

Revolution and Nationalism, 1900–1939

Previewing Main Ideas

REVOLUTION Widespread social unrest troubled China and Russia during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Eventually revolutions erupted.

Geography Study the time line. In what years did revolutions take place in China and in Russia?

POWER AND AUTHORITY New nations appeared during the 1920s and 1930s in the former Ottoman Empire in Southwest Asia. These nations adopted a variety of government styles—from a republic to a monarchy.

Geography According to the map, which new nations in Southwest Asia emerged from the former Ottoman Empire?

EMPIRE BUILDING Nationalist movements in Southwest Asia, India, and China successfully challenged the British, Ottoman, and Chinese Empires.

Geography According to the map, which European nations still control large areas of Southwest Asia?

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

eEdition

- Interactive Maps
- Interactive Visuals
- Interactive Primary Sources



INTERNET RESOURCES

Go to classzone.com for:

- Research Links
- Internet Activities
- Primary Sources
- Chapter Quiz
- Maps
- Test Practice
- Current Events

EUROPE
AND ASIA

WORLD

1900

1905

Russian workers protest for better conditions.



1911

Chinese Nationalists oust the last Qing emperor. (Emperor P'u-i)

1917

Russian Bolsheviks rebel in October Revolution.

1910

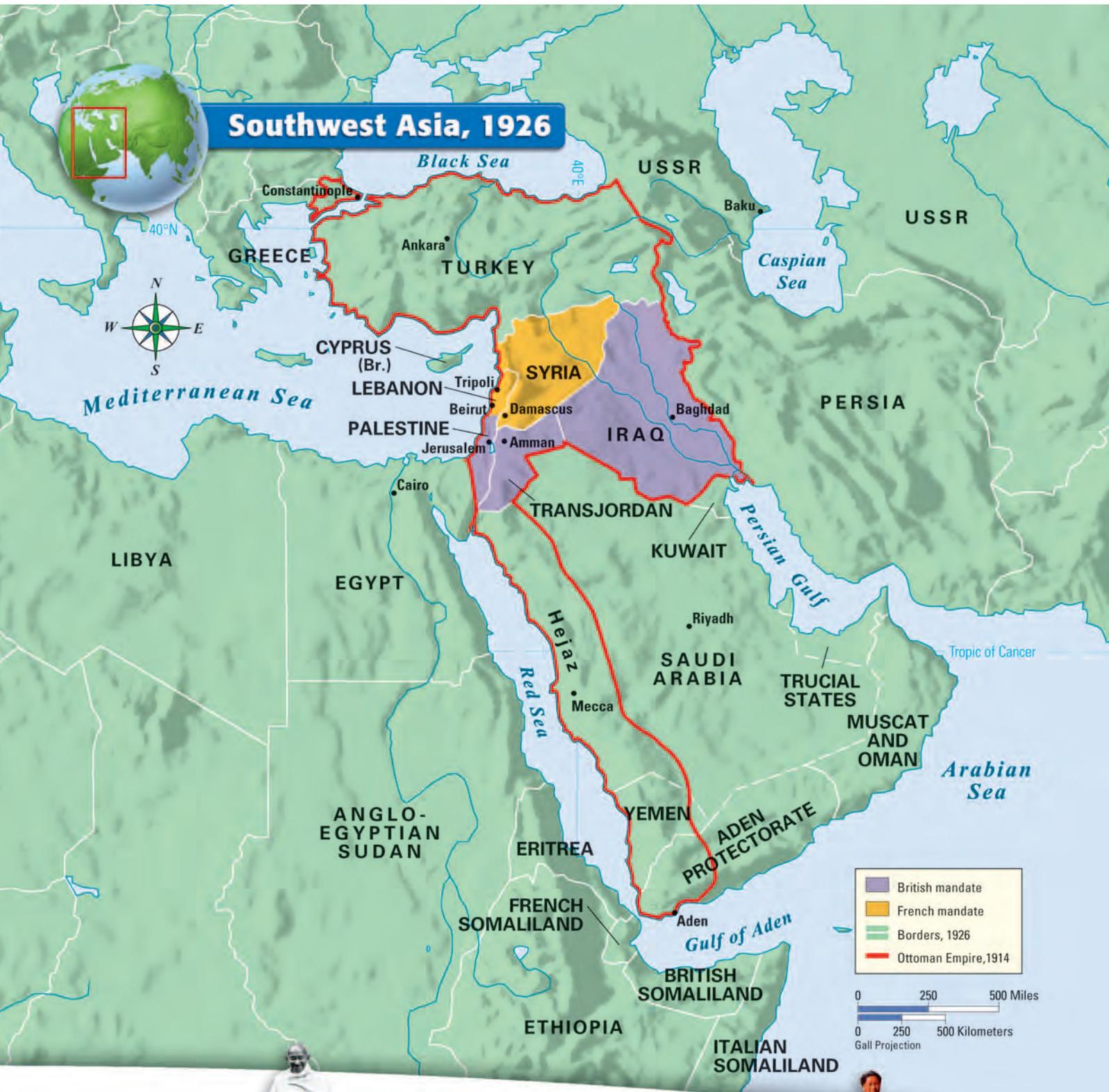


1910

Mexican Revolution begins.

1914–1918

World War I



1920
Gandhi leads Indian campaign of civil disobedience.



1923
Mustafa Kemal transforms Turkey into a republic.

1929
Stalin becomes dictator of Soviet Union.

1934
Mao Zedong heads Long March.



1920

1930

1940

1922
Mussolini comes to power in Italy.

1929
U.S. stock market crashes.

1933
Hitler is named chancellor of Germany.



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

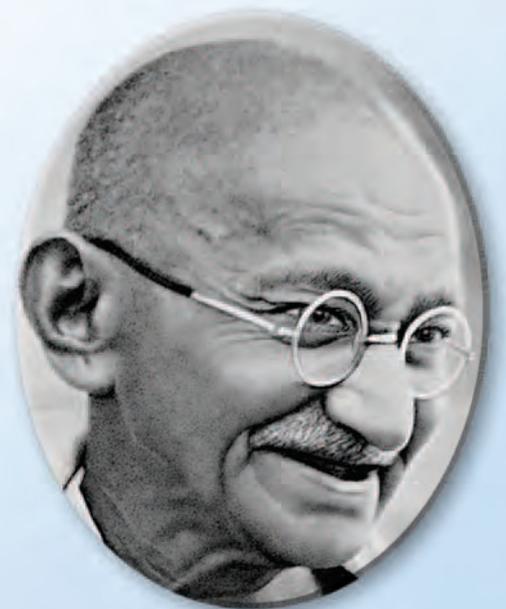
You believe that the policies of your government are unjust and oppressive. The policies favor a small, wealthy class—but the vast majority of people are poor with few rights. The government has failed to tackle economic, social, and political problems. Many of your friends are joining revolutionary groups that plan to overthrow the government by force. Others support nonviolent methods of change, such as peaceful strikes, protests, and refusal to obey unjust laws. You wonder which course of action to choose.

▼ **Mao Zedong**, Communist leader, believed revolution would solve China's problems.



"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

▼ **Mohandas K. Gandhi** became the leader of the independence movement to free India of British rule.



"Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary."

EXAMINING *the* ISSUES

- **How might armed and powerful opponents respond to groups committed to nonviolent action?**
- **Which strategy might 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 use to accomplish change. As you read about the revolutions and independence movements, see which strategy was successful.



1

Revolutions in Russia

MAIN IDEA

REVOLUTION Long-term social unrest in Russia exploded in revolution, and ushered in the first Communist government.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

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

TERMS & NAMES

- proletariat
- Bolsheviks
- Lenin
- Rasputin
- provisional government
- soviet
- Communist Party
- Joseph Stalin

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. Army officers revolted in 1825. Secret revolutionary groups plotted to overthrow the government. In 1881, revolutionaries angry over the slow pace of political change assassinated the reform-minded czar, Alexander II. Russia was heading toward a full-scale revolution.

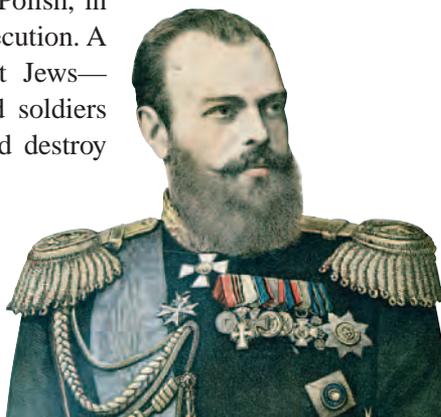
Czars Resist Change

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

Czars Continue Autocratic Rule 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 sent to Siberia, a remote region of eastern 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. 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.

When Nicholas II became czar in 1894, he continued the tradition of Russian autocracy. Unfortunately, it blinded him to the changing conditions of his times.



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

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.3.6 Analyze the emergence of capitalism as a dominant economic pattern and the responses to it, including Utopianism, Social Democracy, Socialism, and Communism.

10.5.3 Explain how the Russian Revolution and the entry of the United States affected the course and outcome of the war.

10.6.3 Understand the widespread disillusionment with prewar institutions, authorities, and values that resulted in a void that was later filled by totalitarians.

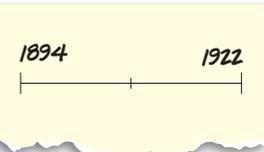
10.7.1 Understand the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution, including Lenin's use of totalitarian means to seize and maintain control (e.g., the Gulag).

10.7.2 Trace Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union and the connection between economic policies, political policies, the absence of a free press, and systematic violations of human rights (e.g., the Terror Famine in Ukraine).

10.7.3 Analyze the rise, aggression, and human costs of totalitarian regimes (Fascist and Communist) in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, noting especially their common and dissimilar traits.

TAKING NOTES

Following Chronological Order Create a time line to show major events in the changing of Russian government.



Russia Industrializes

Rapid industrialization changed the face of the Russian economy. The number of factories more than doubled between 1863 and 1900. Still, Russia lagged behind the industrial nations of western Europe. In the 1890s, Nicholas's most capable minister launched a program to move the country forward. To finance the buildup of Russian industries, the government sought foreign investors and raised taxes. These steps 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.

With the help of British and French investors, work began on the world's longest continuous rail line—the Trans-Siberian Railway. Begun in 1891, the railway was not completed until 1916. It connected European Russia in the west with Russian ports on the Pacific Ocean in the east.

The Revolutionary Movement Grows Rapid industrialization stirred discontent among the people of Russia. The growth of factories brought new problems, such as grueling working conditions, miserably low wages, and child labor. The government outlawed trade unions. To try to improve their lives, workers unhappy with their low standard of living and lack of political power organized strikes. **A**

As a result of all of these factors, several revolutionary movements began to grow and compete for power. A group that followed the views of Karl Marx successfully established a following in Russia. The Marxist revolutionaries believed that the industrial class of workers would overthrow the czar. These workers would then form “a dictatorship of the proletariat.” This meant that the **proletariat**—the workers—would rule the country.

In 1903, Russian Marxists split into two groups over revolutionary tactics. The more moderate Mensheviks (MEHN•shuh•vihks) wanted a broad base of popular support for the revolution. The more radical **Bolsheviks** (BOHL•shuh•vihks) supported a small number of committed revolutionaries willing to sacrifice everything for 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. From there 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 competed for control of Korea and Manchuria. The two nations signed a series of agreements over the territories,

Vocabulary

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

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

A Why did industrialization in Russia lead to unrest?

History Makers



V. I. Lenin
1870–1924

In 1887, when he was 17, Lenin's 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, he already harbored ill feelings against the government. By the early 1900s, he planned to overthrow the czar. After the revolution in 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 today, though, favor moving Lenin's corpse away from public view.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH LINKS For more on V. I. Lenin, go to classzone.com

but Russia broke them. Japan retaliated by attacking the Russians at Port Arthur, Manchuria, in February 1904. News of repeated Russian losses sparked unrest at home and led to a revolt in the midst of the war.

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's generals ordered soldiers to fire on the crowd. More than 1,000 were wounded and several hundred were killed. Russians quickly named the event "Bloody Sunday."

Bloody Sunday provoked a wave of strikes and violence that spread across the country. In October 1905, Nicholas 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. But because he was hesitant to share his power, the czar dissolved the Duma after ten weeks.

World War I: The Final Blow In 1914, Nicholas II made the fateful decision to drag Russia into World War I. Russia was unprepared to handle the military and economic costs. Its weak generals and poorly equipped troops were no match for the German army. German machine guns mowed down advancing Russians by the thousands. Defeat followed defeat. Before a year had passed, more than 4 million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. 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 fell under the influence of the mysterious **Rasputin** (ras•PYOO•tihh). A self-described "holy man," he claimed to have magical healing powers.

Nicholas and Alexandra's son, Alexis, 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. In 1916, a group of nobles murdered Rasputin. They feared his increasing role in government affairs.

Meanwhile, on the war front Russian soldiers mutinied, deserted, or ignored orders. On the home front, 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. In the next five days, riots flared up over shortages of bread and fuel. Nearly 200,000 workers swarmed the streets shouting, "Down with the autocracy!" and "Down with the war!" At first the soldiers obeyed orders to shoot the rioters but later sided with them.



▲ Soldiers fired on unarmed workers demonstrating at the czar's Winter Palace on "Bloody Sunday."

Vocabulary

constitutional

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

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 three-century czarist rule of the Romanovs 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. Alexander Kerensky headed it. His decision to continue fighting in World War I 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. Socialist revolutionaries, competing for power, formed soviets. **Soviets** were local councils consisting of workers, peasants, and soldiers. In many cities, the soviets had more influence than the provisional government. **B**

Lenin Returns to Russia The Germans believed that Lenin and his Bolshevik supporters would stir unrest in Russia and hurt the Russian war effort against Germany. They arranged Lenin's return to Russia after many years of exile. Traveling in a sealed railway boxcar, Lenin reached Petrograd in April 1917.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

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

The Bolshevik Revolution

Lenin and the Bolsheviks 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"—gained widespread appeal. Lenin decided to take action.

The Provisional Government Topples In November 1917, without warning, armed factory workers stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd. Calling themselves



the Bolshevik Red Guards, they took over government offices and arrested the leaders of the provisional government. Kerensky and his colleagues disappeared almost as quickly as the czarist regime they had replaced.

Bolsheviks in Power 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 and began peace talks.

In March 1918, Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Russia surrendered a large part 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 and to the murder of the royal family.

Civil War Rages in Russia The Bolsheviks now faced a new challenge—stamp- ing out their enemies at home. Their opponents formed the White Army. The White Army was made up of very different groups. There were those groups who sup- ported the return to rule by the czar, others who wanted democratic government, and even socialists who opposed Lenin’s style of socialism. Only the desire to defeat the Bolsheviks united the White Army. The groups barely cooperated with each other. At one point there were three White Armies fighting against the Bolsheviks’ Red Army.

The revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, expertly commanded the Bolshevik Red Army. From 1918 to 1920, civil war raged in Russia. Several Western nations, in- cluding the United States, sent military aid and forces to Russia to help the White Army. However, they were of little help.



▲ Red Army forces were victorious in the two-year civil war against the White Army.

Causes and Effects of Two Russian Revolutions, 1917



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

- Analyzing Causes** What role did World War I play in the two revolutions?
- Recognizing Effects** Why were the effects of the March Revolution also causes of the Bolshevik Revolution?

Russia's civil war proved far more deadly than the earlier revolutions. Around 14 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 crushed all opposition. The victory showed that the Bolsheviks were able both to seize power and to maintain it. **C**

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

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

Comparing World 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 became a constitutional monarchy for a time, but the Russian Revolution established a state-controlled society that lasted for decades.

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 turned to reviving the economy and restructuring the government.

New Economic Policy In March 1921, Lenin temporarily put aside his plan for a state-controlled economy. Instead, he resorted to a small-scale version of capitalism called the New Economic Policy (NEP). The reforms under the NEP allowed peasants to sell their surplus crops instead of turning them over to the government. 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. The government also encouraged foreign investment.

> Analyzing Key Concepts

Communism

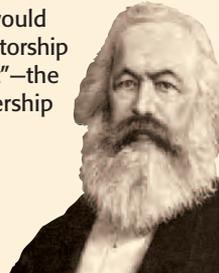
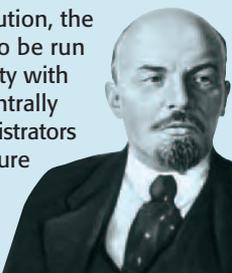
Communism is a political and economic system of organization. In theory, property is owned by the community and all citizens share in the common wealth according to their need. In practice, this was difficult to achieve.

German philosopher Karl Marx saw communism as the end result of an essential historical process. Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin built on Marx's theories and sought ways of applying those theories. Ultimately, however, Lenin's communist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)—became a one-party, totalitarian system. This chart compares how Marx and Lenin viewed communism.

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

Comparing and Contrasting How did Lenin's ideas about communism differ from those of Marx?

Evolution of Communist Thought

Marx	Lenin
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History was the story of class struggle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History was the story of class struggle.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The struggle Marx saw was between capitalists and the proletariat, or the workers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The struggle Lenin saw was capitalists against the proletariat and the peasants.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proletariat's numbers would become so great and their condition so poor that a spontaneous revolution would occur. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proletariat and the peasants were not capable of leading a revolution and needed the guidance of professional revolutionaries.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The revolution would end with a "dictatorship of the proletariat"—the communal ownership of wealth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After the revolution, the state needed to be run by a single party with disciplined, centrally directed administrators in order to ensure its goals. 

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

Political Reforms Bolshevik leaders 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. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

D How did the Communist government prevent nationalism from threatening the new state created by the revolution?

The Bolsheviks renamed their party the **Communist Party**. The name came from the writings of Karl Marx. He 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.

Stalin Becomes Dictator

Lenin suffered a stroke in 1922. He survived, but the incident set in motion competition for heading up the Communist Party. Two of the most notable men were Leon Trotsky and **Joseph Stalin**. Stalin was cold, hard, and impersonal. During his early days as a Bolshevik, he changed his name to Stalin, which means "man of steel" in Russian. The name fit well.

Stalin began his ruthless climb to the head of the government between 1922 and 1927. In 1922, as general secretary of the Communist Party, he worked behind the scenes to move his supporters into positions of power. Lenin believed that Stalin was a dangerous man. Shortly before he died in 1924, Lenin 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." 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.

SECTION

1

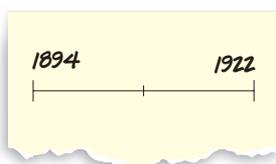
ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES 1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- proletariat
- Bolsheviks
- Lenin
- Rasputin
- provisional government
- soviet
- Communist Party
- Joseph Stalin

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Which event on your time line caused the deaths of 14 million Russians? (10.7.2)



MAIN IDEAS

3. How did World War I help to bring about the Russian Revolution? (10.7.3)
4. What groups made up the Red Army and the White Army? (10.7.1)
5. Why did the Bolsheviks rename their party the Communist Party? (10.3.6)

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **DRAWING CONCLUSIONS** How did the czar's autocratic policies toward the people lead to social unrest? (10.6.3)
7. **EVALUATING DECISIONS** What do you think were Czar Nicholas II's worst errors in judgment during his rule? (10.6.3)
8. **FORMING OPINIONS** Which of the events during the last phase of czarist rule do you think was most responsible for the fall of the czar? (10.6.3)
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **REVOLUTION** Write a paragraph **analysis** of Lenin's leadership in the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. (Writing 2.3.a)

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY INTERNET ACTIVITY

Use the Internet to visit Lenin's Tomb in Red Square in Moscow. Write an **evaluation** of the Web site. (Writing 2.3.c)

INTERNET KEYWORD

Lenin's mausoleum



Totalitarianism

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

MAIN IDEA

POWER AND AUTHORITY 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.

TERMS & NAMES

- totalitarianism
- Five-Year Plan
- Great Purge
- collective farm
- command economy

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.6.3 Understand the widespread disillusionment with prewar institutions, authorities, and values that resulted in a void that was later filled by totalitarians.

10.7.1 Understand the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution, including Lenin's use of totalitarian means to seize and maintain control (e.g., the Gulag).

10.7.2 Trace Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union and the connection between economic policies, political policies, the absence of a free press, and systematic violations of human rights (e.g., the Terror Famine in Ukraine).

10.7.3 Analyze the rise, aggression, and human costs of totalitarian regimes (Fascist and Communist) in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, noting especially their common and dissimilar traits.

10.8.4 Describe the political, diplomatic, and military leaders during the war (e.g., Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Emperor Hirohito, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, Douglas MacArthur, Dwight Eisenhower).

TAKING NOTES

Categorizing Create a chart listing examples of methods of control used in the Soviet Union.

Methods of control	Example
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

SETTING THE STAGE Stalin, Lenin's successor, dramatically transformed the government of the Soviet Union. Stalin was determined that the Soviet Union should find its place both politically and economically among the most powerful of nations in the world. Using tactics designed to rid himself of opposition, Stalin worked to establish total control of all aspects of life in the Soviet Union. He controlled not only the government, but also the economy and many aspects of citizens' private lives.

A Government of Total Control

The term **totalitarianism** describes a government that takes total, centralized, state control over every aspect of public and private life. Totalitarian leaders appear to provide a sense of security and to give a direction for the future. In the 20th century, the widespread use of mass communication made it possible to reach into all aspects of citizens' lives.

A dynamic leader who can build support for his policies and justify his actions heads most totalitarian governments. Often the leader utilizes secret police to crush opposition and create a sense of fear among the people. No one is exempt from suspicion or accusations that he or she is an enemy of the state.

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.

To dominate an entire nation, totalitarian leaders devised methods of control and persuasion. These included the use of terror, indoctrination, propaganda, censorship, and religious or ethnic persecution.

Police Terror Dictators of totalitarian states use terror and violence to force obedience and to crush opposition. Normally, the police are expected to respond to criminal activity and protect the citizens. In a totalitarian state, the police serve to enforce the central government's policies. They may do this by spying on the citizens or by intimidating them. Sometimes they use brutal force and even murder to achieve their goals.

Indoctrination Totalitarian states rely on indoctrination—instruction in the government's beliefs—to mold people's minds. Control of education is absolutely essential to glorify the leader and his policies and to convince all citizens that their

> Analyzing Key Concepts

Totalitarianism

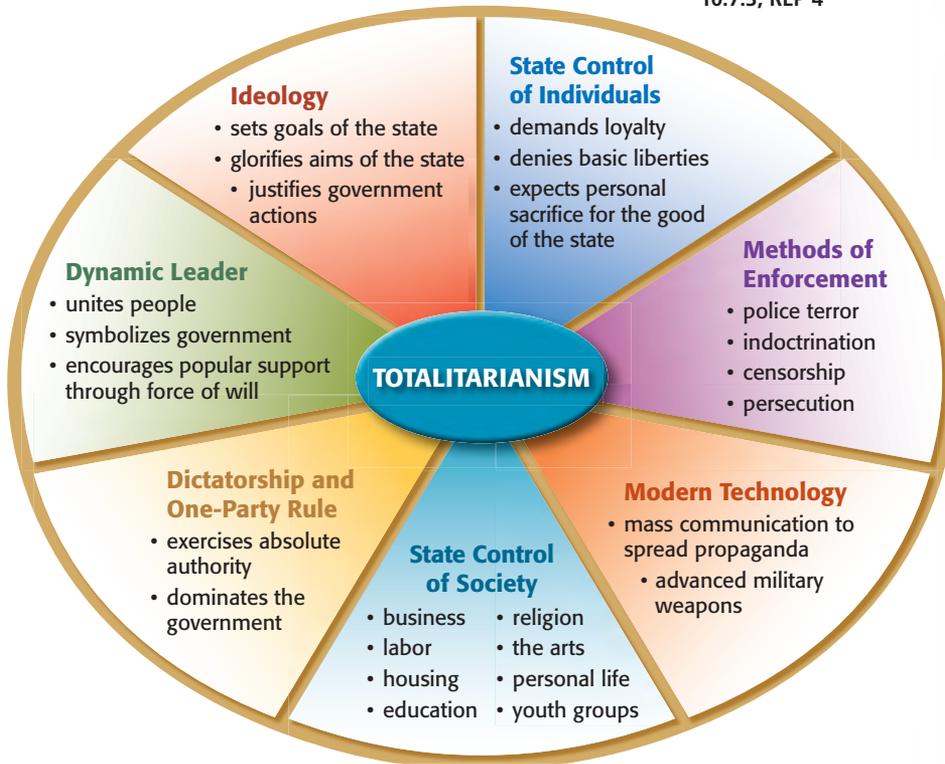
Totalitarianism is a form of government in which the national government takes control of all aspects of both public and private life. Thus, totalitarianism seeks to erase the line between government and society. It has an ideology, or set of beliefs, that all citizens are expected to approve. It is often led by a dynamic leader and a single political party.

Mass communication technology helps a totalitarian government spread its aims and support its policies. Also, surveillance technology makes it possible to keep track of the activities of many people. Finally, violence, such as police terror, discourages those who disagree with the goals of the government.

Key Traits of Totalitarianism

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.7.3, REP 4



Fear of Totalitarianism

George Orwell illustrated the horrors of a totalitarian government in his novel, *1984*. The novel depicts a world in which personal freedom and privacy have vanished. It is a world made possible through modern technology. Even citizens' homes have television cameras that constantly survey their behavior.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH LINKS For more on totalitarianism, go to classzone.com

> DATA FILE

Totalitarian leaders in the 20th century

- Adolf Hitler (Germany) 1933–1945
- Benito Mussolini (Italy) 1925–1943
- Joseph Stalin (Soviet Union) 1929–1953
- Kim IL Sung (North Korea) 1948–1994
- Saddam Hussein (Iraq) 1979–2003

State Terror

- The two most infamous examples of state terror in the 20th century were in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.
- An estimated 12.5–20 million people were killed in Nazi Germany.
- An estimated 8–20 million people were killed in Stalinist Russia.

Totalitarianism Today

- There are many authoritarian regimes in the world, but there are very few actual totalitarian governments. In 2000, one monitoring agency identified five totalitarian regimes—Afghanistan, Cuba, North Korea, Laos, and Vietnam.

Connect to Today

1. Synthesizing How does a totalitarian state attempt to make citizens obey its rules?



See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R21.

2. Hypothesizing How would your life change if you lived in a totalitarian state?



▲ Members of a Russian youth group called Young Communists line up for a parade. Notice the picture of Stalin in the background.

unconditional loyalty and support are required. Indoctrination begins with very young children, is encouraged by youth groups, and is strongly enforced by schools.

Propaganda and Censorship Totalitarian states spread propaganda, biased or incomplete information used to sway people to accept certain beliefs or actions. Control of all mass media allows this to happen. No publication, film, art, or music is allowed to exist without the permission of the state. Citizens are surrounded with false information that appears to be true. Suggesting that the information is incorrect is considered an act of treason and severely punished. Individuals who dissent must retract their work or they are imprisoned or killed.

Religious or Ethnic Persecution Totalitarian leaders often create “enemies of the state” to blame for things that go wrong. Frequently these enemies are members of religious or ethnic groups. Often these groups are easily identified and are subjected to campaigns of terror and violence. They may be forced to live in certain areas or are subjected to rules that apply only to them. **A**

tarian leaders often create “enemies of the state” to blame for things that go wrong. Frequently these enemies are members of religious or ethnic groups. Often these groups are easily identified and are subjected to campaigns of terror and violence. They may be forced to live in certain areas or are subjected to rules that apply only to them. **A**

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

Stalin Builds a Totalitarian State

Stalin aimed to create a perfect Communist state in Russia. To realize his vision, Stalin planned to transform the Soviet Union into a totalitarian state. He began building his totalitarian state by destroying his enemies—real and imagined.

Police State Stalin built a police state to maintain his power. 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. Every family came to fear the knock on the door in the early morning hours, which usually meant the arrest of a family member. The secret police arrested and executed millions of so-called traitors.

In 1934, Stalin turned against members of the Communist Party. In 1937, he launched the **Great Purge**, a campaign of terror directed at eliminating anyone who threatened his power. Thousands of old Bolsheviks who helped stage the Revolution in 1917 stood trial. They were executed or sent to labor camps for “crimes against the Soviet state.” When the Great Purge ended in 1938, Stalin had gained total control of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. Historians estimate that during this time he was responsible for 8 million to 13 million deaths. **B**

Russian Propaganda and Censorship Stalin’s government controlled all newspapers, motion pictures, radio, and other sources of information. Many Soviet writers, composers, and other artists also fell victim to official censorship. Stalin would not tolerate individual creativity that did not conform to the views of the state. Soviet newspapers and radio broadcasts glorified the achievements of communism, Stalin, and his economic programs.

Under Stalin, the arts also were used for propaganda. In 1930, an editorial in the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* explained the purpose of art: “Literature, the

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating Courses of Action

A Of the weapons of totalitarianism, which allows the most long-term control?

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

B How would the actions of the Great Purge increase Stalin’s power?

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.”

Education and Indoctrination 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. 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.

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.

Achieving the perfect Communist state came at a tremendous cost to Soviet citizens. Stalin’s total control of society eliminated personal rights and freedoms in favor of the power of the state.

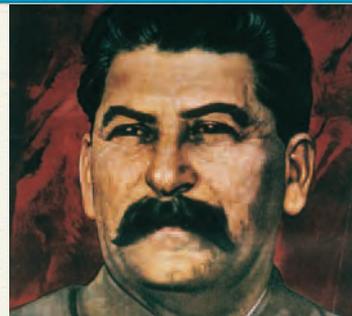
Stalin Seizes Control of the Economy

As Stalin began to gain complete control of society, he was setting plans in motion to overhaul the economy. He announced, “We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years.” In 1928 Stalin’s 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.

An Industrial Revolution Stalin outlined the first of several **Five-Year Plans** for the development of the Soviet Union’s economy. 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.

Stalin’s tough methods produced impressive economic results. Although most of the targets of the first Five-Year Plan fell short, the Soviets made substantial gains. (See the graphs on page 444 for coal and steel production.) A second plan, launched in 1933, proved equally successful. From 1928 to 1937, industrial production of steel increased more than 25 percent.

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.

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.”

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

INTERNET ACTIVITY Create a Web page on Joseph Stalin. Include pictures and a time line of his rule in the USSR. Go to classzone.com for your research.

Vocabulary

atheists: people who do not think there is a god

An Agricultural 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, called collectives, 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. Resistance was especially strong among kulaks, a class of wealthy peasants. The Soviet government decided to eliminate them.

Peasants actively fought the government’s attempt to take their land. Many killed livestock and destroyed crops in protest. Soviet secret police herded peasants 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. By 1938, more than 90 percent of all peasants lived on collective farms. As you see in the charts below, agricultural production was on the upswing. That year the country produced almost twice the wheat than it had in 1928 before collective farming. **C**

In areas where farming was more difficult, the government set up state farms. These state farms operated like factories. The workers received wages instead of a share of the profits. These farms were much larger than collectives and mostly produced wheat.

MAIN IDEA

Clarifying

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

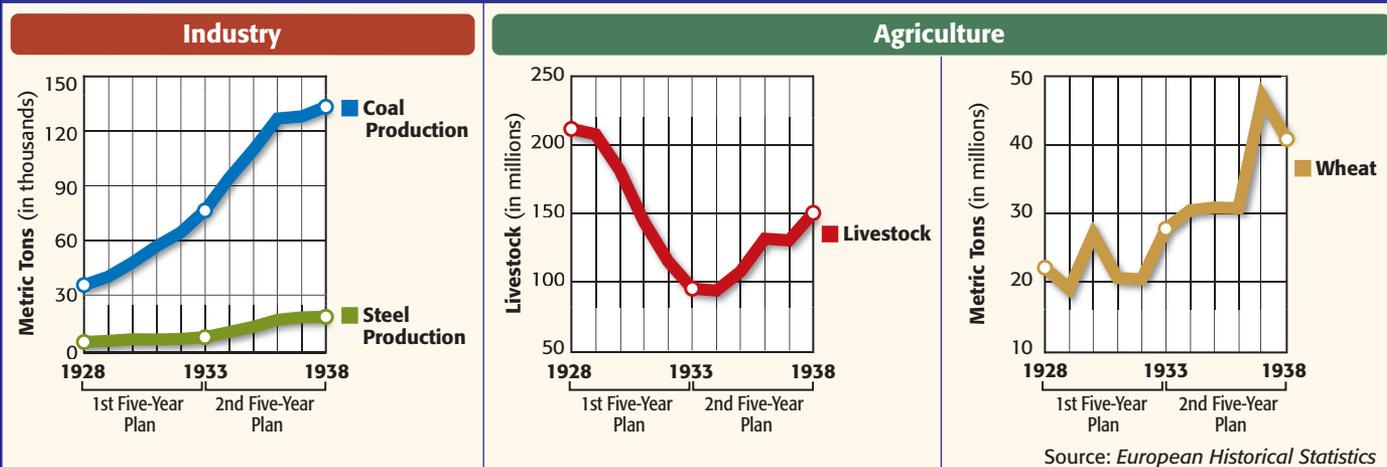
Daily Life Under Stalin

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, came at great cost. Soviet citizens found their personal freedoms limited, consumer goods in short supply, and dissent prohibited.

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.”

Women Gain Rights The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 declared men and women equal. Laws were passed to grant women equal rights. After Stalin became dictator, women helped the state-controlled economy prosper. Under his Five-Year

The Buildup of the Soviet Economy, 1928–1938



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Graphs

- 1. Clarifying** How many more metric tons of coal were produced in 1938 than in 1928?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** What do the graphs show about the contrast between the progress of industry and agriculture production under Stalin’s first Five-Year Plan?

Plans, they had no choice but to join the labor force. The state provided child care for all working mothers. Some young women performed the same jobs as men. Millions of women worked in factories and in construction. However, men continued to hold the best jobs.

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.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

D How did daily life under Stalin's rule change the lives of women in the Soviet Union?

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

Total Control Achieved

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. Stalin would not tolerate individual creativity. He saw it as a threat to the conformity and obedience required of citizens in a totalitarian state. He ushered in a period of total social control and rule by terror, rather than constitutional government.

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.

Social History



Ukrainian Kulaks

The kulaks in Ukraine (shown above) fiercely resisted collectivization. They murdered officials, torched the property of the collectives, and burned their own crops and grain in protest.

Recognizing the threat kulaks posed to his policies, Stalin declared that they should "liquidate kulaks as a class." The state took control of kulak land and equipment, and confiscated stores of food and grain. More than 3 million Ukrainians were shot, exiled, or imprisoned. Some 6 million people died in the government-engineered famine that resulted from the destruction of crops and animals. By 1935, the kulaks had been eliminated.

SECTION

2

ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES 1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- totalitarianism
- Great Purge
- command economy
- Five-Year Plans
- collective farm

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Which of the methods of control do you think was most influential in maintaining Stalin's power? Why? (10.7.1)

Methods of control	Example
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

MAIN IDEAS

3. What are the key traits of a totalitarian state? (10.7.3)
4. What are some ways totalitarian rulers keep their power? (10.7.3)
5. How did the Soviet economy change under the direction of Stalin? (10.7.2)

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **CONTRASTING** How do totalitarian states and constitutional governments differ? (10.7.3)
7. **SUMMARIZING** Summarize Joseph Stalin's rise to power and how his control expanded. (10.8.4)
8. **EVALUATING COURSES OF ACTION** Were the Five-Year plans the best way to move the Soviet economy forward? Explain. (10.7.2)
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **POWER AND AUTHORITY** As an industrial worker, a female doctor, a Russian Orthodox priest, or a Communist Party member, write a **journal entry** about your life under Stalin. (Writing 2.1.c)

CONNECT TO TODAY **Graphing Russia's Economy**

Research Russia's industrial and agricultural production in the last 10 years. Create a series of **graphs** similar to those found on page 444. (Writing 2.3.d)

Propaganda

You have read how a totalitarian government can use propaganda to support its goals. These pages show three examples of visual propaganda from the Soviet Union—low-cost posters, traditional painting, and altered photographs.

Posters were mass produced and placed in very visible areas. They were constant reminders of Communist policy and guides for proper thought. Artists were required to paint scenes that supported and glorified the Communist Party. Even photographs were altered if they contained individuals who had fallen out of favor with the party leadership.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.7.3 Analyze the rise, aggression, and human costs of totalitarian regimes (Fascist and Communist) in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, noting especially their common and dissimilar traits.

CST 1 Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH LINKS For more on propaganda, go to classzone.com



Woman Worker Poster ▲

A translation of this poster says, "What the October Revolution has given to working and peasant women." The woman is pointing to buildings such as a library, a worker's club, and a school for adults.



◀ Factory Poster

"Help build the gigantic factories!" This poster advertises a state loan for the building of large factories. Developing heavy industry was an important goal in the early days of the Soviet Union.

▼ Painting

In this painting the central figure, Communist leader Joseph Stalin, is greeted enthusiastically. The expressions of the diverse and happy crowd imply not only that Stalin has broad support, but that he is worshiped as well.



▼ Altered Photographs

Stalin attempted to enhance his legacy and erase his rivals from history by extensively altering photographs as this series shows.



1 The original photograph was taken in 1926 and showed, from left to right, Nikolai Antipov, Stalin, Sergei Kirov, and Nikolai Shvernik.

2 This altered image appeared in a 1949 biography of Stalin. Why Shvernik was removed is unclear—he was head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party until Stalin’s death in 1954. Antipov, however, was arrested during Stalin’s purge and executed in 1941.

3 This heroic oil painting by Isaak Brodsky is based on the original photograph, but only Stalin is left. Kirov was assassinated in 1934 by a student, but the official investigation report has never been released. Stalin did fear Kirov’s popularity and considered him a threat to his leadership.



Connect to Today

1. Forming and Supporting Opinions
Of the examples on this page, which do you think would have been most effective as propaganda? Why?

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R20.

2. Comparing and Contrasting What are the similarities and differences between propaganda and modern advertising campaigns? Support your answer with examples.



3

Imperial China Collapses

MAIN IDEA

REVOLUTION 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.

TERMS & NAMES

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

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.6.1 Analyze the aims and negotiating roles of world leaders, the terms and influence of the Treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, and the causes and effects of the United States’s rejection of the League of Nations on world politics.

10.8.1 Compare the German, Italian, and Japanese drives for empire in the 1930s, including the 1937 Rape of Nanking, other atrocities in China, and the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939.

10.9.4 Analyze the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Mao Tse-tung, and the subsequent political and economic upheavals in China (e.g., the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Tiananmen Square uprising).

TAKING NOTES

Comparing and Contrasting Make a chart to compare and contrast the actions of Jiang Jieshi and Mao Zedong in controlling China.

Jiang	Mao
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

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 its 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 was **Sun Yixian** (soon yee•shyahn). In 1911, the 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. 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 military support to secure national unity.

Sun turned over the presidency to a powerful general, Yuan Shikai, who quickly betrayed the democratic ideals of the revolution. His actions sparked local revolts. After the general died in 1916, civil war broke out. Real authority fell into the hands of provincial warlords or powerful military leaders. They ruled territories as large as their armies could conquer.



► Sun Yixian led the overthrow of the last Chinese emperor.

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

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. The demonstrations spread to other cities and exploded into a national movement. It was called the **May Fourth Movement**. Workers, 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 belief in Western democracy in favor of Lenin's brand of Soviet communism. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

A What problems did the new Republic of China face?

The Communist Party in China

In 1921, a group met in Shanghai to organize the Chinese Communist Party. **Mao Zedong** (MOW dzuh•dahng), an assistant librarian at Beijing University, was among its founders. Later he would become China's greatest revolutionary leader.

Mao Zedong had already begun to develop his own brand of communism. Lenin had based his Marxist revolution on his organization in Russia's cities. Mao envisioned a different setting. He believed he could bring revolution to a rural country

Connect to Today

Tiananmen Square

In Tiananmen Square, the Gate of Heavenly Peace was the site of many political activities during the 20th century. Early in the century, May 4, 1919, thousands of students gathered there to protest the terms of the Versailles Treaty. (upper right). The May Fourth Movement was born that day. The movement marks the beginning of Chinese nationalism.

Seventy years later, in 1989, students once again gathered at the square to demand political reforms. Shortly after the anniversary of the May 4 event, thousands—and perhaps a million people—gathered at the square. On June 3, 1989, the Chinese army was ordered to clear the square of all protesters. Thousands were killed or injured.



Image not available for use on this CD-ROM. Please refer to the image in the textbook.

where the peasants could be the true revolutionaries. He argued his point passionately in 1927:

PRIMARY SOURCE **B**

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 *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Primary Sources

B What forces does Mao identify as those that the peasants will overcome?

Lenin Befriends China While the Chinese 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. He hoped to unite all the revolutionary groups for common action.

Lenin seized the opportunity to help China's Nationalist government. In 1923, he sent military advisers and equipment to the Nationalists in return for allowing the Chinese Communists to join the Kuomintang.

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

Jiang had promised democracy and political rights to all Chinese. Yet his government became steadily less democratic and more corrupt. Most peasants believed that Jiang was doing little to improve their lives. 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.

Nationalists and Communists Clash 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.

In 1928, Jiang became president of the Nationalist Republic of China. Great Britain and the United States both formally recognized the new government. Because of the slaughter of Communists at Shanghai, the Soviet Union 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.

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.

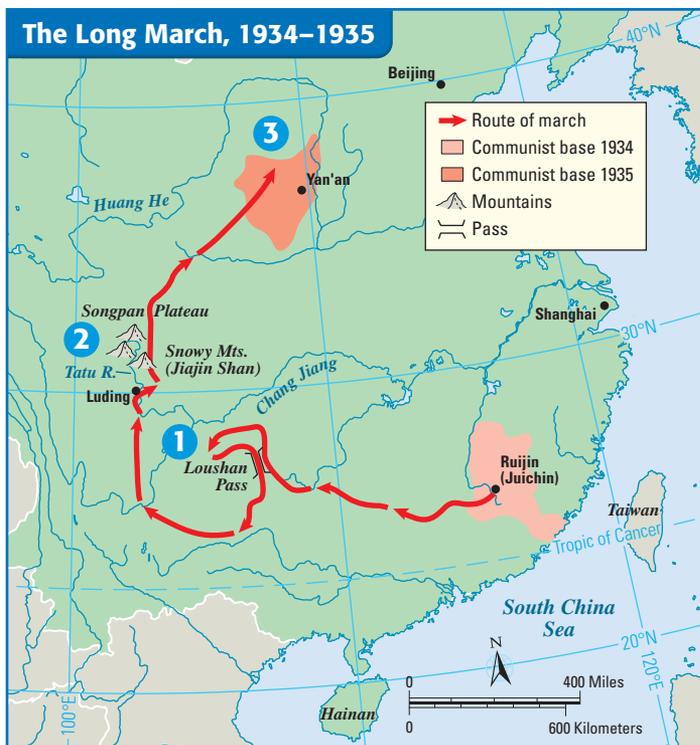
The Long March In 1933, Jiang gathered an army of at least 700,000 men. Jiang's army then surrounded the Communists' mountain stronghold. Outnumbered, the



▲ Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalist forces united China under one government in 1928.

The Long March

The Long March of the Chinese Communists from the south of China to the caves of Shaanxi [shahn•shee] in the north is a remarkable story. The march covered 6,000 miles, about the distance from New York to San Francisco and back again. They crossed miles of swampland. They slept sitting up, leaning back-to-back in pairs, to keep from sinking into the mud and drowning. In total, the Communists crossed 18 mountain ranges and 24 rivers in their yearlong flight from the Nationalist forces.



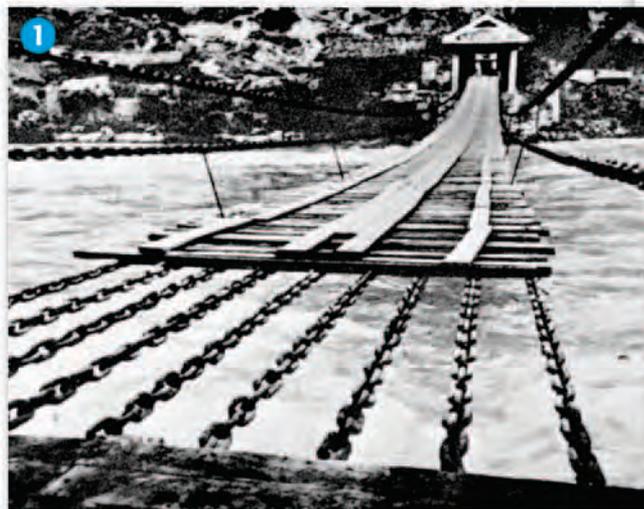
GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- 1. Movement** What was the course of the Long March, in terms of direction, beginning in Ruijin and ending near Yan'an?
- 2. Movement** Why didn't Mao's forces move west or south?

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.9.4, CST 3

▼ In one of the more daring and difficult acts of the march, the Red Army crossed a bridge of iron chains whose planks had been removed.



▼ The Red Army had to cross the Snowy Mountains, some of the highest in the world. Every man carried enough food and fuel to last for ten days. They marched six to seven hours a day.



◀ After finally arriving at the caves in Shaanxi, Mao declared, "If we can survive all this, we can survive everything. This is but the first stage of our Long March. The final stage leads to Peking [Beijing]!"





▲ A Japanese landing party approaches the Chinese mainland. The invasion forced Mao and Jiang to join forces to fight the Japanese.

Communist Party leaders realized that they faced defeat. In a daring move, 100,000 Communist forces fled. They began a hazardous, 6,000-mile-long journey called the **Long March**. Between 1934 and 1935, the Communists kept only a step ahead of Jiang’s forces. Thousands died from hunger, cold, exposure, and battle wounds.

Finally, after a little more than a year, Mao and the seven or eight thousand Communist survivors settled in caves in northwestern China. There they gained new followers. Meanwhile, as civil war

between Nationalists and Communists raged, Japan invaded China. **C**

Civil War Suspended 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.

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. The National Assembly 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.

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

C What were the results of the Long March?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES 1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Kuomintang • Sun Yixian • May Fourth Movement • Mao Zedong • Jiang Jieshi • Long March

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Whose reforms had a greater appeal to the peasants? Why? (10.9.4)

Jiang	Mao
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

MAIN IDEAS

- How did the Treaty of Versailles trigger the May Fourth Movement? (10.6.1)
- How was Mao’s vision of communism different from that of Lenin? (10.9.4)
- What started the civil war in China? (10.9.4)

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

- RECOGNIZING EFFECTS** What influence did foreign nations have on China from 1912 to 1938? (10.6.1)
- ANALYZING CAUSES** What caused the Communist revolutionary movement in China to gain strength? (10.9.4)
- HYPOTHESIZING** If the Long March had failed, do you think the Nationalist party would have been successful in uniting the Chinese? Why or why not? (10.9.4)
- WRITING ACTIVITY** **REVOLUTION** Write a series of **interview questions** you would pose to Sun Yixian, Mao Zedong, and Jiang Jieshi. (Writing 2.5.b)

CONNECT TO TODAY **REPORTING ON CURRENT EVENTS**

Research the selection of the newest Communist Party leader of China. Write a brief **report** identifying that person and explaining how this new leader got into office. (Writing 2.1.a)



4

Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

MAIN IDEA

EMPIRE BUILDING Nationalism triggered independence movements to overthrow colonial powers.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

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

TERMS & NAMES

- Rowlatt Acts
- Amritsar Massacre
- Mohandas K. Gandhi
- civil disobedience
- Salt March
- Mustafa Kemal

SETTING THE STAGE As you learned in Chapter 13, the end of World War I broke up the Ottoman Empire. The British Empire, which controlled India, began to show signs of cracking. The weakening of these empires stirred nationalist activity in India, Turkey, and some Southwest Asian countries. 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.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

10.4.4 Describe the independence struggles of the colonized regions of the world, including the roles of leaders, such as Sun Yat-sen in China, and the roles of ideology and religion.

REP 3 Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors' use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

Indian Nationalism Grows

Two groups formed to rid India of foreign rule: the primarily Hindu 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 independence from the British.

World War I Increases 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.

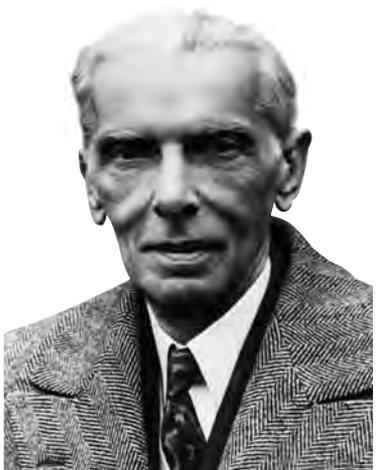
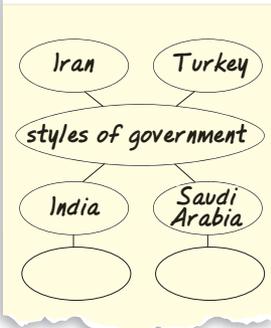
In 1918, Indian troops returned home from the war. They expected Britain to fulfill its promise. Instead, they were once again treated as second-class citizens. Radical nationalists carried out acts of violence to show their hatred of British rule. To curb dissent, in 1919 the British passed the **Rowlatt Acts**. These laws 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.

Amritsar Massacre To protest the Rowlatt Acts, around 10,000 Hindus and Muslims flocked to Amritsar, a major city in the Punjab, in the spring of 1919. At a huge festival in an enclosed square, they intended to fast and pray and to listen to political

TAKING NOTES

Categorizing Create a web diagram identifying the styles of government adopted by nations in this section.



◀ Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League of India, fought for Indian independence from Great Britain.

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, 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 continued for ten minutes. Unable to escape from the enclosed courtyard, nearly 400 Indians died and about 1,200 were wounded.

News of the slaughter, called the **Amritsar Massacre**, sparked an explosion of anger across India. Almost overnight, millions of Indians changed from loyal British subjects into nationalists. These Indians demanded independence. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

A What changes resulted from the Amritsar massacre?

Gandhi's Tactics of Nonviolence

The massacre at Amritsar set the stage for **Mohandas K. Gandhi** (GAHN•dee) to emerge as the leader of the independence movement. Gandhi's 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. Gandhi attracted millions of followers. Soon they began calling him the Mahatma (muh•HAHT•muh), meaning "great soul."

Noncooperation When the British failed to punish the officers responsible for the Amritsar massacre, Gandhi urged the Indian National Congress to follow a policy of noncooperation with the British government. In 1920, the Congress Party endorsed **civil disobedience**, the deliberate and public refusal to obey an unjust law, and nonviolence as the means to achieve independence. Gandhi then launched his campaign

> Analyzing Primary Sources

Satyagraha

A central element of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence was called *satyagraha*, often translated as "soul-force" or "truth-force."

PRIMARY SOURCE

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me: I do not like it, if, by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

GANDHI Chapter XVII, *Hind Swaraj*

Nonviolence

In *The Origin of Nonviolence*, Gandhi offered a warning to those who were contemplating joining the struggle for independence.

PRIMARY SOURCE

[I]t is not at all impossible that we might have to endure every hardship that we can imagine, and wisdom lies in pledging ourselves on the understanding that we shall have to suffer all that and worse. If some one asks me when and how the struggle may end, I may say that if the entire community manfully stands the test, the end will be near. If many of us fall back under storm and stress, the struggle will be prolonged. But I can boldly declare, and with certainty, that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can only be one end to the struggle, and that is victory.

GANDHI *The Origin of Nonviolence*

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

- 1. Comparing** How is soul-force different from body-force?
- 2. Making Inferences** What do Gandhi's writings suggest about his view of suffering? Give examples from each document.

of civil disobedience to weaken the British government's authority and economic power over India.

Boycotts Gandhi called on Indians to refuse to buy British goods, attend government schools, pay British taxes, or vote in elections. Gandhi staged a successful boycott of British cloth, a source of wealth for the 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.

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. Throughout 1920, the British arrested thousands of Indians who had participated in strikes and demonstrations. But despite Gandhi's pleas for nonviolence, protests often led to riots.

The Salt March 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 against the salt tax took place throughout India. Eventually, about 60,000 people, including Gandhi, were arrested. **B**

Britain Grants Limited 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, but not total independence.

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 18, you will read about the outcome of India's bid for independence.



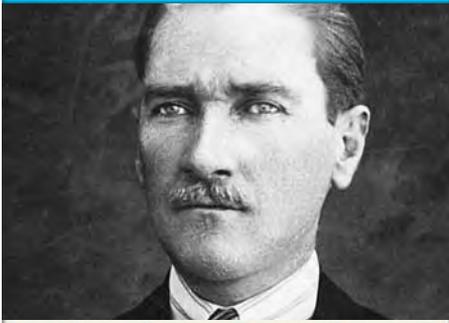
▲ Gandhi adopted the spinning wheel as a symbol of Indian resistance to British rule. The wheel was featured on the Indian National Congress flag, a forerunner of India's national flag.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

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

History Makers



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.

Kemal believed that even the clothing of the Turks should be changed to reflect a civilized, international dress. To reach this goal, Kemal set rules for clothing. He 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.

Nationalism in Southwest Asia

The breakup of the Ottoman Empire and growing Western political and economic interest in Southwest Asia spurred the rise of nationalism in this region. 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 to rid themselves of imperial rulers.

Turkey Becomes a Republic At the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was forced to give up all its territories except Turkey. Turkish lands included the old Turkish homeland of Anatolia and a small strip of land around Istanbul.

In 1919, Greek soldiers invaded Turkey and threatened to conquer it. The Turkish sultan was powerless to stop the Greeks. However, in 1922, a brilliant commander, **Mustafa Kemal** (keh•MAHL), successfully led Turkish nationalists in fighting back the Greeks and their British backers. After winning a peace, the nationalists overthrew the last Ottoman sultan.

In 1923, Kemal became the president of the new Republic of Turkey, the first republic in Southwest Asia. To achieve his goal of transforming Turkey into a modern nation, he ushered in these sweeping reforms:

- separated the laws of Islam from the laws of the nation
- abolished religious courts and created a new legal system based on European law
- granted women the right to vote and to hold public office
- launched government-funded programs to industrialize Turkey and to spur economic growth

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."

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 Pahlavi kept all power in his own hands. In 1935, he changed the name of the country from the Greek name Persia to the traditional name Iran. **C**

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. Like Kemal and Reza Shah, Ibn Saud brought some modern technology, such as telephones and radios, to his

MAIN IDEA

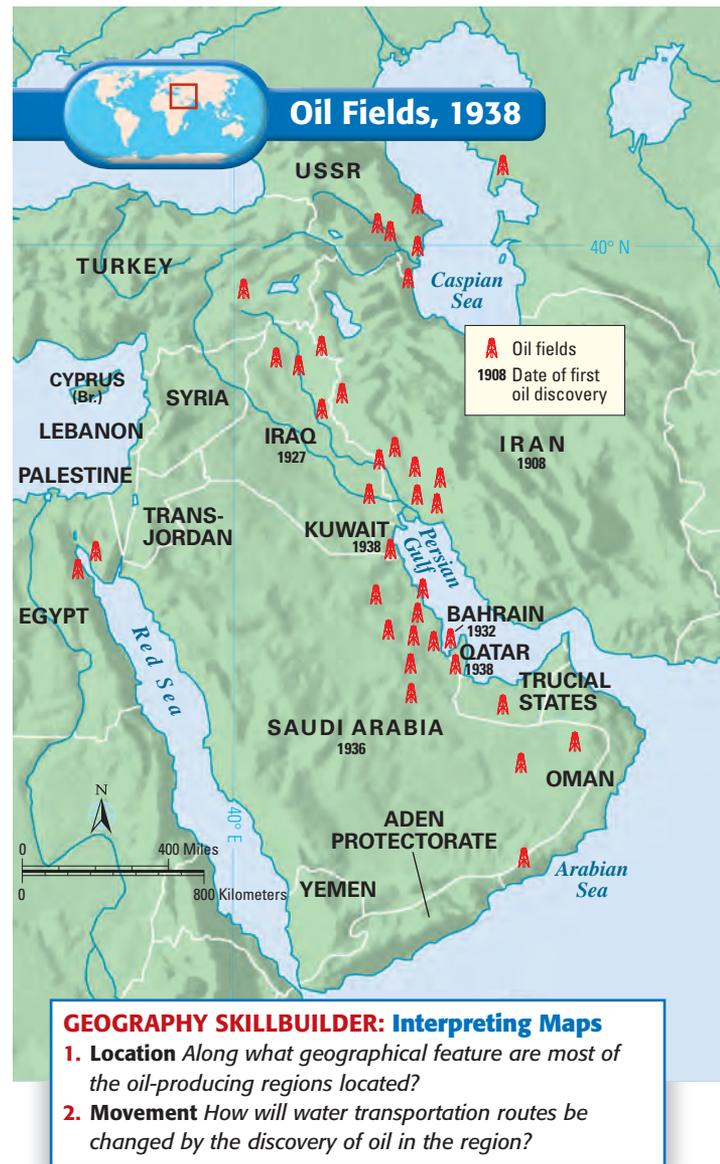
Comparing

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

country. However, modernization in Saudi Arabia was limited to religiously acceptable areas. There also were no efforts to begin to practice democracy.

Oil Drives 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 new oil explorations to Southwest Asia. During the 1920s and 1930s, European and American companies discovered enormous oil deposits in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Foreign businesses invested huge sums of money to develop these oil fields. For example, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, a British company, started developing the oil fields of Iran. 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. Because oil brought huge profits, Western nations tried to dominate this region. Meanwhile, these same Western nations were about to face a more immediate crisis as power-hungry leaders seized control in Italy and Germany.



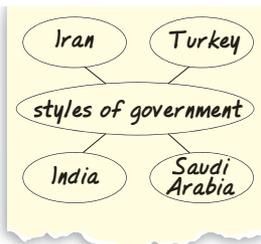
SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES 1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Rowlatt Acts
- Amritsar Massacre
- Mohandas K. Gandhi
- civil disobedience
- Salt March
- Mustafa Kemal

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Why do you think these nations adopted different styles of government? (10.4.4)



MAIN IDEAS

3. How did Gandhi's tactics of civil disobedience affect the British? (10.4.4)
4. How did Southwest Asia change as a result of nationalism? (10.4.4)
5. How did newly found petroleum supplies change the new nations in Southwest Asia? (10.4.4)

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **HYPOTHESIZING** What do you think a nation might gain and lose by modernizing? (REP 4)
7. **RECOGNIZING EFFECTS** How did World War I create an atmosphere for political change in both India and Southwest Asia? (10.4.4)
8. **COMPARING AND CONTRASTING** Compare and contrast the different forms of government adopted by the four nations in this section. (10.4.4)
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **POWER AND AUTHORITY** Write a **persuasive essay** supporting the use of nonviolent resistance. (Writing 2.4.c)

CONNECT TO TODAY GRAPHING OIL EXPORTS

Do research to find out how many barrels of oil have been exported each year for the last ten years from Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. Create a **graph** showing your results. (Writing 2.3.d)

Chapter 14 Assessment

TERMS & NAMES

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

1. Bolsheviks
2. Lenin
3. soviet
4. Joseph Stalin
5. totalitarianism
6. Mao Zedong
7. Mohandas K. Gandhi
8. civil disobedience

MAIN IDEAS

Revolutions in Russia Section 1 (pages 433–439)

9. How did World War I lead to the downfall of Czar Nicholas II? (10.7.1)
10. Why did the provisional government fail? (10.7.1)
11. Explain the causes and outcome of Russia's civil war. (10.7.3)

Case Study: Totalitarianism Section 2 (pages 440–447)

12. What are the key traits of totalitarianism? (10.6.3)
13. What individual freedoms are denied in a totalitarian state? (10.7.2)
14. How did Joseph Stalin create a totalitarian state in the Soviet Union? (10.7.2)

Imperial China Collapses Section 3 (pages 448–452)

15. Why did the peasants align themselves with the Chinese Communists? (10.9.4)
16. Why did Mao Zedong undertake the Long March? (10.9.4)

Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

Section 4 (pages 453–457)

17. What are some examples of civil disobedience led by Mohandas Gandhi? (10.4.4)
18. What steps did Kemal take to modernize Turkey? (10.4.4)

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES

In a diagram show the causes of changes in government in the countries listed. (10.6.3)



2. FORMING AND SUPPORTING OPINIONS

Which of the weapons of totalitarian governments do you think is most effective in maintaining control of a country? Explain. (10.6.3)

3. ANALYZING CAUSES

REVOLUTION What role did World War I play in the revolutions and nationalistic uprisings discussed in this chapter? (10.4.4)

4. HYPOTHESIZING

EMPIRE BUILDING Why were the empires discussed in this chapter unable to remain in control of all of their lands? (10.4.4)

5. RECOGNIZING EFFECTS

POWER AND AUTHORITY How did women's roles change under Stalin in Russia and Kemal in Turkey? (10.7.2)

VISUAL SUMMARY

Revolutionary Leaders: 1900–1939

	 Lenin	 Stalin	 Sun Yixian	 Mao Zedong	 Gandhi	 Kemal
Country	Russia	Russia	China	China	India	Turkey
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	Promote a worldwide Communist revolution led by workers	Perfect a Communist state in Russia through totalitarian rule	Establish a modern government based on nationalism, democracy, and economic security	Stage a Communist revolution in China led by peasants	Achieve Indian self-rule through campaigns of civil disobedience	Transform Turkey into a modern nation

Use the quotation and your knowledge of world history to answer questions 1 and 2

Additional Test Practice, pp. S1–S33

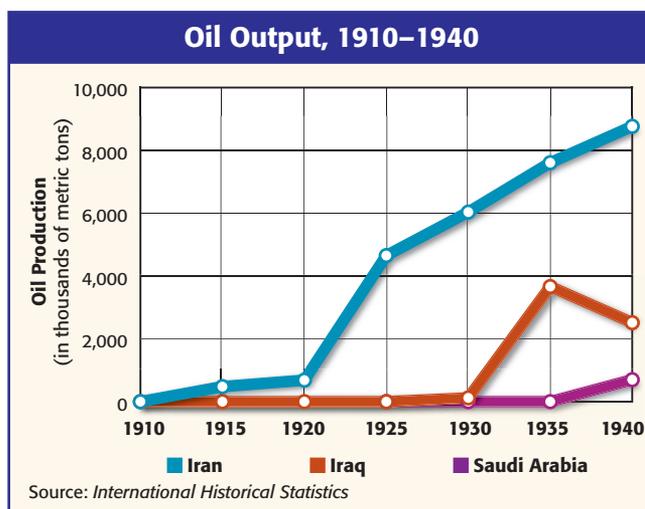
PRIMARY SOURCE

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 life. . . . 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

1. What picture does Gandhi present of India and its people? (10.4.4)
 - A. India is adequately industrialized.
 - B. India is dominated by the British.
 - C. India is primarily an agricultural nation.
 - D. Indians are well-off and do not need additional industries.
2. What did Gandhi believe about the spinning wheel? (10.4.4)
 - A. Gandhi believed that the spinning wheel would make Indians less dependent on the British economy.
 - B. Gandhi believed that the spinning wheel was a threat to the Indian economy.
 - C. Gandhi believed the main economic industry in India should be spinning cloth.
 - D. Gandhi believed the spinning wheel was not necessary to the Indian economy.

Use the graph and your knowledge of world history to answer question 3.



3. Between which years did Iran show a dramatic increase in oil production?
 - A. 1910–1920
 - B. 1920–1925
 - C. 1930–1935
 - D. 1935–1940

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

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ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

1. Interact with History (10.4.4)

On page 432, 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.

2. WRITING ABOUT HISTORY (10.6.3; Writing 2.1.b, e)

Write a **science fiction story** about a totalitarian state that uses modern technology to spread propaganda and control people. Refer to the case study on totalitarianism for ideas. Consider the following:

- the need to control information
- methods to control the actions of people
- reasons people oppose totalitarian control of a country

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

Writing a Documentary Film Script (Writing 2.3.b)

Write a documentary film script profiling a country where nationalistic revolutionary movements are currently active. Consider the following:

- What type of government is currently in power? (constitutional monarchy, single-party dictatorship, theocracy, republic) How long has it been in power?
- Who are the top political leaders, and how are they viewed inside and outside the country?
- Do citizens have complaints about their government? What are they?
- What nationalist revolutionary groups are active? What are their goals and strategies?

The script should also include narration, locations, sound, and visuals.