THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

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Modern World History
Chapter 14





Graphic Organizer

Czars uphold autocracy despite widespread poverty CAUSE and government inefficiency. Various revolutionary groups formed to overthrow **EFFECT** czarist rule. World War I brings military defeats, economic CAUSE miserv. Czar Nicholas II abdicates; provisional government **EFFECT** takes over (1917). **CAUSE** Bolsheviks overthrow provisional government. Civil war begins between Bolsheviks and their **EFFECT** opponents. Bolsheviks win civil war. **CAUSE** Lenin becomes Russian leader, creates Soviet Union, **EFFECT** eliminates dissent.

CAUSE

Stalin gains total control of Soviet Union (1928).

EFFECT

Stalin launches bloody drive to industrialize and collectivize Soviet economy.

THE SOVIET UNION IN THE 1930'S

PART 1: Label the following:

Europe Iran China Sakhalin

Finland Afghanistan Korea Arctic Ocean Turkey India Japan Pacific Ocean

PART 2: Shade in the territory of the Soviet Union and label the socialist republics that make up the country.

PART 3: Create a key in the blank box.

PART 4: Answer the following questions.

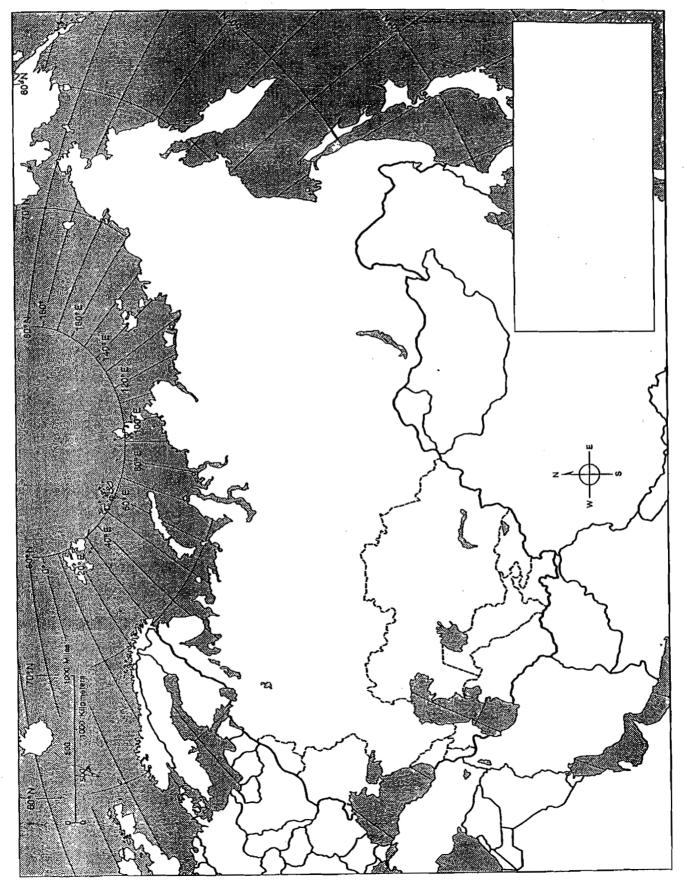
1. Which nations border the Soviet Union to the south?

2. What island was divided between the Soviet Union and Japan?

3. What problems could the size and location of the Soviet Union present to its government?

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49 The Soviet Union in the 1930s



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Geography Skills Worksheet 28

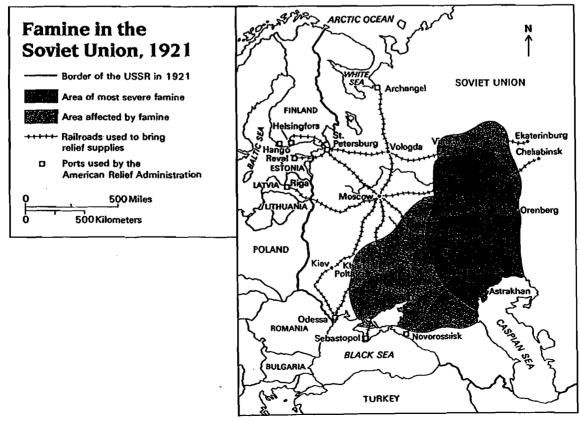
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Chapter 28 ◆ Russia in Revolution

The strains of World War I, revolution, and civil war shattered the Russian economy. By 1921, many people in the country were starving. The famine of 1921 may have killed as many as 10 million people. The American Relief Administration and other foreign aid groups saved the lives of about 4 million others.

an	d other foreign aid groups saved the lives of about 4 million others.
1.	(a) What river flowed through the most seriously stricken region? (b) Into what body of water does that river empty?
	(a) (b)
2.	What information on this map indicates that Moscow was the major economic and industrial center in the nation?
3.	(a) At what port could a ship deliver food directly to the famine-stricken area? (b) Name three other ports close to the area.
	(a) (b)
4.	If supplies went by rail from Archangel to Orenburg, what cities would they pass through?
5.	(a) What city on the map has no main railroad connections? (b) How might supplies reach it?
	(a) (b)
	Famine in the Soviet Union, 1921 Border of the USSR in 1921



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GUIDED READING Revolutions in Russia

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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				4		,
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7. November 1917 Revolution					•	
8. Civil war between the Red and White armies						
9. Organization of Russia into republics						
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10. Karl Marx						
11. V. I. Lenin				·		
12. Leon Trotsky						
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Trans-Siberian Railway

Duma

Rasputin

soviet





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

Recognizing Facts and Details

- 1. When did the soldiers start firing on the marchers?
- 2. According to this excerpt, who were among the victims of the shooting?
- 3. Perceiving Cause and Effect 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.



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Chapter 28

Russia in Revolution

THE PLIGHT OF THE RUSSIAN PEASANT

♦ Section 1

The harsh conditions under which Russian peasants lived led to hundreds of small uprisings in the years preceding the revolution of 1917. Russian historian Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov described those conditions during a tour of the United States in the early 1900's.

Prior to the emancipation of the peasants, forty years ago, economic life in Russia still preserved its medieval character. It was based on home production for home consumption—at least so far as peasant life was concerned. The outlay for food, lodging, clothing, fuel, and light—in short, for all the chief items of the family budget—was practically raught. A man paid nothing for his own hovel: he fed on the products of his own field and garden; he was amply supplied with homespun clothing. . . . Now, however, all this had changed. Wooden chips have given way to a kerosene smoker [lamp]; homespun linen has been superseded by calicoes, while woolen stuffs have disappeared without a substitute; fuel has become very scarce and expensive. Food—which consists of vegetable products alone—is insufficiently supplied; too often it has to be bought by the grain-producers themselves: ...

Why have the conditions of life thus changed? In Russia you may sometimes hear the explanation, on the part of the former landlords, that it is because the Russian peasant has become lazy; that he is now a spendthrift, since nobody is there to take care of him. This is adduced as a reason why the peasant prefers factory products

to those of his own making. The fact is that the peasant now is too poor to utilize his and his family's work for himself; and, at the same time, he has no more raw material for his home industry. He can no longer have his clothes prepared by the women of his own family, because he has no more wool or linen to spare. His new expenses for the factory calico are certainly not inspired by any taste for fancy articles, but by mere necessity; and his purchases are generally cheap and of inferior quality. He can hardly be accused of lavishness on the ground that he has to buy some food in the market, since the fact is that on an average his yearly consumption is still below the necessary minimum. . . . To be sure, he will not be found buying meat, because on the average he eats meat only four times a year. . . .

If the Russian peasant has no time to work for himself; if he is fatally underfed and underclothed; if he needs money badly, it is, first and foremost, because he is compelled to perform his functions as a taxpayer. He does his best to pay his taxes; and if, in spite of all his exertions, he accumulated arrears upon arrears, it is not because he will not, but because he cannot, pay.

1.	What were the economic conditions of Russian peasants before emancipation?			
2.	How had conditions changed in the 40 years since emancipation?			
3.	What, according to the author, is the foremost reason why peasants do not have the money they need to purchase goods?			



THINKING SKILL WORKSHEET

Name	Da	ate

A Demand for Revolution: **Analyzing a Primary Source**

The following selection is from a proclamation made by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies on March 13, 1917. Read the selection carefully and answer the questions that follow.

To the People of Petrograd and Russia

The old regime has brought the country to ruin and the population to famine. It was impossible to bear this longer, and the inhabitants of Petrograd came out on the street to express their dissatisfaction. They were greeted by a volley of bullets. In place of bread, the [czar's] ministers gave them lead.

But the soldiers would not act against the people and turned against the government. Together with the people, they seized guns, arsenals, and important governmental institutions.

The fight is still on and must go on to the end. The old power must be completely crushed to make way for popular government. In that lies the salvation of Russia.

In order to succeed in this struggle for democracy, the people must create their own governmental organ. Yesterday, March 12, there was formed at the capital a Soviet of Workers' Deputies, made up of representatives of factories, mills, revolted troops, and democratic and socialistic parties and groups. The Soviet . . . has set for itself as its main task to organize the popular forces. . . .

The Soviet has appointed commissars to establish the people's authority in the wards of Petrograd. We invite the entire population of the capital to rally at once to the Soviet, to organize local committees in their wards and to take into their hands the management of local affairs.

All together, with our forces united, we will fight to wipe out completely the old government.

1.	What grievances against the czar are expressed in the proclamation?
2.	According to the proclamation, why was the government's attempt to stop protest unsuccessful?
3.	What goal does the proclamation support?
4.	How does the proclamation propose that the people reach this goal?



LENIN'S RETURN

Lenin's triumphant return to Petrograd in 1917 was a turning point in the Russian Revolution. The excerpt below is taken from the memoirs of an eyewitness who was a member of the Petrograd Soviet.

... A thunderous Marseillaise boomed forth on the platform, and shouts of welcome rang out. We stayed in the imperial waiting-rooms while the Bolshevik generals exchanged greetings. Then we heard them marching along the platform, under the triumphal arches, to the sound of the band, and between rows of welcoming troops and workers. The gloomy Chkheidze [the president of the Petrograd Soviet], the rest of us after him, got up, went to the middle of the room and prepared for the meeting. And what a meeting it was, worthy of—more than my wretched pen! . . .

Lenin came, or rather ran into the room. He wore a round cap, his face looked frozen, and there was a magnificent bouquet in his hands. Running to the middle of the room, he stopped in front of Chkheidze as though colliding with a completely unexpected obstacle. And Chkheidze, still glum, pronounced the following "speech of welcome" with not only the spirit and wording but also the tone of a sermon:

"Comrade Lenin, in the name of the Petersburg Soviet and of the whole revolution we welcome you to Russia. . . . But—we think that the principal task of the revolutionary democracy is now the defence of the revolution from any encroachments either from within or without. We consider that what this goal requires is not disunion, but the closing of the democratic ranks. We hope you will pursue these goals together with us."

[Lenin replied:]

... "Dear comrades, ... I am happy to greet in your persons the victorious Russian revolution, and greet you as the vanguard of the world-wide proletarian army ... the piratical imperialist war is the beginning of civil war throughout Europe ... world wide socialism has already dawned.... Germany is seething



Lenin

... any day now the whole of European capitalism may crash. The Russian revolution accomplished by you has prepared the way and opened a new epoch. Long live the world-wide socialist revolution."

Suddenly, before the eyes of all of us, completely swallowed up by the routine drudgery of the revolution, there was presented a bright, blinding, exotic beacon. . . . Lenin's voice, heard straight from the train, was a 'voice from outside.' There had broken in upon us in the revolution a note that was . . . novel, harsh as well as somewhat deafening.

 Why was this song played as Lenin returned triumphantly

	ess Chapter
2.	(a) What was the Petrograd Soviet (textbook page 611) of which Chkheidze v president?
	(b) Based on his "welcoming speech," describe Chkheidze's attitude toward Lenin's return.

state of mind of the revolutionaries who came to greet Lenin
n change their mood?
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ection, how do you think the author felt about Lenin and the ation he preached? Support your answer with evidence from

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NameClass	Chapter	♦ Section	(12)

LENIN ON THE TREATY OF BREST LITOVSK

The Treaty of Brest Litovsk was humiliating to Russia and turned many Russians against the Bolsheviks. The excerpt below is taken from a speech in which Lenin justified his reasons for signing the treaty.

Until now our revolution enjoyed a period of comparative independence. It was a period of great triumphs. We conquered the bourgeoisie, the landlords, and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. This we were able to accomplish because we were left unmolested by the beasts of international imperialism. But now we are entering upon a new period of defeats and trials. We have to give way to forces . . . of international capitalism which are attacking us. The proletariat of the world has not given its assistance in time. We had to face the enemy single-handed and we suffered defeat. The thing for us to do now is to retreat . . . while waiting for a more favorable situation and allowing the proletariat of the world to gather strength to defeat the enemy.

This is where the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Left go wrong. Instead of analyzing the international situation and the conditions of the class struggle, they point to the humiliating character of the treaty and use revolutionary phrases to appeal to our emotions and feelings of indignation. But revolutionary phrases will not do. We have no army; we could not keep the army at the front. We need peace to gain a breathing spell to give the masses a chance to create new forms of life. In all probability that breathing spell will be of short duration. The period of imperialistic wars is over, and we are entering a new period of revolutionary wars on an international scale. We must prepare for the struggle. Victory is certain. The proletariat of the world understands that Russia is fighting its cause. It is our true ally. After we have rested, then, together with the international proletariat, we shall start a new November revolution, but this time on a world

1.	Why, according to Lenin, had the revolutionaries initially enjoyed success?
2.	Who are the "forces of international capitalism" that are attacking Russia?
3.	(a) To whom did Lenin look for help?(b) How has this group failed Russia?
4.	What, according to Lenin, is Russia's next step?
5.	How does Lenin try to enlist support for his decision to sign the treaty?





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

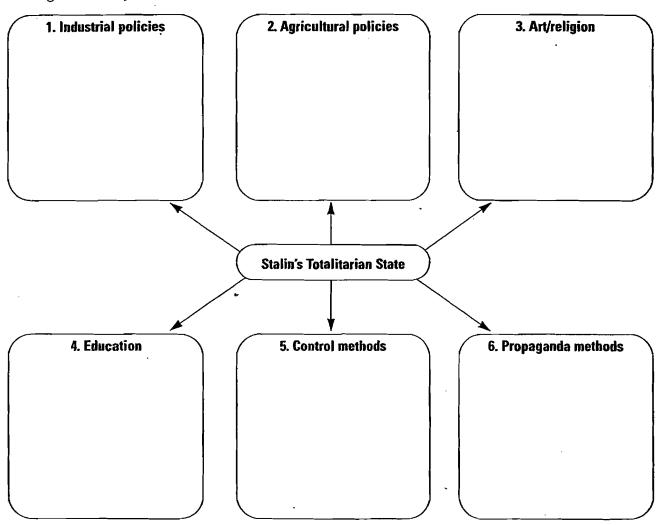
- 1. **Drawing Conclusions** What is the danger of Lenin's idea of party leadership?
- 2. Making Inferences Why did the Germans allow Lenin and his associates to return to Russia?
- 3. Recognizing Facts and Details What obstacles did Lenin have to overcome to achieve his revolution?

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GUIDED READING Patterns of Change: Totalitarianism

A. Recognizing Facts and Details As you read this section, fill in the web diagram with key characteristics of Stalinist Russia.



B. Using Context Clues Define or identify each of the following terms:

totalitarianism	command economy	collective farm	kulak	

Date	Stalin became dictator.
Match the statement to the Soviet leader whom it best describes by pl	lacing S or L in the blank.
S. Stalin L. Lenin	
1. He was dedicated to the idea of world revolution.	
2. He coined the phrase "socialism in one country."	
3. He set production targets for every industry.	
4. He crushed the Kronstadt revolt.	
5. He brought old Bolsheviks to trial for crimes against the sta	te.
6. He outlined a Five Year Plan for the Soviet Union.	
7. He outlined the New Economic Policy.	
8. He blended Russian nationalism with Marxism.	
9. He moved the capital from Petrograd to Moscow.	
10. Under his rule, the Soviet economy rivaled Germany's by 19	938.
11. He created a revolution in agriculture and in industry.	
12. He killed 5 to 10 million peasants.	
13. He used the slogan "Peace, Land, and Bread."	
14. He helped bring about the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.	
15. He feared an invasion by foreign enemies.	
16. He stated "we shall now proceed to construct the socialist	order."
17. He wanted the Soviet Union to become a great industrial po	ower.
18. He believed Germany would soon experience a socialist rev	olution.
19. He refused to tolerate even the slightest dissent.	
20. He suppressed all religion in the USSR.	
II. Based on your answers to the previous exercise, identify at least t differed from those of Lenin.	two areas in which Stalin's goals
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22.	

— Independent Practice Worksheet **28.4**

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COLLECTIVIZATION

Part of Stalin's master plan to modernize the Soviet Union was the collectivization of agriculture. In the excerpt below, opponent Victor Serge speaks out against this program.

The real policy had been outlined by Molotov ... the development of collective agricultural cultivation.... A slow development was envisaged, spread over many years, since collective agriculture could only replace piecemeal cultivation stage by stage as the State supplied the farms with the equipment that was indispensable to mechanized cultivation. But, as it was, war had been declared on the peasantry through the requisitioning. If the State confiscates the grain, what is the use of sowing? In the following spring, statistics will show that the area under wheat has shrunk: a peasants' strike. There is only one way of forcing them: compulsory cooperatives, administered by the Communists. Will persuasion succeed? The independent farmer who has resisted the . . . coercion turns out to be freer and better fed than his fellows. The Government draws the conclusion that collectivization must be total and abrupt. However, the folk of the soil are putting up a bitter defense. How can their resistance be broken? By expropriation and mass deportation of the rich peasants or kulaks and of any that may be classified as kulaks. This is what is called "the liquidation of the kulaks as a class."

Will it ever be known how terrible was the disorganization of agriculture that resulted? Rather than hand over their livestock... the peasants slaughter the beasts, sell the meat... and make boots out of the leather. Through this destruction, the country passes from poverty to famine.

The women came to deliver the cattle confiscated by the [State], but made a rampart of their own bodies around the beasts: "Go on, bandits shoot!" And why should these rebels not be shot at? In a Kuban market-town whose entire population was deported, the women undressed in their houses, thinking that no one would dare make them go out naked; they were driven out as they were to the cattle-trucks, beaten with rifle-butts.

Trainloads of deported peasants left for the icy North, the forests, the steppes, the deserts. These were whole populations, denuded of everything; the old folk starved to death in mid-journey, new-born babies were buried on the banks of the roadside, and each wilderness had its crops of little crosses of boughs or white wood. Other populations, dragging all their mean possessions on wagons, rushed towards the frontiers of Poland, Rumania, and China and crossed them . . . in spite of the machine guns. . . .

1.	(a) How was the process of collectivization originally envisioned?
	(b) How has the process actually been implemented?
2.	In the beginning, the government tried to persuade Russian farmers to collectivize. (a) How did many farmers respond?
	(b) How did those who resisted fare?
3.	The author describes methods of resistance. How does his choice of examples show the desperation and determination of the resistors?





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 ACommunists 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. Stearns, ed., Documents in World History (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 128-129.

Discussion Questions

- 1. Recognizing Facts and Details 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. Inferring Main Idea How does Stalin attempt to motivate the industrial managers in this speech?



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Chapter 28

Primary Source Activity

The contemporary poet and novelist Yevgeny Yevtushenko grew up in Siberia during the 1930s, at the height of Stalin's power. His family, formerly from Ukraine, was patriotic and believed in the ideals of the Revolution, despite the brutality of Stalin's regime. In this excerpt, Yevtushenko recalls his feelings when he was five. • As you read, think about what life is like in a dictatorship. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions that follow.



Growing Up in Stalin's Russia

Inever saw my grandfather again. My mother told me he had gone away for a long trip. I didn't know that on that very night he had been arrested on a charge of high treason. I didn't know that my mother stood night after night in that street with the beautiful name, Marine Silence Street, among thousands of other women who were also trying to find out whether their fathers, husbands, brothers, sons were still alive. I was to learn all this later.

But at this time I knew nothing.

I went with my father and mother to watch the holiday parades, organized worker's demonstrations, and I would beg my father to lift me up a little higher.

I wanted to catch sight of Stalin. And as I waved my small red flag, riding high in my father's arms above that sea of heads, I had

the feeling that Stalin was looking right at me.

I was filled with a terrible envy of those children my age lucky enough to be chosen to hand bouquets of flowers to Stalin and whom he gently patted on the head, smiling his famous smile into his famous mustache. To explain away the cult of Stalin's personality by saying simply that it was imposed by force is, to say the least, rather naive. There is no doubt that Stalin exercised a sort of hypnotic charm.

Many genuine Bolsheviks who were arrested at that time utterly refused to believe that this had happened with his knowledge, still less on his personal instructions. Some of them, after being tor-

> tured, traced the words "Long live Stalin" in their own blood on the walls of their prison.

> Did the Russian people understand what was really happening? I think the broad masses did not. They sensed intuitively that something was wrong, but no one wanted to believe what he guessed at in his heart. It would have been too terrible.

The Russian people preferred to work rather than to think and to analyze. . . . They worked in a furi-

ous desperation, drowning with the thunder of machines, tractors, and bulldozers the cries that might have reached them across the barbed wire of Siberian concentration camps.

Source: "A Precocious Autobiography," trans. Andrew R. MacAndrew, in Yevtushenko's Reader (E. P. Dutton, 1972).

Questions to Think About

. . no one want-

ed to believe what

he guessed at in his

heart. It would have

been too terrible. "

- 1. As a small boy, how did the author regard Stalin?
- 2. What evidence of Stalin's brutality does Yevtushenko mention in this excerpt?
- 3. Identifying Central Issues According to Yevtushenko, what did ordinary Russian people think about Stalin's rule? How did they avoid acknowledging reality?
- 4. Activity Stalin's government, like other totalitarian regimes, tried to recruit young people.

 Research and report on some of the programs aimed at young people in the Soviet Union in this period, such as the Young Pioneers. How were they organized? What did their members do?

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Chapter 28

Biography Activity

Chapter 11 MODERN ERA EDITION

aroughout the upheavals of the Bolshevik revolution and Stalin's rule, some Soviet writers and artists defied authority to create as they believed. One was Anna Akhmatova, one of the greatest Russian poets of the twentieth century. Despite persecution, she continued to write, becoming a symbol of resistance and leaving us a record of what life was like in those times.

♦ As you read, think about the effects of political persecution on an artist. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions that follow.

Anna Akhmatova (1889-1966)

Anna Akhmatova belonged to a generation of Russian writers who grew up in a world of revolution and war. As adults, they lived through Stalinist terror. All came to know persecution and personal tragedy. Akhmatova's first husband was executed in 1921 on Lenin's orders. Her only child

was in and out of a Stalinist prison for 18 years. Another husband died in a Siberian labor camp in 1953. For most of her life, authorities denounced her writing.

Born Anna Andreyevna Gorenko, Anna began writing oetry when she was 11. Jisapproving of this career, her father told her to use a pen name, not the family name—she chose Akhmatova from a grandmother.

Akhmatova and others began the "Acmeist" movement, which emphasized form, reality, and "beautiful clarity." Clear, direct images are typical of Akhmatova's poems, most of which are intensely personal lyrics. Two collections published in 1912 and 1914 made her work very popular. For a few years she traveled and published freely. She visited France, where she met other artists. In 1910 she married another poet, Nikolai Gumilev; they had a son Lev but were later divorced.

Revolution and World War I brought terrible changes. Akhmatova's work did not suit official Soviet critics, who denounced her as "a bourgeois aristocratic poetess" whose work was "alien to Soviet literature." For some 20 years, until the 1940s, her poetry could not be published officially. Even

after that, it often appeared in samizdat, or underground, literature. She could not travel or even correspond with writers in other countries.

Life was dangerous for Soviet writers in the 1930s and 1940s. They were often arrested, interrogated, and sent to prison. Akhmatova's circle of friends included other persecuted writers, such as Boris Pasternak and Osip Mandelstam. Mandelstam died in a labor camp, as did Akhmatova's husband, the art his-

torian Nikolai Punin.

Life was hard even for survivors. For most of those years, Akhmatova lived and worked in a crowded communal St. Petersburg apartment. There she wrote "Requiem," a sequence of poems that reflect the frightening atmosphere of the time. She also spent over 20 years working on "Poem Without a Hero," a long, powerful work that sums up her thoughts and experiences.

ILLUSTRATION/PHOTO CREDIT THE GRANGER COLLECTION.

Questions to Think About

- 1. What events changed Akhmatova's career from success to hardship?
- 2. What kinds of persecution did Akhmatova and other Soviet writers face under Stalin's rule?
- 3. Recognizing Ideologies Why might a dictator such as Stalin want to control even art forms such as poetry and music?



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Chapter 28

History Through Literature

Chapter 11
MODERN ERA
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For many people, writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was the voice and conscience of humanity in the repressive Soviet regime (Survey Edition page 727; Modern Era Edition page 311). In 1970 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his firm stand but was unable to leave the Soviet Union to accept it. For his outspokenness, Solzhenitsyn had spent years in Soviet prison camps in the late 1940s, experiences that were reflected in One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (1961) and later, in the epic novel The Gulag Archipelago (1973). Late in the 1970s Solzhenitsyn left Russia and went into exile. This passage from One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich pictures life in a Stalinist labor camp. • As you read, notice the devices prisoners use to survive. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions that follow.

Vocabulary Before you begin reading, find the meaning of these words in a dictionary: wangle, gruel, caldron, groats, nettles.

One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich

It wasn't a good idea to get your felt boots wet in the morning. You didn't have anything extra to change into, even if you could run back to your barracks. During his eight years inside, Shukhov had seen all kinds of ups and downs in the footwear situation. There'd been times when they'd gone around all winter without any felt boots at all, times when they hadn't even seen ordinary boots but only shoes made of birch bark or shoes of the "Chelyabinsk Tractor Factory model" (that is, made of strips of tires that left the marks of the tread behind them).

Now the boot situation had begun to look up. In October-this because he'd once managed to wangle himself a trip to the stores with the number-two man in his gang-Shukhov had gotten a pair of sturdy boots with good strong toes that were roomy enough inside for two thicknesses of warm foot-cloths. For a week he was on top of the world and went around knocking his new heels together with joy. Then felt boots were issued in December and life was great. You didn't want to die. Then some swine in the bookkeeping department put a bug in the Commandant's ear: "Let 'em have the felt boots, but make 'em hand in the others. It's not right for a prisoner to have two pairs at the same time." So Shukhov had to choose whether he'd get through the whole winter in the new boots or take the felt boots—right through the spring thaws—and hand in the new ones. He'd treated them with loving care, he rubbed them with grease to make the leather soft, those lovely new boots. During the whole eight years, nothing had hit him more than having to turn in those boots. They'd been dumped with all the others in one heap, and he'd never find them again in the spring....

Today (this didn't often happen) there wasn't a big crowd lined up in front of the mess hall. So he went straight in.

> It was like a steam bath insidewhat with the frosty air coming in through the doors and the steam from the thin camp gruel [soup]. The men were sitting at tables or crowding in the spaces between them, waiting for places. Shouting their way through the mob, two or three prisoners from each gang were carrying bowls of gruel and mush on wooden trays and looking for a place for them on the tables. And even so, they don't hear you, the dopes, they bump into your tray and you spill the stuff! And then you let them have it in the neck with your free hand! That's how to do it. Teach them to get in the way looking out for leftovers.

On the other side of the table there was a young fellow who was crossing himself before he started to eat. Must have been a Western

times when they'd gone around all winter without any felt boots at all, times when they hadn't even seen ordinary boots but only shoes made of birch bark.

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History Through Literature

(continued)

Ukrainian and new to the place. The Russians didn't even remember which hand you cross yourself with.

It was cold sitting in the mess hall and most of the men ate with their caps on, but without hurrying, chasing bits of rotten fish among the cabbage leaves and spitting the bones out on the table. When there was a whole pile of them, someone would sweep them off before the next gang came, and they were ground underfoot on the floor.

Spitting the bones out on the floor was thought bad manners.

In the middle of the mess hall there were two rows of what you might call pillars or supports. Fetyukov, another fellow from the same gang, was sitting by one of them and guarding Shukhov's breakfast. He didn't count for much in the gangeven less than Shukhov. To look at them, the gangwas all the same—the same black overcoats and numbers—but underneath they were all different. You couldn't ask the Captain to guard your bowl, and there were jobs even Shukhov wouldn't do—jobs that were beneath him.

Fetyukov spotted Shukhov and gave up his seat with a sigh.

"It's all cold now. I was going to eat it for you—I thought you were in the cooler [jail]." He didn't wait around. He knew that Shukhov wouldn't leave him any. He'd polish off both bowls himself.

Shukhov pulled his spoon out of his boot. He was very fond of his spoon, which had gone with him all over the North. He'd made it himself from aluminum wire and cast it in sand....

Then Shukhov took his cap off his shaved head—however cold it was, he would never eat with it on. He stirred up the cold gruel and took a quick look to see what was in his bowl. It was the usual thing. It hadn't been ladled from the top of the caldron, but it wasn't the stuff from the bottom either. He wouldn't put it past Fetyukov to pinch a potato from it.

The only good thing about camp gruel was it was usually hot, but what Shukhov had was now quite cold. Even so, he ate it slow and careful like he always did. Mustn't hurry now, even if the roof caught fire. Apart from sleeping, the prisoners' time was their own only for ten minutes at breakfast, five minutes at the noon break, and five minutes at supper.

The gruel didn't change from one day to the next. It depended on what vegetables they'd stored for winter. The year before they'd only stocked up with salted carrots, so there was nothing but carrots in the gruel from September to June, when they ran out of vegetables and started using groats [crushed grain] instead. The worst time was July, when they put shredded nettles in the caldron.

The fish was mostly bones. The flesh was boiled off except for bits on the tails and the heads. Not leaving a single scale or speck of flesh on the skeleton, Shukhov crunched and sucked the bones and spit them out on the table. He didn't leave anything—not even the gills or the tail. He ate the eyes too when they were still in place, but when they'd come off and were floating around in the bowl on their own he didn't eat them. The others laughed at him for this.

Shukhov made a kind of saving today. He hadn't been back to his barracks to collect his bread ration, and now he was eating without it. Bread—well, you could always eat that by itself, and he'd feel less hungry later on.

Questions to Think About

- 1. What major disappointment did Shukhov have to deal with when winter came?
- **2.** How does Solzhenitsyn show the relationships between the prisoners?
- 3. Determining Relevance What old customs still persist among the prisoners? Why might the writer have included these details?
- 4. Humanities Link What do conditions in the camp tell you about the government that set up such places for political dissidents?

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inking Worksheet 28

French and Russian Revolutions ikili: Comparing and Contrasting

By comparing and contrasting the way revolutions occur in different times and places, historians are able to identify phases that revolutions have in common. In the left column below are a number of statements about events in the French Revolution. Fill in the right column by identifying comparable events in the Russian Revolution and explaining how they are alike or different.

French Revolution	Russian Revolution
1. In 1789, the French Revolution got underway with the summoning of the French Estates General. This gathering put an end to the Old Regime.	
2. Lack of funds forced the French king to call the Estates General.	
3. In France, although the peasants were the most deprived social class, it was the bourgeoisie who initiated the revolution.	
4. Initially the goals of the French Revolution were to gain more individual rights and freedoms and to create a constitutional monarchy.	
5. As leaders of the different factions struggled for power, Robespierre gathered control into his own hands.	
6. After the confusion and extremism of the Reign of Terror, public opinion was ready for a firm, conservative government and granted full powers to Napoleon.	

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GUIDED READING Collapse of Chinese Imperial Rule

A. Perceiving Cause and Effect As you read this section, note some of the causeand-effect relationships in the struggle between nationalist and communist movements in China.

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	1. Sun's Revolutionary Alliance overthrows the Qing Dynasty.	
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	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. Recognizing Main Ideas On the back of this paper, identify Mao Zedong and describe his concept of communism.

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GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: MOVEMENT

Nationalists Battle Warlords and Communists

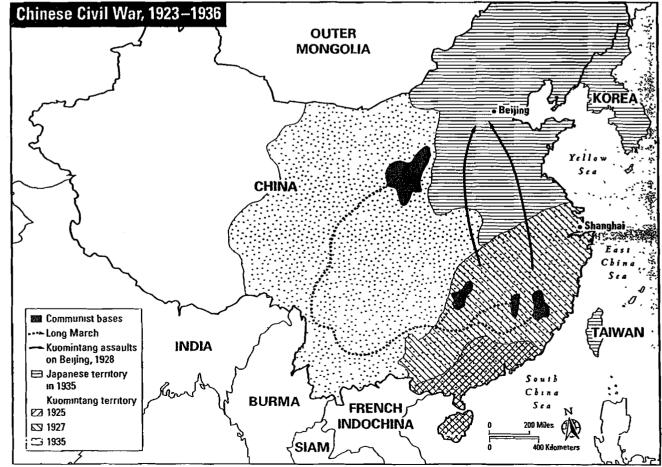
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

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.



Interpreting Text and Visuals

l.	What two Chinese groups made up the Kuomintang?
2.	What was the intent of the Northern Expedition?
3.	Whom were the Nationalists fighting in 1927?
4.	Beijing was freed from warlord control in 1928. Using the map key, determine how long, at the most, Beijing's freedom lasted and why.
5.	Describe the route of the Long March.
6.	Why do you suppose that the Nationalists and Communists in 1936 became allies once again? Use both text and map to answer this question.
7.	If the Japanese had not invaded China, what can you infer from the map would have been the Communists' ultimate fate in a final confrontation with the Nationalists? Why?

Name	Date	



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

Whatewere three ca	uses of the March Revolution?
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GUIDED READING Nationalism in India and Southwest Asia

A. Recognizing Facts and Details As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about nationalistic activity after World War I.

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Formation of Congress Party and Muslim League		
2. World War I		
3. Rowlatt Act		
4. Massacre at Amritsar		
5. Campaign of civil disobedience		
6. Salt March		

How the each country gain his independence		
7. Turkey		
8. Persia		
9. Saudi Arabıa		

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



Class	Critical Thinking Worksheet 29
Date	Topic: Gandhi on Satyagraha Skill: Drawing Conclusions
taught by Mohandas Gandhi were a major influe	
5 Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak, and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form. 7. Its root meaning is holding on to truth. Hence truth-force The doctrine came to mean vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self. 8 Violence is the negation of this great spiritual force It is a force that may be used by Source M. K Gandhi, Satyagraha in Gandhi's Own W.	
1. How does Gandhi define satyagraha?	<u>. </u>
2. Identify two ways in which satyagraha differ	rs from passive resistance.
3. What kinds of actions are satyagrahis expect	ed to take?
4. To what types of situations can satyagraha b	pe applied?
	<u> </u>
5. What does Candhi hope catyograha will acco	raplish?



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Chapter Gandhi on Nonviolence

Mohandas K. Gandhi assumed leadership of the Indian independence movement in the years following World War I. His doctrine of nonviolent resistance became an ideal of the independence movement. The selection below consists of quotations from Gandhi compiled by a friend. Read it and answer the questions that follow.

For me the law of Satyagraha, the law of love, is an eternal principle. For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practicing Satyagraha. The principles of Satyagraha, as I know it today, constitute a gradual evolution....

The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years....

Its root meaning is holding on to truth. Hence truth-force. I have also called it Love-force, or Soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent; but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy.... And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent . . . of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women,

and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Satyagrahis. This force is to violence, and therefore to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed.

And therefore the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedies open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, are to compel him to yield to you either by physical force or by suffering in your own person, by inviting the penalty for the breach of his laws. Hence Satyagraha largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance.

Adapted from Satyagraha in Gandhiji's Own Words by M. K. Gandhi.



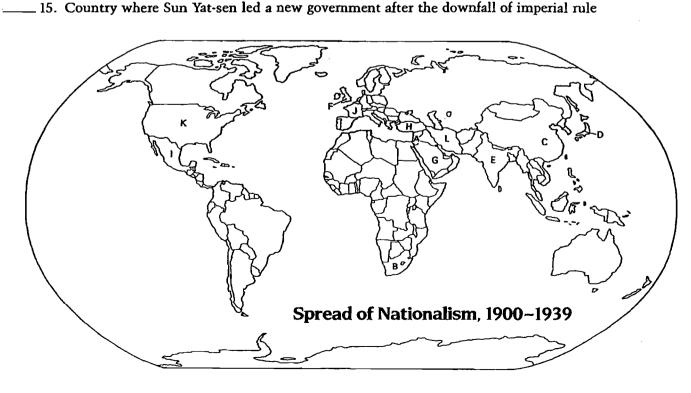
Comprehension

1.	By whom was the term Satyagraha coined? Where?			
2.	On whom does the doctrine of Satyagraha inflict suffering?			
3.	Why does Gandhi say that Satyagraha has universal applicability?			
4.	When should Satyagraha be used?			
Cr	itical Thinking			
1.	Explain in your own words what the doctrine of Satyagraha means. Give an example of how Gandhi applied it in post-World War I India.			
2.	How does Gandhi answer the argument that his method is the recourse of the weak? Do you agree or disagree?			
3	Why might Gandhi's political theory appeal to those with strong religious beliefs?			
4	Critics have claimed that Gandhi's methods were effective only because the British were civilized and respected his methods. Explain why you agree or disagree.			

Name	6 (6(11) 77 (6 (20)
Class	Geography Skills Worksheet 29
`ate	Chapter ♠ Shifts in World Power

(36)

Match each statement below with the correct location on the map. Write the letter of your answer in the blank. Locations may be used more than once. 1. Site of Gandhi's carliest protests against racial discrimination 2. Country in which Mustafa Kemal led a drive for modernization 3. Land where Gandhi became the leader of the independence movement 4. Country formed when Ibn Saud succeeded in uniting many Bedouin groups under his leadership 5. Country where Gandhi studied law 6. Area where Zionists wanted to establish a Jewish homeland 7. Country where Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan established spheres of influence in the late 1800's 8. Country where Porfirio Diaz was overthrown, and democratic government was established after a long civil war _ 9. Country where the Dreyfus case led to a rise in support for Zionism __ 10. Country that invaded Manchuria in 1931 _ 11. Country where Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung struggled for power ____ 12. Country that issued the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary, and the Good Neighbor Policy __ 13. Country whose ruler changed its name from Persia ____ 14. Country that issued the Balfour Declaration in support of a Jewish homeland



Section 1985