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GUIDED READING Revolutions in Russia

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about some factors in Russia that helped lead to revolution.

How did each of the foll	owing help to ignite the full-scale revolution?
1. Policies of the czars	. ,
2. Industrialization and economic growth	
3. The Russo-Japanese War	
4. "Bloody Sunday"	
5. World War I	
6. The March Revolution	

How did each of the foll	owing help the	Bolsheviks ga	in and hold polif	ical control?	
7. November 1917 Revolution		1			
8. Civil war between the Red and White armies					
9. Organization of Russia into republics					

What role did each o	f the following play in the Russian	Revolution?	
10. Karl Marx			
11. V. I. Lenin			•
12. Leon Trotsky			

B. Determining Main Ideas On the back of this paper, identify each of the following:

proletariat Rasputin provisional government soviet Communist Party

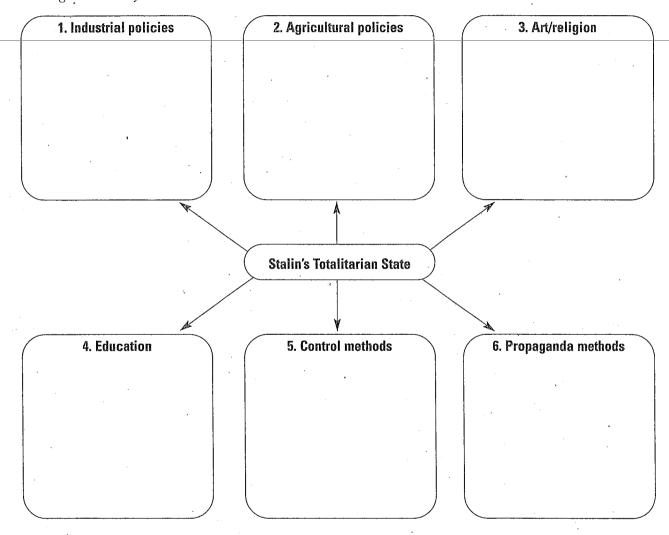




GUIDED READING

Totalitarianism Case Study: Stalinist Russia

A. Determining Main Ideas As you read this section, fill in the web diagram with key characteristics of Stalinist Russia.



B. Clarifying Define or identify each of the following terms:

	totalitarianism	command economy	collective farm	Five-Year Plan	
-		,			
	•				
			•		



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GUIDED READING Imperial China Collapses

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read this section, note some of the cause-and-effect relationships in the struggle between nationalist and communist movements in China.

Causes	Actions/Events	Effects
one (A) and I Complete the about the state of the state o	Sun's Revolutionary Alliance overthrows the Qing Dynasty.	
·	2. Sun turns presidency over to Yuan Shikai.	
·	3. The May Fourth Movement begins.	
	4. Nationalist forces move into Shanghai.	
,	5. Communists begin the Long March.	,
	·	
	6. Japan invades Manchuria.	

B. Determining Main Ideas On the back of this paper, identify Mao Zedong and describe his concept of communism.

	_	· ·
Name	Date	
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GUIDED READING Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

A. Determining Main Ideas As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about nationalistic activity after-World War I.

How did each of the following	contribute to national independence for India?
1. Formation of Congress Party and Muslim League	
2. World War I	
3. Rowlatt Acts	
4. Massacre at Amritsar	
5. Campaign of civil disobedience	
6. Salt March	

How did each country gain its inde	pendence?	
7. Turkey		
8. Persia		
9. Saudi Arabia		

B. Drawing Conclusions On the back of this paper, describe the legacies of Mohandas K. Gandhi and Mustafa Kemal.



BUILDING VOCABULARY Revolution and Nationalism



- A. Multiple Choice Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.
 - 1. Joseph Stalin instituted totalitarianism in Russia through a campaign of terror called the (a) Great Purge (b) Amritsar Massacre (c) Long March.
 - 2. The leader of India's independence movement who advocated the tactic of civil disobedience was (a) Mustafa Kemal (b) Mohandas K. Gandhi (c) Sun Yixian.
 - 3. The radical group of Russian Marxists who supported a small number of committed revolutionaries was called the (a) proletariat (b) Bolsheviks (c) soviet.
 - 4. The event that initially fueled India's independence movement was the (a) Amritsar Massacre (b) Long March (c) Great Purge.
 - 5. In Marxist philosophy, the industrial class of workers is called the (a) soviet (b) provisional government (c) proletariat.

1.	. After t	e Russian	Revolut	tion, the I	Bolsheviks :	renamed tl	neir party	the Kuomi	ntang.
2.					nted to esta		dern gove	rnment bas	sed
3.	. Joseph	Stalin was	the Bol	shevik lea	der who b	ecame kno	wn as the	"Father of	the Revolu
3.	Rasput		hinese C	Communis			·	"Father of	<u> </u>

C. Writing Using the following terms, write a brief conversation about the economy between two Russian workers in 1929.

totalitarianism

command economy

Five-Year Plan

collective farm



skillbuilder practice Analyzing Causes

Historians analyze causes to understand why events in the past happened. Historical events such as strikes and revolutions often have multiple causes. As you read the excerpts below, try to identify the reasons for the local protest that exploded into the March Revolution of 1917. Then fill in the chart. (See Skillbuilder Handbook)

Passage A

The fact is that the . . . revolution was begun from below, overcoming the resistance of its own revolutionary organizations, the initiative being taken of their own accord by the most oppressed and downtrodden . . . women textile workers. . . . The overgrown bread lines had provided the last stimulus. About 90,000 workers, men and women, were on strike that day. . . . Throughout the entire [next] day, crowds of people poured from one part of the city to another. . . . Along with shouts of "Down with the police!" was heard oftener and oftener a "Hurrah" addressed to the Cossacks. . . . The soldiers show indifference, at times hostility to the police. It spreads excitedly through the crowd that when the police opened fire by the Alexander III monument, the Cossacks let go a volley at the horse [police].

Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution

Passage B

The rising cost of living and the food crisis could not but serve as revolutionary factors among the masses. . . . Gradually the minor issues of food, the price of bread, and the lack of goods turned into political discussions concerning the entire system of the social order. In this atmosphere political movements grew feverishly and matured quickly. . . .

Peter I. Lyashchenko, History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution

Passage C

Those nameless, austere statesmen of the factory and streets did not fall out of the sky: they had to be educated. . . . To the question, Who led the . . . revolution? we can then answer definitely enough: Conscious and tempered workers educated for the most part by the party of Lenin. . . .

Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution

What were three ca	uses of the March Revolution?
Economic	
Political/Social	
Other	



GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: MOVEMENT

Nationalists Battle Warlords and Communists

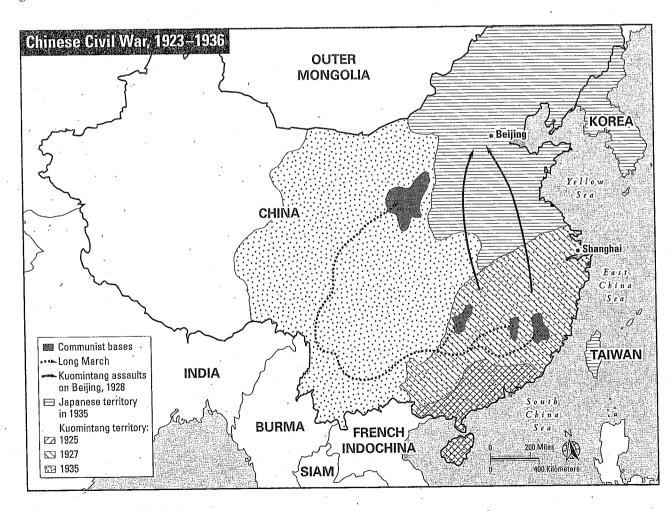
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

From 1923 through 1936, China's Nationalists waged successive wars while trying to achieve national unity. At first, they battled territorial rulers—warlords—and later they fought local Communists.

At one time, both Nationalists and Communists were united in the Kuomintang, the Nationalist People's Party. From 1923 to 1927, the party battled to end warlord rule in the provinces. By 1925 the Kuomintang had driven the warlords out of extreme southern China in 1925 and then launched a campaign called the Northern Expedition. Its goal was to conquer the remaining warlords to the north, free Beijing, and bring China under one government.

At this time, however, the Nationalists came to fear the political goals of their Communist allies. As a result, the Nationalists, while fighting in northern China in 1927, began an anti-Communist drive in their own ranks. Nationalists attacked Communist strongholds in Shanghai and other large cities. They drove them into scattered bases in the hills of south-central China. Finally, in 1934, the Communists under Mao Zedong embarked on the year-long, life-and-death Long March into the protective caves of northern China.

A final confrontation between Nationalists and Communists in the north never took place, however. In 1936, the threat of a Japanese takeover of China forced the enemies into unified action once again.



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1. What	two Chinese groups made up the Kuomintang?	
2. What	was the intent of the Northern Expedition?	
3. Whor	n were the Nationalists fighting in 1927?	
	ng was freed from warlord control in 1928. Using the map key, determine ho nost, Beijing's freedom lasted and why.	ow long, at
5. Desc	ribe the route of the Long March.	
6. Why	do you suppose that the Nationalists and Communists in 1936 became allie both text and map to answer this question.	es once aga
7. If th	e Japanese had not invaded China, what can you infer from the map would nmunists' ultimate fate in a final confrontation with the Nationalists? Why?	have been



PRIMARY SOURCE from Bloody Sunday by Father Gapon

On January 22, 1905, a priest named Father Gapon led a peaceful march of about 200,000 workers and their families to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. The marchers wanted to ask Czar Nicholas II for better working conditions, more personal freedom, and an elected national legislature. As you read the following excerpt from Father Gapon's autobiography, think about what happened on Bloody Sunday.

We were not more than thirty yards from the soldiers, being separated from them only by the bridge over the Tarakanovskii Canal, which here marks the border of the city, when suddenly, without any warning and without a moment's delay, was heard the dry crack of many rifle-shots. I was informed later on that a bugle was blown, but we could not hear it above the singing, and even if we had heard it we should not have known what it meant.

Vasiliev, with whom I was walking hand in hand, suddenly left hold of my arm and sank upon the snow. One of the workmen who carried the banners fell also. Immediately one of the two police officers to whom I had referred shouted out, 'What are you doing? How dare you fire upon the portrait of the Tsar?' This, of course, had no effect, and both he and the other officer were shot down—as I learned afterwards, one was killed and the other dangerously wounded.

I turned rapidly to the crowd and shouted to them to lie down, and I also stretched myself out upon the ground. As we lay thus another volley was fired, and another, and yet another, till it seemed as though the shooting was continuous. The crowd first kneeled and then lay flat down, hiding their heads from the rain of bullets, while the rear rows of the procession began to run away. The smoke of the fire lay before us like a thin cloud, and I felt it stiflingly in my throat. . . . A little boy of ten years, who was carrying a church lantern, fell pierced by a bullet, but still held the lantern tightly and tried to rise again, when another shot struck him down. Both the smiths who had guarded me were killed, as well as all those who were carrying the icons and banners; and all these emblems now lay scattered on the snow. The soldiers were actually shooting into the courtyards of the adjoining houses, where the crowd tried to find refuge and, as I learned

afterwards, bullets even struck persons inside, through the windows.

At last the firing ceased. I stood up with a few others who remained uninjured and looked down at the bodies that lay prostrate around me. I cried to them, 'Stand up!' But they lay still. I could not at first understand. Why did they lie there? I looked again, and saw that their arms were stretched out lifelessly, and I saw the scarlet stain of blood upon the snow. Then I understood. It was horrible. And my Vasiliev lay dead at my feet.

Horror crept into my heart. The thought flashed through my mind, 'And this is the work of our Little Father, the Tsar.' Perhaps this anger saved me, for now I knew in very truth that a new chapter was opened in the book of the history of our people. I stood up, and a little group of workmen gathered round me again. Looking backward, I saw that our line, though still stretching away into the distance, was broken and that many of the people were fleeing. It was in vain that I called to them, and in a moment I stood there, the centre of a few scores of men, trembling with indignation amid the broken ruins of our movement.

from Father Gapon, The Story of My Life (1905). Reprinted in John Carey, ed., Eyewitness to History (New York: Avon, 1987), 417–418.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

- 1. When did the soldiers start firing on the marchers?
- 2. According to this excerpt, who were among the victims of the shooting?
- 3. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects
 Why do you think many Russians were outraged
 by this massacre? Use information from this
 excerpt as well as your textbook to support your
 opinion.



PRIMARY SOURCE The Need for Progress Speech by Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) ruled the Communist Party in the Soviet Union from 1928 until his death. One of his aims as the Soviet premiere was to tap the country's vast economic potential. His economic plans achieved success but at an immense human cost. Historians estimate that he caused the deaths of between 8 and 13 million people. In this speech in 1931, he invoked Russian nationalism in an attempt to motivate a group of industrial managers.

bout ten years ago a slogan was issued: "Since Communists do not yet properly understand the technique of production, since they have yet to learn the art of management, let the old technicians and engineers—the experts—carry on production, and you, Communists, do not interfere with the technique of the business; but, while not interfering, study technique, study the art of management tirelessly, in order later on, together with the experts who are loyal to us, to become true managers of production, true masters of the business." Such was the slogan. But what actually happened? The second part of this formula was cast aside, for it is harder to study than to sign papers; and the first part of the formula was vulgarised: non-interference was interpreted to mean refraining from studying the technique of production. The result has been nonsense, harmful and dangerous nonsense, which the sooner we discard the better. . . .

It is time, high time that we turned towards technique. . . .

This, of course, is no easy matter; but it can certainly be accomplished. Science, technical experience, knowledge, are all things that can be acquired. We may not have them today, but tomorrow we shall. The main thing is to have the passionate Bolshevik desire to master technique, to master the science of production. . . .

You remember the words of the pre-revolutionary poet: "You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia." Those gentlemen were quite familiar with the verses of the old poet. They beat her, saying: "You are abundant," so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her, saying: "You are poor and impotent," so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters—to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak—therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty—therefore you are right; hence we must be wary of you.

That is why we must no longer lag behind.

In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have had one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will uphold its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this, you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop a genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries."

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 go under. . . .

from J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. XIII (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), 38–51, 43–44. Reprinted in Peter N. Steams, ed., Documents in World History (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 128–129.

Discussion Questions

- 1. **Determining Main Ideas** What is the meaning of the slogan in the beginning of the speech?
- 2. **Drawing Conclusions** How does Stalin define "the jungle law of capitalism"?
- 3. *Making Inferences* How does Stalin attempt to motivate the industrial managers in this speech?



PRIMARY SOURCE from The Peasants of Hunan by Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong (1891–1976), the son of a Hunan peasant, was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. He believed that he could bring economic and political change to improve the lives of China's rural peasants. According to the following passage written in 1927, what was Mao Zedong's vision of the Communist revolutionary movement in China?

During my recent visit to Hunan I conducted an investigation on the spot into the conditions in the five countries of Siangtan, Siangsiang, Hengshan, Liling, and Changsha. In the thirty-two days from January 4 to February 5, in villages and in county towns, I called together for fact-finding conferences experienced peasants and comrades working for the peasant movement, listened attentively to their reports and collected a lot of material. . . .

All kinds of arguments against the peasant movement must be speedily set right. The erroneous measures taken by the revolutionary authorities concerning the peasant movement must be speedily changed. Only thus can any good be done for the future of the revolution. For the rise of the present peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a tornado or tempest, a force so extraordinarily swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to suppress it. They will break all trammels [restraints] that now bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will send all imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local bullies and bad gentry [members of the upper or ruling class] to their graves. All revolutionary parties and all revolutionary comrades will stand before them to be tested, and to be accepted or rejected as they decide.

To march at their head and lead them? Or to follow at their rear, gesticulating at them and criticising them? Or to face them as opponents?

Every Chinese is free to choose among the three alternatives, but circumstances demand that a quick choice be made. . . .

A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing fancy needlework; it cannot be anything so refined, so calm and gentle, or so mild, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous [generous in forgiving]. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the authority of the feudal landlord class. If the peasants do not use the maximum of their strength, they can never overthrow the authority of the landlords which has been deeply rooted for thousands of years. In the rural areas, there must be a great, fervent revolutionary upsurge, which alone can arouse hundreds and thousands of people to form a great force. . . .

from Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. I (New York: International Publishers, 1954), 21–22, 27. Reprinted in Peter N. Stearns, ed., Documents in World History, Vol. II (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 137.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

- 1. How many Chinese peasants did Mao Zedong predict would join the Communist revolutionary movement?
- 2. According to Mao Zedong, what three choices did Chinese Communist revolutionaries face in view of the growing peasant movement?
- 3. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects
 According to Mao Zedong, what was the purpose of the rural revolution in China?



PRIMARY SOURCE from Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule) by Mohandas K. Gandhi

Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) led India's movement for independence from the British. Gandhi and his followers wanted a greater voice in government and ultimately hoped to gain self-rule. To achieve these goals, Gandhi developed the principle of passive resistance or civil disobedience. The following excerpt, taken from Gandhi's 1909 booklet Hind Swaraj, was written in the form of a dialogue between an editor (Gandhi himself) and an imagined reader. What was Gandhi's passive resistance and how was it used?

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

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim that he is absolutely in the right or that a particular thing is wrong because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is therefore meet [necessary] that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force. . . .

Whether I go beyond . . . [the laws] or whether I do not is a matter of no consequence. . . . We simply want to find out what is right and to act accordingly. The real meaning of the statement that we are a law-abiding nation is that we are passive resisters. When we do not like certain laws, we do not break the heads of law-givers but we suffer and do not submit to the laws. That we should obey laws whether good or bad is a new-fangled notion. There was no such thing in former days. The people disregarded those laws they did not like and suffered the penalties for their breach. It is contrary to our manhood if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. Such teaching is opposed to religion and means slavery. If the government were to

ask us to go about without any clothing, should we do so? If I were a passive resister, I would say to them that I would have nothing to do with their law. But we have so forgotten ourselves and become so compliant that we do not mind any degrading laws.

A man who has realized his manhood, who fears only God, will fear no one else. Man-made laws are not necessarily binding on him. Even the government does not expect any such thing from us. They do not say: "You must do such and such a thing," but they say: "If you do not do it, we will punish you." We are sunk so low that we fancy that it is our duty and our religion to do what the law lays down. If man will only realize that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him. This is the key to self-rule or homerule....

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. . . .

Passive resistance cannot proceed a step without fearlessness. Those alone can follow the path of passive resistance who are free from fear, whether as to their possessions, false honor, their relatives, the government, bodily injuries or death. . . .

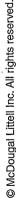
from M. K. Gandhi, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. X (Ahmedabad: Navijivan Press, 1963), 18-21, 36-38, 48-49, 51-53. Reprinted in Peter N. Stearns, ed., Documents in World History, Vol. II (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 154-156.

Research Option

Using Research in Writing

Research the career of Dr. Martin Luther King, Ir., the African-American civil rights leader whose ideas about nonviolent protest were influenced by Gandhi. What was Dr. King trying to achieve? Write a summary to report your findings to the class.









LITERATURE SELECTION from Darkness at Noon by Arthur Koestler

Hungarian-born British author Arthur Koestler (1905–1983) was a Communist during the 1930s. He eventually became disillusioned with the Communist Party and left in 1938. His novel Darkness at Noon, published in 1941, is the story of the purge trials of the 1930s in Stalinist Russia from the point of view of an aging Communist revolutionary who has been arrested and imprisoned. As you read this excerpt, think about how the main character, N. S. Rubashov, feels about No. 1, the totalitarian leader.

Rubashov had the

feeling that he was

being watched

through the spy-

hole. Without

looking, he knew

that a pupil pressed

to the hole was

staring into the cell.

Rubashov had the feeling that he was being watched through the spy-hole. Without looking, he knew that a pupil pressed to the hole was staring into the cell; a moment later the key did actually grind in the heavy lock. It took some time before the door opened. The warder, a little old man in slippers, remained at the door:

"Why didn't you get up?" he asked.

"I am ill," said Rubashov.

"What is the matter with you? You cannot be taken to the doctor before to-morrow."

"Toothache," said Rubashov.

"Toothache, is it?" said the warder, shuffled out and banged the door.

Now I can at least remain lying here quietly, thought Rubashov, but it gave him no more plea-

sure. The stale warmth of the blanket became a nuisance to him, and he threw it off. He again tried to watch the movements of his toes, but it bored him. In the heel of each sock there was a hole. He wanted to darn them, but the thought of having to knock on the door and request needle and thread from the warder prevented him; the needle would probably be refused him in any case. He had a sudden wild craving for a newspaper. It was so strong that he could smell the printer's ink and hear the crackling and rustling of the pages.

Perhaps a revolution had broken out last night, or the head of a state had been murdered, or an American had discovered the means to counteract the force of gravity. His arrest could not be in it yet; inside the country, it would be kept secret for a while, but abroad the sensation would soon leak through, they would print ten-year-old photographs dug out of the newspaper archives and publish a lot of nonsense about him and No. 1. He now no longer wanted a newspaper, but with the same greed desired to know what was going on in the brain of No. 1. He saw him sitting at his desk, elbows propped, heavy and gloomy, slowly dictating to a stenographer. Other people walked up and down while dictating, blew smoke-rings or played with a ruler. No. 1 did not move, did not play, did not blow rings. . . . Rubashov noticed suddenly that he himself had been walking up and down for the last five minutes; he had risen from the bed without realizing it. He was caught again by his old ritual of never walking on the edges of the paving stones, and he already knew the pattern by heart. But his thoughts had not left No. 1 for a second, No. 1,

who, sitting at his desk and dictating immovably, had gradually turned into his own portrait, into that well-known colour-print, which hung over every bed or sideboard in the country and stared at people with its frozen

eyes.

Rubashov walked up and down in the cell, from the door to the window and back, between bunk, wash-basin and bucket, six and a half steps there, six and a half steps back. At the door he turned to the right, at the window to the left: it was an old prison habit; if

one did not change the direction of the turn one rapidly became dizzy. What went on in No. 1's brain? He pictured to himself a cross-section through that brain, painted neatly with grey water-colour on a sheet of paper stretched on a drawing-board with drawing-pins. The whorls of grey matter swelled to entrails [intestines], they curled round







one another like muscular snakes, became vague and misty like the spiral nebulae, on astronomical charts. . . . What went on in the inflated grey whorls? One knew everything about the far-away nebulae, but nothing about the whorls. That was probably the reason that history was more of an oracle [prediction] than a science. Perhaps later, much later, it would be taught by means of tables of statistics, supplemented by such anatomical sections. The teacher would draw on the blackboard an algebraic formula representing the conditions of life of the masses of a particular nation at a particular period: "Here, citizens, you see the objective factors which conditioned this historical process." And, pointing with his ruler to a grey foggy landscape between the second and third lobe of No. 1's brain: "Now here you see the subjective reflection of these factors. It was this which in the second

quarter of the twentieth century led to the triumph of the totalitarian principle in the East of Europe." Until this stage was reached, politics would remain bloody dilettantism, mere superstition and black magic. . . .

from Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 10–12.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

- 1. What does Rubashov do to pass the time in prison?
- 2. What does he want to know about No. 1?
- 3. *Making Inferences* Why do you think Rubashov thinks obsessively about No. 1?





LITERATURE SELECTION from 1984 by George Orwell

Born in India, the British author George Orwell (1903–1950) wrote literary and political commentary for British magazines and newspapers. In 1948, he published his cautionary novel 1984, a depiction of the horrors of living under an unnamed totalitarian regime. As you read this excerpt from 1984, consider the role that the government plays in the daily life of the main character, Winston Smith.

It was a bright cold day in April, and the clocks
were striking thirteen. Winston Smith, his chin
nuzzled into his breast in an effort to escape the
vile wind, slipped quickly through the glass doors of
Victory Mansions, though not quickly enough to
prevent a swirl of gritty dust from entering along
with him.

The hallway smelt of boiled cabbage and old rag mats. At one end of it a colored poster, too large for indoor display, had been tacked to the wall. It depicted simply an enormous face, more than a meter wide: the face of a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black mustache and ruggedly handsome features. Winston made for the stairs. It was no use trying the lift [elevator]. Even at the best of times it was seldom working, and at present the electric current was cut off during daylight hours. It was part of the economy drive in preparation for Hate Week. The flat [apartment] was seven flights up, and Winston, who was thirty-nine and had a varicose ulcer above his right ankle, went slowly, resting several times on the way. On each landing, opposite the lift shaft, the poster with the enormous face gazed from the wall. It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. Big Brother Is Watching You, the caption beneath it ran.

Inside the flat a fruity voice was reading out a list of figures which had something to do with the production of pig iron. The voice came from an oblong metal plaque like a dulled mirror which formed part of the surface of the right-hand wall. Winston turned a switch and the voice sank somewhat, though the words were still distinguishable. The instrument (the telescreen, it was called) could be dimmed, but there was no way of shutting it off completely. He moved over to the window: a smallish, frail figure, the meagerness of his body merely emphasized by the blue overalls which were the uniform of the Party. His hair was very fair, his face

naturally sanguine, his skin roughened by coarse soap and blunt razor blades and the cold of the winter that had just ended.

Outside, even through the shut window pane, the world looked cold. Down in the street little eddies of wind were whirling dust and torn paper into spirals, and though the sun was shining and the sky a harsh blue, there seemed to be no color in anything except the posters that were plastered everywhere. The black-mustachio'd face gazed down from every commanding corner. There was one on the house front immediately opposite. Big Brother Is Watching You, the caption said, while the dark eyes looked deep into Winston's own. Down at street level another poster, torn at one corner, flapped fitfully in the wind, alternately covering and uncovering the single word INGSOC. In the far distance a helicopter skimmed down between the roofs, hovered for an instant like a bluebottle, and darted away again with a curving flight. It was the Police Patrol, snooping into people's windows. The patrols did not matter, however. Only the Thought Police mattered.

Behind Winston's back the voice from the telescreen was still babbling away about pig iron and the overfulfillment of the Ninth Three-Year Plan. The telescreen received and transmitted simultaneously. Any sound that Winston made, above the level of a very low whisper, would be picked up by it; moreover, so long as he remained within the field of vision which the metal plaque commanded, he could be seen as well as heard. There was of course no way of knowing whether you were being watched at any given moment. How often, or on what system, the Thought Police plugged in on any individual wire was guesswork. It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time. But at any rate they could plug in your wire whenever they wanted to. You had to live—did live, from habit that became instinct—in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except

in darkness, every movement scrutinized.

Winston kept his back turned to the telescreen. It was safer; though, as he well knew, even a back can be revealing. A kilometer away the Ministry of Truth, his place of work, towered vast and white above the grimy landscape. This, he thought with a sort of vague distaste—this was London, chief city of Airstrip One, itself the third most populous of the provinces of Oceania. He tried to squeeze out some childhood memory that should tell him whether London had always been quite like this. Were there always these vistas of rotting nineteenth-century

houses, their sides shored up with balks of timber, their windows patched with cardboard and their roofs with corrugated iron, their crazy garden walls sagging in all directions? And the bombed sites where the plaster dust swirled in the air and the willow herb straggled over the heaps of rubble; and the places where the bombs had cleared a larger patch and there had sprung up sordid colonies of wooden dwellings like chicken houses? But it was no use, he could not remember: nothing remained of his childhood except a series of bright-

lit tableaux [striking scenes], occurring against no background and mostly unintelligible.

The Ministry of Truth—Minitrue, in Newspeak [the official language of Oceania]—was startlingly different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, three hundred meters into the air. From where Winston stood it was just possible to read, picked out on its white face in elegant lettering the three slogans of the Party:

WAR IS PEACE FREEDOM IS SLAVERY IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH.

The Ministry of Truth contained, it was said, three thousand rooms above ground level, and corresponding ramifications [branches] below. Scattered about London there were just three other buildings of similar appearance and size. So completely did they dwarf the surrounding architecture that from the roof of Victory Mansions you could see all four of them simultaneously. They were the homes of the four Ministries between which the entire apparatus of government was divided: the Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education, and the fine arts; the Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war; the Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order; and the Ministry of Plenty,

which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluy, and Miniplenty.

The Ministry of Love was the really frightening one. There were no windows in it at all. Winston had never been inside the Ministry of Love, nor within half a kilometer of it. It was a place impossible to enter except on official business, and then only by penetrating through a maze of barbed-wire entanglements, steel doors, and hidden machine-gun nests. Even the streets leading up

to its outer barriers were roamed by gorilla-faced guards in black uniforms, armed with jointed truncheons [short sticks carried by police].

It was just possible to read . . . the three slogans of the Party:
WAR IS PEACE FREEDOM IS SLAVERY IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH.

Activity Options

- 1. *Using Visual Stimuli* Design a book jacket for 1984. Use colors and images that capture what life is like under a totalitarian regime. Display your book jacket in the classroom.
- 2. Analyzing Information With a small group of classmates, create a chart with these headings: Police Terror, Indoctrination, Propaganda, and Censorship. Then complete the chart by adding specific examples of methods used by the unnamed regime in 1984 to control and dominate its people. Share your group's findings with the class.

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HISTORYMAKERS Vladimir Lenin

Russian Revolutionary

"There is no other man who is absorbed by the revolution twenty-four hours a day, who has no other thoughts but the thought of revolution, and who even when he sleeps, dreams of nothing but revolution."—another Communist, speaking of Lenin

Vladimir Lenin was one of the century's most important leaders. Unhappy and disillusioned with the Russian monarchy, he led a group called the Bolsheviks in a revolution that gave him control of the largest nation in the world.

Born in 1870, Lenin was raised by two educated parents in a happy family. He showed intelligence and skill with classical languages. While in his teens, two shocks jolted his world. First, his father was threatened with losing his job by the government. Second, Lenin's older brother was hanged for conspiring against the czar. Within two years, Lenin had read the work of Karl Marx and believed that Russia needed a Communist revolution.

Lenin then began to write and to recruit new followers. He was arrested and served 15 months in prison followed by three years of exile in Siberia. When that ended in 1900, he traveled abroad, where he spent much of the next 17 years. During this time, he sharpened his ideas about Marxism.

Marxism said that industrial workers, called the proletariat, were in a struggle against capitalists, the people that owned businesses. Eventually, Marx said, the workers would overthrow the capitalists and form a new society called communism. However, Russia consisted mainly of peasants and only had a small number of industrial workers. Marxists wondered how a workers' revolution could occur.

Lenin saw the role of the party as essential, and his group became known as the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, he said, would lead the people to the revolution they needed. However, many Marxists found it difficult to accept Lenin's iron rule. In 1912, he forced those who disagreed with him out of the party.

World War I brought another crisis. Communists all over Europe ignored class loyalty and chose to fight for their country instead. They joined their nations' armies to fight each other—not the capitalists. Lenin said that the war would help capitalists profit while workers suffered. He urged that Communists "transform the imperialist war into a civil war."

As the war continued, the Russian people suffered terribly. In March 1917, hungry, angry workers and soldiers overthrew the czar. Lenin and his supporters won permission from Germany to travel through German lands back to Russia.

Lenin accepted the new temporary government but said that it was not revolutionary enough. He urged that power go to the soviets, which were councils of workers set up in many cities. His position grew dangerous. He was branded a German agent and was forced to live in hiding in Finland. From that base, he issued a stream of writings urging immediate Russian withdrawal from the war and for the government to give land and bread to the people. These cries gained popularity. In late October, he returned to Russia, disguised for his safety. He persuaded the party's leaders that it was time to overthrow the provisional government but watched with alarm as no steps were taken. Finally, on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the temporary government. The soviets chose the 47-year-old Lenin as their leader.

Lenin quickly made peace with Germany, giving up large chunks of Russian territory. A civil war, though, still raged in Russia between the Bolsheviks and their opponents. However, Lenin's leadership ensured that the new government would survive.

With peace came the question of how to rule the new state. The country was named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Bolsheviks renamed themselves the Communist Party. In Lenin's last years, he struggled to prevent Stalin from gaining power. Lenin became ill and died in 1924.

Questions

- 1. **Drawing Conclusions** What is the danger of Lenin's idea of party leadership?
- 2. **Making Inferences** Why did the Germans allow Lenin and his associates to return to Russia?
- 3. **Determining Main Ideas** What obstacles did Lenin have to overcome to achieve his revolution?

11



HISTORYMAKERS

Jiang Jieshi Twentieth-Century Confucian

"[Jiang was] a man with a compelling sense of public responsibility and an unquenchable thirst for personal power."—Historian Pichon P. Y. Loh

Political heir to the Nationalist Party leader Sun Yixian, Jiang Jieshi managed to secure Sun's goal of unifying China. Spiritual heir to the ancient philosopher Confucius, Jiang could not reinstate Confucian values, and his power melted in the face of communism.

Born in 1887, Jiang Jieshi, also known as Chiang Kai-shek, was the son of a salt merchant who died when Jiang was only nine years old. His mother wanted him to have a reverence for the ancient values of Confucius and to live up to high expectations. "I do not expect you to secure wealth or a high position in government but to render loyal service to your country and to maintain the reputation of your ancestors," she said. Those ancestors, she told him, included Tan, duke of Chou, a legendary leader of ancient China.

Jiang began military training in 1906, which took place partly in Japan. He learned personal discipline and control, values that fit with Confucian teaching. In Japan he also joined an existing group of Chinese rebels. These young revolutionaries had two goals: to overthrow the foreign Qing Dynasty and to form a republic. When this revolution broke out in 1912, Jiang hurried back to China to fight. He built a close relationship with Sun Yixian, the leader, and by 1923 was his chief of staff.

Sun died in 1925, and Jiang faced three major challenges. First, the Nationalist Party still had not won control of China. Warlords dominated many areas. Second, factions split the Nationalists, as different leaders maneuvered to take Sun's place. Third, the influence of Chinese Communists was growing. Nevertheless, Jiang skillfully forced a competitor for leadership to retire. Then he jailed many Communists—including future Chinese leader Mao Zedong. However, Jiang did not completely suppress them. As a result, he was able to continue receiving aid from the Soviet Union.

In 1927, Jiang achieved three major successes. He launched the Great Northern Expedition, giving him control of southern, eastern, and western China. More secure, he finally expelled the Communists from the party. He also married Song

Meiling, member of a family of Chinese business people.

Jiang hoped to instill his own discipline in China. He launched the "New Life Movement" that aimed to reintroduce Confucian values. However, his program could never be completed. Conflict with the Communists continued, and in 1931 Japan invaded the northern province of Manchuria. Jiang avoided fighting the Japanese, focusing on the Communists instead. Then in 1936, one of his commanders kidnapped him and forced him to agree to join with the Communists against Japan.

In the beginning of that war, Jiang enjoyed wide popularity, but over time he lost it. He received military and financial aid from the United States but continued his policy of avoiding combat with Japan. He preserved his equipment for the coming battle with the Communists and let them do the bulk of the fighting. His army became soft, and the Communist troops became battle-hardened. The Communists won support with their fighting and their promises to give land to the peasants.

After World War II ended, both sides resumed their conflict. The United States tried to broker a settlement, but Jiang and the Communists could not agree. In 1949, the Nationalists lost to the Communists, and Jiang and his followers fled to the island of Taiwan. He ruled until his death in 1975, living a quiet life, promoting Confucian values, and guarding Taiwan's standing as the "true" China. In his last years, though, the United States warmed relations with Communist China. In 1971, he saw the United States allow the United Nations vote that took away Taiwan's seat in the UN and gave it to Communist China.

Questions

- 1. Following Chronological Order Make a time line of Jiang's life.
- 2. **Determining Main Ideas** What two things did Jiang's mother teach him as a boy?
- 3. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects
 Why did Jiang lose popular support and the
 Communists gain it?

Niamad'	4			
Name	*****		 	

Date _____

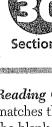


Nationalist Revolutions in Latin America and Asia



Social unrest and Enlightenment ideas sparked nationalist revolutions throughout Latin America during the early 19th century. How do these revolutionary movements compare with nationalist revolutions in India and Southwest Asia some 100 years later? Review the information in Chapters 24 and 30 and then answer the questions.

1. During the 1800s, Creoles living in Latin America were educated in Europe.	S
Inspired by Enlightenment ideas, they returned home and spearheaded independence	
movements. What role did Indians who were educated in Britain play in the movement	
for the independence of India?	
for the independence of india.	
	-
2. Creole aristocrats resented how Spanish viceroys treated them unjustly, suppressing	
many of their rights. How did Western-educated Indians view their treatment by	
the British?	
3. Napoleon's conquest of Spain in 1808 triggered nationalist revolts in Spanish colonies.	•
a. How did the war in Europe affect Indian nationalism?	
a. How did the man in zerope that	
b. How did changes in Europe after World War I spur the rise of nationalism in	
Southwest Asia?	
	·
4. Led by Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín, South American countries achieved	٠.
independence through military victories over Spanish forces. Military victories also	
led to independence for Turkey and Persia. India, however, used civil disobedience	
and nonviolence as vehicles for change. What factors might account for the different	• 1
strategies used to achieve independence?	
	•
5. Independence brought disunity and increased poverty to Latin America. What problems	}
did India face as it moved toward total independence from Britain?	



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Revolutions in Russia

Reading Comprehension Find the name or term in the second column that best matches the description in the first column. Then write the letter of your answer(s) in the blank.

	Czar who turned Russia into a police state	- A. Bloody Sunday
1.	Czar who turned rtussia into a ponce state	11. Dioday Builday
2.	Under Russian Marxism, the group of workers who would rule the country	B. Bolsheviks
3.	Radical Marxist group willing to sacrifice everything for	C. provisional government
	change	D. Soviets
	Main leader of the Bolsheviks	E. Leon Trotsky
5.	Another name for the Revolution of 1905 in St. Petersburg	F. Lenin
6.	Alleged healer who Czarina Alexandra allowed to make decisions in Nicholas II's absence	G. Communist Party
	decisions in Pronous 11s absorbed	H. Alexander III
7.	Another term for temporary government	
8.	In Russia, local councils consisting of workers, peasants,	I. Rasputin
	and soldiers	J. proletariat
9.	Revolutionary leader who commanded the Bolshevik Red Army	
10	Now many for the Polcharila after the revolution	



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Totalitarianism Case Study: Stalinist Russia

1. Lenin's successor, who worked to control every aspect of life in the Soviet Union, was	`5. A group of officially-sponsored atheists who spread propaganda attacking religion was the
a. Joseph Stalin.	a. Bolshevik Party.
b. Leon Trotsky.	b. Red Army.
c. Nicholas II.	c. Great Purge.
d. Rasputin.	d. League of the Militant Godless.
2. A government that takes total, centralized control over all aspects of public and private life is an example of a. dictatorship. b. monarchy. c. totalitarianism.	6. A system in which the government makes all economic decisions is called a. a command economy. b. a dictatorship. c. a totalitarian economy. d. communism.
d. socialism.	
 3. Totalitarian leaders used all of the following methods of control except a. propaganda. b. indoctrination. c. censorship. d. free elections. 4. Stalin's campaign of terror designed to eliminate anyone who threatened his power was called a. a pogram. b. the Great Purge. c. the Terror. d. the Russian Revolution. 	 7. Stalin's proposals for the development of the Soviet Union's economy were called a. economic blueprints. b. Ten-Year Plans. c. Five-Year Plans. d. command economics. 8. The agricultural revolution in the USSR combined privately-owned farms into large, government-owned farms called a. communist collectives. b. collective farms. c. experimental farms. d. plantations.

ame	Date	
		-



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Imperial China Collapses

Clarifying Write T in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write F in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below it.				
	n the early 1900s, China experienced an inner conflict between modernization and dhering to the traditional ways.			
2. T	he Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, was against modernization and nationalization.			
3. A	as president of the new republic, Sun Yixian wanted to increase foreign control in the ounty, support democracy, and ensure economic security for all Chinese people.			
4. T	The May Fourth Movement was a reaction against the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, in which Allied leaders gave Japan territories China had expected to receive.			
5. N	Mao Zedong was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party.			
6. S	Sun Yixian and the Communist Party set up a government in south China.			
7. J	iang Jieshi headed the Kuomintang after Sun Yixian died in 1925.			
8. I	Mao Zedong became president of the Nationalist Republic of China in 1928.			
	The "Long March" refers to the 6,000-mile flight of the Chinese Communists from the Nationalist forces			
	The Japanese invasion of China forced a temporary truce between Mao's and Jiang's forces.			



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

Sentence Completion Select the name or term that best completes the sentence. Write the name or term in the blank.

	Amritsar Massacre	Indian National Congress		
	Salt March Mustafa Kemal	civil disobedience Rowlatt Acts		
	Government of India Act	Reza Shah Pahlavi Mohandas K. Gandhi		
	Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud			
	Muslim League			
1.	Two groups committed to ridding Inc	lia of foreign rule:		
	· · ·			
У.		he government to jail Indian protesters		
	without trial for as long as two years:			
3	The killing of nearly 400 Indians who	were protecting the Rowlatt Acts		
٥.	The kinning of hearry 100 filedans who	were protesting the Howalt Acts:		
٠.				
4.	Leader of the independence moveme	ent in India:		
	The denberate and public refusal to C	bbey an unjust law:		
6		et led by Gandhi:		
.0,				
7.	1935 law that provided for limited de	mocratic elections but not total independence		
.7	in india:			
		nationalists in fighting back the Greeks and		
	•			
9.	Persian leader who changed the coun	try's name to Iran:		
10.	Member of a once-powerful Arabian	family who began a campaign to		

unify Arabia: