuria, an industrialized province in the northeast part of China. This attack signaled the onset of World War II in Asia.

In 1937, the Japanese launched an all-out invasion of China. Massive bombings of villages and cities killed thousands of Chinese. The destruction of farms caused many more to die of starvation. By 1938, Japan held control of a large part of China.

The Japanese threat forced an uneasy truce between Jiang's and Mao's forces. The civil war gradually ground to a halt as Nationalists and Communists temporarily united to fight the Japanese. Jiang further agreed to promote changes outlined in Sun Yixian's "Three Principles of the People"—nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. As you will learn in Section 4, similar principles were also serving as a guiding force in India and Southwest Asia.

Background

The truce between Communists and Nationalists lasted throughout World War II.

Section 3 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Kuomintang
- Sun Yixian
- Mao Zedong
- May Fourth Movement
- Long March

2. TAKING NOTES

Make a chart like the one below to compare and contrast Jiang Jieshi and Mao Zedong.

	Jiang	Mao
Party		
Key Supporters		
Reforms		
Military Actions		

3. RECOGNIZING EFFECTS

What influence did foreign nations have on China from 1912 to 1938? Support your answer with details from the text.

THINK ABOUT

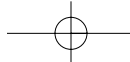
- the outcome of the Treaty of Versailles
- the role of the Soviet Union
- the temporary truce during the Chinese civil war

4. ANALYZING THEMES

Revolution What caused the Communist revolutionary movement in China to gain strength?

THINK ABOUT

- Jiang's government and policies
- the Soviet Union's influence
- the conditions of rural peasants
- Mao's role and achievements



4

Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

TERMS & NAMES

- Mohandas K. Gandhi
- civil disobedience
- Mustafa Kemal

MAIN IDEA

Nationalism triggered independence movements to overthrow colonial power.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

These independent nations—India, Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia—are key players on the world stage today.

SETTING THE STAGE The end of World War I stirred nationalist activity in India, Turkey, and some Southwest Asian countries. The British Empire, which controlled India, began to show signs of cracking.

Indian Nationalism Grows

Indian nationalism had been growing since the mid-1800s. Many upper-class Indians who attended British schools learned European views of nationalism and democracy. They began to apply these political ideas to their own country. Well-educated Indians began to resent the two centuries of British rule.

Two groups formed to rid India of foreign rule: the Indian National Congress, or Congress Party, in 1885, and the Muslim League in 1906. Though deep divisions existed between Hindus and Muslims, they found common ground. They shared the heritage of British rule and an understanding of democratic ideals. These two groups both worked toward the goal of national independence.

World War I Heightens Nationalist Activity Until World War I, the vast majority of Indians had little interest in nationalism. The situation changed as over a million Indians enlisted in the British army. In return for their service, the British government promised reforms that would eventually lead to self-government. Indian leaders bided their time. They expected to make gains once the war was over.

Later in the war, Indian demands led to the declaration in Parliament favoring the “increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions.” To many Indians, these political reforms signaled that Indians would gain a greater voice in government and ultimately achieve their goal of self-rule.

In 1918, Indian troops returned home from the war. They expected Britain to fulfill its promise. Instead, they found themselves once again treated as second-class citizens. Radical nationalists carried out acts of violence to show their hatred of British rule. To curb dissent, in 1919 the British passed the Rowlatt Act. This law allowed the government to jail protesters without trial for as long as two years. To Western-educated Indians, denial of a trial by jury violated their individual rights. Violent protests against the act flared in the Punjab, the Indian province with the greatest number of World War I veterans.

Background

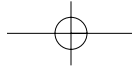
Unlike Europeans, Asians, including Indians, viewed World War I as a civil war among the feuding nations of Europe.

Vocabulary

dissent: difference of opinion.

This Indian soldier fought for the British in World War I.





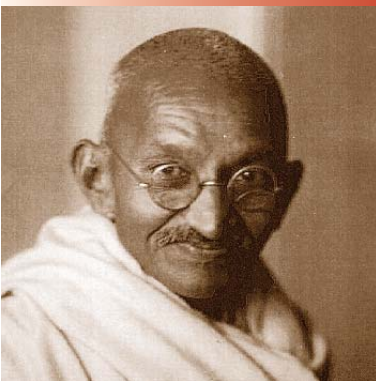
Amritsar Massacre To protest the Rowlatt Act, around 10,000 Hindus and Muslims flocked to Amritsar, the capital city of the Punjab, in the spring of 1919. At a huge festival, they intended to fast and pray and to listen to political speeches. A small group of nationalists were also on the scene. The demonstration, especially the alliance of Hindus and Muslims, alarmed the British.

Most people at the gathering were unaware that the British government had banned public meetings. However, General Reginald Dyer, the British commander at Amritsar, believed they were openly defying the ban. He ordered his troops to fire on the crowd without warning. The shooting lasted ten minutes. British troops killed nearly 400 Indians and wounded about 1,200.

News of the slaughter sparked an explosion of anger across India. Almost overnight, millions of Indians changed from loyal British subjects into revolutionaries and nationalists. These Indians demanded independence.

Background The Punjab is located in northwest India.

HISTORY MAKERS



Mohandas K. Gandhi
1869–1948

From 1893 to 1914, Gandhi worked as a lawyer in South Africa, where he fought racial prejudice against Indians. Shortly after his arrival, Gandhi bought a first-class ticket and boarded a train. A white conductor ordered Gandhi to move to the third-class coach, reserved for Indians. But Gandhi refused. The conductor forced Gandhi off the train at the next station.

To honor Gandhi's act of resistance, South African president Nelson Mandela recognized him with a special freedom award in April 1997. Mandela declared,

Today we are righting a century-old wrong. This station, once one of the world's most notorious symbols of discrimination, intolerance, and oppression, today proclaims a message of dignity restored. . . . Gandhi's magnificent example of personal sacrifice and dedication in the face of oppression was one of his many legacies to our country and the world.

Gandhi's Principles of Nonviolence

The massacre at Amritsar set the stage for **Mohandas K. Gandhi** (GAHN-dee) to emerge as the leader of the independence movement. He began to form his social and political ideas during the mid-1880s before he attended law school in England. Gandhi's new strategy for battling injustice evolved from his deeply religious approach to political activity. His teachings blended ideas from all of the major world religions, including Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. The Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore described him as "this great soul in a beggar's garb." Gandhi attracted millions of followers. Soon they were calling him the Mahatma (muh-HAHT·muh), meaning "Great Soul."

When the British failed to punish the officers responsible for the killings at the Amritsar massacre, Gandhi urged the Indian National Congress to follow a policy of noncooperation with the British government:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

This is in essence the principle of nonviolent noncooperation. It follows therefore that it must have its root in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while noncooperating with him, we must make him feel that in us he has a friend and we should try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service wherever possible.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, quoted in *Gandhi the Man*

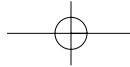
Civil Disobedience Gandhi developed the principle of satyagraha (SUH-tyah-grah-ha), or "truth-force." In English, satyagraha is called passive resistance or **civil disobedience**—the deliberate and public refusal to obey an unjust law. Gandhi wrote, "Complete civil disobedience is a rebellion without the element of violence . . . One *perfect* civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right and Wrong." In 1920, under Gandhi's influence, the Congress Party endorsed civil disobedience and nonviolence as the means to achieve independence.

Gandhi launched his campaign of civil disobedience to weaken the British government's authority and economic power. He called on Indians to refuse to do the following: buy British goods, attend government schools, pay British taxes, and vote in elections. Gandhi staged a successful boycott of British cloth, a source of wealth for the

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Recognizing Effects What changes resulted from the Amritsar massacre?

Vocabulary
boycott: a refusal to buy.



Background

The spinning wheel is the symbol on the Indian flag.

British. He urged all Indians to weave their own cloth. Gandhi himself devoted two hours each day to spinning his own yarn on a simple handwheel. He wore only homespun cloth and encouraged Indians to follow his example. As a result of the boycott, the sale of British cloth in India dropped sharply.

Throughout 1920, the British arrested thousands of Indians who had participated in strikes and demonstrations. Gandhi's weapon of civil disobedience took an economic toll on the British. They struggled to keep trains running, factories operating, and overcrowded jails from bursting. Despite Gandhi's pleas for nonviolence, protests often led to riots. In 1922, rioters attacked a police station and set several officers on fire.

The Slow March to Independence In 1930, Gandhi organized a demonstration to defy the hated Salt Acts. According to these British laws, Indians could buy salt from no other source but the government. They also had to pay sales tax on salt. To show their opposition, Gandhi and his followers walked about 240 miles to the seacoast.

There they began to make their own salt by collecting seawater and letting it evaporate. This peaceful protest was called the Salt March.

Soon afterward, some demonstrators planned a march to a site where the British government processed salt. They intended to shut this saltworks down. Police officers with steel-tipped clubs attacked the demonstrators. An American journalist was an eyewitness to the event. He described the "sickening whacks of clubs on unprotected skulls" and people "writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders." Still the people continued to march peacefully, refusing to defend themselves against their attackers. Newspapers across the globe carried the journalist's story, which won worldwide support for Gandhi's independence movement.

More demonstrations took place throughout India. Eventually, about 60,000 people, including Gandhi, were arrested.

Great Britain Grants India Self-Rule

Gandhi and his followers gradually reaped the rewards of their civil disobedience campaigns and gained greater political power for the Indian people. In 1935, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act. It provided local self-government and limited democratic elections.

With this act, India began moving toward full independence from Great Britain. However, the Government of India Act also fueled mounting tensions between Muslims and Hindus. These two groups had conflicting visions of India's future as an independent nation. Indian Muslims, outnumbered by Hindus, feared that Hindus would control India if it won independence. In Chapter 34, you will read about the outcome of India's bid for independence.

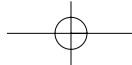
Gandhi (standing in the center with his head bowed) led Indians in the Salt March. The demonstrators protested the British government's control of salt sales.



THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Making

Inferences How did the Salt March represent Gandhi's methods for change?



HISTORYMAKERS



Mustafa Kemal
1881-1938

As president of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal campaigned vigorously to mold the new republic into a modern nation. His models were the United States and other European countries.

To reach this goal, Kemal even set rules for clothing:

A civilized, international dress is worthy and appropriate for our new nation, and we will wear it. Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirt and tie, jacket and waistcoat—and, of course, to complete these, a . . . hat.

Kemal required government workers to wear Western-style business suits and banned the fez, a brimless red felt hat that was part of traditional Turkish clothing.

Kemal died in 1938. From his leadership, Turkey gained a new sense of its national identity. His influence was so strong that the Turkish people gave him the name Ataturk—"father of the Turks."

Nationalism Spreads to Southwest Asia

Just as the people of India fought to have their own nation after World War I, the people of Southwest Asia also launched independence movements during this time. Each group in Southwest Asia chose a different path toward nation building.

The breakup of the Ottoman Empire and growing Western interest in Southwest Asia spurred the rise of nationalism in this region.

Turkey Becomes a Republic By the end of World War I, Turkey was all that remained of the Ottoman Empire. It included the old Turkish homeland of Anatolia and a small strip of land around Istanbul.

In 1919, Greek soldiers dealt a death blow to the Ottoman Empire. They invaded Turkey and threatened to conquer it. The Turkish sultan, weak and corrupt, was powerless to stop them. In 1922, a brilliant commander, **Mustafa Kemal** (keh-MAHL), led Turkish nationalists in overthrowing the last Ottoman sultan. A young woman who played a major role in the revolution described her strong nationalistic feelings: "I suddenly ceased to exist as an individual. I worked, wrote and lived as a unit of that magnificent national madness."

In 1923, Kemal became the president of the new Republic of Turkey, the first republic in Southwest Asia. He ushered in many sweeping reforms to achieve his goal of transforming Turkey into a modern nation. Kemal separated the laws of Islam from the laws of the nation. He abolished religious courts and created a new legal system based on European law. Under Kemal, women gained more freedom. He granted women the right to vote and to hold public office. Kemal also launched government-funded programs to industrialize Turkey and to spur economic growth.

Persia Becomes Iran Before World War I, both Great Britain and Russia had established spheres of influence in the ancient country of Persia. After the war, when Russia was still reeling from the Bolshevik Revolution, the British tried to take over all of Persia. This maneuver triggered a nationalist revolt in Persia. In 1921, a Persian army officer seized power. In 1925 he deposed the ruling shah.

Persia's new leader, Reza Shah Pahlavi (PAL-uh-vee), like Kemal in Turkey, set out to modernize his country. He established public schools, built roads and railroads, promoted industrial growth, and extended women's rights. Unlike Kemal, Reza Shah kept all power in his own hands. In 1935, he changed the name of his country from Persia to Iran.

Saudi Arabia Keeps Islamic Traditions While Turkey broke with many Islamic traditions, another new country held strictly to Islamic law. In 1902, Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud (sah-OOD), a member of a once-powerful Arabian family, began a successful campaign to unify Arabia. In 1932, he renamed the new kingdom Saudi Arabia after his family.

Ibn Saud carried on Arab and Islamic traditions. Loyalty to the Saudi government was based on custom, religion, and family ties. Alcoholic drinks were illegal. Like Kemal and Reza Shah, Ibn Saud brought some modern technology, such as telephones and radios, to his country. However, modernization in Saudi Arabia was limited to religiously acceptable areas.

Oil Resources Spur Economic Development While nationalism steadily emerged as a major force in Southwest Asia, the region's economy was also taking a new direction. The rising demand for petroleum products in industrialized countries brought

Background

The Ottoman Empire had ruled in Southwest Asia for about 500 years.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Comparing How were Kemal's leadership and Reza Shah's leadership similar?



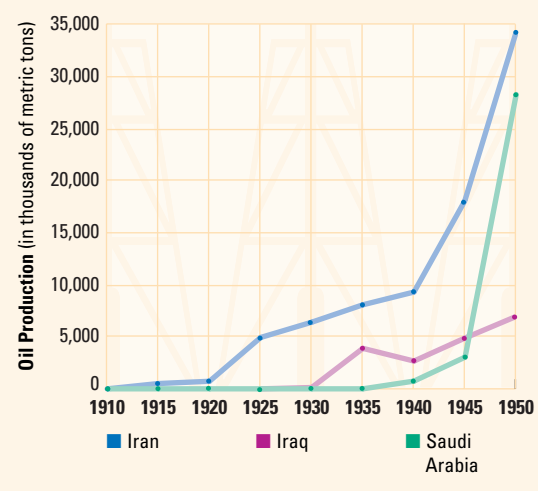
Southwest Asia and Northeast Africa, 1922–1934



Persia was renamed Iran in 1935. Oil was discovered in the early 1900s and continues to be Iran's most important natural resource.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was established in 1932. Oil was discovered near the coastline of the Persian Gulf in 1938. Saudi Arabia's oil industry was not developed until after 1941.

Oil Exports



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Location** Along what geographical feature are most of the oil-producing regions located?
- Region** Based on the graph and map, what country was the leading producer of oil by 1938? Why?

new oil explorations to Southwest Asia. During the 1920s and 1930s, European and American companies discovered huge oil deposits in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Foreign businesses invested huge sums of money to develop these oil fields. Geologists later learned that the land around the Persian Gulf has nearly two-thirds of the world's known supply of oil.

This important resource led to rapid and dramatic economic changes and development. Saudi Arabia, for example, would soon become a nation of wealthy oil exporters. Yet oil proved to be a mixed blessing for Southwest Asia. Though oil brought huge profits, it also encouraged Western nations to try to dominate this region. Meanwhile, Western nations were about to face a more immediate crisis as power-hungry leaders seized control in Italy and Germany.

Section 4 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

- Identify*
- Mohandas K. Gandhi
 - civil disobedience
 - Mustafa Kemal

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a web diagram like the one below. Show the different forms of nationalism that developed in the Asian countries shown.



In which of these countries did World War I trigger nationalist movements?

3. HYPOTHESIZING

What do you think a nation might gain and lose by modernizing?

- THINK ABOUT**
- what positive changes occurred in Turkey and Iran
 - why modernization was limited in Saudi Arabia
 - why Kemal set rules for clothing
 - why Gandhi wore only homespun cloth

4. THEME ACTIVITY

Science and Technology
Work in small groups to research products and consumer goods made from petroleum. Create an illustrated list of items that were in great demand in industrialized countries during the 1930s.



Chapter 30 Assessment

TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the importance of each of the following in Russia, China, or India.

1. Bolsheviks
2. V. I. Lenin
3. soviet
4. Joseph Stalin
5. totalitarianism
6. Great Purge
7. Mao Zedong
8. Long March
9. Mohandas K. Gandhi
10. civil disobedience

Interact *with* History

On page 768, you played the role of a citizen whose country was brimming with revolutionary activity. You evaluated two tactics for change—violence and nonviolence. Now that you have read the chapter, how would you assess the pros and cons of Mao's and Gandhi's strategies? What role did violence play in the Russian and Chinese revolutions? How successful were Gandhi's nonviolent methods in India? Discuss your opinions in a small group.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

SECTION 1 (pages 769–774)

Revolutions in Russia

11. How did Rasputin gain political influence over the Romanov family and Russian political affairs?
12. How did World War I lead to the downfall of Czar Nicholas II?
13. Explain the causes of Russia's civil war and its outcome.

SECTION 2 (pages 775–780)

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Totalitarianism

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

14. What are the key traits of totalitarianism?
15. How did Stalin's Five-Year Plans differ from Lenin's New Economic Policy?
16. What individual freedoms are denied in a totalitarian state?

SECTION 3 (pages 781–784)

Collapse of Chinese Imperial Rule

17. Briefly describe the May Fourth Movement and its supporters.
18. How did the Japanese react to the civil war in China?

SECTION 4 (pages 785–789)

Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

19. Give examples of Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience against the British government.
20. What steps did Kemal take to modernize Turkey?

Visual Summary

Revolutionary Leaders: 1900–1939



	Lenin	Stalin	Sun Yixian	Mao Zedong	Gandhi	Kemal
Country	Russia	Russia	China	China	India	Turkey
Political Career	late 1890s–1924	early 1900s–1953	late 1890s–1925	early 1900s–1976	late 1800s–1948	early 1900s–1938
Key Role	Bolshevik revolutionary and first ruler of Communist Russia	Dictator	First president of the new Republic of China	Leader of the Chinese Communist Party	Leader of the Indian independence movement	First president of the new Republic of Turkey
Popular Name	"Father of the Revolution"	"Man of Steel"	"Father of Modern China"	"The Great Helmsman"	"Great Soul"	"Father of the Turks"
Goal	To promote a worldwide Communist revolution led by workers	To perfect a Communist state in Russia through totalitarian rule	To establish a modern government based on nationalism, democracy, and economic security	To stage a Communist revolution in China led by peasants	To achieve Indian self-rule through campaigns of civil disobedience	To transform Turkey into a modern nation



CRITICAL THINKING

1. THE SHIFTING ROLES OF WOMEN

Compare and contrast how women's roles changed under Stalin in Russia and Kemal in Turkey.

2. THE SOVIET ECONOMY UNDER STALIN

THEME ECONOMICS Cite evidence that Stalin might have used to disprove this claim: Economic systems that allow private ownership and encourage competition are the most productive.

3. MASSACRES IN RUSSIA AND ASIA

Copy the following chart on your paper to analyze the similarities among the events shown. Fill in the chart and write a paragraph that compares the events.

	Description	Political Outcome
Bloody Sunday (Russia, 1905)		
Amritsar Massacre (India, 1919)		
Shanghai Massacre (China, 1927)		

4. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

The following quotation from Mohandas K. Gandhi, written in 1922, describes his views of industrialization in India. Read the passage and answer the questions below it.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

India does not need to be industrialized in the modern sense of the term. It has 7,500,000 villages scattered over a vast area 1,900 miles long, 1,500 broad. The people are rooted to the soil, and the vast majority are living a hand-to-mouth existence. . . . Agriculture does not need revolutionary changes. The Indian peasant requires a supplementary industry. The most natural is the introduction of the spinning wheel.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, *Letter to Sir Daniel Hamilton*

- What picture does Gandhi present of India and its people?
- Gandhi believed that the spinning wheel would make Indians less dependent on the British economy. Based on what you have learned in this chapter, what was the economic impact of the widespread use of the spinning wheel?

CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

1. LIVING HISTORY: Unit Portfolio Project

THEME SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY Your unit portfolio project focuses on showing the impact of science and technology during the early 1900s. For Chapter 30, you might use one of these ideas.

- After reading more about the Trans-Siberian Railway, create a travel poster for a tourist agency that features interesting facts about the train and its routes.
- Write a science fiction story about a totalitarian state that uses modern technology to spread propaganda and control people. Refer to the section on Stalinist Russia for ideas.
- Draw diagrams that show the technology and methods used to drill oil in Southwest Asia during the 1920s and 1930s. Use encyclopedias or books to research the topic.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY: Cooperative Learning

THEME REVOLUTION You read about the various causes that led to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Work with a team to create a mythical country that is on the brink of revolution today. Write a profile of the conditions in that country that are triggering widespread social unrest.



Use the Internet and other books to find out about more recent revolutions that have occurred in countries around the world. Look for common patterns that countries in political turmoil share. Use the following questions to help you brainstorm ideas for writing a profile of your mythical country.

- What type of government is currently in power?
- Who are the top political leaders, and what are they like?
- What grievances do the citizens have against the government?
- What is the gap between the rich and the poor?
- What revolutionary groups are forming? What are their goals and strategies?

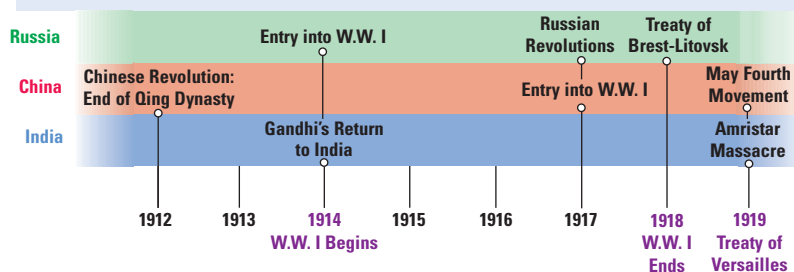
FOCUS ON TIME LINES

The time line below highlights key events discussed in this chapter that fall roughly within the time span of World War I. As you study the time line, note the relationships among events that occurred in Russia, China, and India.

- What two events occurred in 1917?

Connect to History

- Explain the role that the end of World War I played in the following two events: the May Fourth Movement in China and the Amritsar Massacre in India. Support your answer with information from the text.
- How did the Russian Revolutions of 1917 trigger the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?



Additional Test Practice,
pp. S1–S33



TEST PRACTICE
CLASSZONE.COM