

ATAR

Notes

VCE History: Revolutions Units 3&4
Complete Course Notes
2022–2023

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Preface

VCE History Revolutions is divided into Unit 3 and 4, both of which are a study of a different revolution. Within each Unit, there is an Area of Study 1, and an Area of Study 2 – a study of the lead up to the revolution, and an analysis of its aftermath. It is easier to consider the Area of Studies as pre- and post-revolution.

Area of Study 1: Causes of Revolution

There are four revolutions in total, but you will only study two. In Area of Study 1, you will study the long-term causes and the short-term triggers of the revolution. There are several important aspects to consider in Area of Study 1:

- Significant causes of the revolution
- How the actions of significant figures or growing movements contribute to the revolution
- The extent to which social/political/economic/ideological problems/conflicts contribute to the revolution
- Evaluating the inevitability of the revolution

The Area of Study 1 time periods are:

America: 1754–4 July 1776

France: 1774–26 October 1789

Russia: 1896–1 October 1917

China: 1912–4 August 1949

KEY POINT :

It is not uncommon to see several different dates for one event in most of history. This derives from different source materials and in no way affects your marks. Assessors take into consideration that there are multiple dates that are considered right for any given event and will not mark you down for minor inconsistencies.

Area of Study 2: Consequences of Revolution

In Area of Study 2, you will analyse the outcome and consequences of the revolution. You are expected to know how or whether the revolution changed society, and the extent to which political ideologies were accomplished or compromised in the face of challenges.

The important things to focus on in Area of Study 2 are:

- How the consequences of the revolution shaped the new regime
- How the new order consolidated its power
- To what extent society was changed and revolutionary ideas achieved
- How the people in society who experienced the revolution were affected
- Evaluating the success of the new order in the face of its challenges
- The extent to which continuity and change is brought to society from pre- to post-revolution

The **Area of Study 2** time periods are:

America: 4 July 1776–1789

France: 5 August 1789–1795

Russia: 26 October 1917–1927

China: October 1949–1976

KEY POINT :

A key difference between the old study design and your current study design is that you now need to be able to compare Area of Study 2 to Area of Study 1 to evaluate the changes brought about by the revolution. Though you won't see this on past exams from 2021 and earlier, you should be prepared for these kinds of questions on your exam this year!

SACs

You will sit four outcomes in total – two for each revolution and one for each Area of Study. Unit 3 and 4 each make up 25% of your study score. The assessments are chosen by your teacher and can consist of:

- A historical enquiry
- An evaluation of historical sources
- An extended response
- An essay

SACs for Area of Study 2 may ask you to refer to Area of Study 1 in order to assess the extent to which societies achieved change or continuity.

The Exam

The exam is worth 50% of your study score and is two hours long, requiring you to dedicate an hour to each revolution you have studied. It is split into Section A and Section B, based on Area of Study 1 and Area of Study 2 respectively.

KEY POINT :

Remember that you must choose *different* revolutions for each section of the exam (e.g. Russia for Section A and France for Section B).

I hope you find these notes useful for your Revolutions study this year!

— Nazli Sevinc and Zachary Garden

Part III

Russia

Area of Study 1

Causes of revolution

1.1 Key Characters

TSARISM / THE ROMANOVS

Tsar Nicholas II
Tsarina Alexandra
Grigori Rasputin*
(* no clear political alignment)

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(post 1905 Revolution,
pre 1917 Feb Revolution)
Sergei Witte
Pyotr Stolypin

BOLSHEVIKS

Vladimir Lenin
Leon Trotsky*
(* formerly Menshevik)
Joseph Stalin
Alexandra Kollontai
Felix Dzerzhinsky
Nikolai Bukharin
Lev Kamenev
Grigori Zinoviev

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

(post 1917 Feb Revolution,
pre 1917 Oct Revolution)
Alexander Kerensky

1.1.1 Tsar Nicholas II (1868 – 1918)

Nicholas was the son of the highly influential and stern Alexander III, whose absolute belief in autocracy was legitimised by the Orthodox Church. Relatively soft-hearted compared to his father, Nicholas was always viewed as weak and indecisive. However, he firmly wished for the happiness of his people, which he believed could only be given by him, God's chosen Tsar.

Nicholas' autocratic ways were also encouraged by his wife, the German Princess Alexandra, granddaughter of Queen Victoria of Britain. She held great influence over her husband. The pair had four daughters – Olga, Tatiana, Maria and Anastasia – and one son, Alexei. However, Alexei was born with poor health and suffered from haemophilia, inherited from his mother's side. Alexei's condition greatly affected the Tsar and Tsarina's leadership, and his health was always a concern.

Weaknesses in character

- Nicholas was removed from the reality of Russian life, and understood very little about his subjects and their concerns. He heavily relied on advisors to give him information, which would often be false since they did not want to displease him and risk being dismissed.
- He was not trained in statesmanship, and acknowledged himself that he had little knowledge being a ruler, as he was only 26 when his father died. As a result, he fell back on what he saw of his father's relatively stable rule. This would later be to his detriment, as his suppression of growing revolutionary movements and sentiments only fuelled its fire.

Strengths in character

Despite his political deficiencies, Nicholas truly cared for his people. He was wholly patriotic and felt responsible for all of Russia. He was also a loving father and husband, endlessly devoted to his family.

1.1 Key Characters

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Nicholas has not inherited his father's commanding personality nor the strong character and prompt decision making which are so essential to an autocratic ruler." – Sir George Buchanan

"Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only a giant empire, but also a revolution. And they did not bequeath him one quality which would have made him capable of governing an empire or even a province or a county." – Leon Trotsky

"Nicholas II... was less fit for the role of an autocrat than any sovereign... he was a man of weak character, limited intelligence, and singular lack of initiative." – W.H. Chamberlain

"His mentality and circumstances kept him wholly out of touch with his people. From his youth he had been trained to believe that his welfare and the welfare of Russia were one and the same thing, so that 'disloyal' workmen, peasants and students who were... executed or exiled seemed to him mere monsters who must be destroyed for the sake of the country." – Alexander Kerensky

"He was wholly ignorant about governmental matters. Nicky had been trained as a soldier. He should have been taught statesmanship and he was not." – Duchess Olga, his sister

"I am not prepared to be a Tsar. I never wanted to become one. I know nothing of the business of ruling."
– Tsar Nicholas in a letter to his brother-in-law.

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"It was Nicholas' weakness of will that led to his demise." – John Hite

Nicholas "lacked in grasping the realities of Russia." – John Hite

"Nicholas II fell not because he was hated but because he was held in contempt." – Richard Pipes

1.1.2 Vladimir Lenin (1870 – 1924)

Lenin was born as Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov to a middle-class Jewish family in Kazan. His older brother was hanged in 1887 by Tsar Alexander III after an assassination attempt, which greatly affected the young Lenin. Many historians attribute Lenin's radical fervour to his brother's execution.

It is interesting to note that many revolutionaries come from Jewish families. This may be because Jews were historically a discriminated against minority in Russia, and were subject to torment and abuse by the tsarist army.

By the age of 17, he was included on the Tsar's list of 'dangerous persons'. Despite incidents with authority in university, he graduated as a lawyer. However, he only worked in law for two years between 1892 and 1894 as a barrister's assistant. This was during the time that his interest in Marxism grew, prompting him to leave his job to become a full-time revolutionary. Afterwards, he made a living off his parents' pension, private supporters, and a party salary.

From 1895 to 1899, he was arrested and later (1897) exiled to Siberia for 'subversive activity' and his revolutionary ideas. However, Siberia gave him the opportunity to study and write, and he adopted the pen name 'Lenin'. In Siberia, he married Nadezhda Krupskaya, a fellow devoted revolutionary.

In 1900, he was released from exile and began *Iskra*, a revolutionary newspaper that meant 'Spark'. His writings continued, and in 1902 published *What is To Be Done?*, a radical novel and a manual for Marxist revolution. By 1903, the Social Democrats had split into the Bolsheviks (majority) and Mensheviks (minority), with Lenin leading the Bolshevik faction.

Beliefs

Lenin firmly believed that only the Bolsheviks could lead the revolution and guide the people successfully. In his mind, the proletariat were not intelligent enough, or aware enough of their own suffering, and so the Bolsheviks would be the vanguards of the proletariat and rule on their behalf to ensure their best interests.

Lenin's Bolshevik party were staunch believers in a closed, secretive party, made up of only the most dedicated and intelligent revolutionaries. Only then, could a revolution occur. As a result of their closed party, as well as their focus on the working class, the Bolsheviks were unpopular with the peasants. However, this did not concern Lenin, as he viewed them as too ignorant to become class conscious.

KEY POINT :

Marx's Theory of Stages of History

Note that each transition (arrow), Marx postulated that a revolution occurs.



1.1.3 Marxist-based Parties

These revolutionary parties founded their ideas and beliefs on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, German theorists. Marx and Engels spent much of their lives observing the working class of Europe, and believed that the exploitation of the average worker would inevitably lead to the downfall of capitalism and the rise of a 'proletariat dictatorship'.

'Proletariat' was the revolutionary name given to the working class, who Marx and Engels believed would be fed up with being abused by factory workers, and overthrow their employers to seize the means of production.

However, first, the working class needed to develop 'class consciousness' such that workers' discontent became so deep that they would unite to lead a revolution. Once this occurred, workers would lead the people in the proletarian dictatorship, and help society transition into one where there were no such thing as class. However, class consciousness was absolutely necessary, as a revolution is useless without the people who believed in its cause enough to carry it out.

It is this class consciousness that was lacking in Russia that caused the lag of the Revolution in 1905. Not only that, but Russia had yet to become a capitalist state, and so lacked it as a precedent to socialism. Despite this, many revolutionary political parties firmly believed Marx's (and the oft-forgotten Engels's) principles could be implemented in Russia, and so worked fervently to create the classless utopia that Marx predicted.

Socialist Revolutionary Party

Otherwise known as the Social Revolutionaries (SRs), this party was the longest-existing, having grown out of the Populist movement in the 1860s. The Populists advocated for an agrarian-type socialism. One branch was known for its practice of terrorism, and were called The People's Will. However, the movement lost popularity and so was reformed as the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1901.

It was led by Victor Chernov (later Alexander Kerensky), and believed in introducing federal and local governments that would democratically represent the people. Unlike other Marxist parties, it focused on rural populations rather than the working class.

The SRs also promoted the redistribution of privately owned land to democratically run communes (i.e. peasant communities and villages). Their emphasis on the rights of the peasantry meant that their support base was mostly comprised of rural communities.

As the SRs knew that Russia's peasant population heavily outweighed the country's working class, they recognised the peasantry's importance to the revolution. Having a peasant-based revolution would be far more effective in Russia's feudal society than a proletarian one, and their nation-wide popularity was illustrated in the 1917 election.

1.1 Key Characters

Social Democratic Workers' Party

Founded by George Plekhanov in 1898, this group was known collectively as the Social Democrats (SDs). In 1903, while meeting in London, the Party split into two after Lenin, also a member, confronted Plekhanov about party membership. From then on, the two factions were known as the Bolsheviks (meaning 'majority') led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks (meaning 'minority') led by a prominent SD member, Julius Martov.

Confusingly, the Mensheviks were the majority in numbers, but their name derived from their minority vote at the 1903 party congress. Until the 1917 Revolution, the Bolsheviks were by far the much smaller SD faction.

The simplified version of the differences between the two Marxist revolutionary parties can be found in the table below:

	Bolsheviks – led by Lenin	Mensheviks – led by Martov
Interpretation of Marx's stages of history	Did not think it was necessary for Russia to become a capitalist society first in order to transition into socialism – capitalism could be 'bypassed.'	Believed in the necessity of the capitalist stage. Russia could only become socialist if it became capitalist first.
Party membership and organisation	Membership was tight, with only the most dedicated and educated revolutionaries allowed into its circle. Lenin believed that the reason the revolution was constantly thwarted was because the party was easily infiltrated by the Okhrana. Secretiveness was the key to a successful party, in Lenin's eyes. All party-related decisions were also made by leaders.	All workers were allowed membership and could contribute to decision-making after debates and votes were held.
Approach to the proletariat	Believing that workers couldn't properly develop class consciousness and lead the revolution on their own, the party believed that they would lead it and become the authority as the 'vanguard (i.e. protectors) of the proletariat.'	Believed in the need to educate the working class to help them develop class consciousness to make the workers the leaders of their own revolution.
Influence	With limited membership (peaking at 10,000 before 1914) and due to their secretive nature, the Bolsheviks had little influence on the people, and did not pose a threat to the tsarist system. Not only that, but Lenin was in exile for almost 20 years before the Revolution, leaving the party without a leader.	The Mensheviks were deemed a larger threat to the Tsar and so were closely supervised by the Okhrana for revolutionary activity.

1.1.4 Liberal Parties

While Marxist-based parties firmly believed in the revolution that overthrew the Tsar, a growing liberal movement in Russia saw the emergence of parties that supported change, but did not necessarily want to abolish the Tsarist system. The liberal movement was mostly embraced by progressive middle class members, which grew from Witte's industrial reforms.

Kadets

The Kadets, officially known as the Constitutional Democratic Party, was the largest liberal party, and supported a constitutional monarchy. They were led by Paul Miliukov, who would later play a prominent role in the First Duma, as well as in the Provisional Government. The Kadets promoted a Constituent Assembly which would limit the Tsar's authority and would be democratically elected. The Assembly's power would extend to being able to implement reforms that would address Russia's problems, without the Tsar's permission.

Octobrists

This political party will make more sense when we learn about the October Manifesto in the 1905 Revolution, but I will briefly touch upon them here. Led by Mikhail Rodzianko, the later chairman of the Fourth Duma, this liberal party were named after their ready acceptance of the issuing of the October Manifesto. Considered the most conservative party, the Octobrists were loyal to the Tsar, and so played large roles in the Dumas. Their main objective was improving Russia through law reforms, and their support base lay in the industrial working class.

1.2 The Beginning and The First Revolution (1986 – 1905)

Timeline of 1896 – 1905*

- 1896: Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II
- 1896 May 18: Khodynka Tragedy
- 1897: The national currency (the rouble) is placed on the gold standard
- 1904 Feb–1905 Sep: Russo-Japanese War
- 1905 Jan 9: Bloody Sunday
- 1905 May 8: Union of Unions is formed
- 1905 June 14: Potemkin mutiny
- 1905 Oct 17: October Manifesto

KEY POINT :

* During this time, and before January 24th 1918, Russia used the Julian Calendar, so all dates prior to this date are recorded in the O.S. (old style). To convert Old Style dates to New Style dates, add 13 days.

1.2.1 The Russian Tsarist System

Before we get to the events detailed in the study design, it is important to understand how Russia has historically been governed and how Russian people lived under the **old regime**.

The **Romanov family** had been the reigning monarchs in Russia for close to 300 years in what was known as the Tsarist system. It had never been without complications, but by the time Tsar Nicholas II came into rule, the title of 'Tsar' came with a plethora of problems that weakened the Tsarist regime and led to an outburst of revolutionary events.

It was a backward system in an empire whose educated elite were beginning to share in the enlightened values extolled by progressive Western European powers. At all levels of authority, there were flaws that ignited outrage, frustration, and resentment in the Russian people.

1.2 The Beginning and The First Revolution (1986 – 1905)

The Government	The government was made up of three bodies; the Imperial Council (personal advisors to the Tsar), the Cabinet of Ministers (individuals given responsibility over specific departments) and the Senate (converted the Tsar's orders and ideas into state laws). All three bodies were answerable directly to the Tsar, and had no power other than implementing his will. As the Tsar personally appointed all members, there was hostility between departments, rather than a cooperation of ideas. All appointed members were also of the noble class, leaving most Russians unrepresented in government. Members' titles were given based on their familial background, and were promoted or demoted based on how the Tsar favoured them. This meant that rather than acting in the interests of the people, ministers did only what was necessary to benefit them. It was not rare to have ministers changed regularly because Nicholas no longer liked them.
The Bureaucracy	The administrative system was heavily flawed because those in power came from powerful families. Bribery was not uncommon in promotion, leaving the administrative functions in the hands of ineffective, inexperienced individuals.
The Police	There were two bodies of police – the Okhrana (the Tsar's secret police), and a group who maintained the law. The Okhrana were used for surveillance purposes, and were tasked with exposing revolutionaries and tsarist enemies. The second group of police, who were in charge of ensuring obedience to the law, included the Cossacks . The Cossacks were a group of people from the Don River region who were known for their fierceness and savagery. In return for their loyalty and service in the army, they were often given land. The use of brutality by the army and the Tsar's police for little reason or even for simple suspicion agitated the already frustrated Russian people.
The Church	Russian Orthodox Christianity played a significant part in the lives of everyday Russians, whose only source of education would often be from their local pastors. The Church played a huge role in validating the tsarist system, which is decreed to have originated from God. The Church's role in preaching obedience to the Tsar was crucial in suppressing the people – to oppose the Tsar was to oppose God himself. With 82% of Russia's population being part of the peasantry, their dependence on the Church to learn was used to reinforce the conservative values of autocracy that would prevent the rise of revolutionary movements.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the makeup of the Tsarist system inspire revolutionary sentiment in the common people of Russia?

How did the use of police force to suppress agitators and state enemies serve to fuel revolutionary spirit in the common people of Russia?

How was the Orthodox Church used to stifle revolutionary or social movements?

STATISTICS :

For every 3,850 peasants, there was one police officer in charge of controlling them.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Autocracy is a superannuated form of government that may suit the needs of a Central African tribe, but not those of the Russian people, who are increasingly assimilating the culture of the rest of the world. That is why it is impossible to maintain this form of government except by violence." – Nikolai Tolstoy

"I will preserve the principle of autocracy as sternly and as unflinchingly as my late father." – Nicholas II

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Nicholas was a staunch advocate of autocracy... committed to absolutism, in part because he believed himself duty-bound by his coronation oath to uphold the system, and in part because he felt convinced the intellectuals were incapable of administering the empire." – Richard Pipes

"A word from the Tsar was sufficient to alter, override, or abolish any existing legislation or institution." – Alan Wood

1.2.2 Russia's Population

Russia's large population of 136 million people in 1900, the largest in any European country, was broken down into few, but distinct social classes:

Class	% of pop.	Description
Ruling	0.5	This was the name given to the Tsar, his family, and government members.
Upper	12	The 'gentry' or the 'nobility' included landowning nobles, church leaders, bureaucracy administrators, wealthy merchants, high ranking army officials, and hereditary nobles. This class is distinct due to its protection from the harsh realities of the ordinary Russian life.
Middle	1.5	This class came into existence in the late 1800s, as industry in the cities and towns grew. People who fit into this category include small-scale manufacturers, specialists, factory managers, white-collar workers, writers, intellectuals, artists, and clerks.
Industrial Working	4	Referred to as the 'proletariat' by Karl Marx in his revolutionary theory, this class emerged with the progression of industrialisation in Russia, brought on by Minister Sergei Witte's industrial reforms.
Peasants	82	This class consists of the 90 million rural workers whose efforts underpinned Russia's economy, despite the gross underdevelopment of agriculture. This was due to the lack of technological advancement, which, when introduced, came at the cost of arable land. This was a problem for Russia, as extreme weather conditions meant only particular parts of the country could be cultivated. The peasants, most of whom were illiterate, naturally resisted change, and so stuck to using outdated equipment and farming techniques that limited the food source.

As such, the national food demands were rarely met, leading to frequent shortages and famines. The ignorance and backward ways of the peasants earned them the title of the 'dark masses' by the ruling class, leading them to often neglect peasants altogether. Coupled with the harshness of rural Russian life, peasants typically experienced major discontent, and the class as a whole was supportive of governmental reforms.

1.2.3 Tsar Nicholas' Coronation

The Area of Study for Russia begins in 1896 with the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, the last Tsar of the Romanov Empire. His father, Alexander III, died two years prior in 1884, and was deemed a model autocrat. He ruled with a firm hand in a reactionary period in Russian history, a trait that the weak and feeble Tsar Nicholas tried to imitate by ruling autocratically, and suppressing revolutionary movements. This attempt to emulate his father can be recognised as one of the first ways in which Tsar Nicholas contributed to a revolutionary situation.

1.2 The Beginning and The First Revolution (1986 – 1905)

The political weakness of the Tsar compared to his father was common knowledge before his reign, and his rule appeared doomed from the start. This was marked by the Khodynka tragedy (18 May 1896), which can be summarised as follows:

- To celebrate his coronation, Nicholas held a free banquet in a Moscow park called the Khodynka Field. Here, gifts were to be given to each person in the form of food.
- Fanfare for the event was rampant with an estimated 500,000 excited people already at the Field at dawn on the day. Rumours of there not being enough gifts for everyone heightened the fervour of the crowd, causing a disastrous stampede.
- In trying to reach the gift tables among the panic, 1,389 people were trampled to death, and 1,300 were injured.
- Tsar Nicholas and his wife, Tsarina Alexandra Feodorovna, spent the evening visiting injured people and setting up funds for the dead's families when they heard of the tragedy.

Following the event, Nicholas' ability to manage the people and control the nation were called into question. This marked the start of a shaky reign – the Tsar was unable to exercise any control over his people.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Tsar's weak leadership contribute to a revolutionary situation?

STATISTICS :

1,389 people died and another 1,300 were injured during the Khodynka tragedy.

1.2.4 Industrialisation and Sergei Witte

Russia's feudal ways and backwardness was becoming more and more apparent as time went on, especially in comparison to the rest of modernised Europe. As a result, steps were taken to industrialise Russia in order to improve its economy and international standing. Sergei Witte, Minister of Finance, was crucial in the nation's industrial reforms.

- Witte intended to modernise Russia by:
 - Dramatically expanding the railway system (the Trans-Siberian Railway) in order to improve trade, export, communication and movement of army soldiers.
 - Building the Trans-Siberian Railway, which started construction in 1891 and was completed in 1905 due to Witte's efforts.
 - Attracting foreign capital to invest in Russian industry, which Russia did not have before.
- Witte's reforms had positive effects, such as improving the economy, increasing industrial production and stabilising the rouble (in 1897, the ruble achieved the gold standard and was stable until WWI).
- The reforms also had negative social impacts, as it created poor working conditions in overpopulated cities, led to dramatic overcrowding, and brought on heavy taxes.
- Improving Russia's industrialisation came at the cost of the country's agricultural needs.

Despite the positives that came out of Witte's reforms, Russian cities were not prepared for the sudden influx of people that came from the countryside. Accommodation was tight with up to 16 people sharing one apartment, whether they be family or strangers. The lack of preparation and supervision of Russia's growing industry also gave way for exploitation of workers, who had no laws to protect their rights. Homes were poorly equipped, and workers were dissatisfied with their jobs. It is no wonder that discontent grew – workers came home from work and shared their frustrations with other equally frustrated workers. This growing social unrest heightened in 1905, leading to the 1905 Revolution.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did Witte's reforms give way for social and political discontent in urban Russia?

STATISTICS :

Russia GDP growth from 1898 to 1913 was 97%.

St Petersburg's population grew from 1 million (1890) to 1.5 million (1900).

Moscow's population grew from 1 million (1890) to 1.4 million (1900).

Coal output tripled between 1890 and 1900.

The length of railway tracks nearly doubled under Witte's reforms.

Foreign investment grew from 98 million roubles in 1880 to 911 million roubles in 1900.

1.2.5 The First War and the First Revolution (1904 – 1905)

The Revolution of 1905 occurred due to a multitude of reasons, many of which occurred in the 1904–1905 period, including:

- The Russo-Japanese War
- Bloody Sunday
- Frustration and discontent that had been mounting since Witte's reforms, if not for decades longer

Each of these will be examined in this section.

Russo-Japanese War

Japan's defeat of China in 1895 led to the negotiation of Chinese land between Japan, Britain, Russia, Germany, and France. The blatant disregard for China's control over its own land angered the Chinese government (led by the Qing Empire), leading to a revolt that would attempt to rid foreign occupation of Chinese land. A united effort by all the countries succeeded in restoring control over northern China. However, the Trans-Siberian Railway was still being built and was extended into the area. In an effort to protect the construction of the railway, 150,000 Russian soldiers were ordered to not pull away, a move that proved to be an instantaneous trigger for the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese interpreted the move as a threat to Japan's occupation of northern China, and tensions erupted at Port Arthur. War was declared on 8 February in 1904.

Social discontent was replaced by patriotism and fierce loyalty to the Tsar when Russia entered the war, confident that they would be victorious. But Russia's military was no match for the advanced Japanese defences, and for the first time, an Asian country beat a powerful European force. This was a severe blow to the Tsar, who saw the Japanese as inferior. The events of the Russo-Japanese War are summarised below, including what else was happening in Russia at the time:

- Feb 8 1904: Japan declares war
- April 1 1904: Japan attacks Russian defences at Port Arthur
- Dec 4 1904: 4 workers are unfairly dismissed from Putilov Steel Works in St Petersburg
- Jan 2 1905: Russians surrender the Port
- Jan 8 1905: Strikes in St Petersburg
- Jan 9 1905: Bloody Sunday
- Jan 10 1905: Industrial strikes intensify
- Feb 20 1905: Russians are defeated in the Battle of Mukden
- May 8 1905: Union of Unions is formed (the joining of many professional unions)
- May 14 1905: Defeat in the Battle of Tsushima
- June 14 1905: Potemkin mutiny
- Sep 5 1905: Russo-Japanese War ends with the Treaty of Portsmouth

1.2 The Beginning and The First Revolution (1906 – 1905)

The Tsar had readily entered the War believing that their victory would be quick and would enable him to regain the support of his people. However, the high of the War was short-lived, as months of seemingly pointless fighting and a string of humiliating defeats only exacerbated the social and political issues in Russia. Particular events that are good to mention in SACs and the exam are:

The Battle of Mukden	This land battle in February 1905 was deemed the largest battle, and ended with humiliation for the Russian army with a loss of 90,000 troops.
The Battle of Tsushima	Russia intended to catch the Japanese off guard by sea, but the country's geographical location meant that the Russian Baltic Fleet had to travel north first and sail around Africa. It took eight months for them to reach Japan, and in the meantime, the media of the entire world were focused on the Fleet as it passed countless countries. Not only that, but Russian wireless telegraphy was intercepted, informing the Japanese of their exact arrival date. As such, the Japanese navy was prepared when the Baltic Fleet arrived in the Tsushima Strait. Within 24 hours, most of Russia's 45 warships had been bombed out of the water or captured by the Japanese.
The Potemkin Mutiny	Though not a battle, this mutiny is significant because it marks the moment when the Tsar's own military turned on him. The Tsar's men were his protectors and most loyal subjects; to have them rebel meant that he had truly lost the trust of all of his people. Strikes in Russian cities were widespread, extending also to mutinies. There is no finer example of this than the crew of the <i>Prince Potemkin</i> battleship. Sailors, angered by what was happening at home, frustrated at the way they were being treated by their authorising officers, and humiliated by the severe losses they were suffering in the War, killed their officers and took charge of the ship.

KEY POINT :

Rather than talking about these events in detail, it is better to use them as examples of how the war affected Russia. They also provide statistics, which is crucial. Use them to *support* a point rather than using them to *make* a point for you!

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Russo-Japanese War contribute to the 1905 Revolution?

Why was the Russo-Japanese War so significant for the Russian Empire?

How did the military mutinies contribute to a revolutionary situation?

How did the military losses contribute to a revolutionary situation?

STATISTICS :

90,000 casualties at the Battle of Mukden.

27 ships were sunken in 24 hours in the Battle of Tsushima.

Military production increased by 50% while production of goods dropped.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"What we need is a small, victorious war to hold Russia back from revolution." – Plehve, Minister of Interior

"The Japanese are infidels. The might of the Holy Russia will crush them." – Tsar Nicholas

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The autocracy had shown itself incapable of defending the national interest." – Orlando Figes

"Plehve had encouraged the Tsar to instigate a 'little victorious war to stem the revolution.'" – Orlando Figes

"The War exposed the weaknesses of the autocracy and Russia's backwardness, compared to the modernised and progressive Japan." – Sally Waller

"In itself [the Potemkin mutiny] had been a minor threat. But it was a major embarrassment to the government, for it showed the world that the revolution had spread to the heart of its own military machine." – Orlando Figes

Bloody Sunday

The mounting frustrations of workers in Russia from mistreatment in factories and workplaces, while momentarily forgotten during the Russo-Japanese War, led to many strikes in the latter half of 1904 and throughout most of 1905. Workers could be fired for the slightest 'transgressions,' such as going to the toilet or whistling. Pay could be docked for similar reasons, and workers had to suffer in poor working conditions with minimal wages and no job security. Equipment were unsafe, children were pressured to work the 12 hour long days that adults would work. Not only that, but the Russo-Japanese War caused an increase in prices, with no rise in wages to counterbalance this.

Worker discontent peaked when four workers were unfairly dismissed from a large factory, Putilov Steel Works, in December 1904. Thousands of workers began to strike, the numbers accumulating to almost 120,000.

Father Gapon, a priest in St Petersburg, established the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers, which aimed to support urban workers and fight for industrial reform. After the mass strikes in December, Father Gapon made plans to present Tsar Nicholas with a petition that described the complaints of the St Petersburg workers and asked for reforms.

On Sunday, 9 January at 10 a.m., 150,000 workers and their families marched peacefully towards the Winter Palace, led by Father Gapon. What is important to note is that the workers believed that the Tsar was not aware of their grievances, and that his ministers were standing between him and his people. Presenting the petition to the Tsar themselves meant that ministers would not be able to intercept it and lie to the Tsar like they believed. Many people carried portraits of Tsar Nicholas and sang hymns during the march.

Before they could reach the Winter Palace, however, police squadrons began firing into the crowd. While estimates differ, it is reported that up to 200 people were killed, and 800 were injured. The violent event was dubbed 'Bloody Sunday', and marked the day that the image of the Tsar completely changed. Where previously he had been known as 'Little Father', he was now 'Nicholas the Bloody.' Nicholas did not give the order to fire, nor was he even at the Winter Palace at the time. In fact, it was never confirmed who gave the order. Regardless, Nicholas was held responsible for the events.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did social, economic and political problems in Russia lead to Bloody Sunday?

How did Bloody Sunday contribute to a revolutionary situation?

STATISTICS :

200 people were killed and 800 were wounded on Bloody Sunday.

There were 400,000 strikers in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday.

By Autumn of 1905, 2.5 million workers were on strike.

1.2 The Beginning and The First Revolution (1986 – 1905)

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Bloody Sunday was "an overwhelming display of tsarist incompetence." – Richard Pipes

"Nicholas the Bloody" was what people came to call Nicholas II.

"We are impoverished and oppressed, we are burdened with work, and insulted." Part of Father Gapon's petition

"We, workers and inhabitants of the city of St Petersburg... have come to you, Sovereign, to seek justice and protection." – Part of the petition

"I detected neither fear nor panic. No, the reverent and almost prayerful expressions were replaced by hostility and even hatred... on literally every face... the revolution had truly been born in the core" – A witness in the crowd on Bloody Sunday

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The event hardened the outlook of those who had previously had little political concern." – Sally Waller

"It was not a spontaneous demonstration." – Sally Waller

"The events of Bloody Sunday were the product of a number of factors, not least a war with Japan that had reached its climax a month earlier." – Sally Waller

"The petition clearly blamed those who came between the tsar and his people for current difficulties, and called upon the tsar to knock down the barriers between them." – Graeme Gill

Bloody Sunday "gravely damaged the traditional image of the tsar as the 'Little Father'." – Michael Lynch

1.2.6 October Manifesto

Strikes intensified after the events of Bloody Sunday, with 400,000 strikers in January alone. For the first time, there was widespread hatred for the Tsar, and the regime was at risk of being overthrown. Strikers turned to unions and sought to establish soviets – a council for workers. The most significant soviet was the St Petersburg Soviet, established by Leon Trotsky, then a Menshevik. The contempt for the government had spread to the countryside with the news of the loss at Tsushima. Believing that their lands would be taken from them for being unable to pay rent, peasants seized landlords' estates and livestock. A lack of police in the isolated countryside meant that they met no resistance, so the fervour only increased.

The chaos gave ethnic minorities within the Russian empire, such as the Georgians and the Poles, the opportunity to seek independence. The Potemkin Mutiny in June, and the Treaty of Portsmouth in September only added to the resentment for the Tsar. By October, the strikes had become so severe that the cities had come to a stop. Industrial action had been taken by almost every profession, from the banks, to the railways, to the Imperial ballet dancers. The Tsar had no choice but to take action or risk losing his power.

Pressured by Witte to introduce reforms that would quell the strikes, Nicholas agreed to what came to be known as the October Manifesto, which marked Russia's 1905 Revolution. Drafted by Witte, the October Manifesto was issued on 17 October and promised the following to the people of Russia:

- Granting civil liberties such as freedom of speech, conscience, association and assembly
- Formation of a State Duma where elected representatives from every demographic can discuss issues and introduce reforms or create laws
- Universal male suffrage – all males were given the right to vote
- Prohibit the passing of a law without the permission of the State Duma

The Manifesto went against everything that the Tsar believed in, but it did its job in satisfying the population. The Octobrists, the party mentioned previously, split from the Kadets, as they were pleased with the reform and believed it would work.

The Kadets were not satisfied and argued that more needed to be done. However, they did not oppose the Manifesto. On the other hand, the SRs, the Bolsheviks, and the Mensheviks were extremely critical of the Manifesto, and refused to participate in the voting of the State Duma. They were not the only ones unsatisfied with the Manifesto, with uprisings in Moscow costing up to 1,000 lives.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How was the October Manifesto a concession on the Tsar's behalf that tsarism was not working for the Russian people?

How did the inequalities among the Russian population contribute to the outbreak of revolution?

Explain the challenges and difficulties faced by tsarism until 1905. How did the tsarist government respond to these challenges?

Explain the impact of Bloody Sunday shootings, both on public perceptions of tsarism and on the revolutionary movement in Russia.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Although with a few broken ribs, the tsarist regime had come out of the 1905 experience alive and strong." – Trotsky

Soviets saw the October Manifesto as a "fraud on the people."

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

During 1905, the monarch's "fate hung by a string." – Robert Service

"The collapse of tsarism, while not improbable, was certainly not inevitable." – Richard Pipes

"In the end, Russia gained nothing more than a breathing spell." – Richard Pipes

"In neutralising criticism from this quarter by granting these concessions, the tsar left himself free to crack down with full force on the unruly populace." – Graeme Gill on the October Manifesto

"The tsarist regime survived 1905 remarkably unscathed." – Michael Lynch

1.3 The Period of the Dumas (1906 – 1914)

Timeline of 1906 – 1914

- 1906 April: Stolypin becomes the new Interior Minister
- 1906 April 23: Fundamental Laws issued by Nicholas II
- 1906 April 27: First Duma opens its first session
- 1906 July 8: First Duma is dissolved by the Tsar's orders
- 1906 July 21: Stolypin becomes Prime Minister
- 1907 Feb 20: Second Duma opens its first session
- 1907 June 3: Second Duma is closed
- 1907 June: Stolypin brings in the Emergency Laws that change electoral laws
- 1907 Nov 1: Third Duma opens its first session
- 1911 Sep 18: Stolypin is assassinated
- 1912 April 4: Lena Goldfield Massacre
- 1914 June–July: Industrial worker strikes in St Petersburg

1.3 The Period of the Dumas (1906 – 1914)

1.3.1 Fundamental Laws

The First Duma was set to open in April 1906 with elections for its representatives taking place beforehand. Laws were abolished to make way for new ones, such as the electoral law (11 December) that stated all men aged twenty-five and older were able to vote for a representative to vote on their behalf. On the other hand, landowners were allowed to vote directly. Industrial workers were forbidden altogether, with 60% of the working population forbidden from voting. This went back on the Tsar's promise of universal male suffrage.

It was not the only part of the October Manifesto that the Tsar betrayed. On 23 April, he introduced the Fundamental Laws, which forbid the State Duma from passing any laws without his stamp of approval and gave himself the power to appoint his own ministers who would only be accountable to the Tsar himself. In doing this, Tsar Nicholas regained all the power that he had given away in October the previous year. As such, the dumas had little influence on laws and reforms.

1.3.2 First Duma (April – July 1906)

- **First Duma:**
 - Peasants had 38% of deputy positions.
 - Kadets had 37% of seats and were the largest political party.
- The First Duma were known for their radical demands, some of which were:
 - Universal and direct voting rights
 - Universal and free education
 - Redistribution of rich people's estates to peasants
 - Political amnesty
 - Abolition of capital punishment
 - Freedom to strike
 - Freedom to publicly assemble
 - Civil service reforms
 - Abolition of the state council

Tsar Nicholas felt that they were too radical and anti-government. As such, the First Duma ended up being dismissed after 73 days.

1.3.3 Second Duma (February – June 1907)

The Second Duma proved to be even more radical than the first. This was because the SRs and SDs participated in the elections this time, and introduced more ideas and reforms that the Tsar opposed. They were dismissed after three months.

Emergency State Laws

On the same day that the Second Duma was dismissed, Pyotr (Peter) Stolypin introduced changes to the electoral system. Stolypin was Sergei Witte's replacement, as Nicholas blamed Witte for the dumas and removed him from his position. Stolypin was a firm-handed prime minister and introduced agrarian reform laws that the Social Democrats opposed. The changes he made to the electoral system came to be known as the Emergency State Laws, wherein the prime minister could make legislative changes without the duma's approval in an emergency situation. These laws:

- Suspended voting in the districts
- Suspended voting rights of peasants, urban workers, and minority groups, reducing a great number of deputies from these classes
- Increased deputy roles among the gentry
- Changed so much that eventually only 1 in every 6 males were eligible to vote

1.3.4 Third Duma (November 1907 – June 1912)

The Emergency State Laws had the intended effect on the duma in that they made it more conservative. Right-wingers dominated almost all positions, and their compliance to the Tsar satisfied the monarch. The Third Duma fulfilled its four year service with little friction between Tsar Nicholas and the assembly.

1.3.5 Fourth Duma (November 1912 – August 1914)

This was the most conservative of all four dumas, and also faced the greatest challenges. Its period of service was plagued with renewed revolutionary fervour:

- The Lena Goldfields massacre that saw casualty numbers up to 500. The massacre reinvigorated the long-sleeping revolutionary sentiment in the Russian people.
- In its two year service, 3 million workers staged over 9,000 strikes.

The Fourth Duma was officially closed in August 1914 by the Tsar after Russia's involvement in the First World War. However, the deputies and officials continued to meet unofficially despite the Tsar's orders. The deputies who stayed then formed what came to be known as the Progressive Bloc.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the existence of the duma quell the revolutionary situation in Russia?

To what extent did the Tsar stay true to his promises in the October Manifesto?

STATISTICS :

The first duma was dismissed after 73 days in office.

The changes to the electoral laws reduced the number of eligible voters to only 1 in every 6 men.

Peasants made up 38% of the first duma's deputies, while Kadets occupied 37% of seats.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"I created the duma, not to be directed by it but to be advised by it." – Tsar Nicholas

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"A period of uneasy and ambiguous experimentations with quasi-constitutional politics." – Alan Wood

The changes to the electoral system was a "high-handed" and "dictatorial action." – Alan Wood

"The duma played an integral role in provoking debate, pursuing reform and, to some extent, awakening the political consciousness of the masses." – Richard Pipes

1.3.6 Pyotr Stolypin

After Sergei Witte was removed from his position as prime minister in May 1906, he was replaced by Pyotr Stolypin in July, whom Nicholas believed would act in the best interests of tsarism.

Stolypin did indeed implement laws that would re-solidify the shaky position of the Tsar, but intended to do it by pursuing reforms. He understood that the only way tsarism could withstand the revolution was if legislations that benefited the people were introduced. As such, he brought in agrarian law reforms which had the purpose of creating a new class of land-owning peasants who would revive the agrarian economy and resist socialist reforms.

Stolypin introduced reforms that would stabilise tsarism for a short six years:

- Royal land was made public for the peasantry.
- Land prices would be reasonable and affordable for peasants.
- A credit system was introduced so that peasants could buy the equipment and land.
- Peasant communities were grouped into village communes called *mirs*, which would bind peasants to their communities by law. Stolypin made it legal for peasants to leave their communes in order to buy land that they could combine with their communities.
- Medical aid was made available to the sick, elderly, and disabled.
- Primary education was made compulsory.
- Working hours were shortened for regular workers.
- Underground/night labour was banned for children and women.

1.3 The Period of the Dumas (1906 – 1914)

Having introduced legislations that improved the lives of many Russians, Stolypin also made sure to hunt down revolutionaries or anti-tsarists to prevent them from agitating the newly pacified masses. Between 1905 and 1911, over 3,000 revolutionaries were tried and executed for terrorist activity alone, and another 21,000 were exiled to Siberia. Lenin was forced to flee to Finland, and all revolutionary parties were weakened in the face of increased tsarist strength. Stolypin became so infamous for his ruthless pursuit of revolutionaries and his treatment of them that the noose came to be known as 'Stolypin's necktie'.

KEY POINT :

Phrases like 'Nicholas the Bloody' and 'Stolypin's necktie' are phrases that came into use at the time of the revolution, and count as primary evidence. Keep a look out for short titles like these because they are easy to remember and can help in SACs and the exam if you find it tough to remember long quotes.

With the help of Stolypin, and through its own growing economy, Russia made drastic improvements by World War One. Such improvements included:

- The reduction of the national debt
- A doubling of national exports
- An annual growth rate of 6%, the highest of any European country
- Increase in landowning peasants
- Increase in the number of industrial workers

However, Stolypin was assassinated in 1911 while at an opera. From then on, the hold and control that Tsar Nicholas was able to maintain over the country began to spiral out of control, the rate of which was exacerbated by World War One.

1.3.7 Lena Goldfield Massacre

In the Lena region of Russia was the Lena River Mining company, established in the early 1900s. During Witte's reforms, thousands of workers moved to Lena to make a living from what was promised to be a successful company. However, it was not as profitable as it was predicted, and the company owners attempted to increase profits by slashing costs. Wages were cut while the price of food supplies at the company store in the area remained unreasonably high. Workers were forced to work in unsafe conditions for 16 hours a day, which inevitably led to serious injuries. In fact, reports show that 70% of the workers suffered from serious injuries for which the company issued no compensations.

Angered by their situation, the workers began to strike, demanding reduced working hours and food prices, wage increases and the elimination of fines. Refusing to cooperate, the company sent a request to the Russian government to send troops to force the strikers to give in. When soldiers arrived in April, their arrest of 11 leading strikers only intensified the unrest. Over 2,500 miners marched to confront the company owners and pressure them to agree to their demands. However, much like in Bloody Sunday, they were fired upon by soldiers. It is estimated that there were around 250 casualties.

This event reignited revolutionary sentiment all over Russia, with strikes continuing for several more months at Lena Goldfield. By late 1912, 80% of miners left Lena altogether, refusing to accept what they deemed to be unsatisfactory offers from the company. The company was eventually closed down.

This massacre was a turning point for several reasons:

- It revived the outrage and social unrest that Russians had felt pre-1905, and single-handedly undid the strength of the tsarist government that had been carefully rebuilt by Stolypin and the dumas. Strikes did not decrease after the company was closed, with numbers reaching the hundreds of thousands in 1913 and 1914.
- It was a demonstration of how willing the tsarist regime was to resort to violence and bloodshed to solve crises, much like Bloody Sunday.
- The event highlighted Russia's social problem on a smaller scale; the company owners lived in luxury without a worry while overlooking the harsh and unequal treatment endured by their workers. This situation neatly aligned with the revolutionary narrative of the exploitative bourgeoisie and the exploited proletariat.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Lena Goldfield massacre contribute to a revolutionary situation?

What did the Lena Goldfield massacre demonstrate about the social and political unrest among the working class?

STATISTICS :

There were 500 casualties in the Lena Goldfield massacre.

80% of workers had left the Lena region in further protest of the company.

Political strikes grew from 47,000 strikers in 1910 to over 500,000 in 1912.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"When an irrational crowd, under the influence of evil agitators, throws itself on the armed forces, the armed forces can do nothing but shoot." – Minister of Interior

The working conditions at Lena were deemed "incompatible with human dignity" – Alexander Kerensky, a duma representative sent to investigate the massacre

"The Lena shots broke the ice of silence, and the river of popular resentment is flowing again." – Joseph Stalin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The period of supposedly blossoming liberalism in Russia was very short... at most lasted from 1907 until Lena." – Christopher Reed

1.4 Russia in World War One (1914 – 1917)

Timeline of 1914 – 1917

- 1914 July 19: Germany declares war on Russia
- 1914 Aug 18: St Petersburg renamed as Petrograd
- 1914 Aug 30: Battle of Tannenberg ends
- 1914 Sep 14: Battle of the Masurian Lakes ends
- 1915 Aug 9: Duma members form the Progressive Bloc
- 1915 Aug 23: Tsar demotes General Nikolai Nikolaevich and becomes the new Commander in Chief
- 1916 Feb 6: Duma reconvene after they were dismissed in September 1915
- 1916 June 20: Duma are ordered to discontinue sessions, officially leaving Russia to be governed by Tsarina Alexandra
- 1916 Dec 17: Rasputin is murdered through the plans of Prince Felix Yusupov
- 1917 Jan: Strikes in Petrograd and Moscow intensify, growing to hundreds of thousands
- 1917 Feb 19: Beginning of the February Revolution
- 1917 Feb 23: International Women's Day demonstrations
- 1917 March 2: Tsar Nicholas II abdicates

The infamous assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand by a Serbian on 28 June 1914 became the immediate cause for long term tensions in Europe which would evolve into a full-fledged war. This became the reason for Russia's involvement in the war itself, as it deemed itself the protector of all Slavic people. However, World War One would prove to be the greatest short-term trigger for the collapse of the tsarist system and the revolutions of 1917.

1.4 Russia in World War One (1914 – 1917)

Much like in the Russo-Japanese War, it appeared that the Russian people suffered from collective amnesia regarding their discontent with the government. Strikes and protests were forgotten as waves of support for the war and patriotism enabled Tsar Nicholas to regain enough temporary popularity and lead the country into war. However, Russia's military evolved little since 1905 despite attempts, and in the face of the other technologically advanced, trained, and prepared European powers, its shortcomings manifested in the form of humiliating defeats. It was this, yet again, with other factors, that angered the Russian people. War brought the country to the brink of revolution yet again.

KEY POINT :

'St Petersburg' was thought to have sounded too German, and since anti-German sentiment was high during the War, the city's name was changed to Petrograd. From here on, it will be referred to as such.

The primary evidence is overwhelming in this section, so the impact of the War on Russia will be condensed into points:

- **Military impact:**
 - Battle of Tannenberg (18 August 1914): 100,000 Russian prisoners of war (POWs) captured and over 130,000 casualties
 - Battle of Masurian Lakes (2 September 1914): 60,000 Russian casualties
 - By August 1915, over 16 million Russian soldiers became POWs, and another 4 million were killed in battle.
 - Up to 1.2 million Russian soldiers were killed by 1916.
- **Political impact:**
 - While Tsar Nicholas took charge of the army and went to the front-lines, he left Tsarina Alexandra in charge. She was widely despised by the Russian public, and having her take control of domestic problems discredited the Tsar's authority.
 - The constant changing of ministers under the Tsarina meant that officials rarely had time to make any proper changes, whether it be to maintain Russia economically during a time of war, or quell the increasing protests.
 - The Tsar closed down the duma once the war was announced, rendering them incapable of supporting the country.
- **Economic impact:**
 - The government dedicated its attention entirely to the war effort, as did the people. This caused hyperinflation: wages increased by 50% in 1917, and goods prices increased by between 100% to 500%.
 - Coal (and therefore fuel) shortages affected cities and businesses in Russia. The fuel shortage also inhibited the transport of food around Russia, and transport of vital ammunition and equipment to the warfront.
 - Food shortages during wartime became the biggest crisis, as inflation meant that people could not afford to feed their families, along with actual lack of sustenance. The problem was not bad harvest – in fact, Russia experienced great harvest at the time, and there was plenty of food. The problem was the lack of transport, which was caused by fuel shortages and a poorly organised transport/railway system. Many times, food would rot away at railway stations and in carts because there was no way to get it out to the people. This became the reason for chaos in the cities, as people rioted for food.
 - In a classic case of a domino effect, fuel shortages also led to unemployment. Coupled with sky-high prices and lack of food, the people living in the cities suffered greatly from the war.
- **Social impact:**
 - It did not take long for people to grow tired of the war, and due to news of constant defeats and significant numbers of casualties and POWs, the people grew enraged.
 - Conscription was actively, and almost always violently protested and resisted.
 - The SDs, who opposed the war, saw opportunities for agitation to turn people against the tsar.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"I consider the state of the country to have become more critical and menacing than ever." – Rodzianko's words to Tsar during the War

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The calorie intake of unskilled workers fell by a quarter and infant mortality and crime increased at an alarming rate." – Orlando Figes

1.4.1 How did the War lead to the February Revolution?

Tsar Nicholas' mistakes were many during the war period, so much so that it was the accumulation of all of them that eventually led to the February Revolution, rather than one in particular.

Military shortcomings:

- The Russian army was grossly under-equipped. Long gone were the days of hand-to-hand combat and fighting with swords that the Russian generals knew, and they were faced with a startling lack of rifles for the huge army. In fact, 25% of soldiers were sent to the front with instructions to pick up the weapons of fallen troops.
- Only 4.6 million rifles were available for an army of 6.5 million men.
- Many conscripts were peasants who knew little about warfare or how to handle weaponry. This was one of the many reasons why the Russians lost so many battles.
- Organisation within the military was also a crucial weakness, and the soldiers were affected by the fuel shortages that stopped the railway system. Soldiers would go without food for long periods of time. Tragically, the food could've been brought from Siberia and Ukraine by drivers or mechanics who were capable of fixing the railway system, but they were all forced into conscription.
- The hungry, under-equipped, and under-trained soldiers were the first-hand witnesses to the horrors of war. The constant losses and high casualty rates greatly demoralised the already frustrated conscripts. This manifested in the form of even higher POW rates, which demonstrated their desperate preference to being captured than fighting.
- By 1916, Russia's POWs numbers outnumbered the death rate 4.5 to 1.
- In 1917, the Russian soldiers' POW to dead ratio was 16:1.

While the causes of these were varied, they were all directly blamed on the Tsar, because of his one, crucial mistake that would cost him Russia: becoming **Commander of the army**. In August 1915, he demoted the experienced commander, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich to head the warfront himself. While this would have had little impact on the Russian army's performance during the War, it was the perfect reason for the revolutionaries to blame Russia's losses on Nicholas' incompetency as both a military commander and as a political leader. It also gave way for the subsequent deterioration of the royal family's reputation through the Tsarina's actions.

1.4.2 Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin

The attitude the Russian people had towards the Tsarina had always been negative. Her distant, closed off and cold nature made her hard to like, so much so that even Nicholas' parents, Tsar Alexander III and Tsarina Maria, hadn't felt warmly about her in the early stages of their marriage. As such, her increase in control over Russia while Nicholas was at the warfront was not welcome.

Her relationship with the peasant monk, Grigori Rasputin, was also a huge point of contention. However, to understand their relationship, it is important to understand the Tsarina's experience. Already under pressure to be a popular queen, and failing to do so, she did little good to improve her reputation when she failed to produce an heir. After almost ten years of marriage and the birth of four daughters, she finally gave birth to Tsarevich Alexei, who would be the next tsar. However, Alexei was a sickly toddler, and required constant medical attention. It was soon discovered that he had haemophilia, a genetic condition that inhibits a body's ability to clot blood to stop bleeding. As a result, Alexei was always supervised, as any slight tumble or rough nudge could cause internal bleeding.

1.4 Russia in World War One (1914 – 1917)

The Tsarina felt personally responsible for her son's condition, as the genetic disorder is typically passed on from the mother's side, which was inherited on from her grandmother, Queen Victoria of England. This led to her search for someone who could cure her son's ailments, as the royal doctors' attempts did little.

Rasputin came to the attention of the royal family in 1905, where he was introduced to them as a faith healer. He did what numbers of royal doctors couldn't, which was to relieve the tsarevich's pains. His treatments were seen as a miracle, and the Tsarina believed Rasputin to be a man of God. From then on, Rasputin became incredibly close with all of the royal family as he continued his treatments on Alexei. However, Rasputin had a voracious sexual appetite, and he was infamous for his alleged influence over women. Regardless, the royal family's trust in him was absolute. While the Tsar was at war, the Tsarina depended heavily on Rasputin's guidance. The 'ministerial leap-frogging' that occurred during WWI – wherein ministers were constantly dismissed and replaced – is accepted to be a result of Rasputin's influence over the Tsarina. The duo's inability to understand the extent of Russia's internal crisis worsened the revolutionary situation in the country. Speculations about their relationship blew into direct accusations intended to further discredit the royal family. Pornographic photographs of the two were widespread in the cities and people were outright disrespectful towards the royal family they were legally and religiously obliged to admire and revere, demonstrating the extent to which the Romanov family's reputation had been ruined. Tsarina Alexandra's German background gave way for rumours, as people labelled her a German spy. Rasputin was later killed in December 1916 by Prince Felix Yusupov.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did Rasputin's relationship with the Romanov empire contribute to a revolutionary situation?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"This is a hooligan movement. Young people run about and shout that there is no bread, simply to create excitement, along with workers who prevent others from working... but this will all pass, if only the Duma will behave itself." – Tsarina's letter to Nicholas, demonstrating how out of touch she is with the Russian people

"Ministerial leapfrogging" was the phrase used to describe the constant changing of ministers.

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Rasputin scandal had been a bizarre symptom of the disease affecting Russian politics rather than a cause." – Michael Lynch

"Alexandra's 'sexual corruption' became a metaphor for the diseased condition of the tsarist state." – Orlando Figes

"Not only were the ministers shockingly incompetent, they were also changed with bewildering rapidity as the situation went from bad to worse." – Christopher Hill in regard to ministerial leapfrogging

1.4.3 Tsar Nicholas' Refusal to Reform

Tsar Nicholas showed little interest in the increasing social and political unrest going on in Russia while he was at war. Despite countless warnings from multiple sources, including other commanders, Duma Chairman Mikhail Rodzianko, and telegraphs from Petrograd and Moscow Okhrana officers, he paid no heed and believed it to be a temporary situation. He had long since lost his connection to his people, and had proven time and time again his unwillingness to give them what they wanted. These were, in summary:

- Bloody Sunday
- Breaking the promises in the October Manifesto
- Dismissing the first two dumas
- Implementing the Fundamental Laws
- Approving of Stolypin's repressive actions
- Entering the War as the commander, therefore indirectly bearing all the responsibility
- The political and economic chaos of Russia during the War
- Refusing to make changes in a time of crisis.

1.5 The Two Revolutions of 1917 (January – October 1917)

All of these, coupled with revolutionary sentiment that had never completely died out from 1905, proved too much for the Tsarist regime to bear, and led to the February Revolution of 1917.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the First World War contribute to a revolutionary situation?

How did Tsar Nicholas' decisions contribute to his overthrow?

To what extent did the Tsar's actions, or lack of, lead to the February Revolution?

To what extent did Rasputin's relationship to the Romanov family contribute to a revolutionary situation?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Tsar Nicholas II is one of the most pathetic figures in history. He loved his country. He had its welfare and greatness at heart. Yet it was he who was to cause the catastrophe which has brought it to utter ruin and misery." – George Buchanan (diplomat)

"Sir, we make bold once more to tell you that, to the best of our understanding, your adoption of such a decision threatens, Russia, yourself, and the dynasty with serious consequences" – Council of Ministers addressing Nicholas' decision to demote General Nikolai Nikolaevich and becoming the army's commander in chief.

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"While the collapse of tsarism was not inevitable, it was made more likely by deepening cultural and political flaws... that proved fatal under the pressure generated by World War One." – Richard Pipes

"Nicholas was the source of all the problems. If there was a vacuum of power at the centre of the ruling system, then he was the empty space... Russia gained in him the worst of both worlds: a tsar determined to rule from the throne yet quite incapable of exercising power." – Orlando Figes

1.5 The Two Revolutions of 1917 (January – October 1917)

Timeline of Feb 1917 – October 1917

- 1917 Feb 23: Beginning of February Revolution
- 1917 Feb 23: International Women's Day demonstrations
- 1917 Feb 25: Strikers grow to 200,000, leading to the need for police force
- 1917 Feb 27: Formation of the Petrograd Soviet
- 1917 March 1: Provisional Government are recognised as the official Russian government
- 1917 March 2: Tsar's train is stopped
- 1917 March 2: Tsar Nicholas II abdicates on his own behalf and on behalf of Tsarevich Alexei
- 1917 March 3: Prince Mikhail defers acceptance of the throne and is never confirmed as Emperor; the Romanov Empire comes to an end
- 1917 Apr 3: Lenin returns to Russia with the help of the Germans. Announces his April Thesis
- 1917 June 17: Russia launches offensive against Austrian and German forces on Russian territory
- 1917 July 3 – 7: July Days
- 1917 Aug 27 – 30: Kornilov Affair
- 1917 Oct 8: Trotsky becomes new Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. The Soviet is now dominated by Bolshevik members.
- 1917 Oct 25: Bolsheviks assume power; Provisional Government officials are arrested

1.5 The Two Revolutions of 1917 (January – October 1917)

1.5.1 How did the February Revolution happen?

The February Revolution in 1917 was expected in that it was the climax point for the social, political and economic unrest in Russia, and unexpected in that it unintentionally led to the downfall of a once powerful empire. The days leading up to the Revolution are chronologically laid here (according to the Julian calendar):

- **23 February 1917:** International Women's Day, where up to 90,000 women marched in Petrograd to protest the war and lack of food. Neither the Tsar, nor the Duma thought it was serious enough to need attention.
- **24 February 1917:** To support other workers who had lost employment, over 200,000 went on strike. Soldiers were ordered to monitor the strike, but not to take action.
- **25 February 1917:** Strikers increased to almost 250,000, paralysing the city, including public transport, offices, and newspaper companies.
- **26 February 1917:** Point of no return as now many soldiers joined the strikers in their protest. This marked the beginning of a revolt against the administration from within its ranks. The seriousness of the issue was reported to the Tsar by Rodzianko, angering him and leading him to order the Duma to stop their unofficial meetings.
- **27 February 1917:** Almost all parts of the city are controlled by the workers, leading to the release of thousands of political prisoners from jail. The severity of the situation escalated enough that the Duma, with its twelve members, revolted against the Tsar also and formed a Provisional Committee. They would later become the Provisional Government. Again, Nicholas did not take the situation seriously.
- **28 February 1917:** Passive protests spiral into violence and chaos, with the police being forced to take action by arresting mutinying soldiers. At this point, even Tsarina Alexandra had admitted through a telegram that things can no longer go on as they are without Nicholas making concessions. Nicholas' lack of response sets the finality for the events, as his inability to deliver reforms eventually cost him his power. On this day, the Duma also officially declares itself as the Provisional Government, while workers create the Petrograd Soviet. The Soviet issue their first order, which is appropriately titled as Soviet Order No. 1.
- **2 March 1917:** While the Tsar is travelling back to Russia, his train is stopped and his officials and ministers give him a decision to make that is not quite in his hands – abdicate, or the train will not move. On that train, Nicholas abdicates as Tsar, and also abdicates on behalf of Tsarevich Alexei, as he is too young and sickly to rule. As such, the new title automatically went to his brother, Mikhail. Once he has abdicated, the Provisional Government took formal control of the country.
- **3 March 1917:** Prince Mikhail also signs his abdication, ending the 304-year-old Romanov empire. Tsarism no longer has any power in Russia. Although Nicholas abdicated in order to preserve tsarist power, his attempt was futile as the autocracy ended regardless.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent was the February Revolution inevitable?

What were the long term causes and short term triggers for the February Revolution?

To what extent was the February Revolution led by revolutionaries?

The Tsar's actions led to his overthrow. Do you agree?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The collapse of the Romanov autocracy in March 1917 was one of the most leaderless, spontaneous anonymous revolutions of all time." – W.H Chamberlin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Romanov regime fell under the weight of its own internal contradictions. It was not overthrown." – Orlando Figes

The February Revolution 'was caused by the spontaneous upsurge of the political masses.' – Alan Wood

"The autocracy collapsed in the face of popular demonstration and the withdrawal of elite support for the regime." – Sheila Fitzpatrick

"When the February Revolution came, it was not as the result of military defeat, or even war weariness, but as the result of the collapse of public support in the government." – Steve Smith

1.5.2 Provisional Government and the Soviet

The Provisional Government were the political inheritors of the Tsar's power, but they were also, by name, provisional, and so temporary. However, they aimed to implement key policies immediately, which would improve Russia's situation. They included:

- Freedom of speech
- Freedom of the press
- Freedom to form unions
- Amnesty of political and religious prisoners under the tsarist regime
- Promises of an election to vote for a constituent assembly that is representative of all of Russia's demographics. After the vote, the Provisional Government would no longer exist
- Local elections
- Ceased existence of the *Okhrana*, who were to be replaced

Despite being the official authority in Russia, they famously had no power, and this was because of the Petrograd Soviet.

Formed on 28 February 1917, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies had large influence that was rooted in their control over workers, railways, communication points, newspapers and the military. They shared dual authority with the Provisional Government, in that they did not have authority unless it was through the Provisional Government, who in turn had no power without the support of the Soviet. This dual nature of the new Russian government was solidified by Soviet Order No. 1, which was issued the day after their formation.

The Soviet Order No. 1 covered particular demands that inhibited the Provisional Government's power, of which the major and most important one was that the Provisional Government could not give any orders to any military unit without the Soviet stamp of approval.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The country so radically vomited up the monarchy that it could not ever crawl down the people's throat again." – Leon Trotsky

"The Provisional Government that replaced the fallen autocracy was weak to the point of impotence. It was inconspicuously lacking in all the means by which a state normally enforces its authority." – W.H Chamberlin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The soviets were an "example of the kind of 'working-class spontaneity' of which [Lenin] had always been suspicious." – Alan Wood

The Provisional Government was a "government of persuasion." – Orlando Figes

The Provisional Government "depended largely on the power of the word to establish its authority." – Orlando Figes

"Dual power' proved an illusion, masking something very like a power vacuum." – Sheila Fitzpatrick

1.5 The Two Revolutions of 1917 (January – October 1917)

1.5.3 Russia under the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government maintained power for a mere eight months before the October Revolution, and their mistakes were many. In fact, so much happened in all of 1917 that the events will be explored chronologically in months, beginning with April, the month after the Provisional Government took power and implemented their first reforms.

April Thesis

The Provisional Government's first palpable mistake was continuing Russia's involvement in the war. This was because Russia was essentially bankrupt from the war effort, and the only way to 'rescue' the economy was through foreign funds from Britain, who promised Russia financial support in return for them keeping Germany occupied on the eastern front. This decision to continue the war enraged the Russian people, whose momentary support for the Provisional Government after the fall of the Tsar was destroyed. The Provisional Government made the fatal mistake of inheriting and not changing the one factor that brought tsarism to an end – the war. On the other hand, it wasn't really a choice, as there was no other option.

Not only that, but the people wanted elected representatives in government. The Provisional Government members were all previous deputies in the Fourth Duma, and all of whom came from the privileged class. As such, they were not the people that the Russians wanted in power.

In the same period, political amnesty meant that exiled revolutionaries could return to Russia, one of whom was Lenin. This is a particular key event, as it marked the turning point for the Bolsheviks, as they would, on the surface, support the Soviet while covertly seeking to establish their own power. Lenin's return garnered much fanfare as he adopted the slogans 'Peace, Land, Bread!' and 'All Power to the Soviets'. This, coupled with the Bolsheviks' public criticisms of the Provisional Government, earned the party popular support. This was because the people believed that Lenin believed in what they did – power to the people – and planned to give them what they wanted – food, land for harvest and national peace with no war.

He also penned the *April Thesis*, which demanded the transition of power from the Provisional Government to a dictatorship of the working and peasant class. The *April Thesis* heavily criticised the Provisional Government, Russia's involvement in the war and continued ownership of private land. He stated that becoming a parliamentary republic would be a 'step backwards', and instead, Russia needed to form into a republic of the Soviet for workers and peasants. The thesis was wildly popular among the Soviets, and therefore a success, as it was the Soviets' support that Lenin was aiming to earn.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear" – Excerpt from the April Thesis

"Peace, Bread, Land" and "All Power to the Soviets" – Bolshevik slogans

June Offensive

The Provisional Government promised the Soviets in May that they would only continue the war as a defensive force. However, to do that, they had to first drive German and Austrian occupation out of Russian territory. This became known as the June Offensive, as it (surprise!) occurred in June. However, Russian performance in the Offensive reflected their performance during the rest of the war, and they were humiliatingly defeated. Thousands of soldiers were captured, deserted their posts, or mutinied. Not only that, but they also lost territory in the battles, which defeated the Offensive's purpose. The losses infuriated the Russian people, and the situation spiralled into chaos.

STATISTICS :

There were 400,000 Russian casualties from the June Offensive.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"For the sake of the nation's life it was necessary to restore the army's will to die." – Alexander Kerensky

July Days

The dissatisfying decisions made by the Provisional Government evoked large-scale outrage soon after the June Offensive. Between the 3rd and the 7th of July (according to the Julian calendar) rioters took their protest to the streets, and chaos overtook the cities. The spontaneous demonstrations quickly became violent, with officers needing to take action against the armed protesters. The situation was contained after several days, and the riot was blamed on the Bolsheviks. The Provisional Government, and specifically the new Prime Minister, Alexander Kerensky, were convinced that the July Days occurred due to Bolshevik agitation among workers to overturn the new government. Whether this was the case is still up for debate among historians. What is not up for debate is the effect that the July Days had on the Bolshevik party. Thousands of party members were arrested or exiled, and Lenin was forced to flee the country once more, which people used to discredit him as a revolutionary leader. Leon Trotsky, a previous Menshevik, who had just become a Bolshevik before the arrest order, was also imprisoned. By the end of July, it was safe to say that even the Bolsheviks had believed that their party had been destroyed.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Bolshevik Party was opposed to armed action at that time, for it considered the revolutionary crisis had not yet matured, that the army and the provinces were not yet prepared to support an uprising in the capital." – Communist Party of the Soviet Union's official statement on why the Bolsheviks did not cause the July Days

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Bolsheviks were "caught off balance. They had talked insurrection, in a general way, but not planned it." – Sheila Fitzpatrick

"The most menacing manifestation of popular discontent with the government since the February Revolution." – Alan Wood

Kornilov Affair

A turning point arose in August, when a significant miscommunication occurred between new Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky and General Lavr Kornilov. A new Commander in Chief, General Kornilov, believing he was acting under the orders of Kerensky, moved armed forces to Petrograd to both restore order and protect the city from German attacks. Kerensky on the other hand, believed that Kornilov was coming to Petrograd to carry out a military coup de'tat and establish a military dictatorship. It is uncertain to this day, where or how the confusion emerged.

Kerensky had no power over soldiers, as they were part of the Petrograd Soviet. His only chance was to convince the Soviet that trained soldiers were needed to protect the city. The Soviet agreed on one condition; the Bolsheviks were to be released. Until then, they still believed in the Bolsheviks' slogans 'All Power to the Soviet', and took advantage of Kerensky's desperation. All Bolshevik party members were released from prison, and with Trotsky as the leader, 40,000 were armed to protect the city. These trained men, consisting of workers and soldiers alike, were called the Red Guard.

In the end, there was no confrontation. Railway workers refused to transport Kornilov's troops to Petrograd, and General Kornilov was arrested. Regardless, the entire affair improved the Bolsheviks' reputation, and they were revered as the city's defenders. Not only that, but they were now armed, and refused to give back the weaponry the Provisional Government lent them. The event jump-started the Bolsheviks as a party and their endeavour for a revolution.

In the following month, the Bolsheviks formed the majority in the city soviets, and Trotsky became the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet.

1.5 The Two Revolutions of 1917 (January – October 1917)

October

While the Bolsheviks now had the upper hand, they were not entirely convinced that a revolution could still happen. Nevertheless, they plan for one, and carry it out. To everyone's surprise, and most of all Lenin's, it was successful. Day by day as recorded here, again according to the Julian Calendar:

- **24 October 1917:** guns are distributed to the Red Guard and they covertly capture key points in Petrograd, including bridges, communications and vantage points.
- **25 October 1917:** Lenin arrives secretly at midnight. Shortly after 2 a.m., Red Guards barge into the Winter Palace, arresting Provisional Government officials and forcing Kerensky to escape in disguise. Early in the morning, the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets is held. During the session, Trotsky famously tells the Mensheviks and SRs to 'go back into the dustbins of history, where you belong' and dismisses them. The party walks out in protest.
- **26 October 1917:** Bolsheviks publicly announce themselves to be the official government, but call themselves the Government of People's Commissars. Lenin is declared their leader.

The actual takeover of the Bolsheviks was surprisingly peaceful. It was so peaceful in fact, that the Red Guard did not even need to break into the palace – someone had left one of the back-entrance doors unlocked. There were no casualties, and the Provisional Government gave up their power without struggle. However, the aftermath was particularly violent. People actively resisted the Bolsheviks' power, and anti-Bolshevik sentiment was rife. The only true authority they had was in Petrograd, and in Moscow after a bloody struggle. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks got the revolution that they never thought they would ever live to see. Of course, it was only the beginning.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

In what ways was Russia ready for a second revolution?

How did the Provisional Government's actions lead to their downfall?

To what extent was the October Revolution inevitable?

Evaluate the role played by the Bolsheviks and its individual members in the 1917 revolutions.

Discuss the role played by the Fourth Duma and the Provisional Government in the development of the February Revolution and the overthrow of tsarism.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"History will not forgive us if we do not take power now." – Lenin

"If we seize power today, we seize it not in opposition to the Soviets, but on their behalf." – Lenin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"In October 1917, the Bolsheviks were pushing against an already open door." – Michael Lynch

"The authority of the government had virtually collapsed for some weeks before the Bolsheviks seized the Winter Palace." – Alec Nove

"The Provisional Government was so politically isolated and the insurgents enjoyed such overwhelming support that they were able to elbow the Government out of existence with a slight push." – Isaac Deutscher

"The Bolsheviks did not seize power, they picked it up." – Adam Ulam

"[Lenin's] objective had not been to win mass support but to create a party capable of seizing power when the political circumstances permitted." – Michael Lynch

Area of Study 2

Consequences of revolution

2.1 Consolidation of Power (October 1917 – 1918)

Timeline from Oct 1917 – 1918*

- 1917 Oct 27: Sovnarkom created
- 1917 Nov – Dec: Initial decrees as passed
- 1917 Nov 12: Elections for Constituent Assembly begin
- 1917 Nov 6: Finland declares independence
- 1917 Dec 5: CHEKA created
- 1918 Jan 5: Constituent Assembly is opened
- 1918 Jan 6: After one day, the Constituent Assembly is dismissed by the Bolsheviks
- 1918 Jan 21: Lenin annuls all foreign debt, as he saw it as the debts of the old Russia
- 1918 Jan 28: Founding of the Red Army
- 1918 Jan 31 / Feb 14: Julian Calendar is abandoned and Gregorian Calendar is adopted
- 1918 March 3: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is signed
- 1918 March 10: The Russian capital changes from Petrograd to Moscow
- 1918 April: State Capitalism is formally recognised as the Soviet economic policy

KEY POINT :

* When the Gregorian Calendar was adopted, the date moved forward. From this point onward, we will be using the N.S. (new style) dates.

The Bolsheviks, and especially Lenin, never thought they would see a revolution in their lifetime, despite dedicating their lives to making it happen. However, the revolution itself was only the beginning. Now that they had power, they had to consolidate it.

Taking power was the easy part for the Bolsheviks – consolidating it was another milestone entirely. They were met with violent resistance by people who saw that they were unwilling to share their power. This was made evident after the Second All Russian Congress, where the Bolsheviks refused to form a multi-party coalition. Office workers did not come to work, keys were hidden, documents burnt, vaults emptied. Banks refused to give the new government money, until the Bolsheviks became desperate enough that they had to take it by force with the help of the Red Guards.

Resistance in Moscow was particularly bloody, with a week-long struggle that ended with 7,000 casualties. Lenin saw no problem with the use of artillery and violence to suppress the rioters, which would later play a huge role in the Bolshevik regime. The Bolshevik Party had only 300,000 members, and this meant that their control over most of Russia was non-existent, and fragile at best over Petrograd and Moscow. As such, they needed to take initiative to strengthen their tenuous authority.

2.1.1 Sovnarkom

On 27 October, the Bolsheviks declared their official governmental title would be 'Government of People's Commissars' – Sovnarkom, for short. All fifteen members were referred to as Commissars, and they were all Bolsheviks, each in charge of a different branch of government. Prominent members and their positions were:

- Leon Trotsky – Commissar of Foreign Affairs
- Alexandra Kollontai – Commissar of Social Welfare
- Josef Stalin – Commissar of Nationalities
- Vladimir Lenin – Chairman

The all-Bolshevik nature of the Sovnarkom came from Lenin's belief that only their party could enable a successful future after the revolution.

2.1 Consolidation of Power (October 1917 – 1918)

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Sovnarkom are “extremely efficient, energetic and decisive.” – Daily News article

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“They were revolutionaries, not politicians.” – James D. White

2.1.2 CHEKA

The formation of the Bolshevik secret police, called the CHEKA, occurred in December 1917 and began with only 15 members. Initially, they had no power to arrest, and only existed to carry out investigations. However, just a little under a month later, they were given arms. By the end of February, the CHEKA had the power to not only arrest, but carry out trials and executions. The group grew rapidly in numbers – from 15 in December, they numbered over 10,000 members by June 1918, and over 200,000 by 1921. Like their membership, their aims also morphed, and they were repurposed as a force that would combat counter-revolutionary activities.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Felix Dzerzhinsky was known for his toughness and referred to as “Iron Felix”

“Urgent measures are necessary to fight the counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs.” – Lenin on why the CHEKA was needed

“Enemy agents, profiteers, marauders, hooligans, counter-revolutionary agitators and German spies, are to be summarily shot.” – Lenin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“The Bolshevik leadership had created an extreme situation, and they saw a way out in the organisation of a powerful punitive institution, capable of terrifying and terrorising the population.” – Alter Litvin

2.1.3 Initial Decrees

The Sovnarkom wisely began implementing reforms straight away, and introduced many new decrees to improve the country's state. Many of them were welcomed, and helped to somewhat improve the Bolsheviks' reputation. Decrees included:

- **Decree on Peace (8 November 1917):** declaration of Russia's formal withdrawal from the war, which hoped to earn the support of soldiers. This was intended to fulfil the promise of 'Peace', but came with consequences.
- **Decree on Land (8 November 1917):** declared the abolition of private property and redistribution of said land to the peasantry. This decree was the easiest to enforce and fulfilled Lenin's promise of 'Land'.
- **Decree on Press (9 November 1917):** declared the banning of political rivals' newspaper outlets on the basis that they represented the bourgeoisie.
- **Worker's Control Decree (27 November 1917):** elected worker committees were given the authority to decide on wages, hours and how factories would be run.
- **Decree on Nationalisation of Banks (27 December 1917):** all banks were nationalised and under state control.
- **Decree on Marriage (31 December 1917):** marriage was no longer considered a religious union, and only state marriages could be recognised by the state. Divorce was also a right given to both spouses, not only the husband.
- **Decree on Nationalities (2 November 1917):** ethnic minorities were promised independence, but only if they agreed that the new republic would be a Soviet state. As Lenin and Trotsky wanted to spread socialism to the entire world, they believed that promising ethnic minorities self-determination would create pockets of socialist states throughout Europe.
- **Other changes:** On 31 January in 1918, the Bolsheviks would also officially adopt the Gregorian calendar. The Julian calendar was 13 days behind, and so was abolished. As a result, the day after the 31st became February 14.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Bolsheviks were the "only people in Russia who had a definite programme of action while the others talked for eight long months." – American journalist John Reed

"We shall destroy everything and on the ruins we shall build our temple!" – Lenin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The decrees were "designed to inspire, to excite, to instigate." – Robert Service

2.1.4 Voting for a Constituent Assembly

Bolshevik power was weak enough in the initial stages that they had no choice but to give in to the people's demands – a vote for a Constituent Assembly. The Provisional Government were heavily criticised for their constant delay of a democratic vote by the Bolsheviks, who used the promise to gain support. As a result, Lenin could not go back on his word when the party was still in such a vulnerable position.

The election occurred in November 1917, and accounted for the votes of over half the population. This meant that when the results came out, the truth of Bolshevik support would come out – were they really as popular as they had said they were to justify remaining in power? The results did not think so:

- Social Revolutionaries (SRs) received 42% of the votes
- Bolsheviks received 24% of the votes
- National minority groups received 20% of the votes
- Left SRs received 7% of the votes
- Kadets received 5% of the votes
- Mensheviks received 3% of the votes

The SRs' overwhelming lead was no surprise because they heavily focused on the peasantry, who made over 80% of the population. Bolsheviks believed in the proletariat revolution, and so primarily had the popular vote in urbanised areas.

The Constituent Assembly assembled for the first time on 18 January 1918 at the Tauride Palace. However, the session was cut short when Red soldiers forced rival party members to leave.

The Bolsheviks dismissed the election results, and stated that people got confused when voting – many people intending to support the Bolsheviks also voted for the Left SRs, who were known Bolshevik sympathisers. However, they were confused and accidentally voted for the SRs instead. Using this excuse, the Constituent Assembly were shut out of government before they could take control.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Only scoundrels and imbeciles can think that the proletariat must win a majority of votes in elections." – Lenin

"The town cannot be equal to the country... the town inevitably leads the country." – Lenin on why the proletariat votes are more important than those of the peasantry

"The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly made a great sensation abroad. In Russia, it passed almost unnoticed." – Victor Serge

The Constituent Assembly were an "unnecessary sideshow." – Lenin

The dissolution of the Assembly "demonstrated how deeply Lenin believed that the Reds represented the workers and peasants." – Victor Serge

2.1 Consolidation of Power (October 1917 – 1918)

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The “surprising indifference towards the dismissal of the Assembly showed that Russia lacked a sense of national cohesion capable of inspiring the population to give up immediate and personal interests for the sake of the common good.” – Richard Pipes on why the masses were not outraged by the shutting down of the Constituent Assembly

2.1.5 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

In order to fulfil their promise of ‘Peace’, the Bolsheviks had to pull Russia out of the war. Lenin recognised the war’s role in the downfall of the Tsar and the Provisional Government, and so had to act fast. He called for peace negotiations, and Trotsky carried out the order in March. Although Trotsky initially planned to stall any agreements to bide Russia more time, as he believed the war would end on its own and Russia would not have to offer compensation. However, this only angered the Germans, and on 3 March 1918, Russia signed Germany’s offered agreement – the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The treaty was incredibly unpopular among Bolsheviks, and Lenin and Trotsky narrowly won a vote to agree to its terms, which were not only humiliating, but damaging:

- Germany given control over Ukraine, which was Russia’s largest source of agrarian activity
- Russia lost 34% of European population
- Lost 50% of industrial enterprises and 26% of railways
- Russian army to be disassembled and warships to be disarmed
- Over 1 million square kilometres of land spanning from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea
- Exchange of prisoners of war without terms
- Millions of roubles in compensation

The treaty was also unpopular with the Russian population, who were outraged by the humiliating terms. But it was the only way the country could be pulled out of the war without being attacked, and so Lenin went through with it. Not only that, but he and Trotsky did not see the loss of land as damaging to the country; as international revolutionaries, their plan to spread socialism worldwide meant that they did not care for country borders or patriotic sentiment.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“I spit on Russia. This is merely on phase through which we must pass on the way to world revolution.”
– Lenin on international socialism

“To secure a truce at present means to conquer the whole world.” – Lenin to his party members

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“It was a device, the Bolsheviks admitted, to trade space for time, the time which they needed to consolidate their revolutionary rule.” – Richard Crampton

2.1.6 State Capitalism

Lenin acknowledged that Russia was not in a stable condition to immediately become a socialist state, and so announced a transitional period called ‘State Capitalism’ in April 1918. This new system would see the government take control of key industries to better regulate the economy. ‘Bourgeoisie specialists’ were considered necessary, as they had been the previous managers, operators and skilled workers under the tsarist regime. Their role in State Capitalism was to supervise factories and industries while regular workers learnt how to manage themselves under the Worker’s Control Decree.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Explain how the leadership of Lenin influenced the development of the new society in Russia.

Explain the role of Lenin in changing society and achieving Bolshevik revolutionary ideals.

Explain how the development of the new society after the revolution impacted the lives of the peasants.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"State capitalism inevitable and unavoidably implies a step, or several steps towards Socialism! For if a large capital enterprise becomes a monopoly (nationalised), it means to serve the whole nation. If it has become a state monopoly, it means the state... directs the whole enterprise... Socialism is nothing but state-capitalist monopoly which has been turned in the interest of the whole people." – Lenin

2.2 Civil War (1918 – 1921)

Timeline of 1918 – 1921

- 1918 May 22: Czech Legion take control of a portion of the Trans-Siberian Railway
- 1918 June 14: SRs and Mensheviks are expelled from all soviets
- 1918 July: Introduction of class-based food rationing
- 1918 July 17: Nicholas II and his family are executed by the Reds
- 1918 Sep 5: Decree on Red Terror
- 1918 Nov 21: All private trade is banned
- 1919 Jan: Grain requisitioning squads begin their duties
- 1919 May: Rapid printing of bank notes to hyper inflate money and render it useless
- 1920 Feb 7: Admiral Kolchak is executed
- 1920 Feb 14: Beginning of Soviet-Polish War
- 1920 April 26: Kiev Offensive
- 1920 Aug: Tambov Uprising
- 1920 Oct: Peace agreement between the Polish and Russian governments
- 1920 Nov 14: Last of White Armies is defeated
- 1921 Feb: Mass strikes begin in main cities
- 1921 March 1: Kronstadt soldiers begin to actively speak out against the Bolsheviks
- 1921 March 7: Official attack on Kronstadt by Red Army
- 1921 March 8–16: Tenth Congress of the Party where the NEP is introduced
- 1921 March 17: Kronstadt Uprising is defeated
- 1921 March 18: Treaty of Riga signed between Poland and Russia

KEY POINT :

Warfare is often an indispensable element of revolutionary upheavals. For AOS 2 Russia, the Civil War was a defining and immensely significant event that shaped the consolidation of a tyrannical autocracy. However, remember not to get bogged-down in the nuances of military strategy and the minutiae of every battle and skirmish. Your focus should always centre on the **revolutionary consequences of the conflict**.

In AOS 1, you should ask yourself '*how did the conflict or a particular battle propel the revolutionary movement?*' Meanwhile, in AOS 2 you should ask yourself '*how did the conflict or a particular battle affect the consolidation of the new regime, or affect different social groups?*'

The opposition to the Bolsheviks never dimmed. The new government was challenged from multiple sources that developed into battles that would later be referred to as the Russian Civil War. There is no set date for when the Civil War began, though it is generally seen as having been in early to mid 1918, after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. There were threats from both within and outside of Russia.

2.2 Civil War (1918 – 1921)

2.2.1 Internal Threats

- **Green Armies:** the Greens, as they were shortly referred to, were communities of peasants who sought national independence from Russia. They were mostly ethnic minorities who wanted to establish their own states, and were generally considered a far greater threat to the Bolshevik regime than any other source. They did not support either the Reds (the Bolshevik armies) or the Whites (tsarist supporters), which is why their involvement in the war caused further chaos – they were the third, most chaotic leg of the three armies.
- **Czech Legion:** a volunteer army consisting of 40,000, mostly Czech, armed soldiers, who wanted to continue to fight the war in order to gain independence that they hoped the Allies would support. They crossed the Trans-Siberian Railway in May 1918, where hostilities broke out between them and surrounding provinces. Their armed presence agitated the communities, leading to them attacking the army. Following a Bolshevik order for them to give up their weapons, the Legion revolted and responded with violence. Their repeated successful military defeats of Soviet soldiers allowed for them to be used as an example by other rebels to form armed mass armies against the Bolshevik government.
- **White Armies:** also referred to as the Whites, these armies were separate armed forces who were united by their deep hatred for the Bolshevik regime. Most were led by previous tsarist officers, and many sought to re-establish tsarism in Russia. Though knowing all the armies isn't crucial, it is useful to have a general idea of the White armies:
 - General Miller's northern army. Period of threat: September 1918
 - General Yudenich's north-western army. Period of threat: October 1918
 - Admiral Kolchak's eastern army in Siberia. Period of threat: 1918–1920
 - General Denikin's southern army. Period of threat: 1917–1920

As the Whites intended to bring the Romanov family back to power, Nicholas and his family were assassinated in July 1918. This was to prevent the Whites from taking the family and reviving the image of the Romanov family to challenge the Bolsheviks.

2.2.2 External threats

- **Britain:** it was within Britain's interests to bring tsarism back, and so they sent continual funds to the White armies. By August 1919, Britain had spent 70 million pounds to support White forces.
- **Japan:** 70,000 troops were sent to Siberia from Japan in order to gain territory. This presented a direct threat to the Bolsheviks. Japan entered Siberia in April 1918.
- **America:** America sent forces to Siberia in August 1918 to protect the Trans-Siberian Railway and restrict Japan's accessibility to land. However, it is also believed that they were there to support Admiral Kolchak, where he established his government.
- **Polish–Soviet War:** while this war, which began in February 1919, occurred to determine who would control Ukraine, Poland fought more out of desperation – losing the war would threaten Poland's newly achieved independence. Led by Trotsky, the Red Army defeated Polish forces in the final Battle of Warsaw. In the end, a peace treaty was signed, called the Treaty of Riga, on 18 March 1921.

2.2.3 Why did the Reds win?

It came as no surprise that the Bolsheviks' Red forces won the Civil War. There are multiple reasons for their win, one of which was their own strength:

- **Common Purpose:** much like in any other war that Russia was involved in, patriotic sentiment was pivotal in arousing support for the Bolsheviks. Soldiers were repeatedly told that their choice was between fighting for their homeland or choosing the side of the traitors. As such, all the Reds were united by their common purpose to protect their country from the tsarist regime that destroyed the nation on every level.

- **Concentration of Defence:** Bolsheviks controlled only main cities, while the Whites dominated most of Russian lands. However, they were poorly organised and spread out. Their forces were not concentrated enough to defeat the centralised Bolsheviks, whose forces protected the minimal area that they controlled. Not only that, but the cities of Moscow and Petrograd were developed in industry, and so the Reds had unfettered access to equipment, ammunition, supplies, and railway stations.
- **Trotsky's Red Army:** formed in January 1918 by the Sovnarkom, the army consisted of conscripted workers and peasants. As the Minister of War, they were led by Trotsky, whose ruthlessness created a disciplined army. By 1920, the Red Army consisted of over 5 million men. Another 50,000 tsarist military officers were also enlisted, as they had military experience. Much like in the factories under State Capitalism, these officers were monitored by loyal Bolsheviks to prevent any betrayals.

Note that the Red Army is not to be confused with the Red Guards, who were created in August 1917 to defend Petrograd against General Kornilov's forces!

- **CHEKA and Terror:** much like the Red Army, the CHEKA were crucial in both defeating opposing armies and enforcing laws. Stories of the horrors they committed against both White soldiers and regular people were commonplace, some including: murdering family members of suspected anti-revolutionaries, burning victim's hands in hot water until their skin peeled off like glue, burning them alive, sawing them in half, drowning them in barrels filled with urine, and tying cages with rats inside to their stomachs so that the rats would be forced to eat through the victim to escape

Led by Felix Dzerzhinsky, the CHEKA were a frightening force whose savage techniques struck fear in everyone's hearts. This was especially true after the Decree on Red Terror on 5 September 1918, where a campaign of mass killings, torture, executions and systematic oppression was launched. Lenin saw the decree as a necessity, as he couldn't conceive any other way that the Bolsheviks could win the Civil War without the use of terror. The CHEKA were incredibly efficient in their job of exposing counter-revolutionary activities, individuals, or defeating other armed forces. Statistics surrounding them include:

- Confronted by 245 revolts that needed armed action to be defeated in 1918 alone
- Exposed 142 counter-revolutionary groups in the same year
- Over 87,000 arrests were made, and at least 8,300 people were shot
- During all four years of the Civil War, the CHEKA executed 140,000 people, and killed another 140,000 while suppressing uprisings. This is often compared to the Tsar's Okhrana to highlight the CHEKA's willingness to resort to violence; the Okhrana had executed just over 14,000 people in 50 years.

The CHEKA were also in charge of other, non-terror related things, including:

- Overseeing conscription
- Border control
- Exposing corruption and bribery within the Bolsheviks
- Delivering famine and medical relief
- Repairing the railways after the Civil War

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the role of Trotsky influence the development of the new society?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"We must execute not only the guilty. Execution of the innocent will impress the masses even more." – Commissar of Justice Nikolai Krylenko

"To what class does he belong? In this lies the significance and essence of the terror." – Chekist

"The CHEKA is not an investigating commission, a court or a tribunal. It is a fighting organ on the internal front of the Civil War. It does not judge, it strikes." – Bolshevik member Martin Latsis

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"It is doubtful, even without the threat of civil war and organised opposition, that Bolshevism could have developed other than as an oppressive system. Its dogmatic Marxist creed made it as intolerant of other political creeds as stardom had been." – Michael Lynch on the Bolsheviks' use of terror

"Terror may have saved communism, but it corroded its soul." – Richard Pipes

"The Bolsheviks ceased to be utopians when, once and for all it had become obvious the idea was unattainable, they persisted in the attempt by resorting to unrestrained violence." – Pipes

"The Bolsheviks felt no qualms in resorting to merciless terror." – Pipes

"The belief that the end justified the means served them well, blinding them to the way in which corrupt ends." – Steve Smith

"Lenin, Trotsky and Derzhinsky believed that overkilling was better than running the risk of being overthrown." – Robert Service

"Terror was an integral element of the Bolsheviks' regime from the beginning." – Orlando Figes

"There is no doubt that the terror struck a deep chord in the Civil War mentality, and that it had a strange mass appeal." – Figes

2.2.4 Why did the Whites Lose?

- **Lack of Unity:** there was no one purpose that all the White armies pursued, which is why, although collectively known as the Whites, each army was their own unit who did not support each other any more than they supported the Reds. The few White army generals who were willing to cooperate to bring the Bolsheviks down were separated by distance, and unable to properly coordinate attacks together or unite their forces to become a more powerful source of threat.
- **White Terror:** with their use of the CHEKA as a tool of terror, the Bolsheviks were no innocent lambs. However, Trotsky was a genius propagandist and was able to paint the Whites as the greater danger to Russia. The Whites greatly lacked any sort of propaganda that would enable them to earn support, as they were no better than the Reds, whose actions during the War devastated the countryside. The one thing that rural communities benefited from the Bolshevik regime was the distribution of land – a policy that was openly hated by the Whites, most of who came from middle to higher social classes. The Bolsheviks were seen as the lesser of two evils in every aspect, especially since the Whites' financial support from the Allies was used as an excuse by the Bolsheviks to paint them as traitors to Russia. Examples of White terror include burying socialists alive, nailing people to trees, destroying bridges, gouging eyes, cutting off tongues, tearing off limbs, and burning off skin.

STATISTICS :

Denikin's army killed 150,000 Jews.

Kolchak's army killed 25,000 people in one city alone.

Czech Legion killed 5,000 people.

Total of 260,000 people died as a result of White terror.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"I am not fighting for any particular form of government, I am only fighting for Russia!" – Denikin

"We are fighting to settle the question of whether Russia will belong to the people who lived by their labour... or whether they belong to the bourgeoisie." – Trotsky

"The Green Armies are far more dangerous than all the Denikins, Yudeniches and Kolchaks put together."
– Lenin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The White leaders... failed to adapt to the new revolutionary world in which the civil war had to be fought. They made no real effort to develop policies that might appeal to the peasants or the national minorities, although the support of both were essential. They were too firmly rooted in the old Russia." – Orlando Figes

"Red victory was more of a result of White weakness than Red strength." – Orlando Figes

"The failure of the Whites to recognise the peasant revolution was the reason for their ultimate defeat." – Richard Pipes

"The Whites had no common unity of purpose because they had drawn from a vast background of foreign motivation and political ideology... Ultimately, instead of fighting a combined White force, the Red Army simply fought several separate battles, one after the other, until each White army was defeated, surrendered or simply withdrew." – Richard Malone

"Whereas the Communists persecuted the bourgeoisie as defenders of the old regime, the Whites targeted Jews as the scapegoats for all the perceived wrongs of the revolutionary system." – Tom Ryan

"The Whites were the avengers of those who had suffered at the hands of the revolution." – Orlando Figes

2.2.5 War Communism

Having just exited one war in total economic devastation only to enter another, the Bolsheviks needed to act quickly to preserve Russia on a social and economic level. In order to maintain the country during another war period, Lenin implemented 'War Communism' (1918–1921): economic policies aimed to combat problems brought on by the Civil War.

In the most general terms, War Communism was the expansion of state control over all parts of the economy. Implemented in June 1918, it included:

- Abolition of private trade
- Abolition of money and introducing the trading of goods
- Grain requisitioning, to be carried out by grain requisitioning squads
- Introduction of grain tax
- Centralisation of labour so that all wages were the same and non-monetary, meaning people were working with no financial reward

In short, War Communism was an absolute failure. Its only impact on Russia was negative, and further destroyed Russia on every level. Famine and disease overtook the country, as grain requisitioning saw that most grain was taken from peasants. Peasants were not paid for the grain that were taken from them, and so they began to only harvest enough to feed their own families. While this is not the direct cause for widespread starvation, it was a minor contributor to the problem. The cities were deserted as unemployed workers starved and left in hopes of finding food in the countryside. Instead, they found peasants whose farming efforts were used to feed the Red Army and fighting units in the Civil War.

Impact of War Communism	
Economic	Social
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Industrial output fell below 15% of pre-war levels. – Agricultural output fell below 60% of pre-war levels. – Coal production fell to 30% of its output before the war. – Electrical energy fell to 25% of its output before the war. – Income per person fell to a third of pre-war levels. – Iron production fell to 0.025% of pre-war levels. – Growth of black market due to the abolition of private trade. – Number of industrial workers halved (from 3 million to 1.5 million) between 1917 and 1921. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Of the 10 million people who died during the Civil War, 9.5 million of them died of famine and disease as a result of War Communism; War Communism caused 95% of Civil War deaths. – Approximately only 350,000 people died in combat during the War. – Bread rations in Moscow and Petrograd that were minimal to begin with was reduced by 1/3 in February 1921. – International support flooded into Russia, and the Bolsheviks, humiliating as it was, were forced to accept the help of American relief organisations, who saved over 14 million peasants from starvation. – Labourers were given only 340 g of bread a day, while office workers were given 114 g of bread (they were deemed as not hard enough workers to deserve more rations). – Strikes increased in the cities as unemployment and lack of food grew. – Suspected of hoarding grain, 100 kulaks (well-off peasants) were hanged by the orders of Lenin. Kulaks were also targeted separately for being part of a 'bourgeois' class. – The famine became so severe that people resorted to cannibalism to survive.

War Communism, and the Civil War in general, also impacted the way the Bolsheviks operated. They developed a survival mentality that saw them put themselves first in all circumstances. They had no qualms with eradicating anybody and everybody that stood in the way of their ideology or threatened their power. It was this mentality that characterised the Bolsheviks' subconscious beliefs all along, as well as their future decisions.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How was the Civil War a challenge for the new regime?

How did War Communism help to cement the Bolshevik regime in power throughout Russia by 1918?

Explain the impact of War Communism on the lives of workers and peasants in Russia.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"We were forced to resort to War Communism by war and ruin." – Lenin

"He who does not eat shall not work." – Lenin on food rationing among workers

"Ruthless war on the kulaks. Death to the kulaks" – Lenin's order to hang 100 kulaks who he believed were hoarding grain

"Famine bread" was eaten in some villages, and they were made of clay and grass.

"In our village, everyone eats human flesh but they hide it. There are several cafeterias in the village – and all of them serve up young children" – A witness

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Instead of raising productivity to unprecedented heights, War Communism had reduced it to levels that threatened Russia's very survival." – Richard Pipes

"War Communism was not just a response to the Civil War; it was also a means of making civil war... the policies... were seen by the Bolsheviks as an instrument of struggle against their social or 'internal' enemies." – Orlando Figes

2.3 New Economic Policy (1921 – 1927)

Timeline of 1921 – 1927

- **1921 March:** NEP is introduced and Kronstadt is captured
- **1921 June–July:** Famine is still severe due to poor harvest
- **1921 May to 1923 March:** Lenin suffers a series of strokes – his last years are spent in seriously ill health
- **1923 April:** Trotsky analyses the 'scissor crisis'
- **1924 Jan 21:** Lenin dies
- **1924 Jan 26:** Petrograd is named Leningrad to commemorate Lenin
- **1928:** Joseph Stalin abolishes the NEP

2.3.1 Kronstadt Uprising

Though they haven't been mentioned yet, there is a critical group of Bolshevik supporters who acted as the protectors of the party for well over a decade; the Kronstadt sailors. On Kotlin Island, an island near Petrograd that was fortified to protect the city from threats by sea, was the Kronstadt fortress. Here, sailors were trained to protect Petrograd, though the small size of the island and its isolation saw a building of a community.

The sailors of Kronstadt had been affected by the social and political unrest during 1904–1905, and had rebelled against their authorised officers. However, after the 1917 February Revolution, the sailors grew sick of cruel mistreatment and the attitude of the higher-class people who acted as their direct superiors. The sailors would receive letters from their communities of what was occurring, and any news that came from outside of the fortress only exacerbated the tensions between them and their officers. In March 1917, the sailors revolted, executed, or imprisoned all tsarist officers on the island, and established their own leadership. They lent their support to the Bolsheviks (and had done so since 1905) and actively joined in on creating the October Revolution. It was with the Kronstadt sailors' help that the Bolsheviks were able to capture all key points in the city, and with their help that they were able to suppress riots and strikes in the aftermath. Trotsky would call the sailors the 'reddest of the red', symbolising their dedication to socialism and the Bolshevik cause.

The atmosphere at Kronstadt was positive for a long time, as they believed they were working towards a more positive future. Leadership was decentralised, and the sailors made decisions together, which they hoped the Bolsheviks would also adopt. However, the events of the Civil War worked to change their attitude towards Lenin and his party.

Again, news from home of famine, disease, terror, and death led to increased unrest within the fortress. This was not the Russia that they had worked for – this was not the Bolshevik party that they supported. The aggressive, unyielding determination of the Bolsheviks to go forward with War Communism despite its impact on Russia upset the sailors.

On February 26 1921, they partook in an uprising against the Bolshevik regime, and presented the party with a list of demands. This was dangerous for Lenin, because his party's power was being threatened from within. The Kronstadt sailors were considered the vanguards of the Bolshevik party since 1905, and to have them challenge the new regime only demonstrated the extent of frustration and outrage with the party's actions. Not only that, but the sailors were trained and armed officers with great influence and power. If they revolted, along with the thousands of strikers already rioting, it would signify the end of what little control the Bolsheviks had in Petrograd. Something had to be done.

2.3 New Economic Policy (1921 – 1927)

In March, Trotsky led Red Army soldiers and CHEKA officers to the fortress. The winter climate had frozen over the lake separating the island, but the Kronstadt sailors had the advantage of cover. They simply shot down any soldiers that attempted to attack on the open ice. Cannons were fired, and attacks on the fortress continued on for days, until on March 17, Trotsky gave the order to 60,000 Red soldiers to invade the garrison. Though bloody, the Reds were successful. Over 2,000 Kronstadt soldiers were executed on the day, and many others were imprisoned, though some 12,000 managed to escape to Finland across the ice.

KEY POINT :

The end of the Kronstadt Uprising is generally considered to also be the end of the Civil War, as it is when the Bolsheviks were able to defeat all major threats to their power. However, all White Armies were defeated in 1920, which is why the Civil War years are generally considered to be from 1918–1920.

The execution of the Kronstadt sailors was continually defended by the Bolsheviks for years to come:

- Trotsky gave the pretence that the sailors had demonstrated unreliable behaviour and fickle loyalty since the October Revolution, and so were considered an anti-revolutionary movement.
- The Kronstadt sailors were too mighty a force to not be defeated; otherwise, the revolution that the Bolsheviks envisioned would be sacrificed. In order to prevent more violence, Trotsky had to use counter-violence to restore peace.

The uprising, though suppressed, taught Lenin a grave lesson. He saw the sailors as too liberal, and blamed their revolt on the freedom they had to debate issues. To tackle this, he established One Party Unity at the Tenth National Congress in March 1921. This abolished factionalism within the Bolshevik party, and centralised leadership further by making him the only authority figure with the power to make final decisions. Debate was welcome, but only in open discussions, and not separately.

Ironically, several demands that the sailors listed, such as the rescinding of War Communism and re-establishing trade, were later granted by the party.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Explain how the Bolshevik regime dealt with opposition to their control of Russia.

How did the Bolsheviks silence their opponents to ensure their survival as leaders of the nation?

Explain how opposition to the new regime influenced the nature of the new society.

STATISTICS :

10,000 Red Army soldiers died during the sieges.

6,500 sailors were imprisoned, a minimum of 5,000 killed, and 12,000 fled.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Sailors called for a new election of "Soviets without Bolsheviks."

The Kronstadt Sailors were once called the "reddest of the Red" by Trotsky and the "pride and glory of the revolution."

Lenin called the outcome of the Uprising an "unfortunate but necessary step."

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Kronstadt Uprising was a “symbolic parting of the ways between the working class and the Bolshevik party.” – Sheila Fitzpatrick

The Uprising was “the point at which the Bolsheviks broke their last true links with the working class and with the ideals of October.” – Tom Ryan

“The very people who Lenin claimed to be representing were actively and openly attacking the new government... were willing to die in their opposition to Bolshevism... it is no surprise that the essential theme of the Tenth Party Congress was ‘unity and cohesion in the ranks of the party’.” – Richard Malone

2.3.2 The NEP

The economic crisis that the Civil War brought on (or rather, exacerbated through War Communism), was one that had to be immediately dealt with. The ruins that War Communism left the country in were eventually countered with the New Economic Policy (NEP). Much like War Communism, the NEP was a set of policies that aimed to improve the Russian economy. However, Lenin intended to achieve this by reversing War Communism policies:

- Grain requisitioning abolished
- Pay peasants for the grain bought off them
- Nationalisation of industry revoked
- Lesser taxes for peasants
- Introduce incentives for peasants in return for surplus grain
- Monetary wages reintroduced
- Re-establishing minor economic ties with other countries like Britain
- Private trade legalised

The NEP was highly controversial within the party; it went against the very values of socialism. Its capitalistic aspects, especially with private trade and private ownership of industry, gave way for criticism towards Lenin. However, Lenin deemed it necessary to bring in capitalistic elements in order to revive the economy for a short period of time. Otherwise, the revolution would be too limited by the economic crisis to move forward. It was to be a temporary measure, to be enforced only long enough for it to improve Russia's economic state before it would be abandoned. Unlike War Communism, the NEP was highly successful, and produced immediate results:

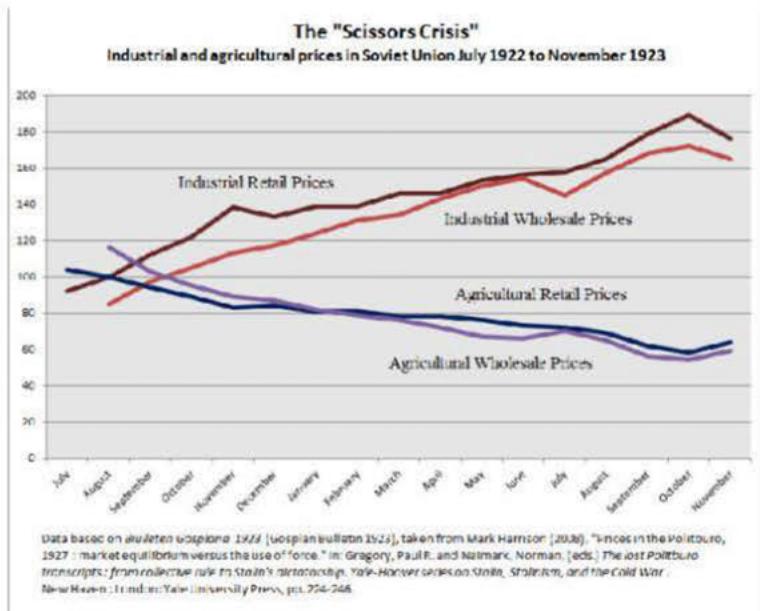
- Doubling of grain harvest from 1921–25
- Railway system used twice as much as pre-war period
- Wages for factory workers increased by 150%
- Coal production increased by almost 11.5 million tonnes by 1925
- Steel production increased by 3.8 million tonnes by 1926
- The NEP gained the support of Russian workers and peasants alike

Revolutionaries' hatred towards the NEP grew as, over time, the policy created a new social class of affluent people, who were labelled NEPmen. This went against the very ideology of Marxism, as they had been working towards creating a classless society for all of their revolutionary careers. However, after the establishment of One Party Unity, critics of the NEP either had to keep quiet or risk expulsion from the party.

2.3 New Economic Policy (1921 – 1927)

2.3.3 Scissors Crisis

Despite its positives, the NEP created an entirely new problem in the economy. Prices of industrial goods increased over time, as recovering industries were still not producing enough products for prices to be reduced, while peasants were producing grain at such a fast rate that the price of grain continued to drop. This created the 'scissor crisis,' which derives its name from the graph that shows the growth and decline of industrial and agricultural prices from 1922 onwards in a way that Trotsky described as an open pair of scissors. Grain prices dropped rapidly as goods prices steadily increased, creating a scissor-shaped trend.



This scissors crisis created several problems, such as rapid drop in peasant income, which in turn led to peasants returning to subsistence farming (producing only enough to feed their families). The problem divided the Bolsheviks, as two sides fought over whether they should sustain their just newly-positive relationship with the peasants by paying them more, or crack down on the peasantry altogether.

The debate ended with the return of grain requisitioning and abolition of free trade. Reducing industrial costs were also deemed necessary to close the gap between the prices. The NEP was abolished in 1928 by Stalin, as it had performed its duty of saving Russia from famine and economic devastation. However, its consequences were felt for decades to come, as the problem of the scissors crises was never resolved. In the words of historian Richard Malone, the 'scissors opened and never closed.'

Lenin died in 1924 after years of illness.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Explain why War Communism and the NEP were introduced in Russia.

In what way was the NEP a compromise of Bolsheviks ideals?

Explain how the Bolsheviks' economic policies reflect a compromise of revolutionary ideals.

Explain how change and continuity in social and political conditions forced the Communist Party to alter their ideals.

Explain the events that led to the introduction of the NEP in Russia.

2.4 The Extent of Continuity and Change in Russian Society (1896 – 1927)

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Let us retreat and construct everything in a new and solid manner, otherwise we shall be beaten."

– Lenin

The result of the NEP "had been an even greater enslavement of human beings." – Red Army soldier

"What is needed now is economic breathing spell." – Lenin

"The national economy must be put back on its feet at all costs. The first thing to do is to restore, consolidate, and improve peasant farming." – Lenin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The enforcement of War Communism and the subsequent introduction of the NEP also suggest that Bolshevik economic planning can be considered merely a fragmented response to a series of desperate situations." – Richard Malone

"A number of Communists were unhappy with what they saw as a break with true revolutionary strategy and a betrayal of the proletariat. Many had seen the Civil War years as a period of historic struggle and believed centralised control of industry had been a great achievement. Had all those sacrifices been in vain?" – Tom Ryan

For traditional Communists, the "NEP was nothing short of treason." – Richard Malone

2.4 The Extent of Continuity and Change in Russian Society (1896 – 1927)

The 2022 study design includes a new dot point that asks you to consider the extent of continuity and change. In other words, you need to compare society pre-revolution to society post-revolution, noting what was reformed and what was left unchanged. For any question that utilises the concept of 'extent,' it is always advisable to address both sides of the debate, presenting a nuanced argument that does not solely focus on only 'change' while neglecting 'continuity' or vice versa.

One particularly tragic continuity bridging the old and new regime in Russia was the plight of the peasantry and the urban proletariat. Under the autocratic thumb of 'Bloody Nicholas,' the Russian peasantry had lived a harsh subsistence existence that leaned too heavily on antiquated agricultural techniques while urban workers suffered systemic civil rights violations. Despite the Bolsheviks' commitment to be the 'Vanguard of the Proletariat,' the promise of "peace, bread, and land" went largely unfulfilled, especially in the years of War Communism. In this period, 9.5 million Russians died of famine and disease, with 95% of Civil War deaths attributable to War Communism. The rural peasantry hardly fared any better as agricultural output fell below 60% of pre-war levels and struggling peasants suffered the injustice and indignity of requisition squads commandeering what little grain they could produce. As summarised by historian Richard Pipes "instead of raising productivity to unprecedented heights, War Communism had reduced it to levels that threatened Russia's very survival."

Another constant under the rule of Tsar Nicholas II and Lenin's SNK was political policing through the Okhrana and CHEKA respectively. George Legget, a historian who specialises in the study of Russian secret police suggests that "the CHEKA continued a long tsarist political police tradition but differed both quantitatively and qualitatively from its immediate predecessor." Therefore, the only change in the policy of political policing was an escalation in magnitude as during the four years of the Civil War, the CHEKA executed 140,000 people, and killed another 140,000 while suppressing uprisings, meanwhile the Okhrana had executed just over 14,000 people in 50 years.

2.4 The Extent of Continuity and Change in Russian Society (1896 – 1927)

Meanwhile, the elevation of women in Russian society signifies a positive change effected by the Russian Revolution. Russian society pre-Revolution was steeped in misogynistic sentiment. However, the Bolshevik seizure of power saw the implementation of the December 1917 Decree of Marriage which redefined marriage as consensual and voluntarily arrangement and a decree in November 1920 legalising state-supplied abortions, greatly contributing to the emancipation of women in the Russian motherland. Moreover, the new communist government made great strides in the promotion of literacy and the improvement of education, considered a prerequisite to class consciousness as Lenin believed "the illiterate person stands outside of politics." During the Polish–Soviet War cavalrymen donned packs that bore letters of the Cyrillic alphabet while Red Army regiments sang shanties that extolled the merits of literacy. According to Michael Glenny, by the mid-1930s most of Russia was literate.

KEY POINT :

These three paragraphs represent just a few of the many directions you could take this open-ended study design dot point, and is designed to kickstart your thinking around the topic, rather than being a model answer. One thing that is important to note is that change does not necessarily equate to improvement and continuity need not be a detriment to the new society.

Part IV

China

Area of Study 1

Causes of revolution

KEY POINT :

In their eagerness to study the examinable content listed in the VCAA study design, students often underestimate and undervalue the importance of historical context. It is absolutely *essential* to have a firm understanding of pre-revolution politics, ideas, and history to truly appreciate a revolution. In the case of China, the inequity of dynastic rule, the ideological vacuum left in the wake of the abandonment of Confucianism, and the painful memory of the 'Century of Humiliation' (1839–1949) is vital background information for the revolutionary narrative. In your studies, make sure you don't neglect information just because it doesn't neatly fit in a study design dot point!

1.1 Key Characters

MONARCHISTS

Emperor Pu-Yi
Yuan Shikai

NATIONALISTS / KUOMINTANG

Sun Yat-Sen
Chiang Kai-Shek

COMMUNISTS

Mao Zedong
Li Dazhao
Zhou Enlai
Zhu De

Chen Duxiu (expelled from the Communist Party in 1929)

Peng Dehuai (imprisoned in 1970 for 'crimes' against Mao)

Liu Shaoqi (criticised and purged by Mao in 1966)

Lin Biao (officially condemned as a traitor after his death)

REFORMISTS

Deng Xiaoping

KEY POINT :

It is important to note that not all key individuals are equally important and thus they don't all deserve equal coverage and attention. Despite the VCAA study design seemingly presenting the individuals as though they were equally salient and therefore equally examinable, this is not necessarily the case. Granted, you should familiarise yourself with all of the names listed as key individuals, however, don't feel ill-prepared if, for example, you are more familiar with Mao Zedong than Yuan Shikai. Additionally, do not feel as though you need to go out of your way to learn an abundance of additional material that covers revolutionary individuals, instead, as you learn material about events, ideas and movements, keep track of which key figures are involved. Remember that examiners want you to discuss "the role of individuals" in their respective revolutions, not the figure's personal biography.

1.2 The Beginning of the Revolution (1911 – 1917)

Timeline of 1911 to 1916

- 1911 Oct 10: Revolution is triggered in Wuhan by an accidental bomb
- 1911 Dec 25: Sun Yat-Sen returns to China
- 1911 Dec 29: Nanjing is declared the new capital of the Republic of China
- 1912 Jan 1: Republic of China is officially announced and Sun Yat-Sen is chosen as the provisional president
- 1912 Feb 12: Young Emperor Pu-Yi is forced to abdicate
- 1912 Feb 14: Sun Yat-Sen steps down from being president
- 1912 March 10: Yuan Shikai becomes the new president
- 1912 Aug 25: The Tongmenghui forms into the political party, Guomindang
- 1913 Jan: The Guomindang (GMD) wins almost half of the seats in the parliamentary elections
- 1913 April 26: Yuan Shikai receives loan from foreign banks
- 1913 Nov 4: Yuan Shikai bans the GMD from parliament and as the political party
- 1914 Feb: Yuan Shikai dissolves parliament
- 1915: Emergence of the New Cultural Movement
- 1915 May 7: Japan's Twenty-One Demands are accepted by Yuan Shikai
- 1916 Jan 1: Yuan declares himself as Emperor
- 1916 March 12: Popular outrage and pressure forces Yuan to abdicate
- 1916 June 6: Yuan Shikai dies

1.2.1 Pre-1911 Qing Dynasty

Before the 1911 Revolution, China was ruled by emperors for over 2,000 years. The last dynasty to govern China was the Qing Dynasty, which began in 1644. The emperors of the Qings were Manchus (from Manchuria), and were perceived as not truly Chinese. For the most part, the Qing's reign were successful and prosperous, with both highs and lows. However, the things that led to its eventual demise in 1911 had festered for centuries, such as **corruption** and **social inequality**. Before those are covered, however, it is important to outline the challenges faced by the Qing in the 19th century:

- **China's independence:** Britain tried for years to establish a diplomatic relationship with the Qing, which was successful. However, it was unequal in that, in terms of trade, Britain would import from China, while China only exported. Eventually, it became too disadvantageous for the British Empire, and they tried to convince the Qing to buy from them also. China had been self-sufficient for far too long, and saw itself superior to other nations, and therefore above the British, whose offers were too unsatisfactory to accept. Not only that, but Britain had nothing to give that the Chinese actually needed.
- **Foreign encroachment:** China always set careful guidelines for foreigners to follow when it came to trade:
 - Foreigners could only trade with certain Chinese merchants.
 - They could only enter certain trading ports, and could not go any further into the country.

The disadvantageous relationship bore too heavily on the British, so they began to export **opium** into China. A drug crisis overtook the nation, leading to the First Opium War from 1839 to 1842 and the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860. The result of the first war was the Treaty of Nanjing, which greatly impacted the losing China:

- More ports were open to foreigners.
- Laws that limited the number of merchants that the British could trade with were lifted.
- Hong Kong was given to Britain.
- Britain became the 'most favoured nation': Foreigners were exempt from answering to the Chinese justice system if they committed any crime.

1.2 The Beginning of the Revolution (1911 – 1917)

The Second Opium War was equally disastrous:

- The 'Most favoured nation' title also extended to the French.
- The Chinese government were forced to allow opium trade.
- Foreigners were given rights to live in Beijing.
- Missionaries were allowed entry into the country.
- Foreign advisors were established in court that the Chinese government, controlled by Empress Cixi, could not dismiss.
- Customs service was now under foreign control.

The Opium Wars greatly humiliated China, and so a series of reform attempts were initiated in order to (wait for it!) reform the nation. However, Cixi's persistent resistance against reform continually held China back. By 1911, the Qing were too weak to withstand the attacks made against them. The 1911 Revolution, however, was anything but a well-thought out uprising.

1.2.2 Sun Yat-Sen

Dr Sun Yat-Sen was the most popular Chinese revolutionary, and though he was a nationalist rather than a communist, he is referred to as the 'Father of Chinese Communism', or the 'Father of Modern China'.

Born a peasant in southern China in 1866, Sun was sent to live in America with his brother at the age of thirteen. He gained a medical degree in Hong Kong, though he never lost interest in the growing political issues in his home country. His western-influenced ideas were fresh to Chinese revolutionaries, many of whom he managed to inspire over the years. He formed the Tongmenghui, an organisation and resistance movement that preached anti-Manchu sentiment, sought to restore China to the Chinese (a reference to both foreign encroachment and the fact that the Manchu were never considered Chinese), and establish a republic. His revolutionary philosophy was called the Three Principles of the People:

- **Nationalism:** China's independence from foreign powers
- **Democracy:** the establishment of a democratic government that was ruled by and on behalf of the people
- **People's Livelihood:** social welfare; improving the lives of the common people

Tongmenghui was based in Japan, where Sun spent most of his time. He encouraged young Chinese students to study abroad in western, modernised universities, and most of them were recruited as part of the organisation. Tongmenghui numbers reached 10,000 members by 1906, and while none of their attempted uprisings and rebellions were victorious, they were successful in stirring revolutionary sentiment.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles of the People called for the "overthrow of the Manchus, the restoration of China to the Chinese, and the establishment of a republican government."

"The Republic is my child. It is in danger of drowning." – Sun Yat-Sen

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Despite Sun Yat-Sen's lack of success in regards to rebellions and uprisings, he "certainly deserves A for Effort." – John King Fairbank

"The final collapse of the Qing Dynasty was to a considerable extent inspired by a revolutionary from Guangdong named Sun Yat-Sen." – Edwin Moise

1.2.3 The 1911 Revolution

Revolutionaries worked towards a Chinese revolution for years, but the 1911 Revolution was entirely accidental! On 10 October 1911, a premature bomb was set off in Wuhan by soldiers who were preparing for a later revolution. The explosion alerted police, and in a flight-or-fight moment, the soldiers seized the city of Wuhan instead of giving into the arrest. China's readiness for revolution was demonstrated by the domino-effect this had; within 6 weeks, two thirds of all provinces declared their independence from the emperor's rule.

Upon hearing the news, Sun Yat-Sen returned to the country from America.

On 1 January 1912, he was declared the provisional president of the new Republic of China, of which Nanjing was the new capital. However, the Qing still had authority in Beijing, protected by Yuan Shikai. A deal between Yuan and the revolutionaries saw Yuan betraying the Qing. Yuan recognised the Qing's weakness and the growing strength of Sun, and so ensured the abdication of Pu Yi in return for the new presidency. The Qing did little to resist the Revolution, and in return for giving up power, the emperor was allowed to remain in the palace to continue his luxurious lifestyle.

KEY POINT :

Although you should be aware of the Qing's failings and how the 1911 Revolution occurred, the Area of Study timeline technically starts on 1 January 1912, the day the Republic of China was announced.

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The decision to replace the dynasty, and the monarchy, with a republic was, at the time, a most radical step... that the Chinese, of all people, should choose a republic rather than a new dynasty seemed to be wildly idealistic, unpractical and reckless." – C.P. Fitzgerald

1.2.4 Yuan Shikai's 'Betrayal'

Yuan Shikai was a soldier who rose to be an influential representative of the Qing. He was later made the general of the New Model Army. He was a known opportunist and took advantage of any situation to benefit himself, including betraying people if he believed it would benefit him. This included betraying Emperor Guangxu to Cixi, in order to gain advisor status in court.

Cixi's death in 1908 saw his fall from grace, which he later regained when his expertise was required in suppressing revolutionaries. He agreed, but only in return for being given the position of prime minister. However, he betrayed the Qing's trust by striking an agreement with Sun Yat-Sen – in return for becoming president, he would force the emperor (the still young Pu Yi) to abdicate.

After the parliamentary elections, the Tongmenghui changed their name to the Guomindang (the GMD, also known as the KMT). Although they won the parliamentary elections, Yuan Shikai wasted no time in limiting their power. He became China's new leader, and was recognised as such by foreign powers, and not without merit. He was an efficient administrator, powerful commander and possibly the only capable figure in China to hold the country together. But he had one glaring failure – he was not the democratic leader for whom the Revolution had been fought.

He openly chose loyal followers for important government positions, worked against GMD government members, and worked in his own ways without consulting parliament. The epitome of this occurred in April 1913, when he borrowed a \$100 million loan from a consortium of foreign banks without the parliament's approval. The decision outraged the government, though attempts to impeach him were total failures because Yuan simply used his military power to pressure his opponents to surrender.

Sensing the political shift, Sun Yat-Sen escaped to Japan, and by November 1913, the GMD party were completely banned. By February 1914, all parliaments were replaced by mere advisory state councils. He consolidated his dictatorship later in the year, and introduced a law that extended his 'presidency' for another ten years.

In 1915, Japan issued the Twenty-One Demands – an offer to China in return for loans that Yuan Shikai couldn't refuse. In summary, the Demands expanded Japan's control over Manchuria, mining in China, the Liaodong Peninsula (Korea), and Japanese advisors were compulsory within the Chinese government.

The Twenty-One Demands sparked complete outrage among the Chinese people. January 15 (day of the signing of the Demands) was announced as the 'Day of Shame', and May 7 was later chosen as a day of commemoration. Yuan completely ignored the growing anti-Yuan sentiment, and attempted to make himself emperor on January 1 1916. This was the final straw for China; provinces declared independence from Yuan, his commanders actively spoke out against him and public fury forced Yuan to back down by renouncing his title within three months.

1.3 Warlord Period (1917 – 1927)

His years of leadership were brought to a shameful end when he died on June 6 – many say he died from ‘eating bitterness’ for being unable to become emperor.

Although Yuan is considered a traitor to the revolution, he is recognised for his ability to hold China together. His divisive rule (meaning he had no pledged allegiance to political parties who could elect a new leader in his place) and the fact that he had no definitive successor who he personally chose, meant that China’s rule figuratively fell apart. Control over China was divided between warlords, who, for the next decade, would dominate all political spheres, despite their lack of any real political ties.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Do you agree that Yuan Shikai betrayed the republic?

How did Yuan Shikai's actions lead to revolutionary situation?

How did the Twenty-One Demands contribute to a revolutionary situation?

In what way did Yuan Shikai benefit China?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Yuan Shikai “died eating bitterness.”

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“Yuan’s capitulation to the Japanese had further weakened his position as president and had damaged the reputation of the young republic.” – Michael Lynch

“Modernisation projects such as judicial reform, suppression of opium farming and improved primary education were implemented by Yuan.” – Patricia Buckley Ebrey on the successful aspects of Yuan’s leadership

“He knew how to make the old system work, but it turned out that... he had no vision of a new system.”
– John King Fairbank

“Republican by title he was, but an autocrat at heart.” – Paul S. Reinsch

“To be fair to Yuan, we must admit that at the beginning of 1912, there was no one else who had the slightest chance of holding the country together.” – J. Ch'en

“Yuan achieved a virtual dictatorship.” – Immanuel Hsu

1.3 Warlord Period (1917 – 1927)

Timeline of 1917 to 1924

- 1916–1917: Warlords fill the power vacuum in China and take control of provinces
- 1917 Aug 14: China declares war on Germany, siding with the Axis powers
- 1919 May 4: Chinese territory is given to Japan at Versailles, setting of May Fourth protests
- 1921 July 23–31: First Congress of Chinese Communist Party

Warlords were no new thing in China. The sheer size of the country often meant that centralised leadership was difficult and provinces were locally governed. Warlords were often military generals who could afford their own armies, and used their power to control their province. Yuan Shikai’s death in 1916 created a power vacuum that the warlords filled. While their diversity makes them difficult to generalise, most (*not all*) warlords had no positive impact on the people they ruled over. They were ruthless, used their armies to terrorise peasants and raid villages on whims.

The Effects of Warlordism		
Political	Economic	Social
The fact that the strength of a warlord was determined by the strength of his army and not his political visions meant that the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang had to be more practical by training soldiers and increasing their numbers. Empty promises and future agendas had no place in the warlords' China. Lack of national unity left China vulnerable to Japanese imperialism and foreign invasion. Even when Chiang Kai-shek took control of China in the 1930s, power was still decentralised – warlords continued to govern individual provinces.	Warlords' inclination towards violence was infamous for its impact on the peasantry; agriculture was constantly destroyed, and animals and tools were often seized by warlord armies. They also used arable land to plot opium (for its profit) at the expense of producing food. Warlords' armies' constant seizing of anything they pleased meant that it was difficult for people to conduct trade. Trade of any sort was almost always local, since warlords also controlled the transport system that inhibited the trade flow. Warlords also enforced all sorts of local taxes, leading to a further decline.	Common people were heavily exploited by the warlords, and were forced to comply to their every whim in fear of their lives. Endless warfare between warlords and their armies resulted in thousands of deaths, as peasants were usually caught in the crossfire.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent did the warlords contribute to a revolutionary situation?

In what way did warlordism benefit the agendas of political factions such as the KMT and the CCP?

In what ways did Chinese society change and stay the same under warlordism?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

A "laziness tax" was imposed on people who did not grow opium under warlord rule.

Some land taxes grew six times their value in pre-warlord era.

Tax collection in advance was not uncommon, with taxes in 1968 being collected in the 1920s.

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Whatever their separate aims and individual quirks, the warlords did have one common characteristic: none of them were willing to give up his private army or submit to outside authority." – Michael Lynch

1.3.1 New Cultural Movement

The long-existing revolutionary sentiment, coupled with Yuan's 'betrayal' of the republic, led to an increase in intellectual discussion in China. From this, the New Cultural Movement emerged (during World War One), where intellectuals, and in particular students, sought to improve China's cultural identity by creating a modernised one, free of Confucian influence. Historian Steve Smith describes the movement as one that 'began to ask what it meant to be Chinese.'

The Movement shone light on many issues, which summarily were:

- The ability to question Confucianism
- Nationalism
- Feminism
- Democracy
- Socialism
- Marxism
- China's direction for the future
- Darwinism

1.3 Warlord Period (1917 – 1927)

Beijing University became the hub for intellectual thought, and gave birth to many influential modern thinkers, including:

- **Hu Shi:** popularised the concept of daily writing which gave people access to a variety of literary works.
- **Chen Duxiu:** one of the most (if not *the* most) influential New Cultural Movement intellectuals who founded *New Youth*, a literary forum-like journal that gave many new ideas exposure.
- **Li Dazhao:** explorer of Marxist theories and one of Mao Zedong's mentors/colleagues (Mao joined Li's study group at Beijing University) who believed that Marxism and nationalism could work together to create a more harmonious and equal society.
- **Lu Xun:** vocal critic of Confucian traditions, which he accused of being too old to be relied on in modern times and of being 'morally bankrupt'. He was famous for bringing awareness to long-standing problems in Chinese society.

1.3.2 May Fourth Movement

Anti-Japanese sentiment in China was by no means solely caused by the Twenty-One Demands; there are a multitude of reasons that resentment towards the Japanese developed:

- The New Cultural Movement's contribution to growing ideas
- Frustration towards the weak Beijing government
- Resentment towards foreign powers' influence on Chinese politics
- The failed 1911 Revolution that failed to turn China into a true democracy
- The success of the Russian October Revolution that gave hope to revolutionaries
- Anti-Japanese sentiment that had been lingering since the Sino-Japanese War in 1894
- The humiliation of the Twenty-One Demands

The final trigger for the sharp growth in popular movements was the Treaty of Versailles. The Axis powers' victory in World War One was meant to be good news for China. The Chinese hoped that the success would mean that Germany's control over the Shandong province would be relinquished and returned to China. Instead, the territory was given to Japan. The betrayal only led to further resentment of the Japanese, and from such resentment, the May Fourth Movement was born. Demonstrations were carried out, particularly by the intellectuals, to express their outrage on the fourth of May, which also happened to be the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Twenty-One Demands. The Movement was particularly important for Chinese politics during the Warlord period, and was one of the key pressure points used by the GMD and the CCP to gain supporters.

Significance

- Western ideas were slowly entering China and being embraced by Chinese intellectuals.
- Confucian traditions were being abandoned.
- The literacy rate steadily increased.
- Youths began to fight back against family traditions – individualism was treasured, girls spoke out against discrimination towards them, and co-education was endorsed.
- There was an increased political consciousness among industrial workers.
- There was an increased class consciousness, especially in the countryside.
- Anti-imperialist sentiments and Chinese nationalism were on the rise.
- Student movements increased in numbers.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the New Cultural Movement contribute to a revolutionary situation?

In what way was the May Fourth Movement a response to the 1911 Revolution?

To what extent did the New Cultural Movement inspire revolutionary sentiment?

STATISTICS :

3,000 Beijing University students protested in Tiananmen Square in response to the Treaty of Versailles.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

'The strength of our country is degenerating... our youth must take up the task of rejuvenating China' – Chen Duxiu

The May Fourth movement is the 'strongest move of its kind that the Chinese had made' – Western observer in Beijing

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Intellectually and socially [the New Cultural Movement was] one of the most promising and exciting times in Chinese history." – Rana Mitter

"The New Cultural Movement began to ask what it meant to be Chinese." – Steve Smith

The May Fourth movement "encapsulated the frustrations and ambitions of young intellectuals who despised the state of the country." – Jonathan Fenby

1.3.3 Chinese Communist Party

The Chinese Communist Party was founded on 23 July 1921, at the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (surprise). Encouraged by the Russian Comintern (Communist Internationale), the congress convened with figures such as Mao Zedong and Zhu De in attendance.

Initially small, with only twelve delegates representing a total of fifty-seven members, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were only supported by the Russian Soviets, who were eager for an international ally.

Unlike Lenin's strongly-unified Bolsheviks, the CCP was disorganised and generally split in terms of ideas. Some members, mostly led by Chen Duxiu, believed in a proletariat revolution. This was because he believed the peasants were too tied to tradition to support a revolution, as well as being too large a demographic to unify under one cause. On the other hand, Li Dazhao and pupils (including Mao) were firm believers in a peasant revolution due to their size.

The Comintern weren't particularly liked by the CCP, both for being too overbearing and disapproving of the peasant revolution. Regardless, the Soviet was the only source of funding for the party, and so the Comintern held considerable power over them.

STATISTICS :

The CCP began with 57 members, which grew to 57,000 by 1927.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The divide between Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu's revolutionary beliefs led to the phrase "Chen in the south, Li in the north."

"The purpose of us Communists is to wake up the oppressed people from their one-hundred-year slumber and imbue the workers and peasants with a revolutionary spirit." – Stalin on spreading revolutionary sentiment in China

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The common feature of Chinese revolutionaries was their rejection of the obsolete imperial system that had failed China and had allowed foreigners to impose themselves on the nation." – Michael Lynch

1.4 First United Front (1924 – 1927)

1.4 First United Front (1924 – 1927)

Timeline of 1924 to 1927

- 1924 Jan 20–30: The First United Front is formalised
- 1924 May 3: Chiang Kai-Shek becomes commander in chief of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army and head of Whampoa Academy
- 1925 March 11: Sun Yat-Sen dies
- 1926 May: Chiang begins to remove Communist members from key positions in the United Front
- 1926 July 1: Northern Expedition is mobilised
- 1926 July 27: Northern Expedition begins
- 1926 Oct 10: Nationalist soldiers capture Wuhan
- 1927 Jan 1: Wuhan becomes the Nationalist government's location
- 1927 March 22: Nationalists capture Shanghai
- 1927 April 12: Shanghai Massacre
- 1927 April 17: Chiang is expelled from the Wuhan Nationalist government
- 1927 April 28: Li Dazhao is executed in Beijing
- 1927 May 21: Chiang establishes his own Nationalist government in Nanjing
- 1927 July 15: Wuhan government (left GMD) expel Comintern and the CCP
- 1927 Aug 1: Communist Uprising in Nanchang
- 1927 Sep: Mao organised Autumn Harvest Uprising

Sun Yat-Sen and the GMD were ready to come back from their mistakes, but it was difficult to do alone, especially when confronted by warlords. As such, he was forced to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union, who were impressed by Sun, but aimed to excel the CCP. They recommended that they join forces to take down the warlords. Thus, the First United Front was created in 1924; an alliance between the CCP and the GMD.

The agreement saw Communists joining the GMD and the formation of the Whampoa Military Academy, which was set with the support of the Soviet Union on the condition that Communists could train there. Sun saw the union as advantageous, as it expanded his support base, and he believed that both parties were working towards a better China. What's more, the CCP were genius propagandists.

Sun didn't live long to see his vision come to completion, and died in March 1925. Chiang Kai-Shek succeeded him as the leader of the GMD, which is when things began to take a turn (for lack of better term) for the CCP. Unlike Sun, Chiang had a deep-set hatred for the Communists, and had plans to only cooperate with them until he consolidated the power of the GMD.

1.4.1 Northern Expedition

Chiang had a plan on how to overthrow the warlords. On 1 July 1926, he announced and began to mobilise the Northern Expedition, a military campaign aimed at uniting China, as GMD and CCP forces began travelling north to defeat every warlord. The march began on July 27, with Chiang and 85,000 of his soldiers, with an additional 6,000 Whampoa officers taking reigns.

By the end of 1927, Chiang 'captured' all major cities, and took general charge of China.

Reasons for success

- There was disunity among warlords, whose interests varied and differed from each other's, which made them weak. Instead of facing off with a huge army, the CCP and GMD took on individual armies.
- China's southern provinces were already somewhat united under the GMD, unlike northern China where there was no sense of unity. This made the provinces easily conquerable.
- Learning from their mistakes, this time the GMD had armed and trained soldiers in their army. This was a huge contrast to the warlords' armies, most of whom were poorly trained and equipped, and many of whom were forcefully conscripted.
- While it was the GMD's army who fought, the CCP were incredibly useful. Communist agitators would travel ahead in provinces to gather support and 'prepare' the area for an overthrow.

Despite working in unison to achieve the same goal, relations between the CCP and the GMD were far from positive. Tensions, jealousy and spitefulness was rising.

Their control over China was officially over when on 23 April 1929 Nanjing (which became the capital once more after the Sino-Japanese War) was captured by the CCP.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent was the Northern Expedition a success?

To what extent did the CCP contribute to the result of the Northern Expedition?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Northern Expedition began with 80,000 soldiers, led by 6,000 Whampoa officers.

"To protect the welfare of the people, we must overthrow all... so that we may implement the Three Principles... and complete the revolution." – Chiang on the purpose of the Northern Expedition

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Militarily, the Northern Expedition solved little... warlordism was not vanquished." – Van de Ven

"The victory that made the warlords retreat were won by arms and bribery, not evangelism of the masses." – Jonathan Fenby

"After the White Terror, the story of the Revolution became a tale of two Chinas: Communist and Nationalist." – Jack Gray

1.4.2 Shanghai Massacre

The GMD entered Shanghai in March 1927, where they were welcomed since unions, inspired by CCP agitators, overthrew their own government to transfer power to Chiang. An infamous Shanghai gang, the Green Gang, run by 'Big Ears Du', were notorious for their underground control over the city. However, having the GMD in charge would pose a threat to their criminal network, which involved drug smuggling, gambling, and prostitution. Chiang, who recognised the Green Gang's power, made an agreement with Big Ears Du – in return for legal immunity and exclusive rights to opium trade in Shanghai, Chiang asked the Gang to deal with the Communists.

On April 12 1927, the Green Gang's men spread through Shanghai and began killing all Communists, whose allegiance was signalled by red bandanas worn around their necks. GMD soldiers also infiltrated the city. By the end of the day, 5,000–10,000 Communists and red-sympathisers were slaughtered. The massacre, beginning in Shanghai, spread to other provinces, and the death toll reached the hundreds of thousands, though there was no official record.

The massacre shook the CCP at its core, and the few remaining members, including Mao, went into hiding. Despite it all, the Comintern still urged the CCP to maintain ties with the GMD, though they only continued to do so with Wang Jingwei, whose Wuhan government disapproved of Chiang's actions and were called the 'left GMD.' The ties were broken soon after, on July 15, and Jang Jingwei's Wuhan government dissolved. Nanjing became the uncontested capital, and by the end of the year, Beijing had been captured. The Northern Expedition was complete, and had achieved its aim.

1.5 Post-Shanghai Massacre – The CCP (1928 – 1934)

STATISTICS :

Between 5,000 to 10,000 Communists were killed in Shanghai on the day of the Massacre.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Execution squads patrolled the streets and on finding a suspect, they questioned him, examined his neck for the tell-tale red. If found, they ordered the victim to open his mouth, thrust a revolver into it, and another coolie came to the end of his Communist venture." – American Vice-Consul Frederick Hinke's personal accounts

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Chiang had brought about a "bloodbath that virtually destroyed both the CCP and the workers' movement in China's largest city." – Maurice Meisner

1.5 Post-Shanghai Massacre – The CCP (1928 – 1934)

Timeline of 1928 to 1934

- 1928 Oct 1: Chiang becomes chairman of the Nationalist government
- 1929 Feb 10: Communists establish new base at Jiangxi
- 1930 Dec 8: Futian Incident where a group of Red Army soldiers revolt against Mao
- 1930 Dec 27: First Encirclement Campaign comes to an end
- 1931 Jan 8: Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks take control as the leaders of the CCP
- 1931 May: Second Encirclement Campaign defeated
- 1931 July 1: Third Encirclement Campaign ends
- 1931 Sep 18: Japan begins occupation of Manchuria
- 1931 Nov 7: First All-China Congress of Soviets takes place in Jiangxi – Mao is elected chairman of the Jiangxi Soviet.
- 1932 Jan 28: Japanese imperialists attack Shanghai
- 1932 April 15: Jiangxi Soviet declares war on Japan
- 1932 Oct 12: Zhou Enlai replaces Mao as the commissar of the Red Army
- 1933 March: Fourth Encirclement Campaign fails
- 1933 Oct 6: Beginning of Fifth Encirclement Campaign
- 1934 Feb 19: New Life Movement is initiated
- 1934 Oct 16: Long March begins

Depleted in numbers and resources, the remaining CCP could only rely on the Comintern's instructions to survive. Power play between Leon Trotsky and Josef Stalin led to Stalin's ordering of uprisings in China from 1927 to 1930. They were effectively useless, and none lasted more than a few days, serving to prove the CCP's lack of power. Examples include:

- **Nanchang Uprising (1 August 1927):** in the Jiangxi province, 30,000 Communists soldiers, still under the GMD's Nationalist Army, began an insurrection and took control of the city. The indifference of the local people demonstrated how little they cared about power exchanges, and after four days, incoming Nationalist soldiers recaptured the city. Around 2,000 remaining CCP survivors were forced to escape.
- **Autumn Harvest Uprising (7 September 1927):** in the Jiangxi and Hunan provinces, Mao led an insurrection to establish a Jiangxi-Hunan Soviet. The outcome was disastrous, again due to Nationalist troops' advancement. Just barely, Mao and his surviving 1,000 fellow Communists fled to the Jinggangshan Mountains along the Jiangxi-Hunan border.

Chen Duxiu, the then-leader of the CCP, received all the blame for the losses. The ineffectiveness of current leading Communists led to many of their dismissals, including:

- **Chen Duxiu:** while not officially dismissed, fell from grace and was labelled a 'right opportunist' in 1928 by the Comintern.

- **Li Lisan:** the new CCP leader in charge of propaganda and revolt organisation. His strong beliefs in an industrial revolution and history in urban revolutionary work enabled him to be given the opportunity to attempt to work his ideas. He ordered a campaign to take over Changsha. However, the General Peng Dehuai, in charge of the insurrection, and his men could only last eight days in the city until they had to flee. His failure led to his dismissal from leadership.
- **Qu Qiubai:** the general secretary who was dismissed in 1928.

The Comintern had unfairly harsh policies for the CCP. The CCP were militarily weak, and lacked popular support, and so were unable to fulfil the policies. The inability of the Chinese-based Communists to succeed in campaigns eventually led to the formation of the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks in January 1931: Moscow-trained Chinese students, were given the tasks of making and implementing policies. However, they were just that; students. Inexperienced and practical only in theory, the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks did little for the CCP. This was the perfect environment for Mao, a seasoned and experienced Communist, to climb through the ranks. By 1931, he was recognised as the true power and dominant figure among his comrades. At the First All-China Congress in November 1931, Mao's faction won a heated debate between the Chinese-based Communists and the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks. This gave him the opportunity to do things his own way – something he was unable to do previously as he was overshadowed by other CCP leaders. At the Congress, Jiangxi was proclaimed the base of the new Chinese Soviet Republic, the executive committee of which appointed Mao as its chairman. However, he was still far from the leader of the CCP.

1.5.1 Jiangxi Soviet

There was a multitude of rural Communist bases set up after the failed insurrections, one of which was Mao's in the remote Jiangxi mountains. He was joined by Zhu De and Peng Dehuai's forces. All in all, Mao had 10,000 troops under his command, but little could be done with under-equipped, untrained, hungry soldiers. Mao understood that strengthening the party as a whole would need to begin with the army; thus the Red Army was born.

1.5.2 Red Army

Mao had a different vision for the Red Army than what was traditional. Instilling in his soldiers a sense of discipline, direction, and party ideology, Mao also avoided conscription, which he recognised as a source of demotivation and low morale. Captured warlord and GMD soldiers were offered the choice of returning home (paid for by the CCP) or training to join the CCP. Commanders bore the same burdens as their soldiers and did not enjoy privileges that traditional higher ranking officers would. Physical punishment was forbidden for officers to inflict upon their men, and soldiers were encouraged to speak their mind – whether it be criticism or praise.

Their code of conduct included the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention:

- **Three Main Rules of Discipline:**
 1. Obey all orders in all your actions.
 2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
 3. Turn in everything captured.
- **Eight Points for Attention:**
 1. Speak politely.
 2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
 3. Return everything you borrow.
 4. Pay for anything you damage.
 5. Do not hit or swear at people.
 6. Do not damage crops.
 7. Do not take liberties with women.
 8. Do not ill-treat captives.

1.5 Post-Shanghai Massacre – The CCP (1928 – 1934)

These rules were a stark contrast to the treatment that people faced at the hands of the GMD and warlord armies. Their code of conduct garnered them great respect and admiration, and became a starting point from which the CCP could earn wide-spread support. They were, in essence, the ‘people’s army’, and became the first contact for anyone who wished to contact the party.

Guerrilla Tactics

When it came to combat, Mao decided to use guerrilla tactics: the use of a small force to fight against a larger army. This turned out to be incredibly effective, as their small numbers and familiarity with the landscape meant that the Red Army had an advantage against Chiang Kai-Shek’s army, who would be forced into defence. The Red Army tactic was simple: *“The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue!”*

For most of the 1930’s, the Communists were able to defeat Nationalist armies by luring them into Communist territory, where the Red Army would have the advantage. One reason for this, other than mobility and the ability to quickly retreat, was the support of the Jiangxi peasants. The Red Army often relied on locals to give them shelter, food, and supplies. Their good conduct, along with Mao’s land reforms that evenly distributed land to the poor, also encouraged many peasants to join, leading to a rise in support.

STATISTICS :

Red Army begins with 5,000 soldiers.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“Without a people’s army, the peasants have nothing.” – Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“When not on active duty the soldiers carried out chores such as cutting firewood and assisting with sowing crops.” – Ross Terrill

1.5.3 Jiangxi Soviet Reforms

The CCP governed approximately 3 million people in the Jiangxi region, and implemented many reforms that improved the lives of locals and CCP members alike:

- Reading classes for both soldiers and peasants
- Discouraging foot-binding
- Discouraging opium farming
- Discouraging forced-marriages
- Discouraging child slavery
- Making divorce an accessible choice for either spouse
- Starting a bank with its own currency
- Creating a postal service

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“Educating a man means educating an individual, whereas teaching a woman means educating a whole family.” – Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

“Jiangxi was a social laboratory for the trying out of new ideas.” – Delia Davin

1.5.4 Mao's Fall from Grace

Unlike the Politburo (the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks, backed by the Comintern), Mao was a believer in a peasant revolution. This became a huge point of contention, as the Comintern viewed the peasant revolution as a divergence from true Marxism, which emphasises a *proletarian* revolution. Mao's refusal to abide by the Comintern's rules led to his eventual replacement – Zhou Enlai became the new general political commissar of the Red Army. The central committee (different to the executive committee that Mao headed), which was previously based in Shanghai, was eventually moved to the Jiangxi Soviet. Comprised of the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks, the committee worked to further undermine Mao's power, and ensure he had minimal input on all matters. Naturally, this meant that Mao, although bitter, had a lot of time to spare. He put it to good use by planning for social policies and civil administration.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"From 1931 until 1934, I had no voice at all at the Centre." – Mao on being pushed aside

"The peasants are the sea; we are the fish. The sea is our habitat." – Mao on the important of the peasantry

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks were "good at theory and bad at most other things." – Ross Terrill

1.6 China's Nationalist Government (1934 – 1936)

Timeline of 1934 to 1936

- 1934 Feb 19: New Life Movement is launched
- 1934 Oct 6: Long March begins
- 1934 Nov–Dec: Communist suffer detrimental losses at Xiang River Battle
- 1935 Jan: Mao gains more recognition at the Zunyi Conference
- 1935 May 30: Luding Bridge Incident
- 1935 Oct 22: Long March ends
- 1935 Dec: Xi'an Incident
- 1936 Dec: Yan'an Soviet base is established

Chiang's Nationalist government, set in Nanjing, began on 18 April 1927. He became the chairman of the State Council, and in 1931, he became the Generalissimo and head of the military. Chiang's feat of uniting China was no small achievement, and had garnered hope for a better, unified future. However, Chiang had many hurdles to overcome.

1.6.1 Financial Struggles

One of Chiang's flaws during the Northern Expedition would come to haunt him during his rule: specifically, the way in which he dealt with the warlords. Most warlords were bribed by the Nationalists to give up their power. Some were paid off, some allowed to keep their personal armies, and others given positions in the new government. Rather than defeating them, Chiang had found a way to compromise with the warlords, who, during the 1930's, would continue to slowly break away from the Nanjing government. Although Chiang was strong enough to prevent single regions from declaring independence, his hold on China was generally weak. This lack of centralised rule made it difficult for the government to earn income tax – leaders of provinces had complete control over the tax in their region, and could manipulate the rate and pocket it with little consequence.

As a result, Chiang was limited in what he could achieve, as his vision was inhibited by his meagre financial means.

1.6 China's Nationalist Government (1934 – 1936)

Problems with provincial taxes included:

- Provincial leaders had the ability to raise the tax rate as much as they pleased.
- Tax revenue was rarely ever passed onto the Nanjing government.
- 'Special taxes' were imposed on every-day commodities such as bedding, copper, flour, stockings, wheat, or wood.
- During the 1930s, peasants in the Gansu province paid for 44 different taxes.
- In Sichuan, taxes for 1971 were collected by 1933.

1.6.2 Corruption

Bribery was commonplace, and corruption among GMD officials and officers was rampant. Government staff often procrastinated what work they had. Between 1931 and 1937, there were over 69,500 complaint reports regarding GMD officials' misconducts.

1.6.3 New Life Movement

Recognising that corruption was essentially hindering any ability he had to improve China, Chiang initiated the New Life Movement campaign. The campaign aimed to battle corruption and 'moral rejuvenation'. The campaigns, of which there was 96, outlined all sorts of 'offences' including:

- Gambling
- Walking in the middle of the road
- Smoking
- Spitting in public
- Opium use
- Urinating in public
- Wearing tight clothing

Chiang also encouraged:

- Personal hygiene
- Killing of disease-spreading pests (such as rats)
- Vaccinations
- Frugal living

However, the New Life Movement had little impact on behaviour, other than making people extra aware of supervision, and was only limited to urban areas. Not only that, but the 96 rules outlined things that lay outside of the general concerns of the Chinese people. People were more concerned with trying to survive to worry about living by social rules implemented by a ruler who was detached from the ordinary person. Considering that the GMD did not abide by their own demands, the movement was poorly implemented; the Green Gang still conducted opium trade, profits of which were partially used to finance the government, officers still smoked, and GMD officials lived extravagant lifestyles.

1.6.4 Modernisation

Despite the failure of the movement and Chiang's growing authoritarianism, the Nationalist government did manage to implement modernisation programmes that worked to advance the nation:

- Railways were built and expanded upon.
- Signal systems were installed.
- The banking system and the currency were improved.
- Ferry lines were introduced between large cities.
- A Chinese airline was introduced.
- More postal services were established and improved upon.
- The cotton industry grew.
- New hospitals were built.
- Radio stations and telegraph lines were installed in order to improve communication.
- Electric power plants were built to improve upon the light industry.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent could Chiang be held responsible for China's problems?

To what extent did Chiang's policies improve China?

How did the Nationalist Decade contribute to a revolutionary situation?

STATISTICS :

Paying off debts and funding the military made up 80% of government spending.

Of 69,500 reports of misdemeanour of GMD officers between 1931 and 1937, only 13 were fired.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Chinese farmer is like a man standing permanently up to his neck in water so that even a ripple is sufficient to drown him." – British researcher in China

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The Nationalist record "should be judged... by what took place where its power was sufficient." – Jack Gray

"There is no doubt that by 1937 in every respect China under the Nanjing government was solving her problems, at least on an experimental scale." – Jack Gray

"The Chinese people groaned under a regime that was fascist in every quality except efficiency." – C.P. Fitzgerald

"The Nationalists made stunning accomplishments from a position of unenviable weakness." – William Kirby

The GMD's initiatives "did nothing to tackle China's deep-rooted problems... lack of medical care, poor housing, ignorance and poverty." – Tom Ryan

"If the Communists by their violence alienated the scholars, the GMD by its blind selfish indifference lost the peasantry." – C.P. Fitzgerald

"Chiang was less the creator of the GMD's decline than its product. Like Yuan Shikai twenty years before, Chiang found that Chinese politics seemed to demand a dictator. While he held various offices at various times, he was obviously the man at the top, and his political tactics would have been quite intelligible to the Empress Dowager." – John King Fairbank

1.6.5 The Threat of Japan

Another problem that Chiang was confronted by was Japanese expansion into Chinese territory. Growing military influence in Japan, coupled with the belief that the key to conquering the world was to first conquer China, meant that China was a direct target.

They already had concessions in the country – in Shanghai since the Opium Wars, and Manchuria since World War One – and so had an upper hand as it stood. Using distraction as a tactic, they also extended their power into Manchuria, where they set up Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing, as a puppet empire. However, Chiang paid little mind to Japanese invasion, and set his eyes on eradicating communism.

1.6 China's Nationalist Government (1934 – 1936)

1.6.6 The Long March (1934 – 1935)

Encirclement Campaigns

Determined to bring down the CCP, Chiang launched five Encirclement Campaigns (i.e. campaigns aimed at destroying the Communist bases) on the soviets, particularly the Jiangxi Soviet. The first four all failed for a multitude of reasons:

- The first and second (November 1930 and May 1931 respectively) failed due to the successful guerrilla tactics employed by the CCP, which easily beat Nationalist troops.
- Led by Chiang himself, the third campaign (July 1931) had to be discontinued due to Japan's takeover of Manchuria.
- Continued Japanese invasions split the Nationalist troops in the fourth campaign (June 1932), where many defected, and any lasting units received detrimental blows from CCP forces.

A change of plan was needed. With the help of German military advisors, the fifth campaign was launched in October 1933. Rather than battling head on and initiating individualised attacks that were useless in the face of guerrilla warfare, the GMD began to construct concrete forts that were connected by barbed wire around soviet bases. The strategy aimed to 'suffocate' the CCP and deprive them of resources and the ability to engage in guerrilla tactics.

In subsequent battles, the Communists would suffer severe losses, and of the seventy operating soviets, sixty would be captured by the end of 1934. The Communists in Jiangxi had no choice but to desert their base, and made plans to travel to a secret soviet in Hunan.

100,000 Communists began their journey on 16 October 1934, with a small force left to combat the GMD. Apart from the CCP leaders, everyone believed the expedition, which later came to be known as the Long March, would take no longer than a few weeks. However, the trek would go on for almost an entire year.

Challenges of the Long March

- The Communists were slowed down by what they carried; printing presses, food rations, quilts, weapons, sewing machines, books, government files, and an x-ray machine. Many of these later had to be abandoned.
- Morale was at an all-time low, as people realised that the journey would take much longer than anticipated and the chances of survival were low. Party leaders told soldiers that they were marching north to combat Japanese invaders, but only so that it appeared that the march had some semblance of an advance rather than a retreat.
- **Battle of Xiang River (November 25 to December 3):** the Communists were held up by GMD forces at the Xiang River in the Guangxi provinces, where a bloody battle saw the deaths of thousands. Only 30,000 Communists outlasted the event. There is also reason to believe that thousands simply deserted.
- **Luding Bridge (May 1935):** on their journey, the travellers had to cross the Dadu River over the Luding Bridge in Sichuan. This would become an event that the Long March would be remembered by – whether accounts of it were true or not. The bridge, which was hanging by its last chains and over 100 metres long, was crossed by volunteer Communists who ensured its safety for the rest. Oncoming Nationalist troops (whether this is true or not is contended) made the crossing a life and death situation. Later, glamorised accounts would depict the Communists as the 'heroes of Dadu' and the crossing would become legendary. It was also used by the CCP to raise morale and spirit – the Luding Bridge was the last battleground of the Taiping Rebellion, where the Qing won. If the Communists defeated the Nationalists in this historic place, then they could very well conquer all of China.

Zunyi Conference

The Communists captured the city of Zunyi in January 1935, where they held a meeting for the Party leadership. Mao had been able to gain some influence once again during the March by criticising the Party leaders, whose ineffective tactics led to continued Communist losses. During the conference, which lasted from January 15–18, his tune did not change. He did not hold back from attacking Otto Braun (a German comrade) and Bo Gu (a dominant figure of the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks) for the failures during the Fifth Encirclement Campaign and the CCP's subsequent losses. Mao had voiced and played upon the concerns of the rest of the Party members, and so received support. It was a turning point for his career.

The conference saw the end of Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks' influence over the CCP, and Mao became Zhou Enlai's advisor – a stepping stone to ascending to absolute power. He made changes to raise marcher spirit and improve their journey:

- Guerrilla tactics were adopted once again.
- Slogans were created to maintain morale and reinforce Red Army rules.
- The aim and movement of the March was explained to the remaining Communists, who were no longer in the dark about the CCP's actions.
- Mao changed the way in which the Long March travelled; rather than a straight line, they moved in zig-zags through provinces and different landscapes. The strategy worked, as it severely disoriented the GMD.
- The Red Army was encouraged to leave lasting impressions on the villages they passed with good conduct. Any wounded or ill marchers were left in the care of locals, and given money and equipment to start their own bands of supporters for when they recovered. However, it is important to remember that the Reds weren't all-compassionate; young men were sometimes forced to join the Army, and any class enemies (landlords or otherwise rich locals) were stripped of their possessions and property to be given to the poor.

The Long March Ends

The March ended on 22 October 1935 in Shaanxi, where the marchers were welcomed by the Shaanxi Soviet. Only 7,000–8,000 of the original 100,000 had made it. Regardless, the marchers could not be prouder of their feat. They had truly done the impossible.

A new base was established in the town of Yan'an, where they were joined by other groups of Communists who had escaped their captured soviets. It became the new capital for the Communists, and the new place where Mao could finally reign in power and implement his policies. Here, he aimed to strengthen the Red Army and initiate revolutionary schemes.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

In what way did the Long March enable Mao's rise to power?

To what extent did the events of the Long March improve the foundation of the CCP?

STATISTICS :

Of the original 100,000, only 7,000–8,000 Communists survived the Long March.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Japanese are a disease of the skin. The Communists are a disease of the heart." – Chiang on his priorities

"It is impossible not to recognise the Long March as one of the great triumphs of men against odds, and men against nature. While the Red Army was unquestionable in forced retreat, its toughed veterans reached their planned objective with moral and political will as strong as ever." – Edgar Snow

The slogan for the Long March among the marchers was "march north to fight the Japanese."

The Long March was the "biggest armed propaganda tour in history." – Edgar Snow

1.6 China's Nationalist Government (1934 – 1936)

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Long March, later presented as a great achievement in Communist history, was a nightmare of death and pain while in progress." – Jonathan Spence

"In itself, the Long March was a disastrous defeat following a devastating defeat." – Jack Gray

The Luding Bridge is the 'centre of the Long March myth created by Mao... this is complete invention.' – Chang and Halliday

"Tactically, the Long March was a retreat, but psychologically, it imbued the Communists with a strong sense of purpose. Organisationally, it brought Mao to the forefront of leadership." – Craig Dietrich

1.6.7 Yan'an

Mao got to work implementing his policies as soon as the Yan'an base had been established. His three policies were:

- **On New Democracy (1940):** in order to create a dictatorship of the people, rather than Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao allowed the participation of four revolutionary groups; peasants, capitalistic, petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. This was outlined in his book, *On New Democracy*, and meant that all the people had to fight against the established order to create a new path for democracy.
- **Mass Line:** in simplistic terms, this was leadership 'from the people, to the people', where the CCP learnt from the masses and listen to their concerns, which would then be used to form new policies.
- **Rectification Campaigning (1942):** this was a campaign launched in order to teach the people Mao's own revolutionary ideas (Mao Zedong Thought), while simultaneously eliminating his political opponents.

Mao also introduced other reforms that benefited the region:

Social Reforms	Land Reforms
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Women's associations were established to support sufferers of domestic abuse or single women too poor to care for their children.– Soldiers sowed Chinese characters onto their carry packs so anyone behind them could memorise them.– Signs with the characters on them were erected at the end of each row in the fields to improve literacy amongst the peasantry.– Red Army soldiers were encouraged to help peasants with harvest and ploughing the land to strengthen ties between them and the locals.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Surplus land was taken from landlords to be redistributed among the poor.– <i>Fanshen</i> ('turn over') was encouraged, meaning that the peasants themselves carried out the seizure of land so they could learn to overturn the old ways themselves.– Cooperatives, small groups of people using the same tools and spaces, were also encouraged to increase harvest and sell surplus produce for profit.

- **Outcome of Mao's Leadership:**

- The literacy rate increased from 1% to 50% in Yan'an from 1936 to 1943.
- The fact that everyone was involved in producing food meant there was always surplus to sell, which helped to improve trade. Locals and soldiers alike were constantly instilled with the belief that independence grew from hardship and hard work.
- Women began to seek independence and many escaped forced marriages to Yan'an where they were embraced.

Despite the multiplicity of positive reforms, Mao's callousness and penchant for cruelty was also on display in Yan'an. His **Rectification Campaign** had devastating effects on Party morale. Everyone, from soldiers to Party leaders to regular officers, was open to humiliation.

Critique on whether a person's actions, beliefs, or what they said were 'revolutionary' behaviour was discussed daily in what became known as 'struggle sessions.' They were also 'encouraged' to indulge in self-criticism in mass gatherings, where Maoist Thought was studied in depth, and 'unreliable' individuals would stand before a crowd to denounce anything about themselves that could be deemed un-revolutionary. This was the very basis of Mao's ideology; continued 'struggle' would prevent stagnancy and would rejuvenate the people's revolutionary spirit.

The Campaigns had the opposite effect, and the ongoing public humiliation led to hundreds of suicides. Mao had to bring a stop to them, admitting, for the first and last time, that they had gone too far. Nevertheless, Mao got what he wanted; unquestioned power, and to discipline to the CCP in a way he saw fit. He had truly consolidated power and managed to undermine all of his opponents.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Yan'an Soviet solidify Mao's power as the unquestioned leader of the CCP?

How did the behaviour of the CCP and the Red Army at Yan'an earn them the support of the people?

STATISTICS :

Literacy rates rose from 1% in 1936 to 50% in 1943.

The Red Army were so productive that they were able to produce almost 40% of their own food.

Party membership rose from 40,000 in 1937 to 800,000 in 1940.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"We Communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil." – Mao

"We must have in mind two purposes: first, 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones,' and second, 'cure the sickness to save the patient.' The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities." – Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Rectification camps aimed to teach the Communists "Mao's own revolutionary ideas and to eliminate the influence of his political opponents." – Stuart Schram

"The history and experiences of the Yan'an decade... served to reinforce the Maoist belief in the primacy of moral over matched forces, of men over machines [and] the conviction that the truly creative revolutionary forces reside more in the countryside than the cities." – Maurice Meisner

"The CCP had to be purged of any groups that might challenge Mao, whose personality cult was being developed by leaps and bounds." – Jonathan Fenby

"The methods whereby Mao's thought reform movement was carried out in Yan'an in 1942–1944 would become very familiar in CCP history." – John King Fairbank

1.6.8 The Second United Front

Since 1931, Japan continued to steadily expand into Chinese territory. Chiang didn't take it seriously, believing that China was simply too big for Japan to occupy it without exhausting its military resources. Instead, he focused on eliminating the CCP, which he believed would truly unify China. His approach was explained as trading space to buy time – allowing the Japanese to cover ground while China built its strength.

This would prove to be detrimental. The only person interested in defeating the CCP was Chiang. His supporters were fiercely patriotic and resented his lack of action when it came to Japan. The dissatisfaction ran so deep that his soldiers eventually turned on him in the Xi'an Incident.

1.7 Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945)

Chiang had travelled to Xi'an in Shaanxi in 1936 to criticise the forces there for failing to capture the CCP. His general, Zhang, who was overseeing the campaign, had already secretly revolted against him by striking a deal with the Red Army, and Zhang's troops maintained the ruse to give the appearance of ongoing fighting. Zhang was more interested in resisting the Japanese, which was one of the CCP's main goals. It was not difficult to see why Zhang was so eager to collude with them. On 12 December, Chiang was bathing at the temple he was staying at when he was arrested by his own men.

The Communists were beside themselves with joy. Here was the man who had ruthlessly hunted, murdered and relentlessly chased them for almost a decade, finally at their mercy. Discussions were conducted for over a week on what was to be done. Were they to execute him? Imprison him? Their decision didn't matter, because Stalin intervened, and ordered the ordeal to be resolved peacefully. Unbeknownst to the CCP, Stalin had entered a treaty with the Nationalists that they needed to uphold. Until further notice, Chiang was put under house arrest.

It took nine months for the Second United Front to be formally announced on 22 September 1937, this time against the Japanese forces. The Red Army became the Eight Route Army of the Nationalist Armed Forces, and Communist generals became the commanders of the forces while the GMD headed strategy.

1.7 Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945)

Timeline of 1937 to 1945

- 1937 July 7: Marco Polo Incident instigates Japanese invasion
- 1937 July 28: Japanese capture Beijing
- 1937 July 30: Japanese capture Tianjin
- 1937 Sep 22: Second United Front announced
- 1937 Nov 20: Nationalist government moves to Chongqing
- 1937 Dec 13: Japanese capture Nanjing
- 1938 Dec 25: Japanese capture Wuhan
- 1941 Jan 4: Nationalist attack on Communist regiment of the army ends Second United Front
- 1942 Feb 1: Mao launches Rectification Campaign
- 1944 Oct 29: General Stilwell returns to America on the orders of President Roosevelt
- 1945 Aug 6: Hiroshima and Nagasaki (3 days later) are bombed by the U.S.
- 1945 Aug 14: Japan surrenders unconditionally
- 1945 Aug 28: Mao and Zhou Enlai go to Chongqing to talk with Chiang

Japan already had influence in China's north, and were eager to keep expanding. On 7 July 1937, in the town of Wanping, Japanese soldiers proclaimed that a soldier of their army had gone missing, presumably kidnapped and killed by the Chinese. They were refused entry into the town, and fire broke out. It was the first time the Japanese experienced active, violent Chinese resistance, and the incident escalated quickly. The Japanese had only needed the slightest of reasons to legitimise their aggression, and they got it. The incident became known as the Marco Polo Incident.

To their credit, the Chinese forces held up generally well in the face of the advanced, trained and prepared Japanese military. Despite their efforts, however, the Japanese were able to occupy land at an alarming rate. China's east coast, along with Beijing and Shanghai, fell into Japanese hands.

1.7.1 The Rape of Nanjing

There is no shortage of accounts of the brutality suffered by the Chinese at the hands of the Japanese Imperial Army. Of them all, the Rape of Nanjing is the most infamous. In December, 1937, the Imperial Army captured Nanjing, where they conducted mass murder and rape. Over 200,000 people were brutally murdered, and 20,000 women raped and then killed. These brutalities included: the murder of hospital patients, burying victims alive, setting victims on fire with gasoline, forcing family members to rape each other, roasting children alive in front of their parents, decapitating victims, and setting buildings on fire and shooting escapees from inside.

1.7.2 Effect on Chiang's Government

Chiang recognised that there was no point in trying to defeat Japan's clearly superior and advanced military. He decided to stick to the 'trading of space for time' and hoped to draw Japan out into a war of attrition, believing that if they held up defence, Japan would eventually exhaust itself. After the capture of Beijing, the capital of China was moved to Chongqing in the Sichuan province on 20 November 1937. People began to come to the new capital, hoping for a new life. However untouched it was from the Japanese, Chongqing did not thrive; its economy was destroyed by an onset of problems:

- Industry and plantations were all lost in the invasion.
- The rail network was nowhere near as efficient.
- Custom tariffs were reduced, depleting government income.
- More banknotes were printed to compensate for the loss of government money, but this only led to hyperinflation.

Aside from the economic impacts, the war greatly affected the reputation of the Nationalist government. All of its flaws became glaringly obvious under the pressure of the war, such as corruption and general disorganisation.

The bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941 earned Chiang the support of America. In 1942, General Joseph Stilwell was sent to China by President Roosevelt to become Chiang's advisor. They could not get along; Stilwell was appalled by the corruption of Chiang's government and the blatant misuse of U.S. equipment to destroy the CCP rather than Japan, and any attempts he made to bring change only angered Chiang, who blocked him every step of the way. Their inability to get along meant Stilwell was called back to America, and a new advisor was sent.

Over the next few years, Chiang received supplies, money, and equipment from the U.S., much of which fell into either the black market or in the hands of the CCP due to misuse. It was his only leverage over the CCP, especially during the war's stalemate years, and he was unable to use it to his advantage. Meanwhile, the CCP were slowly building support and growing stronger. Between Chiang's chaotic, corrupt government and Mao's disciplined Red Army and strong policies, it was evident which party was preferred.

In the end, it was Chiang's refusal to actively fight against the Japanese Imperial Army that led to the loss of support for him, both by the people and his own soldiers.

STATISTICS :

- Custom tariffs for the government dropped from 67% to 6.3%.
- Prices rose by 237% between 1942 and 1944.
- Costs increased another 251% from January to August 1945.
- Over 200,000 civilians died during the Rape of Nanjing.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

- "Wherever I go is the Government and the centre of resistance. I am the State." – Chiang Kai-Shek
- "We are fighting the battle of the world. Intervene for Christ's sake!" – Chiang on his frustrations towards the League of Nations for not lending China support

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

- "The wartime inflation destroyed the economy." – Jonathan Fenby
- Japanese imperialist soldiers used prisoners as "live targets in bayonet practice." – Barbara Tuchman
- The Rape of Nanjing is the "Forgotten Holocaust of World War Two." – Iris Chang
- "Chaos and negligence were noted recurrently in observations of the time." – Lucien Bianco

1.7 Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945)

1.7.3 Chiang's Errors During the War

What cost Chiang popular support, and eventually all of China in 1949, was arguably his mistakes during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the subsequent Civil War, which can be summarised as such:

- **Conscription:** Chiang's Nationalist army had appalling conscription methods, which were also noted by General Stilwell. Soldiers were beaten by superiors, poorly supplied, and rarely treated when they were injured. Accounts of men being tied up together naked so they could not escape were well-known, and anyone who disobeyed order were ruthlessly abused or shot. This was a great demoralisation for the army. They lacked the will and purpose to fight, and often overstretched themselves out on territory in an attempt to cover more land, but only made their force weak. This was a stark contrast to the Red Army, who were united in purpose, passionate and fiercely loyal to spreading the CCP's ideas and combating Japanese invasion.
- **Corruption:** Chiang was unable to do anything to combat the corruption that was so rife in his government, especially where the conduct of his officers was concerned. This also extended to the misuse of American supplies, which were given on the basis that they would be used to defeat the Japanese.
- **Focus on the Communists:** Chiang's belief that the Japanese would eventually wear themselves out was used to fuel his ongoing campaign against the CCP. Even during the Second United Front, Chiang focused on eradicating Communists, completely neglecting the ever-growing problem of Japanese invasion.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Second Sino-Japanese War contribute to a revolutionary situation?

How can Chiang's efforts during the Second Sino-Japanese War be assessed?

STATISTICS :

1.5 million GMD soldiers died of mistreatment by the army.

A GMD military division of 10,000 soldiers might have only 5,000 to 7,000 men in actual service, as generals kept dead soldiers' names on the rosters to pocket the extra pay.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Up to 50% of those rounded up for service died from hunger, thirst, exposure or disease before they even reached the training camps." – Theodore White on the treatment of GMD conscripts

"Chiang's government was riddled with corruption." – Joseph Stilwell

Chiang's war efforts were "practically zero." – Joseph Stilwell

"The Chinese soldier is excellent material, wasted and betrayed by stupid leadership." – Joseph Stilwell

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Chiang's government was notorious for inaction." – Wood and McManus

"Survival became a local matter, undermining the loyalty to the Nationalists." – Jonathan Fenby

"The Nationalist government, from the end of 1939, never made any further military efforts to recover lost territory; It sat patiently... waiting for the world war to alter the whole scale of the conflict." – C.P. Fitzgerald

"By not actively participating in the war of resistance, Chiang was ruining the morale of his soldiers and appearing weak to the people." – Edwin Moise

1.7.4 CCP Efforts During the Sino-Japanese War

Chiang's complete preoccupation with defeating the Communists gave them a fantastic opportunity to show the people who the true defenders of China were. In the face of Chiang's negligence, anything that the CCP did appeared to be more impressive, and the peasants devoted themselves to the CCP wholeheartedly. They would support whoever struggled for nationalistic goals, and for the Chinese people, that was the Communist Party.

However, the truth of the matter was that the CCP did little, if not less than the GMD, to combat the Japanese. This was because, with World War Two coming to an end, and Japan slowly losing all of its power as a result, it also had to withdraw forces within China. The Communists' main goal was to control more territory, so as the Japanese retreated, the CCP came in. In the end, wherever Japan's armies conceded, they surrendered defeat to the Communists. To the rest of China, this showed the CCP as the victors, and so the myth of Communist effort began.

The truth of the Red Army's efforts is also revealed in Mao's statement: 'Our fixed policy should be seventy percent expansion, twenty percent dealing with the Guomindang, and ten percent resisting Japan'.

Where they were confronted by them, the CCP were able to easily beat the GMD also, and their victories, as well as abandoned supplies, meant that they were able to get their hands on American-given equipment. This gave them another advantage.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How can the CCP's efforts be assessed during the Second Sino-Japanese War?

STATISTICS :

The Red Army grew to 500,000 members by 1940, to 1 million in 1945.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Our fixed policy should be seventy percent expansion, twenty percent dealing with the Guomindang, and ten percent resisting Japan."

Communist agitators fed people slogans like "Chinese must not fight Chinese" and "Immediate war with Japan; stop fighting the Communists."

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Communists only gave lip service to the United Front." – Di McDonald

"The CCP were doing much less fighting than they claimed, and certainly less than the Nationalists." – Jonathan Fenby

"The Party was functioning very much as a nationalist organisation; indeed, it was struggling for nationalist goals more vigorously and more competently than the Guomindang." – Edwin Moise

"The CCP's greatest ally was the Japanese army, whose atrocities left the peasantry in such desperate straits that it had no recourse but to seek the Red Army's protection." – Lucien Bianco

1.7.5 End of the War

When bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the Sino-Japanese War ended, and rather suddenly. In the end, Japan wasn't defeated by either the CCP or GMD, but was forced to surrender due to losing World War Two. The former war's overall effect on China was devastating. There were 95 million Chinese refugees, and 3 million Chinese soldiers were killed. 18 million Chinese civilians lost their lives, there was irreversible damage to towns and cities, and the economy collapsed.

1.8 Chinese Civil War (1946 – 1949)

Now that Japan had given up all influence it had in China, it left the nation up for grabs for either the CCP or the GMD. Stalin preferred Chiang, while an American general, General George C. Marshall, came to China to negotiate for peace and hopefully create a coalition government. Mao and Zhou Enlai travelled to Chongqing to meet with Jiang, and for some time, it appeared that a peaceful resolution was possible. Until it wasn't. Chiang's anti-communist sentiment hadn't dimmed, and Mao was not going to collaborate with the man who tried time and time again to bring the Communists down.

In June 1946, conflict broke out yet again.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did the Second Sino-Japanese War allow the CCP to grow?

In what ways did the Second Sino-Japanese War spell out doom for the GMD?

1.8 Chinese Civil War (1946 – 1949)

Timeline 1946 to 1949

- 1946 Jan 10: General Marshall negotiates ceasefire
- 1946 May 1: Red Army is renamed People's Liberation Army (PLA)
- 1946 July: Beginning of Chinese Civil War
- 1948: PLA gains territory while GMD soldiers continue to surrender
- 1948: Inflation reaches all-time high under Chiang
- 1949 Jan 21: Chiang resigns as president and flees to Taiwan
- 1949 Jan 31: PLA capture Beijing
- 1949 Oct 1: People's Republic of China is announced

KEY POINT :

Warfare is often an indispensable element of revolutionary upheavals. For AOS 1 China, the Long March, Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War were consequential events in the precipitation of Revolution. However, remember not to get bogged-down in the nuances of military strategy and the minutiae of every battle and skirmish. Your focus should always centre on the revolutionary consequences of the conflict. In AOS 1 you should ask yourself '*how did the conflict or a particular battle propel the revolutionary movement?*' Meanwhile, in AOS 2 you should ask yourself '*how did the conflict or a particular battle affect the consolidation of the new regime, and how did it affect different social groups?*'

It did not take much for the two sides to become involved in a civil war, and initially, Chiang had the advantage. His much larger army and advanced military equipment (thanks, America) meant that they were able to charge through most of northern China and conquer provinces, included Yan'an. He considered this a particular victory, but Mao was not phased – "we will give Chiang Yan'an. He will give us China," he was quoted as saying.

Mao had a different kind of advantage, however, which lay in their support base and the strength of their army. Their guerrilla tactics were still incredibly effective. They had captured equipment and artillery from both the GMD and the Japanese. They also had the support of the peasantry – first due to their participation in Japanese resistance, and then due to their land reform policies. These policies were implemented during the civil war, where landlords were stripped of their property. The support of the peasantry also meant that they had access to supplies, shelter, and recruits from communities they passed through. Their objective was always clear, and was summarised in a song that they would chant: 'keep men, lose land, land can be taken again; keep land, lose men, land and men both lost.'

On the other hand, the Nationalists had no care for their lost soldiers, and only focused on gaining land. The GMD also had high desertion rates, along with a higher death toll. The unified, passionate atmosphere of the Red Army kept their morals and motivation high. Soldiers were disciplined, organised, and treated considerably better than Nationalist troops.

KEY POINT :

It is important to note that although the Communists were better known for their good treatment of their soldiers, it was not all positive. Many men were forced into conscription from peasant communities, which was covered up as 'recruitment'. The Communists most certainly had their flaws, but Chiang's were much more blatant.

On 1 May 1946, the Communists renamed their forces the PLA – People's Liberation Army. Eventually, the weaknesses of Chiang's government and his army led to the Nationalists' demise, unable to withstand the pressure of another war. On economic, military and political fronts, they failed the people. In late January, Chiang had already fled to Taiwan after resigning from his post as president. His vice-president, Li Zongren, was left in charge, but refused to negotiate with the CCP. This led to further conflict, and the GMD forces continued to suffer severe blows. Their control over China was officially over when on 23 April 1949, Nanjing (which became the capital once more after the Sino-Japanese War) was captured by the CCP. The PLA continued to sweep through China until they controlled all of it, save for the most isolated regions. On 1 October 1949, Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China in Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Was it the GMD's weakness or the strength of the CCP that led to Nationalist defeat in 1949?

To what extent was Mao's leadership and ideology the reason for the CCP's success?

In what ways did the leadership of Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-Shek contribute to the revolution?

To what extent did international events contribute to the development of a revolution in China?

The Guomindang lost control of China rather than the CCP winning it. Discuss.

STATISTICS :

Inflation during the Civil War of the Yuan to the U.S. dollar in 1945 was 3250:1. Prices rose by an average of 237% between 1942 and 1944.

The GMD lost 3 million men and the CCP lost 1 million men. Over 6 million civilians died from famine or disruption in the duration of the Civil War.

Over 400,000 GMD prisoners of war were taken by the PLA, most of whom were allowed to go home if they didn't want to join the CCP.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Throughout the wars, the GMD were continuously beaten because it had no soul." – American journalist

"As they march, they turn into skeletons." – General Wedemeyer on GMD soldiers

"The GMD frightened people. They forced old men to carry two heavy sacks apiece and when they could go no further, the GMD soldiers beat them." – General Wedemeyer

Chiang "had no clear purpose other than to remain in power." – Han Suyin

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Conscription, a tragedy in government-controlled areas, was an honour in Liberated Areas." – Lucien Bianco

"Chiang lost China to a man with none of his weak spots." – Jung Chang

The GMD's problems were "compounded by their failure to win wholehearted support of the people."
– Michael Lynch

"Chiang consistently let personal feelings dictate his political and military actions. He lost China to a man with none of his weak spots." – Chang and Halliday

Area of Study 2

Consequences of revolution

2.1 First Years of the People's Republic of China (1949 – 1952)

Timeline of 1949 to 1952

- 1949 Oct 1: The People's Republic of China is proclaimed
- 1949 Dec 16: Mao visits Moscow
- 1950 Feb 14: Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance is signed
- 1950 May 1: Marriage Law is passed
- 1950 June 5: The 38th Parallel is crossed by the North Korean army
- 1950 June 28: Agrarian Reform Law is passed
- 1950 Sep 15: UN-backed U.S. troops force North Korean army back across the Parallel
- 1950 Oct 8: Mao decides to take action in Korea
- 1950 Oct 15: Chinese troops cross the Chinese–Korean border
- 1951 Feb 1: China is labelled the aggressor in Korea
- 1951 July 1: A ceasefire is called in the Korean War
- 1951 Dec 7: Three Antis passed
- 1952 Feb 1: Five Antis passed

China had entered a new era, and the CCP now had the responsibility of setting up a new government. Mao was elected as the Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party, and Liu Shaoqi was elected the Vice-Chairman. The third most powerful man in China was Zhou Enlai, who became the premier.

The new political structure had three echelons – the government, the Party and the PLA, all three of which the CCP dominated. But China did not have the strength nor the resources to build its power on its own. Mao needed Stalin's help. He took a trip to Russia, where he was met with little enthusiasm from Stalin, who was still unhappy with Mao's refusal to work with the GMD. Regardless, Russia and China signed a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, which meant that the Soviet Union would provide China a loan of US\$300 million and the assistance of 10,000 Soviet experts.

2.1.1 Reforms

The first few years of the CCP saw sweeping reforms in China, reinventing the social, political, and cultural landscape of the new socialist state.

Land Reforms

The CCP's biggest supporters during the Civil War were the peasants, whose concerns surrounded land management. Moreover, Mao was a major proponent of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, a divergent conviction which strayed from Marxist orthodoxy which held that the urban proletariat would be the driving force behind a communist revolution, and he was thus inclined to appease and involve that demographic.

During the War, many peasant communities had already taken land redistribution into their own hands – landlords were overthrown and stripped of their properties. This was encouraged by Mao's new government in the Agrarian Reform Law of 28 June 1950.

Party Cadres (CCP personnel) were sent out to the countryside to conduct the formal redistribution of land and denounce landlords. Peasant Associations were established in order to find 'counter-revolutionaries' among locals.

'Speak Bitterness' sessions were held, wherein peasants gathered together to denounce and criticise landlords, who were forced to listen. The meetings were highly emotional, with peasants screaming and weeping as they criticised the landlords who had oppressed them their entire lives. After people 'spoke bitter', the fate of the landlords was decided. Sometimes, they were punished and freed with only enough land to support their families (if they were considered to have been less tyrannical than others), but most of the time, they were publicly executed. Often times, the peasants carried out the executions themselves.

Social Reforms

On 1 May 1950, Mao introduced the Marriage Law, which gave Chinese women unprecedented rights:

- Concubinage was banned.
- Foot-binding was banned.
- Women were able to choose their own husbands.
- Forced and child marriages were banned.
- Women had to be 18 or older to marry.
- Bridal payments (dowries) were banned.
- Widows could remarry.
- Divorce was easily attainable by both spouses.
- Women were allowed to own property.
- Women could work in any occupation.

Over the next few years, the advancement of women took giant leaps:

- Women held positions within the CCP.
- Women could be members of the PLA.
- Women no longer had to prepare food for communes and families.
- Education for women became compulsory.
- Women were expected to work in industries such as oil drilling, coal mining, medicine, science, and construction.

2.1.2 Campaigns

Despite the progress made, Mao was unsatisfied with the rate of this progress. He aimed to eliminate all 'un-revolutionary' elements in Chinese society, and began with the CCP itself.

Three Antis Campaign (San Fan) – 1951

Launched in November 1951, the Three Antis Campaign aimed to eradicate corruption, waste, and bureaucracy from within the CCP. Done with the intention of exposing unreliable officials and corrupt cadres, the Campaign ended with the expulsion of 1 million members from the CCP.

Five Antis (Wu Fan) Campaign – 1952

Launched in January 1952, the Five Antis this time targeted tax evasion, fraud, cheating on government contracts, theft of government property, and bribery. The Five Antis directly impacted industrialists and business owners, who Mao believed to be bourgeoisie capitalists who corrupted government personnel. Many businessmen were fined or imprisoned.

The Campaigns encouraged ordinary people to take action against anyone who was suspected of violating the Antis, and this became a common characteristic of Mao's China. A culture of spying developed quickly, with people reporting on their co-workers, family members, neighbours, and bosses. Many people were tried in courts, and in the case of public trials, they were 'struggled' against to confess their crimes. Much like during the Rectification Campaigns, the Antis campaigns took the people by a storm and led many suspects to commit suicide, unable to bear the intensity of public humiliation.

2.1 First Years of the People's Republic of China (1949 – 1952)

2.1.3 Korean War (1950 – 1953)

Japan's surrender meant that Korea was no longer under its occupation. The Soviet Union managed to secure northern Korea while the U.S. took control of southern Korea, with the two puppet states divided by the 38th Parallel (the border between the north and south). Stalin put Kim Il-Sung in power in the North, supplied the new state with military equipment, and actively encouraged Kim's intentions to invade the South. However, he did so on the condition that if North Korea ever landed itself in hot water, it would only have the help of Mao, not the Soviet Union. In regular Stalin-fashion, he did not keep Mao in the loop. As a result, Mao found himself caught in the middle of a war which he assumed he'd have the support of Stalin to win.

North Korean soldiers crossed the 38th Parallel on 5 June 1950 and enjoyed successful victories one after another. Within weeks, North Korea had control over almost all of the Korean peninsula. However, American interference on September 15, with the approval of the UN, pushed their forces back with severe losses and captured Pyongyang (the North Korean capital). Kim all but begged Mao for help. After months of deliberation, Mao made the decision to participate in the war on October 8, unwilling to let Korea fall to imperialist America.

However, he did not anticipate Stalin's refusal to get involved. Regardless, China stayed committed to supporting their Korean comrades. The conflict lasted much longer than anticipated, with America underestimating the sheer size of Chinese forces. Only 10,000 had been estimated to have crossed the Chinese–Korean border at Yalu River, while in reality, the commander, Peng Dehuai, had mobilised 350,000 troops and counting. By the end of 1950, North Korea was recovered, and South Korea's capital captured once again in the new year.

A stalemate occurred in January 1951, with North Korean and Chinese forces pushed back to the 38th Parallel by UN forces. In early July 1951, a ceasefire was called and by 27 July, an armistice was signed to end the war.

Effect of the Korean War on China

The War brought severe losses to the PLA, both through violence and extreme weather conditions:

- 900,000 soldiers were proclaimed missing in action, wounded or killed.
- 500,000 soldiers died, one of whom was Mao's oldest son, Anying.
- America suffered less losses, with 157,000 men out of action and of them, 57,000 killed.

Internationally, China was recognised as the aggressor in Korea, and their powerful position as a member of the P5 on the UN Security Council was usurped by the GMD-held Taiwan, an arrangement which remained in place until the 1970s. The only Chinese government recognised by the United Nations was Chiang's Republic of China government in Taiwan. They now only had the Soviets as an ally, but it did not matter in China, where anti-American sentiment was fuelled by propaganda and rumours of U.S. atrocities against Chinese prisoners of war.

Regardless of its detrimental ramifications, the Korean War served to boost morale. For the first time in its history, the CCP won a victory without the Soviets, and proved themselves to be a power to be reckoned with on the international platform. Not only that, but they had also fought against and not *lost* to America, who they deemed to be the 'biggest imperialists'.

Despite deeming it a success in its initial aftermath, years later Mao would admit that it was mistake to get involved.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did Speak Bitterness destroy the foundations of one class of people and empower the other?

How did the Antis campaigns impact the lives of Chinese people?

To what extent was the Korean War a success?

2.1 First Years of the People's Republic of China (1949 – 1952)

STATISTICS :

By the 1970's, almost 50% of China's doctors were women and 30% were engineers/scientists.

The First National People's Congress in 1954 had 147 female representatives (12%).

1.5 million landlords were executed during the Speak Bitterness sessions.

1 million CCP members were expelled from the Party during the Three Antis.

450,000 businesses were put on trial, and 340,000 of them were found guilty of capitalist tendencies during the Five Antis.

Together, North Korea and China lost 1.5 million soldiers in the Korean War.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Mothers would bring food to the [Speak Bitterness] sessions so as not to miss a single second."

– A witness account of the Speak Bitterness campaign

"Women hold up half the sky" – Mao on gender equality

"Women in the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres off political, economic, cultural, social and family life." – Chinese Constitution

"The Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate foreign aggression, nor will they supinely tolerate seeing their neighbours invaded by imperialists." – Zhou Enlai

"If you should get kicked in the teeth, I shall not raise a finger. You have to ask Mao for help." – Stalin to Kim on waging war on South Korea

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Women had risen to the status of second-class citizens." – Craig Dietrich

"Peasants who killed with their bare hands the landlords who oppressed them were wedded to the new revolutionary order in a way that passive spectators never could be." – Phillip Short

"By implicating a majority in the murder of... minority, Mao managed to permanently link the people to the Party." – Frank Dikötter

"Families who had lived on or below the margin for generations got their revenge on those who oppressed them." – Tom Ryan on Speak Bitterness

"Despite the high casualties, the Korean War was hailed as a victory for the PRC. After a century of humiliating defeats by foreign powers, they had held off the USA and its allies." – Trevor Sowdon

"Mao felt he was able to openly war against the classes he was obliged to tolerate earlier in order to maintain continuity and administration." – Michael Lynch on the Antis Campaigns

The Three Antis were an "extension of Mao's Rectification Campaign." – Trevor Sowdon

The Five Antis was an "opportunity to pulverise China's capitalists politically." – Jack Gray

2.2 First Five Year Plan and the Campaigns (1953 – 1957)

Timeline of 1953 to 1957

- 1953 Jan 1: Beginning of First Five Year Plan
- 1953 March 5: Stalin dies
- 1953 July 27: Korean War armistice is signed
- 1953 Dec 16: Agricultural Cooperatives are initiated
- 1956 Feb 25: Khrushchev denounces Stalin and begins de-Stalinisation
- 1956 Sep 27: Second Five Year Plan is approved
- 1957 Feb 27: Hundred Flowers Campaign is reinvigorated by Mao
- 1957 May 1: Flowers begin to 'bloom'
- 1957 June 8: Hundred Flowers Campaign is called off
- 1957 July: Anti-Rightist Campaign is initiated
- 1957 Dec 12: Mao declares that China will surpass Britain in production in 15 years

2.2.1 First Five Year Plan

The government managed to bring many social and political changes to China, along with bringing down inflation. The next level, for Mao, was to begin the transition to socialism and the end of New Democracy (an intermediary phase between capitalism and socialism). Using the Soviet Union as a model, the CCP began to develop an economic plan. This was known as the First Five Year Plan, aimed at increasing production, focusing on industries, and beginning collectivisation.

The Plan was launched in 1953 and was a general success, meeting and even exceeding all of its quotes.

- **Industry:** priority was given to heavy industry with 88.8% of the government budget going towards this. Steel production was a particular focus – production rose from 1.3 tonnes in 1952 to 5.2 million tonnes in 1957. This far surpassed the aim, which was 4.7 million tonnes by the end of the First Five Year Plan.
- **Collectivisation:** Agricultural Cooperatives were encouraged in the countryside, which would consist of 20–40 families sharing tools (for 'lower' Agricultural Cooperatives), equipment and labour to increase government income and overall production. 'Higher' Agricultural Cooperatives consisted of 100–300 families. The initiatives were met with resistance in some areas, since peasants were unwilling to give up their freshly-earned land. This was overlooked by the CCP – collectivisation was a step towards socialism, and there were no negotiations about it. However, its aim, which was to increase production, backfired, since there was absolutely no job satisfaction or initiative among the peasantry to work. For a growing population (at 2.2% annually), agricultural production remained alarmingly stagnant. However, the success of the rest of the First Five Year Plan was enough for CCP to, albeit hesitantly, overlook the problem.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent did the First Five Year Plan reverse the initial policies of the CCP?

In what way did the First Five Year Plan's focus on heavy industry impact China?

STATISTICS :

A 10–16% increase in overall annual production was achieved.

Stagnancy of food production, which was only increasing by 4%, was concerning considering the annual population growth by 2.2%.

From 1952–1957, the rural population grew by 9% and the cities grew by 30%.

In contrast to heavy industry, manufacturing industry received only 12.2% of government investment.

While the Soviet sent 10,000 experts and scientists to China, 28,000 Chinese went to the Soviet Union for training and education.

By the end of 1956, 96% of peasant households were Collective members.

Production material increased by 95.3%.

Coal production grew by 206%.

Steel production grew by 300%.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Soviet road is the road all humanity will eventually take. To bypass this road is impossible." – Liu Shaoqi

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Mao's early attempts to modernise the Chinese economy carried the stamp of Soviet influence." – Michael Lynch

"At this stage, Stalin's USSR was the People's Republic of China's political and economic model and mentor." – Michael Lynch

2.2.2 Hundred Flowers Campaign

The Hundred Flowers Campaign was not an isolated event – it was Mao's response to what was occurring in the USSR at the time. After Stalin's death in 1953, his ascender, Nikita Khrushchev, began a process called 'de-Stalinisation'. In the initial speech of the process' announcement, Khrushchev heavily criticised Stalin's tyrannical behaviour and his policies. A series of reforms were implemented in order to reverse the power of the institutions that had maintained Stalin's leadership. De-Stalinisation was embraced, and Mao began to fear that he would leave a similar legacy as his Soviet counterpart. Or worse, an uprising will occur while he was still in power.

Mao decided that if any grievances of the people were to be expressed, they should be expressed in a controlled manner where they could be responded to appropriately. Therefore, the Hundred Flowers Campaign was born to fulfil that very function. The Campaign was announced in 1956, wherein Mao encouraged Chinese intellectuals to express their opinions and share any criticisms they had of the Party in order to stimulate public debate. The title came from Mao's phrase, "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." Intellectuals were hesitant to respond to the call, but eventually grew to believe that the Campaign was launched in good faith and with the intention of improving the CCP.

It took almost an entire year for people to begin voicing their criticisms, and the Campaign properly took off in May 1957. Mao was initially pleased; criticisms of Party officials would expose corruption and eliminate inefficiencies.

2.2 First Five Year Plan and the Campaigns (1953 – 1957)

Some criticisms included:

- Dissatisfaction with the CCP's domination in politics
- The interference of Party cadres in intellectual areas
- The corrupt nature of some CCP officials
- Detachment of the CCP to the people
- 'Betrayal' of socialist values by Party members

Much like his other campaigns in the past, and many yet to come, the Hundred Flowers Campaign quickly grew out of control as unrest began to develop amongst workers, intellectuals, and students alike. University students held riots, many people criticised even Mao himself, and letters addressed to the CCP outlining the people's grievances overwhelmed the government.

Mao did not expect the Campaign to have the effect that it did. He believed that the criticism would be constructive, and aimed at particular individuals, not the Communist system. For a man with his level of power, he had incredibly thin skin, and eventually, criticisms of his behaviour and actions led him to call the whole thing off. On June 8, a newspaper editorial proclaimed the end of the Campaign. Ideological dissent would evidently not be tolerated in the new regime.

2.2.3 Anti-Rightist Campaign

The previously encouraged blooming 'flowers' were now considered poisonous weeds which Mao intended to pull out through the Anti-Rightist Campaign. With Deng Xiaoping leading the helm, tens of thousands of people, mostly intellectuals, were put through denunciation meetings, where they were forced to criticise themselves and essentially take back everything they said about the CCP. The Anti-Rightist Campaign was an echo of the Rectification Campaigns, with anyone who held an opposing opinion to the Party being labelled Rightist and in need of re-education.

The denunciation sessions were not the end of it – up to 400,000 intellectuals were sent to prison camps for re-education 'through labour'. Intellectuals lost their jobs, were demoted to lesser positions, and humiliated daily. The Campaign had a detrimental effect on China's intellectual class and system of education. Those with qualifications needed to be 're-educated', and those who filled the mass of vacancies were in no way qualified. Tragically, the Campaign silenced the only class that would have been able to save China from the disastrous results of the Great Leap Forward.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How were mass campaigns used by the CCP to shape the new society during the 1950s?

What were the consequences of Mao's inability to receive criticism and its impact on China?

What were the impacts of mass campaigns in China during the 1950s on two or more social groups in China?

How did the Hundred Flowers Campaign unfold in China?

STATISTICS :

300,000–500,000 people were sent to prison camps.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"After the Antis, no one wants to be in charge of money; after the Anti-Rightist campaign, no one wanted to open their mouth." – A popular way to describe the effect of Campaigns

CCP officials were accused of "sitting sedan chairs and keeping themselves from the masses."

The Anti-Rightist Campaign was a way of "distinguishing between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds." – Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Mao had hoped for moderate criticism of the details, rather than the fundamentals of life in New China."

– Rana Mitter

The Hundred Flowers Campaign had "demonstrated Mao's naiveté – and then his utter ruthlessness." – Jonathan Spence

"Mao had been so used to being accompanied by fawning 'yes men' that he may have overestimated his popularity." – Trevor Sowdon

"Mao made not one but two misjudgements. He underestimated the volume and bitterness of the criticisms and the Party's ability to withstand them." – Phillip Short

The Anti-Rightist Campaign "served as an umbrella for settling scores." – Jonathan Fenby

2.3 The Great Leap Forward (1958 – 1961)

Timeline of 1958 to 1961

- 1958 May: Great Leap Forward launched
- 1958 Dec 8: Wuhan Plenum
- 1959 April: Liu Shaoqi assumes presidency
- 1959 July: Khrushchev discontinues financial support of China
- 1959 July–Aug: Three Bad Years begins with famine and drought outbreak in provinces
- 1959 July 14–Aug 16: Lushan Plenum
- 1960 July 16: Soviet experts in China are recalled
- 1961: Three Bad Years ends with 30 million casualties and the Great Leap Forward is cut short
- 1961 Feb–May: Impact of the Great Leap Forward is assessed

Fuelled by the success of the First Five Year Plan, Mao set to launch another plan. This time, he aimed to catch up and surpass Britain. Privately, he was also eager to finally clear China's debt to Russia, as the loan and expert help was expensive for a country that was trying to grow its economy. This is why he announced the Great Leap Forward, the second five-year plan, at the end of 1957. It was officially initiated in 1958, and its biggest characteristic was organising peasants into large communes in order to increase agricultural output. Although China was backwards compared to the modern world, Mao believed the sheer size of the population would help to catapult China into a developed future.

Communes included up to 5,000 families, and were administered by Party cadres – by the end of 1958, there were over 26,000 operating communes in the countryside. Commune kitchens were established to encourage more people to work, and even dormitories were introduced. Everything had become communal, and everything was shared by everybody.

Like most of Mao's initiatives, the Great Leap Forward brought on many problems, including:

- **Communes:** In communes, the group effort was counted rather than the individual. Therefore there was a lack of incentive for labourers to work, as they were not rewarded for extra effort. The concept of the 'iron rice bowl' was thus established, where, because employment and food were guaranteed, peasants didn't work as hard as they would have if given incentives that encouraged them to work harder. This was a huge problem later, when motivation, morale and national spirit was low and there was no sense of patriotism or enthusiasm to drive labourers.
- **Cadre Power:** Party cadres, as a result of their authority, often ignored the knowledge of the peasantry when it came to agriculture. Generations of well-seasoned farmers' expertise were disregarded, and cadres made decisions where they saw fit to speed up production, which only destroyed crops and slowed down the process.

2.3 The Great Leap Forward (1958 – 1961)

- **Backyard Furnaces:** backyard furnaces were, as ridiculous as they sound, a key feature of the early years of the Great Leap Forward. In order to increase steel production and reduce costs, rural and urban civilians were encouraged to set up steel-making ‘furnaces’ in their backyards. Eager to please Mao, almost everyone picked up the idea, and any scrap of metal found was melted in the furnaces to make steel. Bicycles, cutlery, household items, farming tools, equipment, and even door handles were recycled to increase production. In the end, it was a total let-down; the products were so low quality that they were unusable. Despite noticing that the entire project was a failure, Mao insisted that the backyard furnaces would continue to be operated. It not only occupied pointless time, but they also came at the sacrifice of tools that were needed for agriculture. Mao’s plan was unravelling fast.
- **Four Pests:** The Four Pests Campaign, targeting (you guessed it) four ‘pests’ – rats, sparrows, flies and mosquitoes – was launched due to the belief that they were hindering the success of agriculture. Much like the backyard furnaces, the people got caught in a frenzy, and dedicated hours to killing as many pests as they could get their hands on. People would compete to kill the highest amount of pests. Ultimately though, this only brought brief ‘relief’ to crops – there were no more sparrows to damage crops, but now insects such as locusts plagued the fields with no predators to control their population. Realising their mistake, the CCP later replaced the sparrow with the bedbug as the fourth pest and meekly requested 200,000 sparrows to be imported from the Soviet Union.
- **Manipulation of Numbers:** the fear of the Hundred Flowers and Anti-Rightist Campaigns were still fresh, and the people had learnt their lesson not to speak out against Mao, which is why, even when the Great Leap Forward was rapidly proving itself a failure, the people were unwilling to speak out. The aim of the Leap was, in its essence, to advance as quickly as possible, and the same philosophy applied to production. Cadres were ordered to produce as much grain as possible, and the quotas were often outrageous and impossible to achieve. Despite that, communes were reported to have achieved and even surpassed the set standards. The massive inflation of harvest figures was upheld during inspection visits, where grain transported from other fields was displayed to give the impression of abundant grain. In 1959 the harvest was 170 million tonnes, but was reported as 500 million.

Believing the lies, the state increased the taxes on grain, and took detrimental amounts of harvest in order to export it to Russia to pay off their debt. The national lie had spiralled out of control, and could be traced to Mao’s own approach to figures. He often exaggerated numbers, and showed no appreciation for material reality – if quotas were aiming for six to nine million tonnes, he would candidly say to double it to eleven million. He would speak of things to come about in five, fifteen or fifty years, and this attitude was incredibly infectious. Communes adopted it wholeheartedly; if an acre of land could produce one ton of grain/rice, communes would pledge to twenty tonnes. In the end, this manipulation of statistics and inability to tell the truth was the biggest downfall of the Leap, and the instigation of the Three Bad Years of famine.

STATISTICS :

By the end of 1958, 740,000 Cooperatives were organised into 26,000 People’s Communes.

Up to 5,000 households were included in Communes, which could account for almost 100,000 people.

Falsified figures led the CCP to increasing the tax on harvest as they believed there was a surplus. As such, the collected harvest rose from 30% to 90%.

Good weather led to harvest output increase from 195 million tonnes (1957) to 200 million (1958). However, the figures were reported as high as 400 million tonnes.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"State first, people second." – CCP attitude on advancement

"The country looked as though it had been picked clean by iron-eating ants." – Harrison Salisbury on the effect of backyard furnaces

"The people are telling lies, boasting... this is ridiculous. It is shameful." – Tian Jiaying, one of Mao's secretaries

"Everyone was hurrying to jump on the utopian bandwagon... everyone was caught in the grip of this utopian hysteria... the excitement was contagious." – Li Zhisui, Mao's doctor

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Arguably the worst aspect of the Great Leap Forward was the failure to tell the truth." – Trevor Sowdon

"Mao had an almost metaphysical disregard for reality." – Jung Chang

"It was a failure on a grand scale, dominating and distorting the social and political life of the People's Republic." – Maurice Meisner

"Mao proclaimed principles and ideals he could not (or would not) sustain, and unleashed social and political forces he could not control, forces which were to exact a fearsome human and social toll."

– Maurice Meisner

"The State had become the ultimate landlord." – John King Fairbank

A 'Top Secret' request was sent from the CCP to the Soviet Union, reading 'please send us 200,000 sparrows from the Soviet... as soon as possible.' – Chang and Halliday on the humiliating effects of the Four Pests Campaign

"With each repetition [of inflating harvest figures] the lies became more and more fantastic, a ghastly parody of Chinese Whispers." – Jasper Becker

2.3.1 Wuhan Plenum

From 28 November to 10 December 1958, a Central Committee plenum (meeting) was held in Wuhan, where 'Some Questions Concerning People's Communes' were discussed. The CCP were becoming aware of the growing issues in the countryside, and CCP officials were now looking to roll back on some of the more far-reaching policies of the Great Leap Forward. Harvest quotas were reduced from 450 million tonnes to 370 million, and vaster centralised accountability was encouraged. Communal kitchens were shut down, and families were allowed to grow their own plots of vegetables, while some private businesses were allowed to reopen. All the new initiatives were poorly implemented, however.

However, one significant change that did occur at Wuhan was the presidency of Liu Shaoqi. Mao was announced to have been 'satisfied' with his accomplishments and would not be standing for re-election. In reality, Mao was quietly being pushed aside by other CCP members for his poor policies.

Liu formally took on his role as the new head of state in April 1959. His presidency signified a shift away from the Great Leap Forward. Communes now functioned to administer cooperatives, but it did not improve the situation. People's preoccupation with backyard furnaces (and the shortage of tools as a result of the furnaces) meant that land was not properly attended to, and even when people had the time to do so, cadres continued to dictate how the land would be sowed. The tell-tale signs of a famine were beginning.

2.3.2 Lushan Plenum

In order to assess the situation, many leading CCP officials went on 'fact-finding missions' to the countryside. Mao himself had made visits to certain regions, including his native Hunan. However, peasants weren't willing to complain. Eager to please, they presented themselves only in the best conditions, and minimal issues with the communes were reported.

On the other hand, Marshal Peng Dehuai went to his own home town and found the opposite. People were living in poverty and were starving, unable to feed their children. He was horrified.

2.3 The Great Leap Forward (1958 – 1961)

At the Lushan Plenum in July 1959, Peng brought up the problems that the Great Leap Forward was inflicting on the Chinese people. He had outlined his concerns in a letter, which he expressed with only utmost respect and had even tried to privately speak to him before the meeting. Nonetheless, Mao was affronted and interpreted Peng's words as a personal insult to his policies. Humiliated and outraged, Mao did what he did best – deflect blame. He claimed that no one had pointed out the flaws in his policies, and they didn't oppose when he passed them, and therefore they were just as, if not more, responsible for the failure of the Great Leap Forward. Peng and Mao's relationship, which had always been affectionate due to their years of friendship, was destroyed during the plenum, when Mao gave the CCP a choice; either support him, or support Peng, wherein he would return to the countryside to gather another army and overthrow the government. Peng's downfall had unfolded before their very eyes, and nobody dared to voice their criticisms. Mao had proved yet again who the top dog was. Peng was replaced by Lin Biao as defence minister.

2.3.3 Three Bad Years

Peng's fate had effectively shut up anyone who had concerns about the Great Leap Forward. Communes were reintroduced and harvest targets were double the actual output, exacerbating the existing problem. What unravelled was a nationwide famine, worsened in some areas by floods, droughts, and locust plagues from 1959–1960. And yet, officials continued to uphold the image that everything was fine out of fear and trepidation. Until Mao declared the famine to be real, people continued to pretend that it did not exist. Grain was continually taken from the peasantry at alarmingly high rates, and even the most well-intentioned cadres could not save the people under their care from starvation. Other cadres, who cared little for the people's welfare, abused labourers who refused to give up the little grain they had, and tortured those who refused to work.

As a result of the famine and disasters, the years 1959, 1960, and 1961 were labelled the Three Bad Years. They were so bad, in fact, that up to 30 million people died of starvation. People had resorted to eating sawdust, tree bark, grass, and even scraps of leather to relieve their suffering, and even when they did, many were imprisoned, tortured, or murdered for 'misconduct'. Cannibalism was prevalent, especially in the countryside, where the famine had taken the greatest toll. Dead bodies on the streets were eaten, and neighbours would swap their dead children so they did not have to eat their own. Prostitution, although illegal, was a last resort for many women, both by force from their families and out of their own desperation.

The biggest tragedy of the Three Bad Years was that it was entirely man-made and a consequence of policy that, even when recognised, was not reformed. For Mao, the people came second, and if they were to be sacrifices on the path to achieving his vision, then so be it. It wasn't until after Mao's death that the CCP formally acknowledged the devastation of the famine, which, for many years, they had blamed on natural disasters. Liu Shaoqi quietly brought the Great Leap Forward to an end in 1960, though over a year passed before it had a nationwide effect.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How had Mao both lost and reinforced his power during the Great Leap Forward?

How did the consequences of the Great Leap Forward shape Chinese society?

Explain how the Great Leap Forward was essentially a step back for China.

How did the Great Leap Forward impact the peasantry?

STATISTICS :

China's grain production dropped 30% from 1958 to 1959, and then another 15% by 1960.

Iron production rose by 30% from 1959 to 1960.

By the end of 1959, there was a population decrease of almost 14 million people.

Grain targets after the Lushan Plenum were 270 million tonnes, while only 170 million tonnes were produced.

STATISTICS :

Some experts estimate up to 80 million people died during the famine, but 30 million is generally accepted to be the most reliable figure.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"We ate the bark off trees." – A victim of the famine

"It is not that there is no food. There is plenty of grain, but 90% of the people have ideological problems." – CCP official

"Although the Lushan conference had been officially called in order to consider the progress of the Great Leap Forward, all the delegates knew that it had been convened by the party desperate to limit the spreading hunger." – Harrison Salisbury

"I do not claim to have invented the people's communes, only to have proposed them." – Mao on how much he was responsible for the failure of the Great Leap Forward

"After Lushan the whole Party shut up. We were afraid to speak up. It stifled democracy. People didn't tell Mao their honest opinions. They were afraid." – CCP official Wang Bingnan

"Working like this, with all these projects, half of China may well have to die. If not half, one-third, or one-tenth – 50 million – die." – Mao and his attitude on the famine

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Mao only heard and saw what he wanted to – that the Great Leap Forward was a tremendous success." – Jasper Becker

"The Great Leap Forward had plated itself as a Mao-made catastrophe." – John King Fairbank

"It was grotesque in that Mao was an adventurer who didn't hesitate to embark on adventures with hundreds of thousands of people's lives at stake." – Sidney Rittenburg

"Famine culture justified desperate practises such as 'swap child, make food'." – Jasper Becker

2.3.4 Sino–Soviet Split

It was no secret that Stalin was Mao's idol when it came to policy. As a result, one of Stalin's greatest critics, Khrushchev, was also Mao's critic. Tensions between the two had lasted years, until Khrushchev withdrew Soviet support from China in August 1960; experts, funding, blueprints for projects – everything. By the end of the year, over 1,400 Soviet experts, scientists and engineers had been recalled. For the first time, and at a particularly sensitive time, the People's Republic of China was left to support itself.

Their relationship came to an end in July 1964, when Mao denounced the Soviet Union as a 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie'. Diplomatic relations officially broke off on July 15, and while it left China shaky, it also brought on national pride whenever projects were completed without the Soviet's support. By the end of 1964, their development of nuclear technology led to China being recognised as a nuclear superpower.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Soviet Union may attack Stalin, but we will not. Not only that, we will continue to support him." – Mao

"It is impossible to *leap* into communism." – Khrushchev's attitude towards Mao

"The Russians have landed us in the shit." – Mao on the Soviet's sudden withdrawal

2.4 Recovery and Mao's Return (1962 – 1966)

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Khrushchev was... convinced that Mao was a wrongheaded romantic deviationist intent on wasting Soviet aid on foolhardy schemes." – Patricia Buckley Ebrey

"The loss of 1,400 Soviet scientists and engineers was a shock to the Chinese and greatly compounded the economic difficulties of the Great Leap Forward." – Maurice Meisner

2.4 Recovery and Mao's Return (1962 – 1966)

Timeline of 1962 to 1966

- 1962 Aug 15: Lei Feng's death
- 1962 Sep: Socialist Education Movement is launched
- 1963 Feb: Mao's Early Ten Points published
- 1963 March 2: Learn From Lei Feng campaign begins
- 1963 Sep: Liu Shaoqi released the Revised Ten Points
- 1964 Feb 1: Learn From the PLA campaign begins
- 1964 May: publication of Mao's Little Red Book
- 1964 July: Sino-Soviet ties are all cut
- 1965 Jan 3: Liu Shaoqi is reconfirmed as president
- 1965 Nov 10: *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* is criticised in an article
- 1966 Feb 12: Peng Zhen releases the February Outline Report
- 1966 March: Peng Zhen denounced at a politburo meeting

2.4.1 Recovery

Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping set to reversing many policies of the Great Leap Forward, as well as reigning in on other political moves made by Mao in the early years:

- Communes were made smaller.
- Peasants were allowed to have private plots of land.
- Peasants were allowed to sell grain on the private market.
- Backyard furnaces were halted to make way for heavy industry.
- Disgraced 'rightists' who suffered under the Anti-Rightist Campaign were rehabilitated, meaning their reputations were restored.
- Grain stopped being exported, and more was imported.

Predictably, Mao was outraged by the 'betrayal', and more so, humiliated. Any attempts he made to re-enter the political ring were brushed aside, though he was still given his due respect as he had always been. It did little to dim his frustrations – in his eyes, the reforms were a betrayal to the revolution.

STATISTICS :

Grain production rose from 6 million to 10 million tonnes by the end of 1962.

26 million migrants were sent to the countryside to ease overcrowding in cities.

From 1963–65, heavy industry production grew by 17% and light industry by 27%.

Grain production rose to pre-Great Leap Forward times.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"White cat, black cat – either will do as long as it catches the mice." – Deng Xiaoping on Liu's pragmatic approach to undoing to the Great Leap Forward.

2.4.2 Socialist Education Movement

From what he saw, Mao was convinced that an elite class had yet again risen in China, and they were Party members, who were vulnerable to bribery in the countryside. To counter this, he initiated the Socialist Education Movement in 1963 to bridge the privilege gap between the peasantry and the working class. The movement was, in his own way, a retaliation to Liu's reform policies. It attempted to restore communes and encouraged peasants to criticise cadres for misconduct, all of which were outlined in his Early Ten Points. To add salt to a fresh wound, Liu later released his 'Ten Revised Points', which effectively mitigated Mao's own. Urban work teams, were designed to go to the countryside to assess the levels of corruption. Wang Guangmei, the widely-respected First Lady and Liu's wife, was a member of one work team, making it harder for the teams to take the radical action that Mao had wanted them to take.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Never forget class struggle. From now on we must talk about this every year, every month, every day."
– Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The movement was a "hardship to be endured rather than an experience to be cherished." – Immanuel Hsu

2.4.3 'Learn From' Campaigns

Military-centred campaigns worked simultaneously with the Socialist Education Movement as part of Mao's goal to solve the problem of declining revolutionary sentiment and ideals among the people. Lin Biao, now defence minister, worked fervently to reinforce Mao Zedong Thought in the People's Liberation Army, which grew rapidly with the publication of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, or more popularly known, **the Little Red Book**. PLA soldiers were all encouraged to carry the book everywhere they went, and refer to it whenever they had doubts about anything. It became the PLA's gospel, until everyone carried it in their pockets and held regular discussions about its contents.

The 'Learn From the PLA' campaign, this time initiated by Mao, was declared in an editorial on 1 February 1964, and encouraged people to learn from the military, which Mao held to be a model of revolutionary virtue. If he could not reinvigorate revolutionary ideals among his party, he would find a new base, and find a new base he did. Soldiers now became the model Chinese citizens, who lived by revolutionary virtues and began to hold influential positions.

Arguably the most popular Learn From campaign was Learn from Lei Feng. Lei Feng was a PLA soldier who had died when a pole, hit by a truck driver, fell on him in August 1962. Lei Feng's life was not a spectacular one – he was an orphan who'd been a victim of a landlord, saved only when the CCP took power. He joined the Communist Youth League and later took up work as a truck driver.

However, his diligent work ethic and dedication to Communism earned him much respect in the PLA. He was virtuous in his behaviour towards others, and when he died, the Learn From Lei Feng campaign took off with fervent excitement among young people. His diaries, which descriptively spoke about Lei Feng's admiration for the CCP and his loyalty to Mao, as well as his good deeds, were published by the CCP. These diaries later turned out to be fake, written by PLA propagandists.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Follow the example set by Comrade Lei Feng and be Chairman Mao's good fighters." – Lin Biao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"The Learn from the PLA campaign characterised members of the military as virtuous socialist heroes – their political consciousness was the model all Chinese should emulate." – Stuart Schram

2.5 The Great Proletarian Revolution (1966 – 1976)

2.4.4 Wu Han's Play – Dismissal of Hai Rui

Wu Han, the deputy mayor of Beijing, wrote the play *Dismissal of Hai Rui* in the 1960s, which was about the dismissal of a minister, Hai Rui, from office due to his criticism of the emperor's actions. In it, the imprisoned Hai Rui was given a luxurious meal in prison as a result of the emperor's death. Hai Rui declined to eat, and went into mourning for the emperor who he had been loyal to his entire life.

When Mao watched the play he'd thoroughly enjoyed it and even praised Hai Rui for his loyalty. That changed by 1965, when Mao came to the conclusion that the play was about his own dismissal of Peng Dehuai. Wu Han was criticised for being anti-socialist, and he and Beijing's mayor, Peng Zhen, were imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution, from which the play had grown out from.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"You think that you alone are right; you refuse to accept criticism; and your mistakes are many." – A line from the play that reflected Mao

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"It is likely that Mao saw debate over the play as a useful means for exposing his enemies." – Delia Davin

2.4.5 Mao's Great Swim

By the 1960s, Mao was semi-retired and similarly denied any access to the limelight. He'd fallen into the background of the CCP, unbeknownst to the public. As a result, he had to find a way to come back using the civilians to build up his reputation once more. In July 1966, Mao took a swim in the Yangzi River, and set the record for the fastest swimmer in China – for the reason that he had been the only person to attempt to do so in a competition. The swim in itself, along with the entertainment it provided to excited crowds, was a political statement; much like his physical health, Mao was politically fit to be in power. The event was used by Zhou Enlai to grow the cult of Mao's personality, which was used to fuel the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Chairman Mao, the most respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people had a good swim in Yangzi." – Editorial in a newspaper

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"He was obviously paragon of athleticism, capable of superhuman feats." – John King Fairbank

2.5 The Great Proletarian Revolution (1966 – 1976)

Timeline of 1966 to 1971

- 1966 May 16: May 16 Circular is released
- 1966 May: Emergence of groups of Red Guards
- 1966 June 18: Schools and universities suspended
- 1966 July 16: Mao's Great Swim
- 1966 Aug 5: Mao's directions to 'Bombard the Headquarters'
- 1966 Aug 18: First rally at Tiananmen Square
- 1966 Sep: Mao's Little Red Book is published en masse
- 1966 Oct 23: Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping forced into self-criticisms
- 1967 Jan 1: Beginning of Liu's struggle sessions
- 1967 Jan 14: January Storm
- 1967 Oct 14: Schools resume
- 1968: Up to the Mountains, Down to the Countryside campaign
- 1968 Oct 31: Liu Shaoqi's expulsion from the Party
- 1969 Nov 12: Liu Shaoqi's death
- 1970 Aug 23: Lushan Plenum
- 1971 Sep 13: Lin Biao flees the country and dies

Mao was ready to regain power. In 1966, he announced the 'Great Proletarian Revolution', the public aim of which was to preserve true Communist ideology, and the underlying motive of which was to consolidate Mao's unchallenged authority. The 'May 16 Circular' was announced at a Politburo meeting on – wouldn't you know it – May 16 by Mao while President Liu was on a month-long business trip. In the Circular, Mao denounced mayor Peng Zhen, who had previously released the February Outline Report which distanced Wu Han from political implications. The Circular outlined Mao's concerns that the Party was infiltrated by bourgeoisie representatives, who will turn the Republic into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Cultural Revolution had begun to filter out these spies.

2.5.1 Red Guard

Liu was the president, but Mao was the sovereign of the people's hearts. Children born in the People's Republic of China had all but grown up with the belief that Mao was their beloved leader, and anyone before the Republic saw Mao as their saviour. This made the radicalisation of students ridiculously easy. Mao had called on the Chinese youth to defend him, and defend him they did. University students became Mao's fervent protectors, and identified themselves as the Red Guards, complete with red armbands to show their loyalty. Later, a requirement was issued that outlined the ideal people to become Red Guards

- University students
- Workers
- Children of Party officials
- Peasants
- Soldiers

In August 1966, Mao published the article 'Bombard the Headquarters', which called the Red Guards to attack Party cadres however they pleased if they were deemed to be 'un-revolutionary'. The article unleashed bouts of violent behaviour among the Guards – cadres were violently beaten, relentlessly criticised, and forced into struggle sessions where they were to denounce themselves. The victim list grew – university professors, teachers, regular people, and even the Red Guards' own families were vulnerable to attack. Things were spiralling out of control, prompting work teams to go out to subdue the chaos inflicted by students.

Dazibao, or cartoon posters, littered university buildings, often denouncing the very administration of the institutions. Administrators were imprisoned or removed from their positions, leaving the universities to be run by radical students.

In August 1966, Mao held a rally in Tiananmen Square, where a crowd of one million Red Guards eagerly listened to speeches by Mao-supporting CCP members that lasted over six hours.

It was at this rally that Lin Biao announced the attack on the Four Olds:

- Old ideas
- Old customs
- Old culture
- Old habits

This broadened the number of targets the Red Guards could attack, and very much gave them the green light to wreak havoc as they saw fit on whoever they deemed unworthy. Old people were attacked for practising old 'habits', historical sites and artefacts were destroyed, family members denounced for their old 'ideas' – **anything relating to the old world of China was obliterated**. They were seen as obstacles to the success of the Cultural Revolution, and so no mercy was shown.

Reminiscent of Mao's Rectification Campaigns in Yan'an and Speak Bitterness but enhanced, struggle sessions were conducted by students, targeting anyone they had a personal score to settle with – teachers, principals, neighbours, and even just people they didn't like. People were criticised and humiliated, and often ruthlessly beaten, sometimes to death. Victims were forced to write self-criticisms, wear dunce's hats in public, or plaques around their necks to demonstrate their 'betrayal' to the revolution. In June 1966, all schools and universities officially closed down.

2.5 The Great Proletarian Revolution (1966 – 1976)

'Link-ups' became popular – armed with their Little Red Books, students would travel around China on trains – for free – to march, or visit revolutionary sites. They were supported by the PLA, who would provide them with food and dormitories as places to stay while waiting for Mao to announce another rally.

STATISTICS :

There were over 10 million Red Guards.

12 million copies of the Little Red Book were published in 1965.

4,922 of 6,843 historical places of interest were ransacked and destroyed by the Red Guards.

Over 100 million people were persecuted by the Red Guards, and 20 million died – from suicide or beatings.

By 1968, Red Guard-inflicted chaos affected industrial output, which fell by 14% and continued to drop.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Young Chinese people were attracted to the movement for an opportunity to lash out at authorities."

– Mo Bo, a Red Guard

"It is right to rebel." – Mao

"Bombard the Headquarters." – A slogan by Mao

"We all enjoyed having no class and degrading teachers." – Red Guard

"Whoever opposes me opposes Chairman Mao." – Nie Yuanzi, a university student, on the Red Guards' security in their actions

"Father is close. Mother is close. But none is close as Chairman Mao." – Red Guard Slogan

SECONDARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

The violent movement grew because it was "responding to social and human elements that had little to do with ideology." – Jonathan Fenby

"The Cultural Revolution had nothing revolutionary about it except the name, and nothing cultural about it except its first tactical excuse." – Simon Leys

The Red Guards were "repressed, angry and aware of their powerlessness." – Jonathan Spence

"Complicated mix of pre-existing grievances and animosities that got played out and amplified."

– Jonathan Unger

"In almost every family, one or more members had died as a result of the Cultural Revolution." – Jung Chang

2.5.2 Effect on the CCP

Some of the greatest victims of the Cultural Revolution were those who Mao saw as the biggest threat to his power – his political opponents. Many CCP elites had been attacked by the Red Guards already – generals such as Chen Yi and He Long were denounced in 1967.

Liu Shaoqi, however, was labelled the ultimate 'capitalist roader'; more specifically, Capitalist Roader No. 1. In July 1967, he and his wife were captured, denounced and 'struggled' by the Red Guards. Liu, an already ill man, was denied all treatment, including his diabetes medicine. In 1968, Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, had Liu expelled from the Communist Party, and he was used as a national example of what made a capitalist and anti-revolutionary. In 1969, he died in a prison cell.

Capitalist Roader No. 2 was none other than Deng Xiaoping, who was like-minded to Liu and worked to reverse many of Mao's Great Leap Forward policies. He and his family were humiliated and beaten, but reduced to manual labour.

Mao had finally ascended back to power. He had used the Red Guards for all they were worth, and it was time to do away with them. He would later admit that the Red Guards had taken the Cultural Revolution farther than he had anticipated, and that things had spiralled out of control.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

Explain the impact of the Cultural Revolution on the CCP's initial goals for China.

Explain the consequences of Mao's inability to receive criticism and its impact on Chinese society post 1949.

What role did the Red Guards play and what were the consequences of their actions?

How did Mao justify the Cultural Revolution?

To what extent was the Cultural Revolution a success?

STATISTICS :

By 1969, 60–70% of Party cadres had been purged.

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

Liu was labelled a "renegade, traitor and scab."

Liu was the First Capitalist Roader, Deng was the Second.

2.5.3 Up to the Mountains, Down to the Countryside

Having achieved what he needed, Mao was ready to put a stop to the chaos inflicted by the Red Guards. Schools resumed in October 1967, though education had been greatly disrupted for well over a year. The best educators had been fired, killed, or 'suicided' (forced to commit suicide), and so anything learned was of poor quality at best. Other than studying Mao Zedong Thought, students had little educational interest, and continued to carry out struggles.

Mao put a personal stop to the Red Guards' actions himself in July 1967, after work teams were attacked by students for attempting to reign in on their radicalism. Meeting with key Red Guard leaders, he more or less gave them an ultimatum – they can either stop, or he will send in PLA troops to stop them.

The subtle threat was a huge blow to the Red Guards, who had dedicated themselves to Mao and believed that they had been acting in his interests and for his idea of socialism. Now, they were told to stop the very thing that they had been encouraged to do for over a year, or else.

In order to minimise the presence of the Red Guards, Mao began to send them to the countryside, where they were to supposedly learn from the peasantry. The move was called the 'Up to the Mountains, Down to the Countryside' campaign. Born and raised with the privileges of city life, many Red Guards found the transition incredibly difficult, and many Red Guards and peasant communities could not get along – the peasants were too uneducated for the students, and the students were lazy and just generally quite terrible when it came to manual labour. Nevertheless, there were students who found that they benefited from the move, and learned many things from harsh, rural living.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

What was the consequence of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese students?

Explain how perceived corruption amongst the CCP was a challenge for the regime from 1949 to 1971.

STATISTICS :

Between 12 and 17 million Red Guards were sent to the countryside.

2.5 The Great Proletarian Revolution (1966 – 1976)

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"Life was bitter – bitter and meaningless." – One Red Guard on living in the countryside

"All people who have had some education ought to be very happy to work in the countryside if they get the chance. In our vast rural areas there is plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." – Mao

"Chairman Mao said we were supposed to learn from the peasants, but the peasants didn't want anything to do with us. We couldn't understand their accents anyway. They thought we were lazy. They blamed us for eating all their food without earning it." – A Red Guard

2.5.4 Lin Biao's Downfall

Lin Biao had long since realised that his own rise in the political ranks was tied in with Mao's success. For most of the 1960s, he worked fervently to build Mao's cult of personality, which greatly contributed to the Red Guards' unchanging loyalty towards him. He assembled Mao's *Little Red Book* and had it published en masse, further spreading Mao Zedong Thought. However, it was all for his own cause. Lin had his ambitions, and he believed that if he became Mao's greatest supporter, he would subsequently become his successor. It worked for a while (with him even being announced as Mao's successor in April 1969)... until it didn't. His eagerness to become president, an office that Mao continually denied at the 1970 Lushan Plenum and therefore remained empty, did not escape Mao's attention. Mao's preference for Zhou Enlai, who he began to turn to more frequently than Lin would have liked, was another sign that Lin's time was limited.

Lin was not going down without a fight, and organised a coup, called **Project 571**, which was to be carried out in September 1971. The attack was meant to be on Mao's train, but Mao's change of plans led to its failure and eventual exposure. Lin was done for.

He fled China with his wife by boarding a plane to the Soviet Union. The plane didn't make it far, and crashed in Mongolia, where all passengers died. His death was not publicly disclosed until 1972. The Cultural Revolution, by then having been eased greatly, didn't officially end until 1976.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

How did Lin Biao affect Chinese society in his furthering of Mao's position?

Explain the contribution of propaganda in furthering Mao Zedong Thought in China from 1949 to 1971.

What was the impact of the cult of Mao on the lives of the Chinese people?

PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE :

"I cannot do this job again; the suggestion is inappropriate." – Mao at the Lushan Plenum when prompted to become president

2.5.5 Final Years

The fervour with which the Cultural Revolution was pursued began to diminish in its final years, when China began to suffer from significant economic decline. In August 1973, the Tenth Party Congress approved a program with an economic modernisation program. Zhou Enlai attempted to expand on this in 1975 with the Four Modernisations program, aimed at improving agriculture, national defence, industry, and science and technology. However, the program didn't come into fruition until after his and Mao's death, after the end of the Cultural Revolution when persecution of scientists and intellectuals was wound down.

There were a succession of deaths of significant people from 1974–1976:

- **1976 April 5:** Chiang Kai-Shek dies in Taiwan, where he was in his fifth term as president.
- **1976 Jan 8:** Zhou Enlai dies of bladder cancer after a year out of the public eye.
- **1976 July 6:** Zhu De dies.
- **1976 Sep 9:** Mao dies after a series of heart attacks, and a year after being hospitalised.

Mao's death signified the end of the Cultural Revolution.

RELEVANT QUESTIONS :

To what extent did Mao and the CCP manage to achieve change in Chinese society before his death?

2.6 The Extent of Continuity and Change in Chinese Society (1912 – 1976)

The 2022 study design includes a new dot point that asks you to consider the extent of continuity and change. In other words, you need to compare society pre-revolution to society post-revolution, noting what was reformed and what was left unchanged. For any question that utilises the concept of 'extent,' it is always advisable to address both sides of the debate, presenting a nuanced argument that does not solely focus on only 'change' while neglecting 'continuity' or vice versa.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 signified a profound break with the past and preceded a plethora of systemic reforms and widespread cultural and intellectual reinvention. Under the stewardship of Mao and guided by the egalitarian ideals central to socialism, the new Communist government substantially improved the lives of women throughout China. The brutal tradition of foot binding and the unequal status of women that plagued pre-revolution China was commendable, though not entirely remedied by The Marriage Law of May 1950 and Article 42 of the new Constitution which insisted "women in the PRC enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life."

Likewise, the very economic structure of China was remade in the image of Marxist-Leninist Mao Zedong Thought. The First Five Year Plan, early rural collectivisation, and the nationalisation of industry in the early 1950s signified a positive step in the direction of economic modernisation as government revenue ballooned from 6.5 billion Yuan in 1950 to 13.3 billion by 1951 while inflation decreased from 85,000% in 1949 to 15% by 1951. This profound subversion of economic reality in China, coupled with the CCP's deliberate effort to alter the intellectual superstructure through Thought Reform and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, comprehensively transformed China into a Communist state.

Yet, these communist policies failed to yield significant economic or political gains for the rural peasant population which was a major Chinese demographic that experienced a terrible continuity under both the old and new regime. While the rural peasantry had previously suffered under the authoritarian rule of competing warlords in a "meritocracy of violence" (a contemporary political commentator), they were now oppressed by Communist cadres. Similarly, the difficult subsistence living that characterised pre-revolution agrarian society was scarcely improved by the overly ambitious Great Leap Forward which precipitated the Three Bad Years whereby up to 30 million Chinese people died of starvation in an "all-time first-class manmade famine" (Fairbank).

KEY POINT :

These three paragraphs represent just a few of the many directions you could take this open-ended prompt and is designed to kickstart your thinking around the topic, rather than being a model answer. One thing that is important to note is that change does not necessarily equate to improvement and continuity need not be a detriment to the new society.

Part V

Exam Tips

Chapter 1

Exam Preparation

1.1 Organisation

In a subject as intense and content-heavy as Revolution, you'll find great solace in organising your work. This does more than give you the illusion that you're on track – it *forces* you to be on track. Organise events into appropriate time periods and compile all your notes (whether they be your own, your classmates', or worksheets given by your teacher) under its title. Folders should be your best friend. Colour coordinate them, put an index in them, decorate them in sticky notes – anything that will help you find things quicker. When exam period comes around, you simply won't have the time to refer to your textbook. Having folders will solve this for you by condensing all the important information you need into one (or more) folder and filtering out all the unnecessary things that you *think* you need, but only waste your time.

Sometimes folders aren't enough for some students, as they require a lot of flicking through and searching by the end of the year. If you struggle to remember particular events/dates/evidence, don't shy away from writing it on a poster and putting it up on your wall in your room. This way, you have unfettered, easy access to what you need at all times (presuming your bedroom is your primary study place, if it isn't, put the posters where your studies take place).

1.2 Historiography

Varied perspectives, both primary and secondary, are essential for your exam, as well as your SACs.

What differentiates an A student from a B or C student in a lot of circumstances is their ability to not only include relevant perspectives, but also *use* them to sustain their arguments.

Begin to compile a list of historical perspectives into quote banks, and for the sake of making it easy, divide them into primary sources and historians' quotes. Whenever you find quotes, add them to your lists. It's in your best interest to generally keep them short, both so it's not too time consuming, and so it doesn't take away from your argument or become the *only* basis of your argument. Blend them into your sentences to make them as smooth as possible. You can also paraphrase the argument without directly using the quote as well: e.g. ...*this is supported by historian Craig Dietrich, who argues that...*

When it comes to historians, you'll find yourself often leaning towards particular historians, who seem to make fantastic points. When you find them, it will not hurt you to stick to them. While it is rare that a problem will occur if you're found quoting the wrong historian in your exam, it's not a situation you want to be in. When you find particular historians who you feel eloquently and sufficiently summarise/analyse events, generally try to use their quotes in almost all cases. This way, in a high-pressure exam, when you remember the quote but panic is causing you to forget the source, you know that your options for who said what are limited.

That is not to say to never read up on other historians, because you will find they all provide remarkable insight. However, if you know that you will struggle to remember the name of a historian you learnt two days prior to your exam, it will aid you to stick to the historians you are familiar with.

1.3 Timelines

Timelines will, for most students, be the easiest way to remember events and evidence. Have timelines in all of your folders, all as detailed as possible. Even if the dates are for seemingly irrelevant details during the time period, it will only benefit you to know the context. Dates are, although the bane of many students' existence, another thing that can differentiate an A+ student from an A student. Including the year in which an event should be standard; the month and year will put you ahead most of your cohort; the date, month, and year will cover all your bases. It may seem unnecessary, but assessors know nothing about the kind of student you are, and the one and only impression they get of you is through your work. A student that includes exact dates in their exams will appear to know exactly what they're saying, and in a one-off exam where assessors are willing to make concessions where they can, first impressions are everything.

It will also be useful to have different *kinds* of timelines:

1. A timeline with only **dates** and **events**
2. A timeline with dates and events, with **statistics** in relation to those events
3. A timeline with dates and events, with **primary quotes**

These timelines will not only save you time from going through folders or your quote bank for specific events, they will have it chronologically ordered for you. More often than not, these notes will be the ones you rely on for last-minute revision because these will be the crux of your arguments.

1.4 Past Exams

Past exams are the best way to predict what will be on your exams, at least vaguely. For example, if an event is sourced in last year's exam (say, the October Manifesto in Russia), you can generally trust that the exact same source won't be used in this year's exam.

Past exams are also great ways to find questions to practise with. In these Notes, every major topic has a 'Relevant Questions' portion that will provide you with practice questions. At the beginning of the year, take your time in perfecting your answers. Towards your exams, time yourself when writing responses. Your exam is two hours, and every minute counts!

Textbooks are a great source of information, but it is easy to rely on them as your only resource. Books by historians, documentaries, other textbooks, and even your classmates, are all great ways to access new information. Documentaries, in particular, are usually an untapped resource for Revolutions students – they are often rich with eye-witness accounts that can be used as primary evidence in your work.

Chapter 2

How to Answer Exam Questions

2.1 Visual and written source questions

2.1.1 5 marks

- Aim for 120–150 words.
- Source quotes, if provided, **must** be used.
- Primary evidence (including statistics) where possible will earn marks.
- Historians' perspectives are not required – you will not earn marks for including these.
- Question will give instructions that will involve you answering **why** a revolution occurred.

2.1.2 10 marks

- Aim for 250–350 words.
- Historians' perspectives and primary evidence (including statistics if possible) **must** be used.
- Source quotes **must** be used, and you must include references to sources.
- Aim for 3 points of analysis and/or judgements.
- Paragraph topic sentences **must** relate to the question.
- Question will give instructions that will involve you answering **why** a revolution occurred (AOS1) or the **effects** of a revolution (AOS2).

2.2 Extended response questions (10 marks)

- Aim for 250–350 words.
- Historian's perspectives and primary evidence (including statistics if possible) **must** be used.
- Aim for 3 points of analysis and/or judgements.
- Paragraph topic sentences **must** relate to the question.
- Question will give instructions that will involve you answering **why** a revolution occurred.

2.3 Essay response questions (20 marks)

- Aim for 650–800 words.
- Form a contention, and aim for 3–4 points of analysis and/or judgements.
- Form links between causes and effects.
- Historian's perspectives and primary evidence (including statistics if possible) **must** be used.
- Compare historians' perspectives in relation to the evaluation of a topic.
- Paragraph topic sentences **must** relate to the question.
- Link your points together and ensure your piece flows logically
- Questions will give instructions that will involve you answering the **effects** of a revolution.
- Questions may ask you to assess the impact of a revolution by comparing pre- and post-revolution conditions.

Chapter 3

Sample Top-Marking Answers

The two sections in the Revolutions exam will require you to answer multiple 5 mark and 10 mark questions, and one 20 mark question. Here are examples of answers that have received A to A+ scores.

KEY POINT :

These samples pertain to the Russian and Chinese Revolutions – if you are not studying these particular ones, it is still worth observing the structure of the responses to get a sense of how you can articulate judgements and integrate quotes effectively.

3.1 Written Source Analysis

Source 1: Extract from October Manifesto, October 1905

We, Nicholas II, By the Grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., proclaim to all Our loyal subjects:

Rioting and disturbances in the capitals and in many localities of Our Empire fill Our heart with great and heavy grief. The well-being of the Russian Sovereign is inseparable from the well-being of the nation, and the nation's sorrow is his sorrow. The disturbances that have taken place may cause grave tension in the nation and may threaten the integrity and unity of Our state...

We require the government dutifully to execute our unshakeable will:

(1.) *To grant to the population the essential foundations of civil freedom, based on the principles of genuine inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association.*

(2.) *Without postponing the scheduled elections to the State Duma, to admit to participation in the duma (insofar as possible in the short time that remains before it is scheduled to convene) of all those classes of the population that now are completely deprived of voting rights; and to leave the further development of a general statute on elections to the future legislative order.*

3.) To establish as an unbreakable rule that no law shall take effect without confirmation by the State Duma and that the elected representatives of the people shall be guaranteed the opportunity to participate in the supervision of the legality of the actions of Our appointed officials.

We summon all loyal sons of Russia to remember their duties toward their country, to assist in terminating the unprecedented unrest now prevailing, and together with Us to make every effort to restore peace and tranquillity to Our native land.

Source 2: Nicholas II Diary Entry, 19 October 1905

Throughout all these horrible days, I constantly met Witte. We very often met in the early morning to part only in the evening when night fell. There were only two ways open; to find an energetic soldier and crush the rebellion by sheer force. That would mean rivers of blood, and in the end we would be where [we] had started. The other way out would be to give to the people their civil rights, freedom of speech and press, also to have laws conformed by the State Duma – that of course would be a constitution. Witte defends this very energetically.

Almost everybody I had an opportunity of consulting, is of the same opinion. Witte put it quite clearly to me that he would accept the Presidency of the Council of Ministers only on the condition that his programme was agreed to, and his actions not interfered with. We discussed it for two days and in the end, invoking God's help I signed. This terrible decision which nevertheless I took quite consciously. I had no one to rely on except honest Trepov there was no other way out but to cross oneself and give what everyone was asking for.

SAMPLE :

Using Source 1 explain the rights that Tsar Nicholas II granted as part of the October Manifesto. (5 marks)

The October Manifesto was a document issued in October 1905 after the series of strikes that were born both out of protest to the happenings of Bloody Sunday in January and the poor working conditions in urban Russia. The Manifesto outlined the rights that would be granted in order to dampen the revolutionary spirit, such as the granting of "civil freedoms" – "freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association" (Source 1). He would also grant the State Duma power to be voted in by male suffrage and those "completely deprived of voting rights," giving them the "opportunity to participate in the supervision of the legality" of the Duma officials. (Source 1). Along with the granting of the State Duma's existence, the Tsar extends his power to them also, by stating in the Manifesto (Source 1) that "no law shall take effect without the confirmation by the State Duma."

SAMPLE :

Using Source 2 and your own knowledge explain the support for, and opposition to the terms of the October Manifesto. (5 marks)

The Manifesto was wholeheartedly supported by Prime Minister Sergei Witte and "everybody [Nicholas] had an opportunity of consulting." This implies that the government ministers also supported the Manifesto. It was also embraced by the Octobrists, a liberal, conservative party who were satisfied by its contents. However, there was also opposition to the Manifesto. The Soviet of Unions saw it as a "fraud on the people," (as said by a Soviet member), while other political parties like the SRs, SDs and Kadets were equally unsatisfied. It was also accepted with reluctance by Tsar Nicholas, who saw it as a "terrible decision," but one that he had to take in order to prevent the "rivers of blood" that would only bring the government "back where [they] started" (Source 2). His disinclination is demonstrated when he states in his Diary Entry in Source 2 that he had to give into the Manifesto because "there was no other way out but to cross oneself and give what everyone was asking for."

SAMPLE :

Evaluate the extent to which the October Manifesto represented a genuine attempt to reform to the political institutions of Tsarist Russia. (10 marks)

The October Manifesto issued in the October of 1905 was not a genuine attempt to reform Russia's political institutions. It was in response to the endless strikes and protests of 1904–1905 that had essentially brought St Petersburg and Moscow to a halt. There was little incentive to bring genuine reform to Russia, and more to bring stability back to the Tsarist system.

After Bloody Sunday (9 Jan 1905), where over 1,000 people were injured or killed, the strikes due to poor working conditions intensified. There was also great social upheaval in the countryside, where mistreatment and lack of proper representation angered the peasantry. From January to October, an army of more than 2,700 was deployed to quell peasant uprisings, demonstrating the extent of the discontent. The strikes in the cities were so intense that the cities stopped functioning, leaving the Tsar desperate for a way to bring back order. The fact that the October Manifesto only came after months of strikes and chaos goes to show that the Manifesto was issued out of necessity to keep Russia from falling into anarchy rather than to make genuine political reforms. Historian Richard Pipes describes the monarchy's fate as "hung by a string" in 1905, supporting the Tsar's belief that he had to make changes or otherwise risk losing the throne and plunging Russia into chaos.

3.1 Written Source Analysis

The Fundamental Laws that were brought in mere days before the First Duma was to open in April 1906 also demonstrate the lack of sincerity in the Manifesto. The Laws rendered the Duma essentially ineffective, as no laws suggested by the Duma could be passed without the Tsar's permission. The Tsar explained this by stating that he created the Duma, "not to be directed by it, but to be advised by it." This supports his previous statement that the Duma was a "terrible idea" (Source 2) and also breaks the promises he made in the Manifesto.

The First Duma was dismissed after a mere 73 days for being too radical, and the Second Duma was postponed to the next year, only to be dismissed within months also (Feb–June 1907). This demonstrated how little the Tsar wanted them to bring genuine reforms. After the Second Duma, through Emergency Laws, the new Prime Minister changed the laws completely by stipulating that only a limited number of people could vote – specifically, only 1 in every 6 men, and peasant participation was heavily restricted in voting and in the Duma. This breaks the promises made in the Manifesto that pledged that the "people shall be guaranteed the opportunity to participate in the supervision of the legality of the actions of the officials" (Source 1). Essentially restricting the "civil freedoms" (Source 1) that he swore to give, the Tsar's actions demonstrated his lack of sincerity in the Manifesto.

The very fact that the Manifesto came after months of strikes and only after they had immobilised the country already shows the extent to which the Manifesto was intended to bring reform to Russia's political system. It was further supported by the Tsar's actions regarding the First and Second Duma, especially with the Fundamental Laws that he brought in. Stolypin's use of the Emergency Laws to change the voting laws also demonstrates how little of the Manifesto's promises were fulfilled, and how they were not sincere on behalf of the Tsar.

SAMPLE :

What was the Great Leap Forward and why did Mao and the Chinese Communist Party implement this policy? (10 marks)

The Great Leap Forward (GLF) was a period in which economic activities were launched by Chairman Mao to advance China's industry. Its aim was to surpass Britain's steel production in fifteen years, and was launched in 1958 as the second five-year plan. It entailed increasing steel production through backyard furnaces, and encouraged greater communes so as to increase grain output. The backyard furnaces were essentially chambers built in people's yards, where steels could be made and attended to frequently. The practise became immensely popular, with one in every ten Chinese citizens tending to one by the end of 1959. While it aided the heightening of revolutionary spirit due to surpassed production expectations, it only produced unusable steel and saw the destruction of essential tools and home materials. As Harrison Salisbury states, "China looked as though it had been picked clean by iron-eating ants," demonstrating the extent of its impact. The GLF also saw the initiation of the Four Pests Campaign (mosquitos, flies, rats and sparrows), which targeted animals viewed as 'pests' and hindrances to China's agricultural, and by extension, economic success. Motivated by the success of the First Five Year Plan (1953–57), Mao encouraged the Chinese people to 'explode' with activity in order to enhance China's standing on the international platform. Since the GLF would also encourage bigger communes and cooperatives which restricted individual ploughing of land, it also helped to instil further communist ideals in Chinese society. As such, the GLFs policies and activities were implemented in order to improve China's international stance as a competitor to Western powers, and to consolidate communism in the new society.

3.2 Extended Response

SAMPLE :

The GMD lost control of China to the CCP. Do you agree? (20 marks)

After almost two decades of Guomindang (GMD) rule, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, China fell into Communist power in 1949. Despite the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to take control of the nation, their success was, more in part, due to the failures of the GMD, rather than its own accomplishments. Through the economic, political and military failures of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Nationalists had lost control over China as opposed to the CCP winning it.

China's economic problems preceded the beginning of the Nationalist era, but it was the continuation of these economic crises under Chiang's governance that led to the loss of faith in the GMD. Having both been exploited by the fallen Qing empire's economic inadequacies and the corruption of the warlords, who dominated China's political sphere from 1916 to 1928, the Chinese were eager for change. However, after Chiang took control of Nanjing and declared it the capital of the Republic of China, he did little to ease the suffering of the people. As historian Tom Ryan stated, the GMD did "nothing to tackle China's deep-rooted problems" such as poor medical care, housing, poverty, and ignorance. The change in political power did nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Chinese people, and left the population dissatisfied and resentful of the Nationalist government. This was especially true following increased taxes, as some provinces paid up to forty-four different taxes, while others had taxes for 1971 collected in 1933. This further bolstered the resentment in China, which was worsened after the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945).

Chiang's military failures became a significant short-term factor for his loss of China, as they exposed his priorities to be lying with the extermination of the CCP, not resisting Japanese invasion (1937–1945). Not long after the Shanghai Massacre in the April of 1927, Chiang's preoccupation with the CCP led to neglect of China's economic problems and the invasion by Japan. His belief that the "Japanese are a disease of the skin, the Communists are a disease of the heart" demonstrated the extent of his antagonism for the CCP and his reasons for avoiding conflict with the Japanese. As a result, his government became "notorious for inaction" (Wood and McManus), even after the Sino-Japanese War began. Another significant mistake of Chiang's was his disinterest in the behaviour of his officers. Conscription methods were cruel, men were often brutally beaten and poorly treated, with over one million conscripts dying of mistreatment, illness and hunger before they reached training camps. Low morale and desertions were commonplace. This turned the people away from supporting Chiang, as it was reflective of warlord behaviour. As well as having military ruthlessness however, Chiang also demonstrated his incompetence by constantly overstretching his resources over land that he had little power over. His attempts to gain influence in the north where the GMD were weak meant that Chiang not only failed to consolidate his power in the south, but also that he couldn't use his resources and soldiers effectively. This often left soldiers and land vulnerable for the Communists to take over during the Second Sino-Japanese War. The result of this meant political weakness for Chiang, as Japan now surrendered on Communist soil, and made it appear that the Communists were fighting the Japanese. Although the Communists were doing "much less fighting than the Nationalists" (Fenby) against the Japanese, the appearance of fighting gained the Communists major peasant support. Chiang's misuse of US aid was also a factor in his military failures, as the poor handling of them often meant that they fell into Communist hands. When the Civil War started in 1946, the Communists who had begun as guerrilla fighters morphed into a full-fledged army, and used the GMD's own weaponry against them. This, as well as the constant loss of land to the Communists, meant that Chiang was losing influence at alarming speed.

3.2 Extended Response

Chiang's political blunders from the very beginning of his reign also contributed to his eventual loss of China in 1949. Although the Northern Expedition (1926–28) was aimed to rid China of the warlords, Chiang had "come to terms with them rather than conquer them" (Lynch). Warlords were bribed with positions of power in government in return for giving up control over their provinces, and this meant that warlords still exercised significant influence in the Nationalist decade. Many were corrupt, often sought to satisfy their own means, and clashed over interests. This meant that there was little unity in the GMD, whose government was "a lot weaker than it appeared" (Fenby). Chiang's American advisor, General Stilwell, described Chiang's government as "riddled with corruption," a reference to both the influence of the warlords and Chiang's own corrupt behaviour. Chiang was also heavily reliant financially on foreign powers, such as the U.S. and their military aid (intended to be used against the Japanese). This meant that the very foundation of his government was shaken by reliance on corrupt internal officials and external, self-interested powers. This dependence on corruption was what led to the repression and neglect of the Chinese people, and his inability to win over the localities. This was exacerbated by his inability to meet Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles of the People; nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood. His inability to satisfy the principles that his entire party was based became a glaring factor that led to his eventual downfall in 1949. This is especially true since the Three Principles were better fulfilled by Mao, "the man who he lost China to and who had none of his weak spots" (Chang and Halliday). The Communists were nationalistic in nature in fighting against the Japanese, and prioritised the welfare of the people, which not only won the hearts of the people, but was also a stark contrast to Chiang's treatment of them since the 1920s.

Chiang's inability to satisfy the needs of China was consistent in all aspects of his rule; military, economic and political. This meant that in 1949, he eventually lost to the Communists whose capabilities in fulfilling the Chinese people's needs surpassed his own government's. In the end, Chiang and the GMD lost control China due to their own inadequacies.