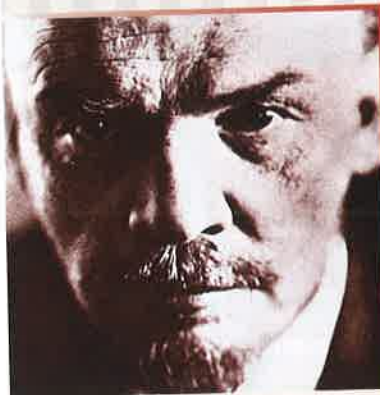


Lenin Restores Order

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

HISTORYMAKERS



V. I. Lenin
1870–1924

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

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

Section 1 Assessment

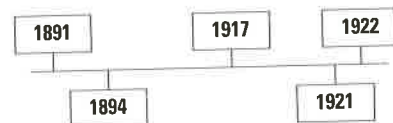
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

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

2. TAKING NOTES

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



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

3. EVALUATING DECISIONS

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

THINK ABOUT

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

4. ANALYZING THEMES

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

THINK ABOUT

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

2 Totalitarianism

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

TERMS & NAMES

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

MAIN IDEA

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

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

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

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

Stalin Becomes Dictator

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

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

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

HISTORYMAKERS



Joseph Stalin
1879–1953

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

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

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

Stalin Builds a Totalitarian State

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

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

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

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Totalitarianism

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

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

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

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

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

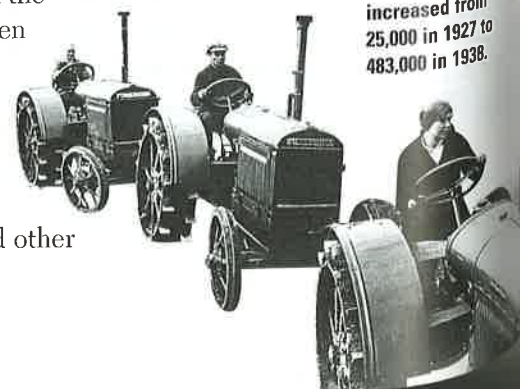
CASE STUDY: Stalinist Russia

Stalin Seizes Control of the Economy

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

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

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



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

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

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

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
A. Summarizing
 What methods did Stalin use to bring agriculture under state control?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Weapons of Totalitarianism

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

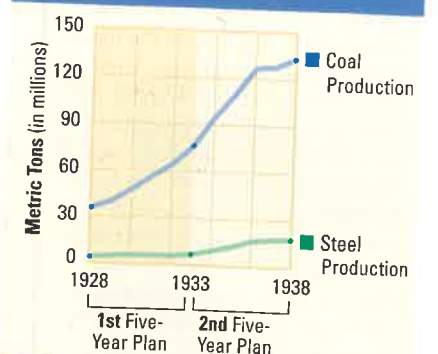
Police Terror Dictators of totalitarian states use terror and violence to force obedience and to crush opposition. Stalin began building his totalitarian state by destroying his enemies—real and imagined. Stalin's secret police used tanks and armored cars to stop riots. They monitored telephone lines,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

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

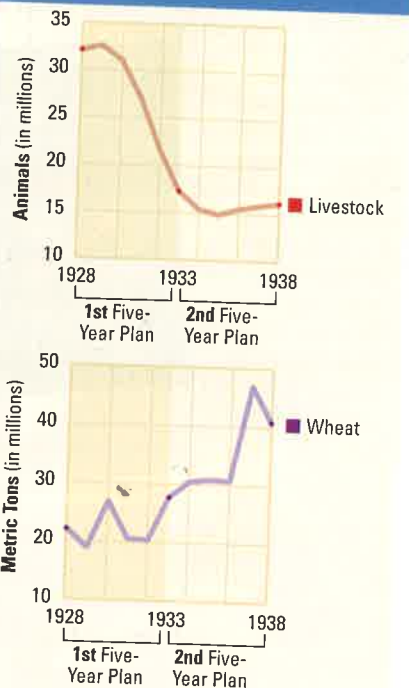
The state had the authority to punish even the most minor acts. The police arrested the director of the Moscow Zoo because his monkeys got tuberculosis. The police

The Buildup of the Soviet Economy

INDUSTRY



AGRICULTURE



Source: European Historical Statistics

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Graphs

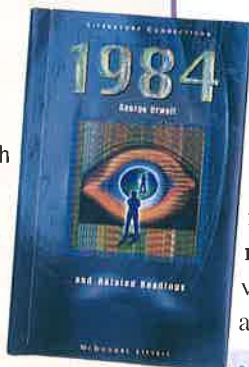
- How many more metric tons of coal were produced in 1938 than in 1928?
- What do the graphs show about the contrast between the progress of industry and livestock production under Stalin's first Five-Year Plan?

SPOTLIGHT ON

1984

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

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

YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO, *A Precocious Autobiography*

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

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

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

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

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

HISTORY THROUGH ART: Posters

Propaganda Through Art

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

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



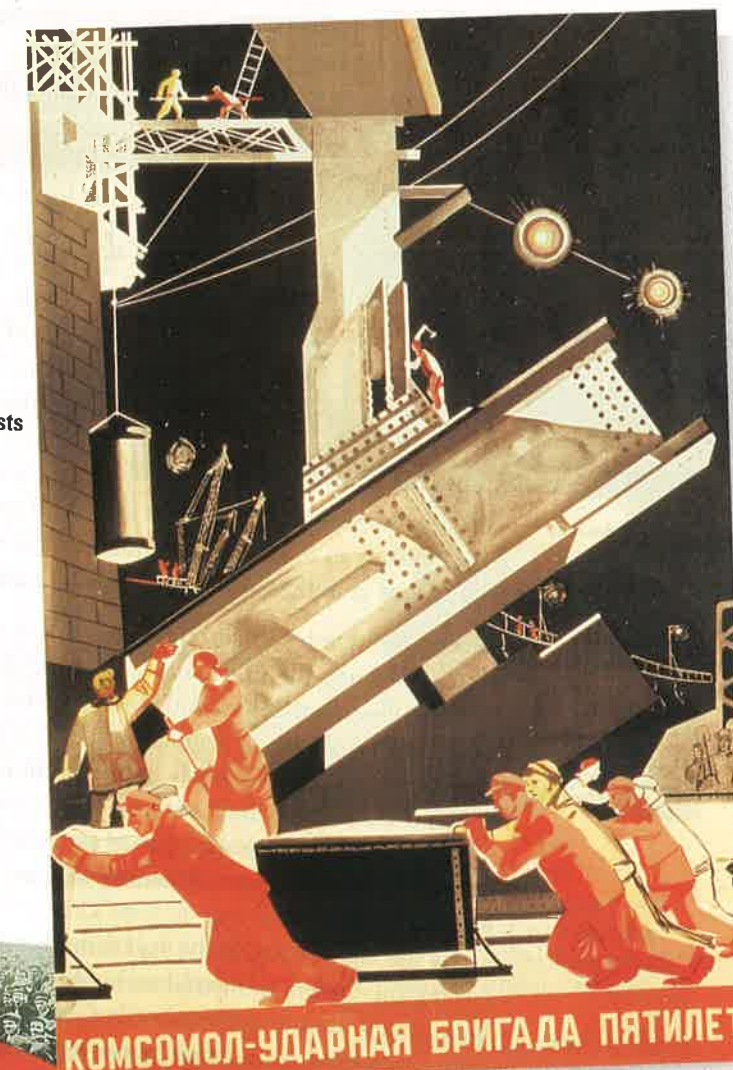
The slogan on this poster reads, "Young Communists [are] the Shock Brigade of the Five-Year Plan."

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

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

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

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



Connect to History

Analyzing Issues What messages do you think these posters communicate?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R12

Connect to Today

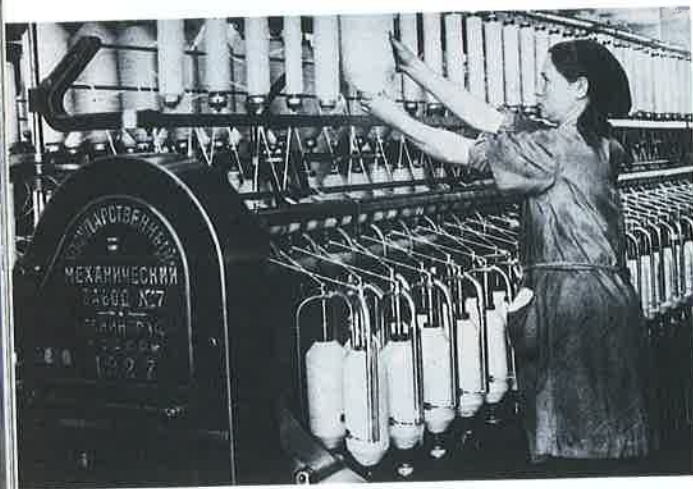
Comparing How do the Soviet posters resemble the billboards of modern-day advertisers? Support your answer with examples.

For an Internet activity on Propaganda in Art...

NET ACTIVITY
CLASSZONE.COM

Daily Life Under Stalin

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section 2 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

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

2. TAKING NOTES

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

Weapons	Examples
Police Terror	
Propaganda	
Censorship	
Religious Persecution	

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

3. CONTRASTING

How do totalitarian states and constitutional governments differ?

THINK ABOUT

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

4. THEME ACTIVITY

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

Vocabulary
warlord: powerful military leader.

3 Collapse of Chinese Imperial Rule

TERMS & NAMES

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

MAIN IDEA

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

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

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

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

Nationalists Overthrow Qing Dynasty

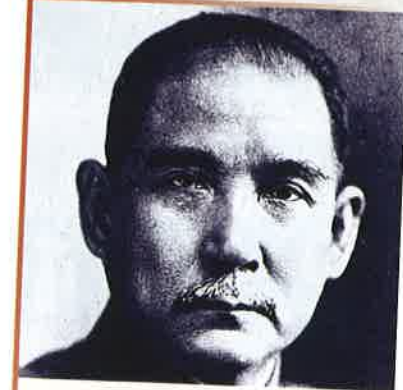
Among the groups pushing for modernization and nationalization was the **Kuomintang** (KWOH-mihn-TANG), or the Nationalist Party. Its first great leader, **Sun Yixian** (soon yee-shyahn), was a physician who had spent many years in the United States. In 1912, Sun's Revolutionary Alliance, a forerunner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

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

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

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

HISTORY MAKERS



Sun Yixian
1866–1925

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

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

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