**Unit 2 – The Interwar Years**

**2.1.1**

**Marxism:** Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, while living in London, became horrified by the working conditions they found in factories. They blamed industrial capitalism for the terrible conditions. In 1848 they published The Communist Manifesto, which was a form of socialism where there was public ownership of all land & means of production. There would be no private ownership. Marx stated that people who control the means of production have all the power & wealth and thus control society.

According to Marx throughout history society has always been divided into haves / bourgeoisie and have nots / proletariat. Marx predicted that the proletariat would rise up and take control of the means of production from the bourgeoisie.

Once the revolution was won the proletariat would destroy the capitalists and a classless society would emerge and everyone would share the wealth.*Marx's theory ultimately did not take place worldwide as peoples standard of living increased in the late 1800's and the many abuses of the early industrial revolution disappeared.

**March Revolution:** In March, 1917, workers in Russia went on strike, the army soon joined the workers. Unrest soon spread and the Czar was forced to abdicate. Russia was then ruled by the Duma (Russia's Parliament) and workers councils called "Soviets". Alexander Kerensky eventually took power.

**Provisional Government:** A temporary government. Ruled Russia after the March Revolution.

**Petrograd Soviet:** Council of workers, soldiers and intellectuals in the Russian city of Petrograd. It claimed the right to run factories and issue orders to soldiers. Undermined the authority of the Provisional Government.

**Bolsheviks:** An extremist wing of the Russian Democratic Party and opposed Russia's participation in World War I. Led by Lenin, it took control of Russia in November, 1917.

**November Revolution:** Bolshevik takeover of Russia from the Provisional Government headed by Kerensky. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, with little real popular support took over key institutions such as telegraph & telephone offices, railway stations, newspaper offices and government institutions in a few cities. One of Lenin's first tasks was to take Russia out of the War.*Russian people wanted peace and food the Bolsheviks used the slogan "peace, land, and bread"
Collectivization: The Soviet plan to unite private Russian farms into large state controlled farms.

Kulaks: Russian peasants who became prosperous farmers as a result of agrarian reforms. They were "eliminated" by Stalin in 1929 because they opposed collectivization.

Stalin "purges": The removal of "suspected enemies" from the Communist Party and the Soviet Union by Stalin.

2.1.2

Read the following statements made by Karl Marx and complete the following questions. Students can refer to their notes on Marxism and page 66 in their text.

"Political Economy regards the proletarian ... like a horse, he must receive enough to enable him to work. It does not consider him, during the time when he is not working, as a human being. It leaves this to criminal law, doctors, religion, statistical tables, politics, and the beadle."

[Marx 1844]

"What is Communism? Communism is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the proletariat. What is the proletariat? The proletariat is that class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labor and does not draw profit from any kind of capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose sole existence depends on the demand for labor...."

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

[Marx & Engels, 1848]

Letter to Weydemeyer

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me
bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove:

1. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat,
2. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.”

[Marx, 1852]

The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man

"Labour is the source of all wealth, the political economists assert. And it really is the source next to nature, which supplies it with the material that it converts into wealth. But it is even infinitely more than this. It is the prime basic condition for all human existence, and this to such an extent that, in a sense, we have to say that labour created man himself." [Marx, 1876]

"Labour is ... not the only source of material wealth, ie of the use values it produces. As William Petty says, labour is the father of material wealth, the earth is its mother."

[Marx, Ch. 1 Communist Manifesto]

Questions

1. Identify the bourgeoisie and proletariat.
2. With reference to several sources explain Marx’s view on the relationship between social classes.
3. With reference to two sources explain Marx’s view on the value of labour/work.

2.1.3

Discontent In Pre Revolutionary Russia

Czar Nicholas II Rule Czar Nicholas was an autocratic ruler (a monarch who rules by absolute right, unconditional power). As a result many of his decisions led to instability in
Russia.

**Russo Japanese War** In 1905 Czar Nicholas II determined that Russia should not be left out in the scramble for colonies. He began to pursue colonies in Asia which led to war with Japan in 1904. Russia's defeat by Japan ruined the monarchy's prestige and led to the development of an opposition movement that for a time included almost all sectors of Russian society.

**Bloody Sunday** In January 1905, in an event that became known as Bloody Sunday, unarmed crowds demanding constitutional and social reforms were shot down by the army near the Czar's palace. Following this riots and demonstrations broke out throughout the country. Workers went on strike, soldiers mutinied, peasants attacked landlords, and students and members of the middle class demanded constitutional government and social reform.

**Grigori Rasputin** Nicholas' son Alexis had hemophilia and his incurable and painful illness caused great suffering to his parents. In 1905 a peasant pilgrim named Grigory Rasputin was presented at the palace. Rasputin's ability to lessen the effects of Alexis's illness gave him great influence over Nicholas' wife Alexandra. Under the strain of Alexis's illness, Alexandra's high strung personality became increasingly hysterical. This increased her belief in autocracy where power is concentrated in an absolute ruler—Cas the only system of government that could preserve her child's inheritance and save Russia from revolution. Rasputin took advantage Alexandra's gratitude to gain favor with the Royal couple. This relationship was despised by most Russians.

**The Plight of Peasants & Factory Workers** Poor working conditions and low wages helped create violent conflict between workers and industrialists. Lack of union rights, combined with poor productivity and worker discipline, worsened the problem. At the same time, discontent was brewing in the countryside. Tension between nobles and peasants, always existent, was growing worse because of overpopulation. As competition for land increased, peasants resented the continued existence of large estates held by nobles; with the growing weakness of the nobility and the imperial regime, they felt more able to realize their dream of seizing the land for themselves.

**World War I** Huge losses in the spring of 1915 resulted in a political crisis that was never resolved. Refusing the Duma's call for a government dependent on parliament, Nicholas took over command of the army in mid 1915 and allowed his wife an increasing influence on government in his absence at the front. The regime's prestige was fatally injured by Alexandra's relationship with Rasputin, although the latter's influence on government policy and ministerial appointments was greatly exaggerated. In the economic sphere, soaring prices, food shortages, strained relations between the crown and the populace. Russia sustained heavy casualties and the people came to hate the ongoing war. When bread riots and wage strikes broke out in February 1917 and the garrison in Petrograd mutinied, the Duma politicians persuaded the army high command that continuing to support Nicholas would lead to civil war and would undermine the war against Germany. Abandoned by the generals, the Czar abdicated in March, 1917.

2.1.5, 2.1.6 & 2.1.7
榜样

榜样，1870-1924年，俄罗斯革命家，是苏维埃俄国和（前苏联）首脑。他是布尔什维克党的领导人（后来改名为共产党），该党在1917年12月的俄国革命中夺取了政权。革命后，他领导了新的苏维埃政府，该政府在1922年成立时被称为苏联。列宁在苏联政府的最高职位一直担任到1924年去世，当时约瑟夫斯大林接掌了权力。

榜样返回彼得格勒（Petrograd）并在11月继续他的要求，在当月，在布尔什维克党的支持下，另一支激进党的布尔什维克党在苏维埃的名义下夺取了政权。1917年11月，武装工人、士兵和水手袭击了彼得格勒（Petrograd）的冬宫，冬宫是临时政府的总部，并逮捕了政府成员。

榜样得到了另一个激进党的支持，左翼社会革命党，布尔什维克党，与人民委员会的联盟政府，由榜样担任主席。新政府的第一个法令要求立即结束在欧洲的战争，第二个法令要求将俄罗斯的领土全国化，并授权俄罗斯的农业人民暴动地没收私有土地。为了使新政府的条件更有利于国家，榜样开始推动与德国的和平谈判。1918年3月3日，德国和苏联政府签署了布列斯特-利托夫斯克条约，在该条约中，苏联政府将俄罗斯的大约三分之一的领土，三分之一的耕地和一半的工业，割让给德国。尽管榜样相信这些苛刻的条款必须接受才能结束俄罗斯对战争的卷入，但该条约在苏联政府中引起广泛不满。它导致了1918年布尔什维克和左翼SRs之间的分裂，使榜样和布尔什维克在苏维埃政府中处于唯一的控制地位。

在1918年3月，布尔什维克将其更名为俄罗斯共产主义党（布尔什维克）。那年夏天，被布尔什维克政权推翻的帝国军队，以及政治人物开始在南部和西伯利亚组建反布尔什维克军队。这些被称为白军的队伍强烈反对布尔什维克政权夺取的政权。白军得到了一战联军的支持，他们认为他们的胜利取决于德国重新加入协约国。另一方面，布尔什维克政府开始组织自己的军队，即红军，在列宁的长期盟友列昂·特罗茨基的领导下。

从1918年到1921年，俄罗斯被白军和红军的内战撕裂。在1918年夏天，苏维埃政府，在榜样领导下，发起了红色恐怖，一个旨在消除政治反对者的残酷运动。此外，政府还推出了一系列经济政策，以实现社会主义原则并回应俄罗斯的紧迫
economic needs. As part of this program, which came to be known as War Communism, the government began forcibly seizing grain and other food products from the peasantry in order to increase the supply of food to army troops and workers in the cities. In urban areas, factories were nationalized and workers were subject to strict discipline.

Lenin also turned his attention to the international arena. In March 1919 he organized the Third International, popularly known as the Communist International, or Comintern, to promote world revolution according to the Russian Communist model. The Comintern initially focused on Europe as the center for the future revolution. However, when a European upheaval failed to materialize, the Comintern shifted its attention to Asia, where it supported the cause of colonial peoples struggling against European imperialism.

The policies of War Communism led to significant declines in Russia's agricultural and industrial output. Widespread strikes and uprisings broke out in cities and rural areas, and by early 1921 mass unrest was threatening the stability of the Soviet government. As a result Lenin introduced a policy of economic liberalization known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). The policy signified a temporary retreat from Lenin’s goal of transforming the Soviet economy into a fully Communist one.

In May 1922 Lenin suffered the first of a series of strokes. Lenin became preoccupied with how the new USSR would be governed after his death. In late 1922 and early 1923 Lenin dictated what became known as his "testament," in which he expressed regret at the direction the Soviet government had taken, with particular emphasis on its dictatorial manner and its complex bureaucracy. He singled out Joseph Stalin, then general secretary of the Communist Party, as the main culprit in many of these trends. Stalin's aggressive behavior had brought him into conflict with the ailing Lenin.

A fourth and fatal stroke occurred in January 1924, led to a bitter struggle for power among members of the Soviet leadership, principally between Stalin and Trotsky. Ultimately, Stalin emerged as the supreme leader of the Communist Party and the USSR.

**Stalin**

Stalin, Joseph (1879 1953), general secretary of the Communist Party of the (USSR) from 1922 to 1953, the despot ruler who more than any other individual molded the features that characterized the Soviet regime and shaped the direction of Europe after World War II ended in 1945.

Although he did not play a prominent role in the Bolshevik takeover of the government in November, Stalin became a member of the new government's Soviet of People's Commissars, heading the Commissariat for Nationality Affairs. Stalin's post was crucial to the Bolshevik victory in the ensuing Russian Civil War (1918 1921). He was elected a member of the Communist Party's highest
decision making body, the Politburo, and the Central Committee's Orgburo (Organizational Bureau) in 1919. As a political commissar in the Red Army during the height of the civil war, Stalin supervised military activities against the White forces. During the war between Russia and Poland from 1920 to 1921, his decisions as a political commissar ended in disaster and led to a long standing conflict with Commissar of War Leon Trotsky. Meanwhile, Stalin, whose first wife had died in 1907, married Nadezhda Alliluyeva in 1918 and moved with the government from Petrograd to Moscow.

After the Bolshevik victory in the civil war, Stalin threw himself into organizational work. In 1922 he was elected general secretary of the Communist Party, a position that gave him control over appointments and established a base for his political power. Stalin's aggressive behavior brought him into conflict with the ailing Lenin, wrote his political "testament" in which he voiced misgivings about Stalin. In the testament Lenin expressed doubt whether the party's general secretary and he called for Stalin's removal from the post. Political maneuvering enabled Stalin to have Lenin's testament discounted and suppressed, however, while Lenin's death freed Stalin to establish a ruling coalition that his rival rival Trotsky.

Leon Trotsky

Leon Trotsky helped lead the revolution that brought the Bolsheviks (later Communists) to power in Russia in November 1917. Later he held powerful positions in Lenin's new government. After Lenin suffered a stroke, Trotsky lost leadership of the government to Joseph Stalin and was forced into exile. In 1940 Stalin's agents murdered Trotsky while he was living in Mexico.

Trotsky became a member of the Bolsheviks' Central Committee and emerged, along with Lenin, as the most influential opponent of Russia's new Provisional Government. In contrast to the Mensheviks, who favored cooperation with the liberals, the Bolsheviks sought to bring down the government and replace it with a so called "dictatorship of the proletariat". In other words, a government ruled by the Bolsheviks on behalf of Russia's industrial workers and peasants. Trotsky was imprisoned for his opposition to the Provisional Government in August but was released on bail in early September and elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. By this time Lenin was in hiding, so Trotsky took over preparations for the Bolsheviks' seizure of power. In November he led masses of soldiers and workers in the insurrection that brought down the Provisional Government.

After the Bolsheviks gained power, Trotsky became commissar of foreign affairs in the new government led by Lenin. Trotsky was a principal figure in negotiations with Germany and the other Central Powers in early 1918. In March of that year, however, Trotsky resigned from his post in protest of the Treaty
of Brest Litovsk, which made severe demands on Russia.

Trotsky then became commissar of war and chairman of the Supreme Military Council of Russia. Both Trotsky and Lenin realized that it would be impossible to create a strong Soviet army without using officers who had experience fighting under the imperial government. From remnants of the imperial army, Trotsky formed an efficient military force known as the Red Army. Although Trotsky lacked military training, he was a good organizer and easily won the respect and loyalty of his troops. It was largely because of Trotsky's military leadership that the Bolsheviks won the Russian Civil War (1918-1921), which was fought between the Bolsheviks (Reds) and (Whites).

Trotsky was second only to Lenin in the Politburo (the Communist Party's highest decision making body), and Lenin viewed him as exceptionally able.

2.1.7, 2.1.8

War Communism 1918 - 1921

War Communism had been introduced to ensure that the Red Army was fed and equipped during the Civil War.

**How it worked**: Factories with more than 10 workers were taken over by the country which decided what each factory would produce. Strikes were illegal and strikers could be shot. Peasants were forced to give all surplus food to the government. The government allowed money to lose its value, eventually money payments were abolished, people were told to barter.

**Results**: The government managed to feed and equip the Red Army. Peasants stopped producing surplus food since they could no longer sell it. This led to the Red Army units seizing all grain. The peasants then burnt and destroyed all grain and livestock rather than give it to the government.

Production of Grain

- 1913 80 Million Tons
- 1921 37.6 Million Tons

2.1.7

New Economic Policy
In 1921 Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) to reduce the discontent caused by War Communism and increase production in industry and the countryside. The NEP reintroduced elements of capitalism.

**Features of NEP**: Peasants could sell surplus grain for a profit. This led to the rise of a wealthy group of farmers called Kulaks. Government kept control of large factories but factories with less than 20 workers could be run privately and make profits. Anyone could set up a shop and sell for profit.

**Results of NEP**: Food and industrial production increased.

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<th>Factory Goods (tons)</th>
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2.1.8

Stalin was determined to industrialize Russia and as a result he introduced economic plans called Five Year Plans. He feared that Russia would be invaded from the West and the only way the USSR would survive was by industrializing.

**Five Year Plans:**

The main goals of the Five year Plans were:

- **Collectivization**: (Soviet plan to seize all peasant farms and unite them into state run farms)

- **Industrialize Russia**: increase steel production, oil production, build factories and power plants. The plan was to take the profits from the collectivized farms and use it to invest in industrial development.

2.2.1

**Weimar Republic**: democratic government that replaced the German Monarchy at the end of World War I

**Munich Beer Hall Putsch**: Hitler and the Nazi's attempt to seize power by force in 1923

**New Deal**: Franklin Roosevelt's policy of social and economic reforms that were designed to
relieve the effects of the Great depression.

**Enabling Act:** Law that suspended the Weimar Constitution and allowed Hitler to rule by Decree

**Gestapo:** The secret state police of Nazi Germany that was notorious for its brutality

**Anti Semitism:** Hostility or hatred toward Jews

**Nuremberg Laws:** Nazi laws in 1935 that reduced all Jews in Germany to second class citizens

**Kristallnacht:** Attack by German Nazi's (November 9, 1938) on Jewish communities across Germany. Also known as "The Night of the Broken Glass”. It signalled the escalation of Nazi persecution of Jews.

**March On Rome:** October, 1922 Benito Mussolini and his Black Shirts (Mussolini's followers) march on Rome to defend it from the threat of Communists. There was no threat but he hoped the sight of his Black Shirts would frighten the government into giving him power. It did.

**Mein Kampf:** My Struggles, book written by Hitler that explains his political ideas for Germany.

2.2.2

**Fascism**

Political ideology that emphasizes national and racial superiority with a centralized, autocratic government ruled by a dictator. Fascism first arose in Italy under Benito Mussolini and later Germany, Spain and Japan had fascist governments. It has been argued that the appeal of fascism is its simple answers to complex questions and its strategy of finding scapegoats for the problems of millions.

**Basic elements of Fascism:**

**Extreme Nationalism:**

Fascist leaders demand unquestioning loyalty and service to the nation. They see the world in terms of good and evil and they are on the side of good. LyLinked closely to extreme nationalism is the idea of racial purity. Many fascists believe that intermarriage and multiculturalism weaken a country and therefore promote separation of races.
**Dictatorship:** Fascist leaders demand absolute obedience to their wishes. Citizens must swear loyalty to the leader of the country who represents the entire power of the nation. Mussolini proclaimed himself IL Duce (The Leader) and Hitler became Der Fuhrer (The Leader).

**Military Strength & War:** Fascists believe pacifism is a weakness and aggressive behaviour a virtue. They view people who compromise as weak and lacking in courage. Success in war is the only true test of a nation's greatness. They dislike the principles of democracy though they are willing to use democratic freedoms to win power. However once in power fascists put an end to democratic structures.

**Economic Self Sufficiency:** The goal of fascist countries is to develop its resources and depend as little as possible on imports (self sufficiency). As a result fascist countries sought other regions for their resources. The economy although still owned by private individuals, had to be directed by the government in the interests of the nation.

### 2.2.3

**Several Factors Led To Mussolini’s Rise In Italy Economic Difficulties:**

1. Italy was impoverished and in a state of chaos following World War I.
2. Inflation (an increase in prices and decrease in the value of money) was second only to the hyperinflation experienced by Germany.
3. Weakness of Coalition Governments:

### 2.2.5

**Great Depression**

It is a common mistake that the stock market crash of October 1929 was the cause of the Great Depression. The two events were closely related, but both were the results of problems that were building up through the "prosperous" 1920s.

**Over Production and Over Expansion** Modern industry, through use of the assembly line, developed the ability to produce large quantities of consumer goods. However this created a basic problem: Prosperity could only continue if people continued to buy goods.

Advertising methods were used to persuade people to buy such relatively new products as cars, radios, and household appliances. The resulting mass consumption kept the economy going through most of the 1920s.
Consumer Over Purchasing On Credit But there was an underlying economic problem. Income was distributed unevenly. By 1929 the top 0.1 percent of American families had a total income equal to that of the bottom 42 percent. This meant that many people who were willing to listen to the advertisers and purchase new products did not have enough money to do so.

To get around this problem, the 1920s produced another innovation—"credit,". People were allowed to "buy now, pay later." But this only put off the day when consumers had accumulated so much debt that they could not keep buying up all the products coming off assembly lines. That day came in 1929. Impact of High Tariffs On Trade The United States maintained high tariffs on goods imported from other countries, at the same time that it was making foreign loans and trying to export products. This combination could not be sustained: If other nations could not sell their goods in the United States, they could not make enough money to buy American products or repay American loans.

All major industrial countries pursued similar tariff policies without regard to the economic consequences. As a result the economies of countries around the world began to fail.

Too Many Purchases of Stock On Credit The belief that anyone could get rich led many less wealthy individuals to invest into the stock market. Investors bought millions of shares of stock "on margin," a risky practice similar to buying products on credit. They paid only a small part of the price and borrowed the rest, gambling that they could sell the stock at a high enough price to repay the loan and make a profit. For a time this was true: In 1928 the price of stock in the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) multiplied by nearly five times. But the stock boom could not last.

In the fall of 1929 confidence that prices would keep rising failed. Starting in late October the market plummeted as investors began selling stocks. The more investors sold the lower the stocks fell. On October 29, in the worst day of the panic, stocks lost $10 billion to $15 billion in value.

Conclusion The stock market crash announced the beginning of the Great Depression. The credit of a large portion of the nation's consumers had been exhausted, and they were spending much of their current income to pay for past, rather than new, purchases.

Unsold inventories had begun to pile up in warehouses during the summer of 1929. As result people were laid off, with no income they were unable to purchase goods and as result the layoffs continued in a downward spiral that continued throughout the 1930's.