



California Connections

This material is designed to help you think about large historical topics in a manageable and meaningful way and to connect the content to the California standards.

How did agreements dating from the WWI and post-war periods impact the map of the Middle East?

The Ottoman Empire ruled the Middle East for nearly 600 years prior to World War I. As the empire grew weak, nationalist sentiment arose throughout its borders. The Ottoman sultans were slow to reform, and the empire collapsed after World War I, leaving many new states in its place. During the war, Great Britain, France, and Russia discussed how they would divide the Middle East into “spheres of influence.” These discussions produced a secret treaty in 1916—the Sykes-Picot Agreement. According to this agreement, Great Britain would control Jordan, southern Iraq, and Haifa in Israel. France would control modern-day Syria, Lebanon, northern Iraq, Mosul, southeastern Turkey, and Kurdistan. The agreement raised tensions in the region as it contradicted promises the British had made to the Arabs while encouraging them to revolt against Ottoman rule. Russia played no part in the final agreement because it had withdrawn from the war to deal with the internal politics of the Russian Revolution. When Russian revolutionaries publicly revealed the secret agreement, however, Britain eventually revised the agreement to satisfy Arab complaints. Despite this, the Arabs continued to resent British deceit in the matter.

When the war ended, the San Remo Conference of 1920 officially accepted the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the League of Nations ratified it in 1922. The Sykes-Picot Agreement drew new national borders in the Middle East without taking into account tribal and ethnic influences in those territories. Many of the tensions resulting from those agreements still shape present-day troubles in the region.

Although the Sykes-Picot Agreement is perhaps the most important treaty shaping modern Middle Eastern politics, other documents and agreements from that period also had significant influence. The Balfour Declaration in 1917 proposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1920 established the boundaries of modern Turkey. In Lesson 4 you will read of the 1918 Armistice of Mudros, in which the Ottoman Empire officially surrendered and was forced to give up its territorial claims outside of Turkey.

Why did the Russian Revolution develop, and how did it become popular?

In Lesson 1 you will learn more about the Russian Revolution and the events leading up to it. The Russian people had suffered greatly for decades under the autocratic rule

of the czars. Following his father’s assassination in 1881, Alexander III became czar. He halted many of his father’s reforms, imposing censorship, using the secret police, and persecuting minority groups, particularly Jews. He adopted a policy of rapid industrialization, resulting in dramatic changes to the Russian economy and the lives of workers. Nicholas II, who became czar in 1894, continued Alexander’s autocratic rule and rapid industrial development. Discontented workers began to call for a revolution to overthrow the czar and take control of the government. Two opposition groups emerged: the moderate Mensheviks, who sought broad support for reform, and the more radical Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, who wanted a quick revolution. While the Bolshevik cause gained influence, the czar forced Lenin into exile.

Several crises in the early 1900s undermined the power of Czar Nicholas II and ultimately led to the Russian Revolution. In 1904 Japan attacked and captured Russian territory in Manchuria. In January 1905 Russian soldiers fired on workers who were demonstrating outside the czar’s palace, which became known as Bloody Sunday. Unrest and strikes among Russian workers increased as a result. In 1906 Nicholas created a parliament, known as the Duma, in an attempt to calm the unrest but dismissed it after only ten weeks. When Russia was drawn into World War I in 1914, the Russian army proved unprepared, suffering many devastating defeats. There were multiple mutinies in the army, and inflation and food shortages increased dramatically.

Finally in March 1917, a protest in Petrograd turned into a nationwide uprising as soldiers sided with protesters. The czar abdicated, and Alexander Kerensky established a provisional government. He decided that Russia would continue fighting in World War I, which allowed the Bolsheviks to gain support. With German assistance, Lenin returned to Russia and began organizing soviets—local councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers. The Bolsheviks overthrew Kerensky’s provisional government in November 1917. However, Lenin’s radical reforms, such as land redistribution, labor camps, and concentration camps, along with his surrender to Germany in 1918, did not have the full support of the Russian people. This led to a bloody civil war from 1918 to 1920. Lenin and the Bolsheviks triumphed again, and the Bolsheviks called themselves the Communist Party, following the philosophies of Karl Marx.

What were the key ideas of communism, and how were the ideas translated on the ground?

Communism is both a political and economic system of governance. Unlike capitalism, where individuals own property and businesses, all property is owned collectively under communism. All citizens share in a “common” wealth, each receiving based on individual need.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, authors of *The Communist Manifesto*, believed that communism was a natural evolution from capitalism. Still the ideas of communism were interpreted differently. Like Marx, future Russian leader Vladimir Lenin saw the conflict as the owners (capitalists) against the workers (the proletariat). Where Marx predicted a spontaneous proletariat uprising, Lenin believed the working class needed “professional” revolutionaries to lead them. And while Marx believed the revolution would end with direct government rule by the proletariat, Lenin thought the state needed to be run by a single, central party.

Lenin’s ideas ultimately led to the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The USSR became a totalitarian state run by one party (the Communist Party) under Lenin’s leadership. Under his rule, the Communist Party controlled the state and the nation’s economic development. After Lenin’s death, Joseph Stalin took his place, continuing Lenin’s totalitarian rule.

What was totalitarianism, and how was it implemented in similar and different ways in Japan, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union?

The 20th century saw the rise of many prominent totalitarian states. The word *totalitarianism* describes a type of a government that takes total and centralized control of every aspect of the government as well as public and private life. You will read more about totalitarianism in the Soviet Union in Lesson 2.

Totalitarian governments can take different forms, but there are some basic similarities. Most totalitarian governments have a strong central leader or dictator. A totalitarian leader uses a wide range of strategies to maintain control of the state, such as employing the secret police; using terror and violence; indoctrinating the people through education, censorship, and state-sponsored propaganda; and persecuting religious or ethnic groups.

Joseph Stalin was that leader in the Soviet Union. You will read in Lesson 2 that Stalin used police to violently put down riots. He also used secret police to discover and stamp out antigovernment movements and sentiment. Stalin purged the Communist Party in 1937, eliminating potential rivals to his power. Education in schools involved Soviet indoctrination—instructing students to support government beliefs and policies. The government controlled all levels of educational curricula from nursery school through universities, as well as the media, including newspapers, radio, and movies. Religious groups were targeted with persecution and restrictions on what they could teach. Stalin’s government sought to control every aspect of life in the Soviet Union.

In Lesson 3 you will read how the totalitarian government in China used many of these same strategies. The

leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong, developed a slightly different kind of communism from Lenin. Unlike Lenin, Mao believed he could bring revolution to the rural areas of China among the peasants. He did not think only professional revolutionaries could cause a revolution. Mao turned to the peasants, training them in guerrilla warfare to fight the Nationalist government forces in southern China during the Chinese Civil War. Much later when he emerged as the totalitarian leader of China, his support came from the peasants even though he used the typical strategies of totalitarianism to control them.

You will learn more about totalitarianism in Japan, Germany, and Italy in Module 13.

ACTIVITY

The Human Cost of Soviet Totalitarianism

The persecutions, deaths, imprisonments, purges, famines, and terror of Soviet totalitarianism caused a huge amount of suffering among the Soviet people. In Lesson 2 you will read specifically about the forced collectivization of the Ukrainian kulaks. However, the kulaks were not the only group to suffer under Stalin’s rule. Stalin engaged in purges of Communist Party officials and Russian army officers. Other groups suffered as well, including artists, engineers, and intellectuals, and ethnic groups, such as Poles and Finns. Your task is to work in teams of four or five to research the various persecutions that occurred in the Soviet Union under Stalin’s rule.

- 1. Planning** Each team member should select a specific group to research, such as the party leaders, artists, or Russian army officers. Be sure your team members cover several different groups. Research reliable primary and secondary sources describing the persecution each particular group endured. Make note of who was specifically targeted, why they were targeted, the magnitude of the persecution, and the methods used. Research data identifying how many people were persecuted and died under Stalin’s rule.
- 2. Creating a Multimedia Presentation** Your team should create a multimedia presentation that identifies the different groups that Stalin’s regime targeted. Include descriptions and accounts of the different methods used against them. Identify any similarities and differences in the reasons why groups were targeted and how they were persecuted. Conclude your presentation with a summary of the number of people who suffered and died.
- 3. Reviewing and Proofreading** Read over your presentation for correct spelling, punctuation, and grammar. Make sure your sources are credible and correctly cited.

Revolution and Nationalism



Essential Question

Does nationalism unite or divide?



About the Photo: Students gather in Tiananmen Square in Beijing to protest the Versailles Treaty on May 4, 1919. This event sparked widespread protests and marked the beginning of Chinese nationalism.

In this chapter you will learn that the political upheavals that swept through Russia, China, and the Ottoman Empire resulted in Russia forming a totalitarian state, China undergoing a civil war, and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire into the present-day country of Turkey.

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VIDEOS, including...

- Russia—The Romanovs
- The Trans-Siberian Railroad
- Stalin's Purges
- Ottoman Empire: The War Machine

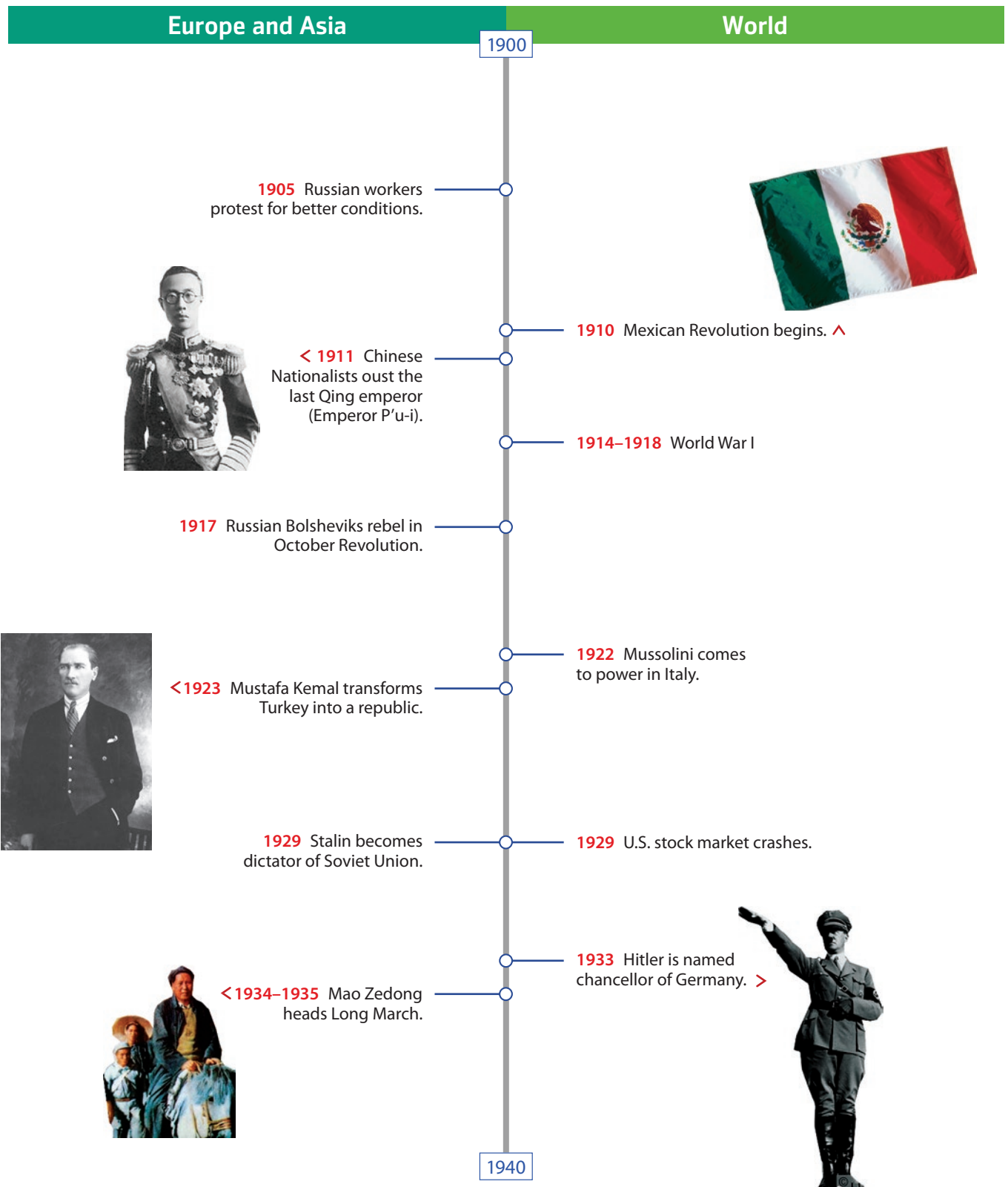
- ✓ Document-Based Investigations
- ✓ Graphic Organizers
- ✓ Interactive Games
- ✓ Chart: Totalitarianism
- ✓ Carousel: Propaganda



10.4.3 Explain imperialism from the perspective of the colonizers and the colonized and the varied immediate and long-term responses by the people under colonial rule. **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. **10.5.3** Explain how the Russian Revolution and the entry of the United States affected the course and outcome of the war. **10.6.2** Describe the effects of the war and resulting peace treaties on population movement, the international economy, and shifts in the geographic and political borders of Europe and the Middle East. **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. **10.9.4** 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). **10.9.6** Understand how the forces of nationalism developed in the Middle East, how the Holocaust affected world opinion regarding the need for a Jewish state, and the significance and effects of the location and establishment of Israel on world affairs. **HI.2** Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect. **HI.4** Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Timeline of Events 1900–1940

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Revolutions in Russia

The Big Idea

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.

Key Terms and People

proletariat
Bolsheviks
Lenin
Rasputin
provisional government
soviet
Communist Party
Joseph Stalin



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

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



10.5.3; 10.6.3; 10.7.1; 10.7.2; HI.2; HI.4

Reading Check

Synthesize

What measures did Alexander III use to wipe out revolutionary threats?

Vocabulary

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

Reading Check

Analyze Causes

Why did industrialization in Russia lead to unrest?

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.

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.

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.

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.



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, 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.

Vocabulary

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



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

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•tih). 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.

Reading Check

Analyze Causes
How did World War I
help bring about the
Russian Revolution?

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

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 they sided with them.

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.

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.

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. They also established the Gulag, a network of labor camps that scattered across the length of Russia. Lenin demanded that “unreliable elements” be sent to the

concentration camps. Many of these “unreliable elements” were aristocrats, merchants, and other political enemies. Lenin and the Bolsheviks used terror as a means of control through the use of their secret police.

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—stamping 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 supported 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, including the United States, sent military aid and forces to Russia to help the White Army. However, they were of little help.

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

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Russian Revolution and Civil War, 1905–1922





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

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.

Causes and Effects of Two Russian Revolutions, 1917		
Causes: Czarist Russia	Effects/Causes: March Revolution	Effects: Bolshevik Revolution
Czar's leadership was weak.	Czar abdicates.	Provisional government is overthrown.
Revolutionary agitation challenges the government.	Provisional government takes over. Lenin and soviets gain power.	Bolsheviks take over.
Widespread discontent found among all classes.	Russia stays in World War I.	Bolsheviks sign peace treaty with Germany and leave World War I. Civil war begins in Russia.
Interpret Charts 1. Analyze Causes What role did World War I play in the two revolutions? 2. Recognize Effects Why were the effects of the March Revolution also causes of the Bolshevik Revolution?		

Reading Check

Identify Problems

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. 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.

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's control was an early form of totalitarianism, which would become more rampant later on. He had established a dictatorship of the Communist Party, not "a dictatorship of the proletariat," as Marx had promoted.

Lenin's Russia generated a new way of thinking about economy, society, and government. As economic production and the new governmental structure stabilized, the Communist movement began to grow worldwide as a result of Russia's early success under Lenin's control.

Reading Check

Summarize

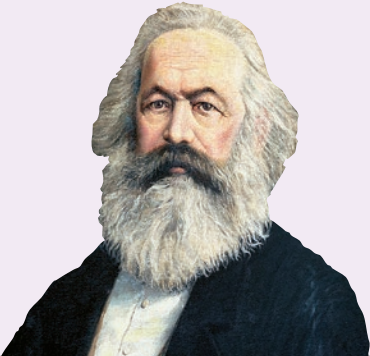

How did the Communist government prevent nationalism from threatening the new state created by the revolution?

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. In his doctrine *The Communist Manifesto*, co-authored with Friedrich Engels, he clearly explains the transition of capitalism to communism. He compares the transition to other historical shifts; from tribal systems to a feudalist system, and then from a feudalist system to a capitalist system. Marx also believed that capitalism had to be replaced in order to continue the evolution of society’s institutions. He thought this was a natural and inevitable process of history.

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.

Evolution of Communist Thought	
<div></div> <div>Marx</div>	<div></div> <div>Lenin</div>
History was the story of class struggle.	History was the story of class struggle.
The struggle Marx saw was between capitalists and the proletariat, or the workers.	The struggle Lenin saw was capitalists against the proletariat and the peasants.
The proletariat’s numbers would become so great and their condition so poor that a spontaneous revolution would occur.	The proletariat and the peasants were not capable of leading a revolution and needed the guidance of professional revolutionaries.
The revolution would end with a “dictatorship of the proletariat”—the communal ownership of wealth.	After the revolution, the state needed to be run by a single party with disciplined, centrally-directed administrators in order to ensure its goals.
<div>Interpret Charts</div> <div>Compare and Contrast How did Lenin’s ideas about communism differ from those of Marx?</div>	

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.

Reading Check

Draw Conclusions

What was Lenin’s main concern about Stalin?

Lesson 1 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Complete the timeline with events between 1894 and 1922 within Russia. Which event caused the deaths of 14 million Russians?



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Effects** How did World War I help to bring about the Russian Revolution?
4. **Make Inferences** Why did the Bolsheviks rename their party the Communist Party?
5. **Draw Conclusions** How did the czar’s autocratic policies toward the people lead to social unrest?
6. **Evaluate** What do you think were Czar Nicholas II’s worst errors in judgment during his rule?
7. **Form Opinions** Which of the events during the last phase of czarist rule do you think was most responsible for the fall of the czar?

Case Study

Stalinist Russia



Totalitarianism

The Big 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.

Key Terms and People

totalitarianism
Great Purge
command economy
Five-Year Plan
collective farm

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. 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



10.6.3; 10.7.2; 10.7.3



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

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 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. This tactic succeeds through the control of all mass media. No publication, film, art, or music is allowed to exist without the permission of the state. Citizens are surrounded by false information that appears to be true. Any suggestion 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 be subjected to rules that apply only to them.

Reading Check
Evaluate Courses
of Action
Of the weapons of
totalitarianism, which
allows the most
long-term control?

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. Stalin subjected many Soviet military-related industries to another round of military-based purges. Members of the Red Army, the Soviet Air Force, and other military-related industries were questioned. Many high-ranking officers admitted guilt, usually under torture, for anti-Soviet activity, sabotage, and spying.

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 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

Vocabulary

atheists people who do not think there is a god

Reading Check

Recognize Effects

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

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.

BIOGRAPHY

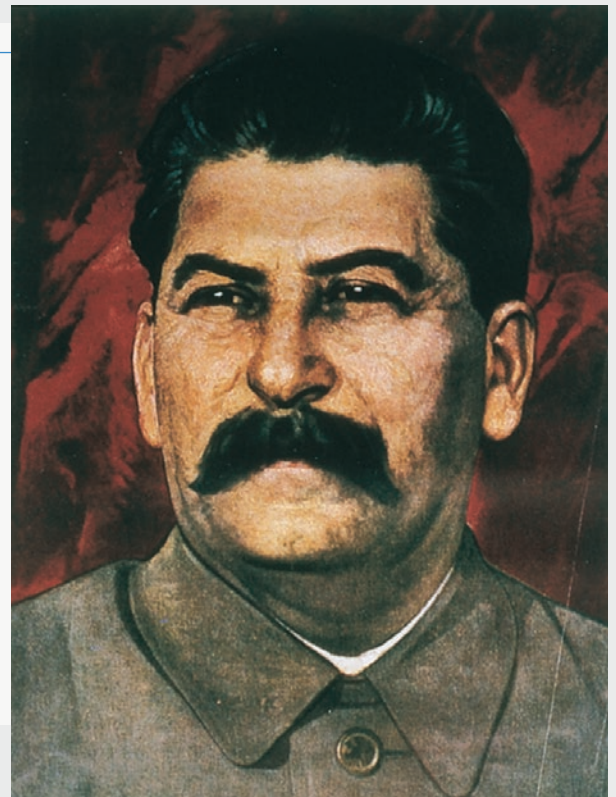
Joseph Stalin

(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.”



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.

▼ WOMAN WORKER POSTER

A translation of this poster says, “By force of arms we have smashed the enemy, with our hands we will get bread. Comrades, get down to work!” The women are working for state-controlled factories to boost the Soviet economy.



◀ 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 Party 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.

**Critical Thinking**

1. Analyze Visuals Of the examples, which do you think would have been most effective as propaganda? Why?

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

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. It is similar to an authoritarian regime, but the primary difference is that a totalitarian government controls all aspects of life including control over social and economic institutions as well as government institutions.

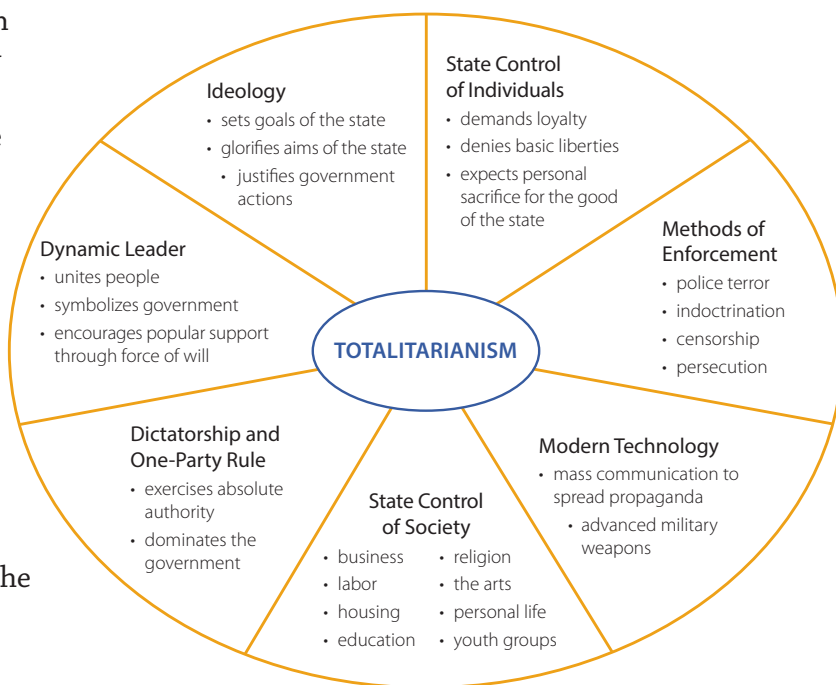
Mass communication technology helps a totalitarian government spread its aims and support its policies. Also, surveillance technology makes it possible to keep track of the activities of many people. Finally, violence, such as police terror, discourages those who disagree with the goals of the government.

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.



KEY TRAITS OF TOTALITARIANISM ▼



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.

Critical Thinking

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

2. Predict How would your life change if you lived in a totalitarian 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.



Under Stalin, women were expected to perform the same jobs as men.

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 in 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.

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**, a process called collectivization. Hundreds of families worked on the collectives. The government expected that the collectives’ modern machinery would boost food production and reduce the number of workers. However, many peasants actively resisted the government’s attempt to take their land. Some killed livestock and destroyed crops in protest. In response, Soviet secret police herded peasants onto collective farms by force. In Ukraine, the kulaks, a class of wealthy peasants, resisted collectivization fiercely. Stalin organized a mass starvation of the kulaks as a means to crush their resistance to forced collectivization. Soviet military confiscated food and blocked borders to cut off food supply, sentencing the kulaks to death by starvation. The government essentially carried out genocide against the kulaks, thousands of whom were executed or sent to labor camps. Disease, starvation, and bad harvests took more lives. In the early 1930s, between 4 million and 10 million peasants died as a direct result of Stalin’s agricultural revolution. After the disaster earlier in the decade, agricultural production of some crops increased. By 1938, more than 90 percent of all peasants lived on collectives. That year the country produced almost twice the wheat it had before collectivization.

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.

Reading Check

Summarize
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 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.

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.

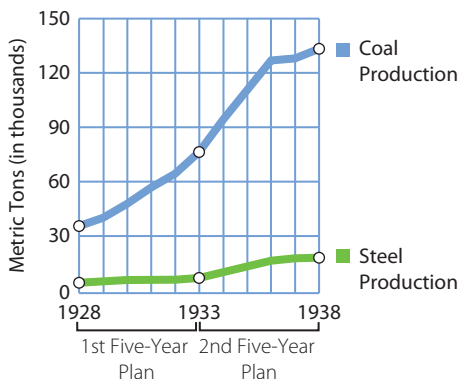
Reading Check

Summarize

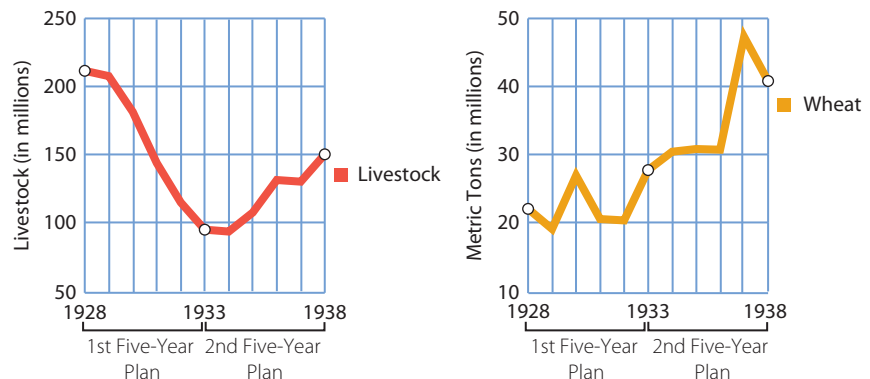
How did daily life under Stalin's rule change the lives of women in the Soviet Union?

The Buildup of the Soviet Economy, 1928–1938

Industry



Agriculture



Source: European Historical Statistics

Interpret Graphs

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

Ukrainian Kulaks

The kulaks in Ukraine 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, known as the Ukrainian Holodomor, which resulted from the destruction of crops and animals. By 1935, the kulaks had been eliminated.

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.

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** List methods of control that Stalin used and provide examples. Explain which method you think was most influential in maintaining Stalin’s power.

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

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Contrast** How do totalitarian states and constitutional governments differ?
4. **Analyze Effects** How did Stalin use communication and technology to change the government’s relationship with its citizens and empower his regime?
5. **Evaluate** Were the Five-Year Plans the best way to move the Soviet economy forward? Explain.



Imperial China Collapses

The Big 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.

Key Terms and People

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

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.



Temple of Heaven, Beijing, China

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 during the Xinhai Revolution.

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”:



10.4.4; 10.6.3; 10.9.4

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.

Without an established national army, Sun utilized regional armies. However, the most powerful army was controlled by General Yuan Shikai. Unable to defeat Yuan, Sun turned over the presidency to him in order to reunify China. Yuan quickly betrayed the democratic ideals of the revolution. After the general died in 1916, civil war broke out. Real authority fell into the hands of provincial warlords, the military leaders who headed various regional armies. This Warlord Era (1916–27) broke China into a jigsaw of regions controlled by the regional warlords. By 1928, the country was reunified but faced a series of other looming problems.



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. The protestors during the May Fourth Movement saw the early success of communism in Russia and believed they could apply the theoretical writings of Lenin and his beliefs of communism to China. This was the beginning of the growth of the Communist movement in China.

Reading Check
Identify Problems
What problems did
the new Republic of
China face?

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. 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.



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

"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*

Lenin Befriends China While the Chinese Communist Party was forming, Sun Yixian and his Nationalist Party set up a government in southern 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.



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

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.

Reading Check

Analyze Primary Sources What forces does Mao identify as those that the peasants will overcome?

History in Depth

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.

▶ Explore ONLINE!

The Long March, 1934–1935



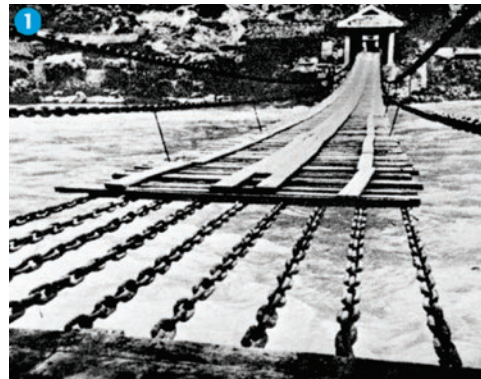
Interpret Maps

- 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?



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]!"

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.





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

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 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.

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. At the same time, similar principles also were serving as a guiding force in southwest Asia.

Reading Check

Analyze Effects

What were the results of the Long March?

Lesson 3 Assessment

- Organize Information** Make a chart that lists the reforms of Jiang and Mao. Explain whose reforms had a greater appeal to the peasants.

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

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Analyze Effects** What influence did foreign nations have on China from 1912 to 1938?
- Analyze Causes** What caused the Communist revolutionary movement in China to gain strength?
- Predict** If the Long March had failed, do you think the Nationalist party would have been successful in uniting the Chinese? Why or why not?



Nationalism in Southwest Asia

The Big Idea

Nationalism triggered independence movements to overthrow colonial powers.

Why It Matters Now

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

Key Terms and People

Ottoman Empire
Central Powers
Mustafa Kemal

Setting the Stage

The Ottoman Empire was broken up as a result of World War I. The weakening of the empire stirred nationalist activity in Turkey and other southwest Asian countries. Many groups within the region began to work to gain independence and establish new forms of governments. The discovery of oil also focused attention on the region.

Turkish Nationalism

The origins of modern-day Turkey trace back more than 600 years, when it was part of the vast and powerful **Ottoman Empire**. Constantinople, the city at the heart of the empire, is present-day Istanbul, Turkey. Although reformers called for change in the 1800s, the sultans who ruled the Ottoman Empire dominated. As a result of war and the influx of new ideas, the empire dissolved in 1922, which spurred the rise of nationalism in this region.

The Young Turk Revolution The Ottoman Empire was ruled by a sultan as an absolute monarchy, but in the late 19th century various political factions began to challenge the ruling form of government. The dissent started as a conspiracy by military medical students to overthrow the Ottoman Empire's ruler. When the plot was discovered, several leaders fled abroad, where they continued to agitate for revolution. Differences arose within the groups; however, they unified behind the common goal of restoring the Constitution of 1876. This document was the first constitution in any Islamic country. Under intense political pressure in the 1870s, the sultan had reluctantly agreed to it, but he maintained most of the power. The constitution provided for a two-house parliament, although one tightly controlled by the sultan. The sultan had dissolved parliament in 1877 after only one year, and had jailed, exiled, or executed the opposition. But times had changed. The efforts of these new political groups led to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.



10.4.3; 10.4.4; 10.5.3; 10.6.2; 10.6.3;
10.7.2; 10.9.6

Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918), was Ottoman sultan from 1876 to 1909.



This time, sultan Abdul Hamid II was unable to suppress the uprising, and rebellion spread rapidly throughout the empire. As a result, the sultan restored the constitution and stepped down from power. The new government faced many internal and external problems as well as political challenges. It seemed as if the Ottoman Empire would dissolve, especially as war loomed.

Ottoman Involvement in World War I The Ottoman Empire officially entered World War I on October 29, 1914, when the Allied Powers—France, Russia, and Great Britain—declared war in response to the Ottoman bombardment of Russian ports located on the Black Sea. The Ottoman Empire joined Germany, Austria-Hungary, and other nations as part of the **Central Powers**. Ottoman forces suffered a significant setback when Bulgaria surrendered to the Allied Powers in 1918. Shortly thereafter, the Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918. As a result, a series of wartime agreements led to the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire into many countries. This partitioning created the modern Arab world and the Republic of

Turkey. European powers governed a number of the new nations: Britain controlled modern-day Iraq and Palestine, while France governed Lebanon and Syria, to name a few. The borders for these new nations were drawn by foreign countries and mostly disregarded this region's rich ethnic history. This oversight contributed to subsequent wars, civil wars, political revolutions, and the formation of terrorist groups that are still in existence today.

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

Southwest Asia, 1926



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 republics to monarchies.

Reading Check

Synthesize How did the rise of nationalism contribute to the decline of the Ottoman Empire?

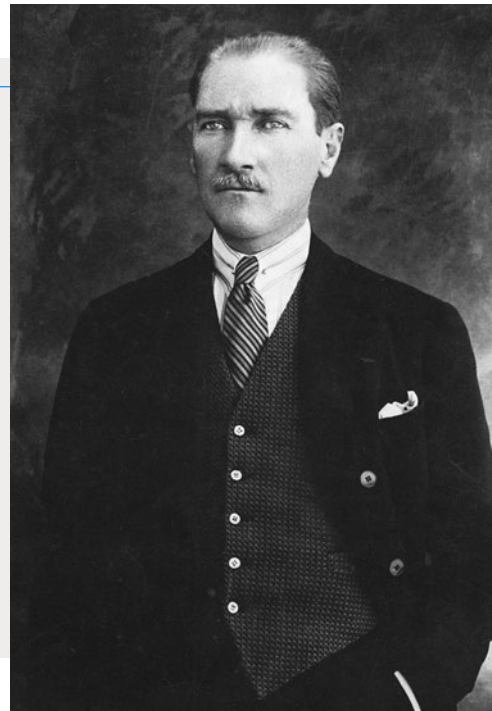
Kemal died in 1938. From his leadership, Turkey gained a new sense of its national identity. His influence was so strong that the Turkish people gave him the name Ataturk—"father of the Turks."

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 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.



Changes in Southwest Asia

The aftermath of World War I was important in shaping the development of modern southwest Asia. European countries were in ruin after the Great War, and this created the perfect situation for nationalist leaders in southwest Asia to establish their territories as new countries. Some leaders espoused new philosophies and ideals that were not embraced by the total population. This region is facing modern-day civil wars and continues to suffer from other acts of violence.

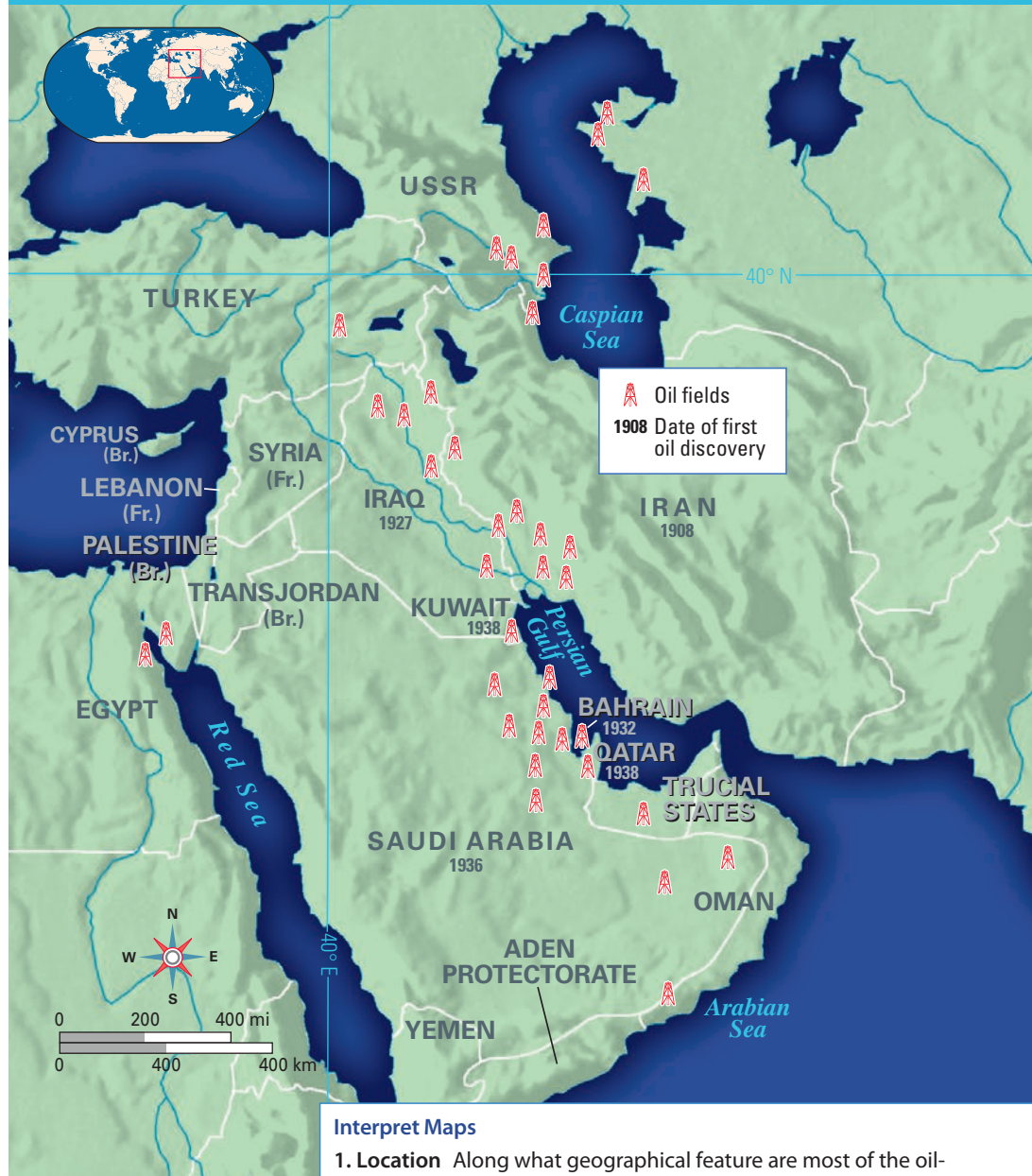


Government did not play a major role in Iran's education in the early twentieth century. Before Shah's educational reform, both private and state schools barely reached an enrollment of 50,000 students including the small class shown here.

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), ruled until 1941. Reza Shah, 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.

Oil Fields, 1938



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 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.

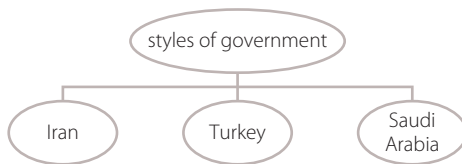
This important resource led to rapid and dramatic economic changes and development. Because oil brought huge profits, Western nations tried to dominate this region. Meanwhile, these same Western nations were about to face a more immediate crisis as power-hungry leaders seized control in Italy and Germany.

Reading Check

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

Lesson 4 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Make a graphic organizer. Why do you think the nations in this section adopted different styles of government?



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Compare and Contrast** Compare the tensions between modernization and traditional culture in Turkey under the rule of Kemal.
4. **Analyze Effects** How did World War I create an atmosphere for political change in Southwest Asia?
5. **Evaluate** Explain the role nationalism played in shaping the identity and character of the people of southwest Asia.

Module 12 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its importance in Russia, China, or the Ottoman Empire.

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bolsheviks | 4. Joseph Stalin | 7. Central Powers |
| 2. Lenin | 5. totalitarianism | 8. Ottoman Empire |
| 3. soviet | 6. Mao Zedong | 9. Mustafa Kemal |

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

Revolutions in Russia

1. How did World War I lead to the downfall of Czar Nicholas II?
2. Why did Russia's provisional government fail?
3. Explain the causes of Russia's civil war and its outcome.

Totalitarianism

4. What are the key traits of totalitarianism?
5. What individual freedoms are denied in a totalitarian state?
6. How did Joseph Stalin create a totalitarian state in the Soviet Union?

Imperial China Collapses

7. Why did the peasants align themselves with the Chinese Communists?
8. Why did Mao Zedong undertake the Long March?

Nationalism in Southwest Asia

9. How did Southwest Asia change as a result of nationalism?
10. What steps did Kemal take to modernize Turkey?
11. How did newly found petroleum deposits change the new nations in Southwest Asia?

Module 12 Assessment, continued

Critical Thinking

1. **Summarize** In a diagram, show the causes of changes in government in the countries listed.



2. **Form Opinions** Which of the weapons of totalitarian governments do you think is most effective in maintaining control of a country? Explain.
3. **Analyze Causes** What role did World War I play in the revolutions and nationalistic uprisings discussed in this module?
4. **Evaluate** Why were the empires discussed in this chapter unable to remain in control of all of their lands?
5. **Recognize Effects** How did women's roles change under Stalin in Russia and Kemal in Turkey?

Engage with History

Some groups resort to violence as a tactic for change. Now that you have read the module, how would you assess the violent uprisings that occurred in the revolutions of Russia, China, and the Ottoman Empire? What role did violence play in the Russian and Chinese revolutions? Discuss your opinions in a small group.

Focus on Writing

Write an essay analyzing the similarities and differences among the political systems of socialism, communism, and democracy. Use multiple sources when writing the essay.

Multimedia Activity

Writing a Documentary Film Script

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.

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