China and Revolution

An enormous portrait of Mao Zedong, weighing approximately 1.5 tonnes, hangs above the Tiananmen Gate, the entrance to the ancient Imperial City in Beijing. The portrait overlooks Tiananmen Square, the site of the May Fourth Movement protests in 1919, Mao Zedong’s declaration of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 and the pro-democracy protests of 1989.

Mao Zedong
Mao Zedong was the leader and chief ideologue of the Chinese Communist Party. Under his leadership, the party established the People’s Republic of China and commenced a process of political and social transformation.
A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

Mao Zedong
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China and Revolution has been developed especially for senior secondary students of History and is part of the Nelson Modern History series. Each book in the series is based on the understanding that History is an interpretive study of the past by which you also come to better appreciate the making of the modern world.

Developing understandings of the past and present in senior History extends on the skills you learnt in earlier years. As senior students you will use historical skills, including research, evaluation, synthesis, analysis and communication, and the historical concepts, such as evidence, continuity and change, cause and effect, significance, empathy, perspectives and contestability, to understand and interpret societies from the past. The activities and tasks in China and Revolution have been written to ensure that you develop the skills and attributes you need in senior History subjects.
**Chapter summary**

The Blue Shirts, also known as the lumpen proletariat, are a group of people who are seen as the underclass of society. They are often associated with the lower classes and are frequently sought after as they are seen as the most vulnerable. They can be considered as the poor working class, the political system of Mao's era.

**Chapter review activities**

1. What is the role of the Blue Shirts in the development of the political system of Mao's era?
2. What is the role of the Blue Shirts in the development of the political system of Mao's era?
3. What is the role of the Blue Shirts in the development of the political system of Mao's era?
4. What is the role of the Blue Shirts in the development of the political system of Mao's era?
5. What is the role of the Blue Shirts in the development of the political system of Mao's era?

**The conclusion**

The conclusion summarises the topic and includes a series of activities to consolidate your knowledge of it. More importantly, these final tasks will help you build an understanding and interpretation of this period in history.

**Beyond this book**

The Nelson Modern History series includes numerous titles on a range of topics covered in senior History courses around Australia. For further information about the series visit: [www.nelsonsecondary.com.au](http://www.nelsonsecondary.com.au)
CHEN BODA (1904–1989)

(Wade–Giles: Chen Po-ta) Chen was Mao's political secretary before becoming the deputy director of the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda department. He worked closely with Mao to compile the Little Red Book. Chen was one of the most influential leaders of the Cultural Revolution and was a member of the Politburo Standing Committee in 1966–70. Chen was imprisoned after the fall of Lin Biao but was later released due to ill health.

DENG XIAOPING (1904–1997)

(Wade–Giles: Teng Hsiao-ping) The son of a peasant, Deng studied in Moscow from 1926 to 1927 and was one of the members of the Long March. He was a military leader during the civil war and after 1949 became an important figure in the economic restructuring of China. He became general secretary of the CCP's Central Committee in 1956, but was denounced at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. He was purged twice, but regained popularity to become leader of the People's Republic of China from 1978 to 1992.

Jiang Jieshi (1887–1975)

(Wade–Giles: Chiang Kai-shek) Jiang was leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party or Guomindang and the president of the Republic of China until his death in 1975. He acquired the title of Generalissimo because of his military background.

Jiang Qing (1914–1991)

(Wade–Giles: Chiang Ching) A former Shanghai actress, Jiang was the leader of the Gang of Four and the third wife of Chairman Mao. From the early 1960s she had enormous power and influence and was a key instigator and leader of the Cultural Revolution, sitting on the Central Cultural Revolution Committee. After Mao's death in 1976, she was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. She committed suicide in 1991.

LEI FENG (1940–1962)

(Wade–Giles: Lei Feng) A soldier of the People's Liberation Army of China. After his death, Lei was characterised in a mass propaganda campaign as a selfless and modest person who was devoted to the Communist Party, Chairman Mao and the people of China.

LIN BIAO (1907–1971)

(Wade–Giles: Lin Piao) People's Liberation Army leader and heir apparent to the Chairman's position as leader of China, he controlled several bureaus and departments of the Chinese government thanks to his apparent unshakable loyalty and his ability to survive purges. In 1970 he supposedly plotted to kill Mao, but was discovered and died in a plane crash while trying to flee the country.

PENG DEHUAI (1898–1974)

(Wade–Giles: Peng Te-huai) Peng came from a poor peasant background, and as a boy joined a warlord army and later led a band of peasant rebels. Although crude and lacking in education, Peng's talent and ability meant that he quickly rose through the CCP ranks. He commanded the Third Army during the Long March and was deputy commander of the Eighth Route Army during the war with Japan and throughout the civil war. Peng went on to command the Chinese army in the Korean War and was appointed minister of defence in 1954. At the Lushan Conference in 1959, Peng spoke out against the policies of the Great Leap Forward, resulting in his dismissal and eventual arrest and imprisonment during the Cultural Revolution. He died in a prison hospital in 1974.

Left and right: Corbis/Bettmann
LIU SHAOQI (1898–1969)
(Wade–Giles: Liu Shao-chi) Liu was Chairman of the People’s Republic of China and China’s head of state from 27 April 1959 to 31 October 1968, during which time he implemented policies of economic reconstruction in China after the failure of Mao’s Great Leap Forward. Liu was purged during the Cultural Revolution because of his perceived ‘rightist’ viewpoints. Mao viewed Liu as a threat to his power. He disappeared from public life in 1968 and was labelled China’s premier ‘capitalist roader’ and a traitor. He died in prison in late 1969.

MAO ZEDONG (1893–1976)
(Wade–Giles: Mao Tse-tung) Mao was leader of the Communist Party in China that overthrew Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalists. He established the People’s Republic of China and was CCP Chairman from 1949 until his death in 1976.

SUN YIXIAN (1866–1925)
(Wade–Giles: Sun Yat-sen) Known as the ‘father of the revolution’, Sun provided a revolutionary ideology with his Three Principles. Sun united revolutionary groups in 1905 under the name of the Tongmenghui and was named first provisional president of the Republic of China in 1911.

YUAN SHIKAI (1859–1916)
(Wade–Giles: Yuan Shih-kai) A military officer during the Qing dynasty, Yuan went on to become the second provisional president of the Republic of China in 1912. He proclaimed himself emperor before his death in 1916.

ALBERT COADY WEDEMEYER (1897–1989)
US General Wedemeyer was chief of staff to Jiang Jieshi following the departure of General Stilwell.

ZHU DE (1886–1976)
(Wade–Giles: Chu Te) Known for his prowess as a great military leader, Zhu founded the Chinese Communist Party Army, which became known as the Red Army.

SECOND UNITED FRONT
An alliance between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party during the Sino-Japanese War. It resulted in the suspension of civil war hostilities to create a unified opposition to Japanese invasion.

ZHOUD ENLAI (1898–1976)
(Wade–Giles: Chou En-lai) Zhou was the first prime minister of the People’s Republic of China. He served under Mao Zedong and was instrumental in consolidating the Communist Party’s rise to power, forming foreign policy and developing the Chinese economy. Zhou also served as foreign minister, advocating peaceful existence with the West after the Korean War. Despite his association with the ‘capitalist roaders’ after the Great Leap Forward, Zhou managed to largely avoid the purges of the Cultural Revolution era due to his close support for Mao and his capabilities as a statesman.

JOSEPH STILWELL (1883–1946)
Stilwell was a US Army general who acted as chief of staff to Jiang Jieshi between 1942 and 1944. In this role he had effective command of Chinese Nationalist forces in the war against Japan.

This page, clockwise from top: Getty Images/Fotosearch; Pictures from History; Getty Images/George Silk/The LIFE Images Collection; Corbis/Bettmann
EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY
This army was led by Communist General Zhu De, but was under the control of the Nationalist government during the Second United Front. Its work in fighting against the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War and the goodwill it engendered with the Chinese people helped to increase support for the Communist Party at this time.

28 BOLSHEVIKS
The collective title given to Russian-educated Chinese students. On their return to China, they exerted considerable influence over the ideological direction of the Chinese Communist Party.

BLUE SHIRTS SOCIETY
A secret society founded by members of the Whampoa Military Academy who sought to influence politics and the role of the military in China. Its members adhered to the ideology of fascism and pledged to support Jiang Jieshi.

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP)
Established in 1921 in Shanghai, the CCP evolved around Maoist ideology to ensure it suited the specific needs of China. It founded the People’s Republic of China in 1949, following the defeat of the Nationalist government under Jiang Jieshi.

COMINTERN
The Communist International, established in 1919. The purpose of the Comintern was the promotion of world revolution and it functioned chiefly as an organ of Soviet control over the international communist movement. Members of the Comintern acted as advisers to the CCP.

GANG OF FOUR
A group of four radical CCP leaders who were fanatically loyal to Mao Zedong; they rose to power during the era of the Cultural Revolution, overseeing many of Mao’s radical political and social measures. They were eventually deposed and imprisoned after Mao’s death in 1976.

GUOMINDANG (GMD)
(Wade–Giles: Kuomintang) Also known as the Nationalists or the Chinese Nationalist Party, this political party was founded in 1912 by Sun Yixian and later led by Jiang Jieshi. It was the official government of China until its defeat by the CCP in 1949.

JIANGXI SOVIET
After leaving the Jinggangshan Mountains, Mao Zedong and Zhu De established a soviet in the area around the town of Ruijin in November 1931. The soviet became the Chinese Soviet government headquarters.

NEW FOURTH ARMY
A Chinese Communist Party military force led by Ye Ting, which fought the Japanese near Shanghai.

NEW LIFE MOVEMENT
In February 1934, Jiang Jieshi sought to re-establish traditional and highly conservative values within China as a way of offering opposition to the growing popularity of communism. The New Life Movement attempted to control the way of life of the Chinese people at all levels and made use of dictatorial rules that were widely resented.

PEOPLE’S LIBERATION ARMY (PLA)
Established in 1927, the PLA, more commonly referred to as the Red Army, was the principal military force of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1949, following Communist victory, the PLA became the military force of the People’s Republic of China.

RED ARMY
Otherwise known as the Chinese Communist Party Army or People’s Liberation Army, this group was initially formed and led by General Zhu De.

RED GUARDS
Groups of high-school and university students who were from ‘red’ family backgrounds or who had proved themselves to be firm revolutionaries. They were Mao’s loyal supporters and the pioneers of the Cultural Revolution.

TONGMENGHUI
Sun Yixian founded this secret society in 1905 with the aim of uniting all revolutionary groups in China that sought to remove the Qing.
For almost 3000 years, the people of China were unified under the rule of an emperor. This is a remarkable achievement, given that no other civilisation on Earth held such a large population, occupying such a vast territory under the one regime, and for so long a period. This period was marked by the rise and fall of ancient dynasties from the Xia in 2000 BCE to the Qing (1644–1911).

China saw itself as the centre of the universe and able to meet its own needs. It therefore regarded contact with an ‘inferior’ outside world as unproductive and undesirable. Emperor Shihuang (221–207 BCE) was so determined to protect China from invasion that he gave orders for a great wall to be built, and even today the Great Wall of China is testimony to his desire and that of the emperors who followed to keep the rest of the world out of China. Westerners call this phenomenon ‘sinocentrism’, the belief that China was the cultural centre of the world. China remained basically unchanged until the 19th century, when the Qing dynasty began to decline under Western pressure. Unfortunately for the Chinese, their land was rich in resources and not even a wall could keep these new ‘barbarians’ out. In 1911, protests against this foreign domination of China led to a mutiny of troops stationed in the city of Wuhan in central China. Their actions sparked a revolution, which resulted in the abdication of the last Qing emperor, Pu Yi, on 12 February 1912. The years that followed were marked by disunity, fragmentation and suffering caused by both internal and external threats until China was ultimately unified under a Communist government in 1949.

The Forbidden City in Beijing was the imperial palace of the Chinese emperors until the end of the Qing dynasty.
The Middle Kingdom and the genesis of revolution

By the start of the 20th century, the Qing dynasty was in decline. Their unwillingness to modernise, corruption and the intervention of Western powers all contributed to the fall of China’s last dynasty.

CHINA UNDER THE QING

The Qing, or Manchu, dynasty (1644–1911) was the last of the imperial dynasties of China. The Qing, who originally came from north-eastern China, had established their dynasty by conquest. The reigns of the first three Manchu emperors, which lasted for 133 years, were a time of peace and prosperity. The empire’s population grew from 150 million to 450 million; many of the non-Chinese minorities within the empire were sinocised and an integrated national economy was established. During the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1735–99), the influence of the West on China was felt for the first time. In particular, Great Britain was interested in trading with China for silk and tea. But given China’s lack of interest in their products, the British began exporting opium to China, with devastating results. Many Chinese became addicted to opium, and land that had previously been used for food began to be used to produce opium. Furthermore, a large amount of Chinese money left the country in payment for the opium. When the Qing, in an attempt to rid their country of the scourge of opium, moved to abolish the opium trade, the Opium Wars broke out. The defeat of the Chinese by Europeans in the Opium Wars resulted in a series of humiliating treaties that gave the Europeans access to ports and forced the empire into trading relations with the West. While this period marked the beginning of the decline of the Qing, their ability to rule successfully was also affected by a series of young, inexperienced emperors; in particular, Empress Cixi, whose opposition to reform, and political meddling, had a significant negative effect on China. In her final act of destruction, she placed two-year-old Pu Yi on the throne in 1908, which further weakened the government.

Opium Wars

Two wars that resulted from an imbalance of trade between Western nations and China. Both Britain (1839–42) and France (1856–60) sought to increase their commercial influence in China by flooding the country with opium. The Chinese vigorously opposed their attempts, but losses in both wars resulted in humiliating treaties.

sinocise

To make Chinese in character or bring under Chinese influence.
Behind the wall, 1911–1927

Chapter 1

**From the Qing to a Republic**

1644
Qing dynasty established

1861–1908
Rule of Dowager Empress Cixi

1898
China forced to lease territories to France, Russia, Germany and Britain

1899
Boxer Rebellion began

1900
Foreign troops brought in to quell Boxer Rebellion

1901
Boxer Protocol signed

1904–05
Russo-Japanese war fought in north-east China (Manchuria) – Japan seized control

1908
Pu Yi became emperor of China

1911
Wuhan Uprising

1912
Republic of China proclaimed and abdication of Pu Yi

**Source 1.2** Pu Yi (right), the last Qing emperor, ascended the throne at the age of two.

**Source 1.3** The Chinese word for China is *Zhongguo*, meaning ‘Middle Kingdom’ or ‘Central Nation’ and, for the most part, China viewed non-Chinese peoples as uncivilised barbarians. This 17th-century map illustrates the notion of the Middle Kingdom. China is in the centre with the rest of the world placed around it.
The weakening of the Qing dynasty and the apparent humiliation of the unequal treaties imposed on China were, in the eyes of the Chinese people, seen as the Emperors’ inability to protect the people or fulfil their Mandate of Heaven. This led to increasing domestic disorder fuelled by the Chinese belief that the Qing were not deserving of their right to rule. As a consequence, a spate of rebellions against the Qing erupted in China, with the most notable of these being the Taiping (1850–64), the Nian (1851–68), the Muslim (1855–78) and the Boxer (1899–1900) rebellions. These rebellions resulted in the loss of several million lives, and had a devastating impact on China’s economy. Combined with natural disasters, such as regular flooding of China’s major rivers, and famine, the lives of the Chinese were precarious at best and served to further highlight the inadequacies of the Qing.

The Boxer Rebellion

The Boxer Rebellion of 1899–1900 can be regarded as a watershed event that contributed to the decline of the Qing and increased ‘foreign’ influence in China. The causes of the rebellion included the animosity of the Chinese towards foreigners because of the privileges they enjoyed and the increasing prominence of Christian missionaries. Floods and famines in northern China were blamed on the fengshui or balance of the region being disrupted by the ‘dragon’s vein’ or Western rail and telegraph lines. Missionaries and their converts became the targets of an uprising led by the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, known in the West as ‘Boxers’. This religious sect practised forms of gongfu, or martial arts, which they believed made them impervious to firearms. The Qing foolishly tried to use them as a way of driving the foreign presence from northern China, and their official sanction allowed the movement to spread rapidly, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of foreigners and tens of thousands of Chinese Christians. In 1900, the Boxers entered Beijing and laid siege to the foreign legation district. The Qing compounded the problem by declaring war on all foreign powers. International condemnation followed quickly and an international force relieved the legation siege on 14 August, looted Beijing and forced the imperial family to flee. After this humiliation, the Qing court had no option but to sign what was to be the last of the infamous ‘unequal treaties’, the Boxer Protocol, which served to establish a permanent presence of foreign troops in the capital.

**SOURCE 1.4** During the Boxer Rebellion, an international force was established to relieve the diplomats and others held by the Boxers in the foreign legation district of Beijing. This force included soldiers from Japan, Russia, France, the United States, Germany, Austria–Hungary, Italy and the British Empire, including troops from India and Australia. This illustration by the Japanese artist Torajiro Kasai shows Japanese and British forces attacking the Forbidden City, the seat of the Qing emperor.
The fall of the Qing dynasty

‘A troublesome egg to hatch’

SOURCE 1.5 ‘A troublesome egg to hatch’, 1901, a satirical illustration by JS Pughe on the European powers’ attempts to exploit China as the United States and Japan look on.

Downfall of the Qing

TABLE 1.1 The downfall of the Qing cannot be attributed to a single factor or event. Rather it was the result of a range of internal and external factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long-term causes</th>
<th>Impact of foreign imperialism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China suffered humiliation due to numerous war losses and the inability to control foreign intrusion. War losses resulted in the creation of treaty ports, which meant that the Qing dynasty lost the ability to restrict where foreign nations could go to trade. Foreign nations created concessions in major cities where they resided with their own laws and police force. Within these areas, spheres of influence were created where a certain foreign nation had exclusive trade rights, and a great deal of political and economic influence.</td>
<td>continued</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 1.1 Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insular nature of China</th>
<th>Cixi was not able to grasp the opportunities Western countries had to offer China in terms of military and technological advancements.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy of the imperial system</td>
<td>The bureaucrats gained their positions either through bribery or by passing Confucian-based exams, which led to narrow thinking and lack of skill. These bureaucrats were often corrupt and highly conservative, and therefore were not willing to allow any changes that could affect them negatively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing – an ethnic minority from Manchuria</td>
<td>Many Chinese did not like being ruled by the Qing, an ethnic group they regarded as ‘inferior’. They also resented restrictions the Qing placed on marriage between Han and Manchu Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideals were under pressure</td>
<td>Retaining the support of the people required the ‘Mandate of Heaven’ to remain in power. The Qing relied on Confucian values of loyalty and obedience to the emperor to maintain control, and the introduction of Western ideas such as democracy and human rights shook up these structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues with the peasantry</td>
<td>Peasants constituted the majority of the Chinese population. A bad season could leave them to starve or force them to sell off their children, while a good season would allow them to pay off debts to the landlords, who in some cases, were collecting taxes up to 10 years in advance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-term causes</td>
<td>Increasing revolutionary movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sun Yixian and his Tongmenghui had advocated revolution as the only answer to China’s problems. There had been several unsuccessful revolts, but the Qing were unable to completely repress them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of action on reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The promised reforms following the failure of the Boxer Rebellion were half-hearted and delayed, and actually whet the appetite for more reforms rather than satisfied it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Cixi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cixi was the last strong ruler of the Qing dynasty. She ignored many of the long-term causes, but her strength kept the dynasty going. Her death led to a lack of control over the empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triggers</td>
<td>Wuhan Uprising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On 10 October 1911, a revolutionary group preparing bombs had one accidentally explode. Police discovered lists of revolutionaries at the scene. Feeling as if they had nothing to lose, a local regiment mutinied, and the province was eventually seized. This started a chain reaction and soon China was in turmoil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yuan Shikai’s shifting allegiance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu Yi called in the commander of the New Army, Yuan Shikai, in order to suppress the rebels. Yuan worked to quell the uprising, but later negotiated a deal with Sun Yixian and the emperor’s minders, and did not take his forces into Wuhan. Pu Yi abdicated and Sun offered the presidency of the new republic to Yuan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Behind the wall, 1911–1927
Chapter 1

The catalyst for the fall of the Qing dynasty and, ultimately, the creation of the Republic of China occurred in 1911 during the Wuhan Uprising. This uprising, also known as the Double Tenth, began when a bomb exploded accidentally. Qing police arrived to investigate and subsequently discovered incriminating lists of revolutionaries within the New Army who supported Sun Yixian’s Three Principles. Rather than face arrest and execution, these military revolutionaries then staged a coup and the army took over the city in less than a day. This small revolt ultimately spread and allowed many provinces to declare their allegiance to the rebellion. Within six weeks, 15 provinces had seceded. Sun Yixian, known as the ‘father of the revolution’, actually played no direct part in the uprising as he was overseas trying to raise support for his cause. Ultimately the people declared their independence from the Qing, and the six-year-old emperor, Pu Yi, was forced to abdicate, ending 2000 years of almost unbroken imperial rule.

On 12 February 1912, the imperial palace made the following announcement on behalf of the emperor:

“...

It is now evident that the majority of the people are in favour of a Republic. From the preference that is in the people’s hearts the will of Heaven is discernible. How could we oppose the desires of millions for the glory of one family? Therefore we, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, hereby vest the sovereignty in the people. Let Yuan Shikai organise with full powers a Provisional Republic and confer with the Republicans as to the methods of union that will assure peace to the Empire, thus forming a great Republic by the union of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans and Tibetans.

Sun Yixian (1866–1925)

Born into a farming family in 1866, Sun Yixian became one of China’s earliest Western-trained intellectuals when, at the age of 13, he joined his older brother in Hawaii and was educated there. Sun grew up in Guangdong province and was perhaps influenced by its long history of contact with foreigners and the fact that this was also a place steeped in anti-Manchu sentiment.

Sun moved on to a missionary-founded school known as Oahu College after he graduated from high school, but was sent home by his brother to ensure that he would not be baptised a Christian. Once back in China, Sun desecrated a temple in his village by breaking off the arm of an idol and was sent to Hong Kong to avoid the subsequent repercussions. Once in Hong Kong, Sun attended medical school and was baptised in 1884.

In Hong Kong, Sun noticed the structure of the British colony and wished for a similar system of government in his own country; however, he believed that the only way to improve life in China for its people was to remove the existing regime and replace it with a republic. In 1894, he formed a secret revolutionary organisation, the Revive China Society, whose objectives were to overthrow the Manchus, restore China to the Chinese and establish a republican government.

Following an attempted overthrow of the Manchu in 1895, Sun fled to exile in Japan. In 1896, Sun was kidnapped by Manchu officials and was to be returned to China for execution, but he was rescued by friends from Hong Kong. He quickly became a figure of international interest.

Sun made use of his notoriety, writing his theory of revolution, ‘The Three Principles of the People’. He also drew up his plans for a constitution, adding ideas about censorship and examination branches for the government to those of Western democracies of the day. Furthermore, Sun travelled overseas extensively, seeking money from Chinese communities abroad to fund mutinies and uprisings in China.

Sun formed the Tongmenghui, or Revolutionary Alliance, in 1905, and organised 10 failed uprisings. Ironically, the man regarded as the ‘father of the revolution’ was not even in China at the time of the Double Tenth, or 1911 Wuhan Uprising. He returned from the United States on 1 January 1912 to become provisional president of the new Republic of China, but with the intention of keeping the peace in China, later stepped aside from the presidency to allow Yuan Shikai, a highly influential Manchu general, to take the role.

Sun and his loyal followers formed the Nationalist Party, or Guomindang, which was later outlawed, necessitating yet another exile from his beloved China. He became president of the Nationalist government of China in Canton in 1923 and died in 1925.
The Three Principles
Sun Yixian first outlined his vision for a new China in a speech entitled ‘The Three Principles of the People’ in 1905. Sun used this speech to outline the three key components of his political doctrine, which included the protection of the Chinese, the rights of the people and the wellbeing of the people. Later these three ideas were translated to the more regularly used principles of nationalism, democracy and the people’s livelihood. For the Chinese, Sun’s ideas offered hope as they called for the removal of the Qing to allow the people to rule themselves, free from the domination of foreign nations. He proposed a republic with an elected president, which would ensure the rights of the people, along with a fairer taxation system and an improvement in the welfare of the working people.

This excerpt from the manifesto of Sun Yixian was delivered on 5 January 1912, following his election as president of a provisional government:

We have borne our grievance for two hundred and sixty-seven years with patience and forbearance ... oppressed beyond human endurance, we deemed our unalienable right ... to deliver ourselves ... from the yoke to which we have for so long been subjected ...

The manifesto continues with the promise that:

We will remodel the laws, revise the civil, criminal, commercial and mining codes, reform the finances, abolish restrictions on trade and commerce and ensure religious toleration and the cultivation of better relations with foreign peoples and governments ... it is our earnest hope that those foreign nationals who have been steadfast in their sympathy will bind more firmly the bonds of friendship between us ... and will aid the consummation of the plans, which we are about to undertake.


Questions
1. What factors influenced Sun Yixian’s view on the needs of China?
2. How did Sun fuel the revolutionary situation in China at the beginning of the 20th century?
3. Why is Sun Yixian regarded as the father of the revolution?
4. What action taken by the Qing indicated the threat Sun posed to them?

The struggle to govern China
The abdication from the throne by the boy emperor Pu Yi left a power vacuum that needed to be filled. Initially it appeared the hopes held by Sun Yixian for a republic might be fulfilled; however, the actions of Yuan Shikai, who sought to promote himself rather than the needs of China, created further internal conflict.
THE FLEDGLING REPUBLIC

Sun Yixian was named the provisional president of the new Republic of China on 1 January 1912, because of his role as chief ideologue of the revolutionary movement and his opposition to the Qing dynasty. Not long after, following a bid for the presidency by a former Qing general, Yuan Shikai, Sun stepped down from the role to ensure peace for China and in the naive belief that Shikai also had China’s best interests at heart. Under Yuan, the new government made few changes despite issuing many laws, and appeared to seek to reform the political, social and economic systems already in place. It was soon clear that Yuan actually sought to destroy the fledgling republic and create a dictatorship with himself as the new emperor of China. Yuan’s bid for power was unsuccessful and he died in 1916; some say of a broken heart. Thus, despite the fall of the Qing and the subsequent hopes of the people for the future, it would appear that the new government was no more able to strengthen and stabilise China than its former emperors had been, as the problems were deeply rooted.

república
A form of government in which sovereignty resides in the people

SOURCE 1.6 Sun Yixian and other revolutionaries at the declaration of the Republic of China in 1911

SOURCE 1.7 Yuan Shikai, the president of the Chinese republic established at the fall of the Qing
Twenty-one Demands

Following an ultimatum by the Japanese government, Yuan Shikai, as president of the Chinese republic, signed a series of agreements between his country and Japan on 25 May 1915 in return for financial aid. The document, known as the Twenty-one Demands because of the number of claims made by the Japanese government, demanded special privileges in China relating to access to harbours, control of railway and mining in Shandong province and the granting of special concessions in Manchuria. Yuan accepted all demands except for one seeking to use advisers to control Chinese political, financial and police affairs. The Twenty-one Demands contributed significantly to increased anti-Japanese sentiment throughout China.

Question

1. Explain the significance of the Twenty-one Demands in humiliating the Chinese and allowing the Japanese to gain power in China.

Yuan Shikai as leader of China

Historian Immanuel Hsu

Most of his followers devoted themselves to the overthrow of the Manchus and the establishment of the Republic: few paid attention to the more important task of democratic reconstruction and the problem of people’s livelihood … so anxious were they for peace that they were willing to compromise with so unprincipled a man as Yuan … they ignored Sun’s three-stage revolutionary program altogether [and] paved the way for future warlordism and attempts to revive the imperial system – by Yuan in 1915.


Diplomat Paul Reinsch

His personal rule, his unscrupulous advancement to power, with the incidental corruption and cold-blooded executions that marked it, and his bitter personal feeling against all political opponents – these were not qualities that make for stable parliamentary government.


Author Han Suyin

For the sake of unity, Sun, early offered to resign and give his own position of President to Yuan … Yuan’s personal ambitions satisfied, Sun felt he might work for the good of the people. Sun thought that a democratically convened cabinet, a National Assembly, universal franchise, would be safeguards against
Following his resignation as president, Sun Yixian was excluded from the government of the fledgling republic. Concerned about Yuan’s presidency and disappointed that he was unable to push his proposed changes forward, Sun formed a new rival political party known as the National People’s Party, or Guomindang (GMD). This party was the product of a merger of the Tongmenghui and other groups who opposed Shikai in the hope that they could increase their political influence. When an election for parliament was held in 1913, the GMD, headed by Song Jiaroren, opposed Yuan, and the Nationalists won a majority in the legislature with Song announced as leader of the parliament. Unfortunately, he was assassinated in March 1913 and the party was outlawed by Yuan Shikai and his followers. Sun vowed to overthrow Yuan, and with the support of pro-GMD governors in the south of China attempted a second revolution. The plan appeared doomed from the outset because of lack of funds, and because the troops were outnumbered by Yuan’s forces and there was little support from local Chinese, who did not understand Yuan’s manipulative, corrupt regime. By September 1913, the revolutionary capital of Nanjing had been captured, forcing Sun and other rebels to flee to Japan.

THE BIRTH OF THE GUOMINDANG

Following the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916 came a 12-year-period known as the Warlord Era, marked by political fragmentation in a land governed by a virtually powerless national government. The central government of China in reality only controlled a small area around Beijing. Hundreds of warlords, most of whom were interested only in power and wealth rather than the needs of the people, imposed high taxes, governed with great severity and made use of the peasants to fight in their personal armies. These armies were poorly paid, and their members further exacerbated the plight of the Chinese people by plundering crops. The warlords clearly held great power, a fact that was not lost on foreign powers, some of which provided financial backing to the warlords and conducted business and peace treaties with them.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain how Yuan Shikai gained control of the government of China from Sun Yixian.
2. How did Yuan Shikai’s desire for self-advancement compromise his ability to lead China effectively?
3. In what ways did Yuan Shikai compromise the ideals of Sun Yixian and the fledgling republic?
Perspectives on life under the warlords

First National Congress of the Guomindang

The warlords have now become so arrogant and so unprincipled that like knives and swords hacking cattle and fish they hack the people to pieces ... the warlords conspire with foreign imperialists; and the so-called republican government, controlled by the warlords, abuses the authority of government to serve the pleasure of foreign powers.

Declaration by the First National Congress of the Guomindang, 1924

Historian Gwenda Milston

The warlords were not all evil men solely interested in wealth and power and prepared to use any kind of brutal force to get it. Some genuinely wanted reform and good government but were obliged to tax heavily and spend money on armaments rather than social needs to protect their territory from predatory neighbours.


Historian Charles Patrick FitzGerald

These generals ... were only interested in money. They supported or betrayed the government for money; they warred upon each other to secure richer revenues, they organised the opium trade, sold official posts, taxed the people for years in advance, squeezed the merchants, and finally, immensely rich, allowed, for a last payment, their troops to be defeated, and retired to the safety and ease of the foreign concessions in Shanghai or the British colony of Hong Kong.


Mao Zedong

The Revolution started by Dr Sun Yat-Sen has had both its successes and its failures. Was not the Revolution of 1911 a success? Didn’t it send the emperor packing? Yet it was a failure in the sense that while it sent the emperor packing it left China under imperialist and feudal oppression, so that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary task remained unaccomplished.


Sun Yixian

The real trouble is China is not an independent country. She is the victim of foreign countries. If the foreign countries leave us alone, China will have her affairs in shape within six months. The Peking Government could not stand twenty-four hours without the backing it receives from foreign governments.

Questions

1. Identify four key warlords of the period and conduct research to evaluate their impact on the lives of the Chinese who lived under their control. Summarise the results of your research in a table.
2. Explain why historians and others differ in their assessment of the warlords.
3. In what ways did the actions of the warlords increase the desire of political parties and the Chinese people for change?
4. Drawing on your research and the sources above, write an extended paragraph in which you explain how the Warlord Era affected the political situation in China.

Another way for China: The Growth of the Influence of the Intellectual

With China’s government affected by factionalism and a lack of a clear ideological direction, the way became clear for the growth of a new party that would meet the needs of China’s young intellectuals. Dismayed by what they perceived to be poor treatment of China by foreign powers and buoyed by the changes brought about in Russia after its revolution in 1917, a new movement began, growing in influence and voice.

The Foundations of Opposing Ideologies

1866 | Sun Yixian born into a poor rural family
1893 | Mao Zedong born into a peasant family in Hunan
1905 | Sun Yixian established the Tongmenghui
1916–28 | Warlord Era – warlords control much of China
1917 October | Successful Communist revolution in Russia
1919 | May Fourth Movement
1921 | Chinese Communist Party (CCP) formed in Shanghai
1923–25 | Sun Yixian revived the Guomindang and refined his Three Principles
1924 | First United Front formed between the Guomindang and the Communist Party
1925 | Sun Yixian died of cancer
1927 April | Shanghai Massacre of Communists ended the First United Front
1928 October | Jiang Jishi became chairman of the Nationalist Party
1929 January | Mao Zedong and Zhu De moved Communist forces from Jinggangshan
1929 February | Communist base established at Ruijin in Jiangxi province, known as the Jiangxi Soviet
THE IMPACT OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

It is hard to believe that a war in Europe could have a significant negative impact on an Asian country of China’s size and history, yet this is indeed the case. When war broke out in 1914, Japan became an ally of the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia). In a bid to increase their empire, the Japanese capitalised on Germany’s preoccupation with the war in Europe by issuing an ultimatum that Germany transfer its leased territory and economic privileges in the Chinese province of Shandong to Japan. The Japanese seized German settlements and naval bases in the city of Qingdao and also took over coalmines and a German-built railway line.

The Chinese, despite an original decision to remain neutral, ultimately were induced to enter the war on the side of the British, French and Russians by promises such as the suspension of the indemnity payments incurred after the Boxer Rebellion and a promised revision of foreign tariffs. Unable to send military forces to Europe, China began assistance in August 1917 by sending approximately 200,000 workers to serve as labourers to both France and Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). These valuable labourers served behind the lines where they dug trenches, provided non-military aid and constructed barracks, which allowed the Allied troops to remain at the front in combat roles. Unknown to Chinese officials, the Japanese, fearing the Chinese participation in any peace treaties following the war, sought to block their entry to the war; however, their qualms were appeased by secret promises by the French, Russians and British that they would aid Japan in achieving their Shandong interests.

THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

After the end of the First World War in 1918, the Chinese expected to be treated favourably at the Paris Peace Conference that followed. Both the Nationalist and Guomindang governments sent representatives, and it was the hope of the Chinese that territorial disputes such as that between China and Japan could be solved. The Chinese wanted an end to the unequal treaties that had been imposed on them for decades and a release from the Twenty-one Demands imposed in 1915 by the Japanese.

However, the conference did not address China’s grievances. The Chinese delegates were treated poorly and were not invited to the inner council when the main powers decided the issue. Indeed, the delegation was kept waiting for some weeks before it was told what had been agreed. As a consequence, the Chinese delegation – much to the surprise of the conference – refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles.

Back in China, news of the poor treatment of the delegates and the decision to allow the Japanese to maintain control over Shandong province evoked a dramatic response. Students at Beijing University held a ‘National Shame Day’ on 4 May 1919 to mark the anniversary of Japan’s Twenty-one Demands. Students protested against the control of the warlords who assisted foreigners and the rights granted to foreigners in their country. Outrage and shame at China’s betrayal at the Treaty of Versailles proved the impetus to a surge of Chinese nationalism with widespread and vocal reaction. About 3000 students assembled in Tiananmen Square from where they marched to the foreign legations, expressing their view that Japan’s actions violated China’s territorial integrity and also that inept government officials had failed to serve China’s best interests.
Protest and unrest spread quickly, with students from high schools joining their university colleagues, and strikes and demonstrations occurring across the country. In an unprecedented show of unity, the press and the public supported the outrage of China’s youth with many factories shutting down, students ending their studies in Japan and traders boycotting Japanese goods.

**SOURCE 1.8** Students at Peking University marching with banners during the May Fourth demonstrations in 1919

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### The impact of the May Fourth Movement

**Chen Duxiu – ‘Call to Youth’**

In 1915, Chen Duxiu attacked traditionalism in a journal aptly named *New Youth*. In his article ‘Call to Youth’, first seen in Shanghai, Chen urged young people to break with conservative traditions and to be scientific, progressive and independent. He offered six principles as a guide:

1. Be independent, not servile
2. Be progressive, not conservative
3. Be aggressive, not retiring
4. Be cosmopolitan, not isolationist
5. Be utilitarian, not formalistic
6. Be scientific, not imaginative


**Diplomat Paul Reinsch, an American missionary in China between 1913 and 1919, on the Treaty of Versailles**

Probably nowhere else in the world had expectations of America’s leadership at Paris been raised so high as in China … it sickened and disheartened me to think how the Chinese people would receive this blow which meant the blasting of their hopes and the destruction of their confidence in the equity of nations.


**Historian Lucien Bianco**

The May Fourth Movement was a kind of Chinese Enlightenment … it was a ground-clearing exercise [which] foreshadowed and paved the way for 1949 … 1919 was more important than 1911 … [it] called into question the very basis of Chinese society.


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**continued**
Li Dazhao, an early convert to Marxism and chief librarian at Beijing University

Henceforth, all that one sees around him will be the triumphant banner of Bolshevism, and all that one hears around him will be the Bolshevism song of victory. The bell is rung for humanitarianism! The dawn of freedom has arrived! See the world tomorrow; it will assuredly belong to the red flag! The revolution in Russia is but the first fallen leaf warning the world of the approach of autumn.

Cited in Ssu-Yu Teng and John Fairbank, China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey 1839–1923, pp. 248–9

Mao Zedong

Mao indicates he was more radical as a result of the May Fourth Movement:

After the May Fourth Movement, I had devoted most of my time to student political activities, and I was editor of the Hunan students’ newspaper … in the Winter of 1920, I organised workers politically for the first time, and began to be guided by … Marxist theory and the history of the Russian Revolution. During my second visit to Beijing, I had read much about events in Russia, and eagerly sought out what little Communist literature was then available in Chinese … by the Summer of 1920, I had become in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist.


Historian Michael Lynch

It was no accident that China’s literary and intellectual renaissance reached its high point in the 1920s – the worst years of warlord rule. The humiliation of the nation at the hands of warlords and foreigners gave the Chinese a common sense of grievance … [it provided] a cause around which the Chinese could unite.


Li Dazhao praising communist ideals in New Youth

All those dregs of history which can impede the progress of the new movement – such as emperors … warlords, bureaucrats, militarism and capitalism – will certainly be destroyed … all that one sees around him will be the triumphant banner of Bolshevism … the bell is rung for humanitarianism! The dawn of freedom has arrived! See the world of tomorrow; it assuredly will belong to the red flag.


Questions

1. Given China’s policy of isolationism, why did it enter the Great War?
2. Explain the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on the Chinese and how it might have influenced their views of the West.
3. How and why did the Russian Revolution influence the Chinese?
4. In what ways did the growth of the intellectual in China contribute to the creation of the Communist Party?
To understand how the Chinese Communist Party came into being, it is important to trace its ideological roots. Three key events – the New Culture Movement of 1915, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the May Fourth Movement of 1919 – profoundly influenced young Westernised Chinese and led to the creation of the Communist Party in a Shanghai schoolroom in 1921.

**Founding the Communist Party**

SOURCE 1.9 The disturbances of the May Fourth Movement can be seen as the first popular mass movement in Chinese history, and focused attention on a growing unity among the Chinese in their desire for nationalism. They also gave a sense of direction to those who sought to regenerate China by ridding it of foreigners and provided radical thinkers with the opportunity to adopt Marxist theories of how a popular uprising against the ruling classes could rid the nation of imperialism.

**Communism**

A theory or system of social organisation based on the holding of all property in common, with actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the state.
Marx and Revolutionary Socialism

Ideologically, the origins of the Chinese Communist Party lie in the ideas of the German thinker Karl Marx. Marx argued that societies moved through a series of three interconnected economic and political phases. Each phase was distinct and followed what he saw as a logical sequence; movement from one phase to the next occurred because of the tensions arising from competing class interests. As new social groups emerged, revolutions would trigger the shift to a new phase of development in a process described as a dialectic.

The three phases included:

1. **The feudal era:** traditional societies dominated by a monarch and the nobility in which the economic system was largely agricultural.

2. **Bourgeois society:** Marx argued that the bourgeoisie, or middle classes, frustrated and restricted by the nature of the feudal era, would seek to assert their own political rights and, through revolutionary processes, limit the power of the monarch and nobility by establishing liberal democratic institutions, such as elected parliaments and governments. Economically bourgeois society was based on the ownership of private property and businesses, such as factories.

3. **Communism:** over time, this middle class society would be replaced by socialism, an egalitarian society in which the ownership of property, be it land or factories, the basis of political power in the earlier systems, would be held collectively by the whole society. This change, Marx argued, would result from a revolution initiated by the working class, or proletariat.

Marx himself, as well as many other, mainly Western European, socialists began to see this model as a blueprint for revolutionary change. As a result, political parties representing the working class, such as the Social Democrats in Germany during the late 19th century, framed their political ideas on Marx’s theories.

While Karl Marx was the first socialist to predict the inevitability of a socialist society as a direct consequence of the growth of the bourgeoisie and the clash between the ‘new ruling class’ of society and the proletariat, industrial factory workers’ notions of Marxism received little attention in China. However, following the Russian Revolution of 1917, Chinese intellectuals who immersed
themselves in the philosophies and history of the West were immediately interested in Marx’s thinking as it had served as the ideological basis of the Russian Bolsheviks. The fact that the repressed Russians had thrown off the shackles of the capitalist nations of Europe who had also sought to dismember China was suddenly of great interest.

These Chinese thinkers also became interested in the writings and ideas of Lenin, the leader of the Russian Bolsheviks. Further, Lenin’s Theory of Imperialism as the final stage of capitalism made sense to the disillusioned Chinese who struggled with the decisions made against their country at the Paris Peace Conference. Marx’s call for workers to unite and Lenin’s attack on ‘unequal treaties’ appealed to the Chinese who welcomed what they saw as ‘scientific’ thought and it was believed that this ideology, rooted in historical reality, could save China. By 1920 there were a number of small Marxist study groups in China including the ones organised by Mao Zedong and Li Dazhao. Later that year, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu (a university colleague) and Bolshevik representative Gregory Voitinsky began to organise the Chinese Community Party, with their first meeting taking place in Shanghai in July 1921. At this meeting, Chen Duxiu was elected leader of the Party and its total membership was recorded as consisting of 52 members.

Lenin’s Theory of Imperialism
Vladimir Lenin believed the nature of capitalism and its doctrine of maximising profits meant that imperialism is a process that capitalists are forced into in search of greater profits in ever-shrinking and unstable markets

Bolshevik
The Bolsheviks were formed in Russia in 1903 following a split in the Social Democratic Party. The party was named by Lenin and literally means ‘the majority’ in Russian. The Bolsheviks under Lenin’s leadership came to power in Russia in October 1917

LENIN’S ADAPTATION OF MARXISM IN RUSSIA

History is a series of class struggles from which the worker will emerge victorious and throw off the rule of capitalists.

Party members should adopt a methodical and professional approach to learning the ideology of the Party and acting upon it.

Party membership should be confined to those who have been well trained in revolutionary ideas and action.

The masses – the workers and Marxist supporters – should be guided by professional revolutionaries who take on leadership roles.
Mao Zedong (1893–1976)

Mao was born in Hunan to a prosperous peasant family. He was educated in the Confucian classics and left school at the age of 13 to begin working on the family farm. The young Mao loved to read, particularly novels about Chinese heroes and their battles against corruption and bureaucracy.

In 1911, he secured a place at the Xiangxiang Middle School in Changsha where he first came into contact with the ideology of Sun Yixian’s nationalism and, inspired by the events of the Wuhan Uprising against the Qing, went on to enlist in the revolutionary army. Following his discharge from the army in 1913, Mao enrolled to become a teacher, a decision that would allow him access to studies of Chinese feudal culture and writing from the West.

Mao developed a strong interest in political ideology and its importance in shaping a new China. He published an article entitled ‘A Study of Physical Culture’ in the New Youth magazine in 1917 and assisted in establishing the New People’s Society in Changsha, which worked to organise its members to focus on the training of the body using physical activities, and the mind through the study of progressive ideas. In 1918, Mao failed entry into Beijing University as a student, but instead began to work as an assistant to Li Dazhao, one of the co-founders of the Communist Party, and delved into the writings of Marx, Engels and other thinkers.

Mao was at the first meeting of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Shanghai and named Secretary of the Hunan Regional Party Committee. Throughout the early 1920s, he worked for the party in a variety of ways; he worked with fellow party members Liu Shaoqi and Li Lisan as a union official to organise a strike of coalminers in Anyuan, became a member of the Guomindang and was elected to the Central Committee of the CCP in 1923. He was also a delegate to the First National Conference of the Guomindang while serving as acting head of their Central Propaganda Department.

In 1926, Mao was made Secretary of the Peasant Movement Commission for the CCP. In this role, he observed the Peasant Associations and declared them to be 70 per cent the strength of any future revolution. In 1927, while serving as Director of the Peasant Department of the Communist Party, Mao published his iconic ‘Report on an investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan’.

Following the Shanghai Massacre of 1927, Mao led the failed Autumn Harvest Uprising and fled to the Jinggangshan Mountains on the border of Hunan and Jiangxi provinces where he was elected to the standing committee of the Politburo established in the Jiangxi Soviet at Ruijin.

Question

1. Create a fact file on Mao Zedong. The file should include quotes, images and key facts about his ideas and influence. Add to this fact file to build a detailed study reference on the thoughts and life of Mao.
Possible solutions – a joining of forces

Following the creation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921, there were now two revolutionary parties in China: the Nationalist Party, also known as the Guomindang (GMD), which formed in 1912 from Sun Yixian’s Tongmenghui, and the CCP.

THE FIRST UNITED FRONT

Between 1923 and 1927, these two groups sought to cooperate in ridding China of imperialist nations and defeating the northern warlords. Their two-party alliance was the creation of the Comintern (Communist International), a Moscow-based organisation with the goal of garnering international support for the Communist Party in Russia and assisting the fledgling Chinese Communist Party. Russia was deeply concerned about Japanese expansion and believed that a strong and unified China could thwart Japan and support the growth of world communism. It was felt that a combined force of the CCP and the Nationalists could work together to achieve both goals. For their part, the CCP believed they needed to join with the capitalist-class Nationalists to destroy feudalism so that they could become a stronger political force. Further, it was felt that association with Sun’s party could provide the Communists with links beyond their small membership of urban workers and intellectuals, and that their numbers would eventually grow large enough to provide the support the Communists would need to seize power. Sun was suspicious of the influence of the Comintern, but he was eager to rebuild his party and conquer the north. He reached an agreement in 1923 with Comintern agent Adolph Joffe, the Sun-Joffe Declaration, and in exchange for Soviet assistance Sun agreed to allow the admission of Communists into the GMD.

At this point the CCP membership of 1500 was small compared with the GMD’s membership of approximately 50,000, but the CCP was independent and growing rapidly with Soviet aid, and it made sense to Sun that the two groups would have more impact working together. He was also willing to accept CCP members because he felt that all Chinese had the right to take part in his nationalist revolution, and he wanted to capitalise on the CCP ties with workers and peasants. Sun was aware that cooperation with the CCP was the only way to ensure the help of the Soviets. Mikhail Borodin, another Comintern agent, arrived in Guangzhou with a team of political and military advisers who

SOURCE 1.11 Graduates of the Huangpu, or Whampoa, Military Academy at Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, c. 1927
worked for the next four years to provide money, training, leadership and weapons, and thus transformed the GMD into a powerful, military-like organisation. With this aim in mind, the Nationalists established the Whampoa Military Academy near Guangzhou, which was headed by Sun’s keest supporter, a young Jiang Jieshi.

**Jiang as Red?**

It is interesting to note that despite his hatred of the Communist Party in China, for a time Jiang Jieshi was regarded as a Communist with some foreigners labelling him the ‘Red General’. This label is misleading, but has as its foundation the fact that Jiang was Sun Yixian’s leading military adviser. In 1923, Jiang headed a military mission to the Soviet Union and, using Soviet expertise and money, created the Nationalists’ officer training school and the subsequent National Revolutionary Army. Jiang, like the Communist Party, sought to rid China of the foreign imperialists and warlords, but he did not advocate class struggle or a radical social transformation of China.

**The death of Sun Yixian**

Sun Yixian died of cancer in March 1925 and his death had two significant consequences. First, it resulted in a struggle for leadership within the Nationalist Party. The Nationalists were factionalised due to concerns about their connections with Russia and the admission of Communists to party membership, resulting in the assassination of Liao Chung-k’ai, leader of the left-wing group, in August 1925. Jiang Jieshi made use of his strong military connections to stage a coup in the spring of 1926. Second, Sun was transformed overnight into the legendary hero of Nationalist China. His writings and teachings became revered, with this prestige shared by the Guomindang and taken advantage of by Jiang Jieshi, who consolidated these links through his marriage to Soong Meiling (the youngest sister of Madame Sun Yixian). Soong Meiling brought incalculable political benefits to Jiang due to her emphasis on Christian values and the admiration that she gained from the United States.
The Northern Expedition

Following the death of Sun Yixian, Jiang Jieshi quickly stepped in to take his place, becoming both commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army and leader of the First United Front. In July 1926, Jiang embarked on the Northern Expedition, gathering his troops in the southern city of Guangzhou and sending them north, with the first targets of the expedition being the cities of Wuhan and Nanjing. Initially the campaign was successful; Wuhan was captured in January 1927 and quickly made the Nationalist capital. Gradually, though, the CCP forces made significant contributions; for example, peasants captured Nanchang and Fuzhou with help from undercover agents, sympathisers and agitators using small-scale guerrilla actions, and on 3 January 1927 a Communist-led demonstration forced the British to leave their concession in Jiujiang. As the forces pushed northwards, tensions between the Nationalists and Communists increased due to the success of the CCP in gaining influence over the emerging working class, particularly in cities such as Wuhan, Guangzhou and Shanghai, where party activists stirred the frustration of peasants and workers who had laboured for years in inhumane living and working conditions. While Jiang was the leader of the entire expedition as it advanced, the two fighting columns split and moved in parallel pushes. Jiang’s veered to the east and advanced on Nanchang, while the other, mainly directed by left-wing leaders, veered to the west and headed for Wuhan and reached their destination in early 1927, while Jiang entered Shanghai in March 1927.

Questions

1. Explain the impact of the death of Sun Yixian on Chinese politics.
2. In what ways did Jiang Jieshi seek to consolidate his role and power within the Guomindang?
3. Why might some historians consider Jiang Jieshi to have had links to the Chinese Communist Party?

Northern Expedition

A military campaign led by Jiang Jieshi in 1926–28, with the objective of reuniting China by defeating local warlords

SOURCE 1.13 General Jiang Jieshi, commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, passing through a crowd of admirers in Hsuchowfu, 1927. General Jiang is saluting, at centre front.

SOURCE 1.14 Nationalist troops in Shanghai at the time of the Shanghai Massacre, 1927.
Conflict within the First United Front and the Shanghai Massacre
The United Front was not without its critics. Conservative members of the Nationalists feared the CCP ideology of class struggle and socialism, while many Communists opposed an alliance with a ‘party of bourgeoisie’. Secure in Wuhan, the left-wing party leaders challenged Jiang Jieshi’s leadership and called for closer cooperation with the Communists and for their capital city to be moved from Guangzhou to Wuhan. Jiang was fearful that they would eventually move against him, and was concerned about Communist influence on his left-wing GMD rivals in Wuhan. Also influenced by advice from businessmen in the eastern cities who were worried about the economic policies of the Communists, Jiang made the fateful decision to abandon the United Front and to purge the GMD of the Communists. On 12 April 1927, Jiang staged a well-planned assault on the Communists, using hired underworld gunmen (the Green Gang) and his own troops. These purges were repeated in every city under Jiang’s control; however, in Wuhan, the left wing of the GMD symbolically expelled Jiang from the party.

Pro-Communist American journalist Edgar Snow on the Shanghai Massacre
On 21st March 1927, the revolutionists called a general strike which closed all the industries of Shanghai … Five thousand workers were armed, six battalions of revolutionary troops created, the warlord armies withdrew, and a citizens’ government proclaimed … the International Settlement (jointly controlled by Britain, the US and Japan) and the French Concession which adjoined it were never attacked … otherwise the triumph was complete – and short lived. The Nationalist Army, led by General Pai Chung-his, was welcomed to the city by the workers’ militia. Then on 12 April the Nationalist. Communist coalition abruptly ended when Chiang Kai-shek set up a separate regime in Nanjing … in the French Concession and the International Settlement, Chiang’s envoys had secretly conferred with representatives of the foreign powers. They reached agreements to co-operate against the Chinese Communists and their Russian allies – until then also Chiang’s allies. Given large sums of money by Shanghai’s bankers, and the blessings of the foreign authorities including guns and armoured cars, Chiang was also helped by powerful Settlement and Concession underworld leaders. They mobilised hundreds of professional gangsters. Installed in the foreigner’s armoured cars, and attired in nationalist uniforms, the gangsters carried out a night operation in co-ordination with Chiang’s troops, moving in from the rear and other flanks. Taken by complete surprise by troops considered friendly, the militiamen were massacred and their ‘citizens’ government bloodily destroyed.


American lawyer and political activist Paul Linebarger on Jiang’s assault on the Communists
At Shanghai, in 1927, Chiang’s troops turned suddenly against the Communists and Left groups, quenching the uprising that had taken the city under its flag. This coup was undertaken because Chiang felt that the Communists were outrunning their promises. The Soviet advisors, who had come to help the Nationalists, had professed their concern for China’s national struggle, and for the desirability of a fight against imperialism. They had not told Sun himself that he was a mere precursor to the proletarian revolution, nor informed the Nationalists that they were being given the privilege of fighting a war to advance the historical necessity of Nationalist extinction … Trotsky talked openly in Moscow about overthrowing the Chinese revolutionaries, and hijacking the Chinese revolution with the Chinese revolution
Communists, while Stalin believed in appeasing the Nationalists longer before discarding them. Of this Chiang was fully aware, and he struck at the sources of Communist power, labour and peasant unions, using a ruthlessness comparable to theirs.


**Jiang Jieshi’s account**

That was the darkest and most painful chapter in our [the Nationalists’] history. What almost destroyed the foundation of the Kuomintang ... was the promotion of factionalism within the Kuomintang by Wang Ching-wei and the Communist Party during 1926 and 1927. In view of these developments, the Kuomintang was forced to re-examine its policy of tolerating Communists as members of the party ... the real fact of the matter was that the members of the Chinese Communist Party within the Kuomintang violated their pledge to join the Kuomintang as individuals. Furthermore, they adhered to the theory that the Nationalist Revolution was a democratic revolution of the capitalist class, and that they must take advantage of the development of this revolution to change it into a social revolution of the proletariat. In accordance with their slogan of the class struggle, they regarded the peasants and workers as exclusive instruments of the Communist Party and encouraged production stoppages ... they encouraged our youth to despise and abandon the ancient virtues of our nation, and even denounced the virtues of propriety, righteousness, thrift and humility and reactionary, and treated filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty and obedience with scorn. The situation resembled a raging flood that nearly got out of control.


**Mao Zedong’s account**

At a critical moment in the progress of the Northern Expedition ... the treacherous and reactionary policies of ‘party purge’ and massacre adopted by the Guomindang authorities wrecked the national united front – the united front of the Guomindang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people, which embodied the Chinese people’s cause of liberation ... unity was replaced by civil war, democracy by dictatorship and a China full of brightness by a China covered in darkness. But the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered, nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went off to battle again.


**The account of Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union**

Interestingly, Stalin did not appear concerned by Jiang’s betrayal, nor did the Russians remove support for the Nationalists:

The peasant needs an old worn out jade (horse) as long as she is necessary. He does not drive her away. So it is with us. When the Right is of no more use to us, we will drive it away. At present, we need the Right. It has capable people, who still direct the army and lead it against the imperialists. Chiang Kai-shek has perhaps no sympathy for the revolution, but he is leading the army and cannot do otherwise than lead it against the imperialists. Besides this, the people of the Right have relations with the Generals of (warlord) Chang Tso-lin and understand how well to demoralise them and induce them to pass over to the side of the

continued
revolution, bag and baggage without striking a blow. Also they have connections with the rich merchants and can raise money from them. So they have to be utilised to the end, squeezed out like a lemon and then thrown away.


Questions

1. What reasons does Jiang Jieshi provide for his act against his former allies?
2. Research the Green Gang and their connections to Jiang and the Nationalist Party.
3. Consider the origins of the information offered on the Shanghai Massacre. Construct a table like the example below in which you can collate the information about this event.
   a. Consider what reasons are offered by each writer for the massacre.
   b. Consider the background and possible agenda of each writer.
   c. What do we need to know about each source in order to understand the view it offers?
   d. Why is it important for historians to examine events from differing perspectives?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts provided</th>
<th>Snow</th>
<th>Linebarger</th>
<th>Jiang</th>
<th>Mao</th>
<th>Stalin</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commonalities</td>
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<td>Differences</td>
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<td>Any ideology/bias reflected?</td>
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4. Using the information provided in this chapter and your own research, discuss in an extended paragraph the extent to which the Shanghai Massacre was shaped by the preceding events, the influence of individuals, political ideology and broader movements.

**The CCP in 1927–35: from adversity comes strength**

Between 1927 and 1935, the Chinese Communist Party struggled not only to survive but also to decide on its ideological direction. The Shanghai Massacre resulted in the loss of thousands of party members at the hands of the Nationalists and was followed by violent purges of the Peasant Associations and Communists in rural Hunan and Hubei. At the same time, party policy was largely determined by Moscow and factionalism within the CCP led to various leaders vying for power within the party. While the Russians were useful to the CCP by providing organisational expertise, money and their apparently successful model of a proletarian revolution, it was inevitable that tensions arose between China and Russia, as it became apparent that strategies which had been successful for Lenin, such as his emphasis on the role of the industrial worker, were not necessarily useful in China. Following the Shanghai Massacre, Stalin, rather than ordering a strategic retreat, instead ordered that the CCP
should lead the proletariat and peasantry to insurrection. In 1927, the remnants of the CCP attempted insurrections against the Nationalists, such as the Nanchang Uprising (August), the Autumn Harvest Uprising (September) and the Guangzhou Uprising (December), but these were suppressed by loyal GMD troops. The Guangzhou Uprising resulted in the execution of 5000 Communists. Within months, the CCP lost more than half its membership, with estimates indicating that their numbers fell from 58,000 to about 10,000. At this time, CCP leadership passed to Qu Qiubai (a Moscow-trained intellectual) when Chen Duxiu was made the scapegoat and accused of right-wing opportunism or failure to encourage Moscow’s attempt to create a mass movement known as the ‘rising wave’.

The Autumn Harvest Uprising
The aim of the Autumn Harvest Uprising of September 1927 was to capture the city of Changsha, situated in Hunan province. The insurrection was led by Mao Zedong. At this time, Mao’s belief that an organised military force be created under an independent Chinese Communist Party banner caused tension between himself and the CCP Central Committee who would later see him as a reckless military adventurer.

The uprising failed and Mao was punished by being dismissed from the party’s ruling body – the Politburo. Mao felt that the Central Committee were ‘advocates of reckless action’, who encouraged party members to undertake armed insurrections despite little hope of success. Mao and other survivors fled south from Changsha to the countryside, finding refuge in Jinggangshan – an isolated, mountainous area along the border of Hunan and Jiangxi provinces. Here Mao united with local bandits and established a stronghold from which he created a centre of resistance against the Nationalists.

SURVIVAL OF PERSECUTION – THE CCP AS A ‘DISEASE OF THE SOUL’
In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the foreign language press both overseas and in China represented Jiang Jieshi as a man concerned by the dangers of the Communists or the ‘Red Peril’ in China. The headlines did indeed reflect Jiang’s obsessive desire to rid China of the Communists and, following his about-face on the First United Front in 1927, it almost seemed that he would succeed. The CCP was fragmented, with its members either executed or exiled to the countryside, much to the delight of Jiang and his business and foreign associates. Ultimately, Jiang’s actions led the Communists to make use of the support of the peasants, and with their cooperation came limited tax reductions and land reform in what became known as Soviet bases. These became the foundation of Mao Zedong’s sinification of Marxism–Leninism.

THE JIANGXI SOVIET
Six months after Mao’s retreat to Jinggangshan, he was joined by a second Communist force led by Zhu De, a former officer in the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. Zhu called his men, who were
survivors from the failed Nanchang Uprising, the ‘Red Army’, and this was the name he and Mao used to describe their combined forces of approximately 4000 men. In January 1929, Mao and Zhu, along with more bands of renegade Communists who had joined them, made the decision to break out of Jinggangshan and establish themselves near the town of Ruijin in southern Jiangxi. This area was more fertile and the Red Army, which by then numbered about 10,000, quickly grew to over 60,000. Their new settlement became known as the Jiangxi Soviet. At its peak, the Jiangxi Soviet trained its soldiers, created propaganda and governed approximately three million people. Mao’s Red Army was still seen by CCP leadership and its ally Moscow as secondary to urban revolutionaries, with Li Lisan, party leader since July 1928, seeing the revolution in the countryside as merely a preliminary stage of the overall socialist revolution. Mao, however, saw the peasants as far more significant and used his time in Jiangxi to develop what would become known as ‘peasant communism’ or the Chinese model of socialism. At the core of Mao’s ideology was the relationship between the party, the peasants and the Red Army.

As early as 1919, Li Dazhao, librarian turned revolutionary, wrote:

"Our nation is a rural nation and most of the labouring class is made up of peasants. If they are not liberated, our whole nation will not be liberated; their sufferings are the sufferings of our whole nation; their ignorance is the ignorance of our nation … Go out and develop them and cause them to know liberation.


Mao Zedong also recognised and understood the value of the peasants quite early in his career. As director of the Farmers Movement, Mao worked as a political activist among the peasantry, and one of the distinctive elements of his ideology would be his emphasis on the role of the peasant rural masses rather than the urban proletariat. In his 1927 report on the peasant movement in Hunan, Mao came to the following conclusion:

"In a short time … several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm … a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will hold it back … they will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticising? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.


Jiangxi Soviet

After leaving Jinggangshan, Mao Zedong and Zhu De established a soviet near the town of Ruijin in November 1931, which became the Chinese Soviet government headquarters.
Unlike many of his party comrades, particularly those in Shanghai, Mao understood that the peasants made up 80 per cent of China’s population and that rural workers numbered at 205 million compared to 54 million urban workers. To Mao it seemed folly to ignore them as they had a long tradition of rebellion and were worse off than any other sector of Chinese society. His belief in the use of the peasantry to supply information and food during the implementation of guerrilla warfare, and in the creative energies of the masses through a decentralised leadership structure that met the needs of the local people, was to form the cornerstone of his ideology.

During his time in Ruijin, Mao ran the soviet along the lines he felt would best ensure the support of the peasants, while developing those socialist practices he saw as vital if communism were to be effective in China. Land was taken from the local landlords with the exception of small landholdings they could cultivate themselves, rents were abolished and landless peasants were provided with land so that they could support themselves. Further, the exploitation of women and children was outlawed; practices such as footbinding, prostitution and child slavery became illegal; and schools and health clinics were established. Other social reforms that increased the popularity of the Communist Party were equal rights for divorce and marriage, a strong discouragement of opium farming (though some was grown and Mao was a user) and the formation of a ‘people’s bank’ with its own currency.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAO’S RED ARMY

The creation of the Red Army was the major innovation of the Jiangxi Soviet. In his establishment of a principled and disciplined army, Mao went against the Chinese tradition that held ‘one must not waste good iron making nails, or good men making soldiers’. The entire Red Army was a volunteer force; there was no conscription and captured troops were given a choice between joining the Red Army and a free passage home. Membership was considered to be prestigious by the men who joined it because it was a pathway to an education as political commissars. These commissars were attached to the military divisions, and were in charge of offering instruction that featured party ideology, but which also taught the soldiers how to read. The soldiers also valued the fact that their officers did not wear badges or decorations to signify rank, and were not allowed to beat their subordinates.

In keeping with Mao’s views on the role and value of his army, he redefined the role of the soldier. In particular, Mao clearly articulated that the soldiers needed to know and understand the cause for which they were fighting. In order to achieve this, they were ordered to undertake literacy classes and participate in political education. The army remained under the control of the CCP but Mao also considered it vital that its members maintained a good relationship with the peasants and were supported by them. With this view in mind, Mao established rules which ensured that the village people were treated with courtesy, that women were to be respected rather than abused and that the Red Army should be able to successfully live among its people.

The Red Army engaged in guerrilla warfare, using tactics that were summarised by Mao into four simple lines which were easy for the soldiers to recite and remember:

1. When the enemy advances, we retreat!
2. When the enemy halts and encamps, we trouble them!
3. When the enemy seeks to avoid battle, we attack!
4. When the enemy retreats, we pursue!

Furthermore, fundamental to the Red Army’s strategy were three main rules governing discipline and eight principles introduced by Mao in 1928 which, again, were turned into a tune that the soldiers could easily learn and sing while marching. This was an effective way to both train the men and the Chinese people in Maoist ideology and was, as such, a propaganda tool. These rules ensured the Red Army were held in high regard by civilians, as they were starkly different from the other armies who generally raped and pillaged, as well as destroyed crops and infrastructure. The three main rules were:

1. Obey orders in all actions.
2. Don’t take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
3. Turn in everything captured.

The following eight principles further underlined the behaviour of the Red Army soldier:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what is bought.
3. Return everything borrowed.
4. Pay for everything damaged.
5. Don’t hit or swear at people.
6. Don’t damage crops.
7. Don’t take liberties with women.
8. Don’t ill-treat captives.


The Futian Purges

It cannot be denied that Mao’s work in the Jiangxi Soviet was innovative and highly valued by the men under his control; however, he was often authoritarian and violent during his time there. In October 1930, he instigated a violent purge of the Red Army, punishing those he suspected of being loyal to Li Lisan, the CCP member who was opposed to Mao’s peasant-based approach. It is claimed that Mao arrested 4000 soldiers and executed 1000 as members of a supposed anti-Bolshevik clique. In December 1930, the purge escalated when a group of Red Army soldiers freed some of the captured men from the town of Futian and began to display banners reading ‘Down with Mao Zedong’. Mao pretended to invite the mutinying officers for a peaceful meeting, but instead arrested all 200 and had them executed.

Conclusion

A significant factor in the collapse of the Qing Empire was its inability to withstand the military defeats and humiliating retreats imposed on it by European nations and Japan. The last years of the empire were characterised by rebellion and internal division. The peasantry suffered deep poverty, and China had fallen behind the West, economically and technologically. The May
Fourth Movement (or May Fourth Intellectual Revolution) extended from 1919 to 1923, and its consequences were far-reaching and important in Chinese history – it affected politics, changed social practices and impacted on the growth of the intellectual. In the late 1920s, the Nationalists, led by Jiang Jieshi, worked with the Chinese Communist Party to reunify the country during the Northern Expedition, but this period of uneasy cooperation came to an abrupt end when Jiang turned against the Communists, ordering a massacre in 1927. Undaunted, yet inhibited by factionalism within the party, the CCP forces fled Shanghai to regroup in the Jinggangshan Mountains and form the highly effective Jiangxi Soviet in Ruijin. It was here that Mao put into practice some of his theories regarding warfare and the role of the peasantry, proving that Jiang’s actions had led to the growth of the CCP rather than crushing it.
Chapter summary

+ The Qing government was weak, corrupt and under the influence of foreign imperialists.
+ Sun Yixian created an alliance of revolutionary groups known as the Tongmenghui in 1905 and organised 10 failed uprisings.
+ Following the accidental detonation of a bomb in Wuhan, the Qing dynasty was crushed and its boy emperor, Pu Yi, abdicated in 1911.
+ The Republic of China was established with Sun Yixian as provisional president, but he stepped down in favour of Yuan Shikai who did not have China’s best interests at heart and proclaimed himself emperor. He was forced to abdicate and died in 1916.
+ Sun Yixian formed the Guomindang (Nationalist Party) in opposition to Yuan Shikai.
+ A period of anarchy known as the Warlord Era fragmented China.
+ A rising number of Chinese intellectuals were drawn to Marxism, which led to the formation of the Chinese Communist Party.
+ Jiang Jieshi became leader of the Guomindang following the death of Sun Yixian.
+ The Communist Party and the Guomindang formed an alliance known as the First United Front and set out to unify China and conquer the warlords.
+ The First United Front was betrayed by the military leader of the Guomindang, Jiang Jieshi.
+ Communist Party members fled, reformed and set up a strong political and military force that challenged the right of the Guomindang to govern China.

Weblinks

Weblinks relevant to this chapter can be found at http://nmh.nelsonnet.com.au/china

Further resources


Film

Puyi, the last Emperor of China (2009), written and directed by Peter Du Cane.
The Last Emperor (1987), directed by Bernardo Bertolucci.

Chapter review activities

1. Provide a definition chart for the following key terminology used in this chapter:
   a. Mandate of Heaven
   b. Imperialism
   c. Marxism–Leninism
   d. Three Principles
   e. Twenty-one Demands
   f. Comintern
   g. Northern Expedition
   h. First United Front.

2. Create a table with two columns and name them ‘Internal threats’ and ‘External threats’. Use the table to outline the key problems of the Qing dynasty that resulted in its downfall.

3. What problems encountered by the Qing continued to be issues for the Chinese following the Double Tenth and the abdication of Pu Yi?

4. In what ways did the ideology and actions of Sun Yixian impact on the growth of revolutionary activity in China?

5. Create a timeline on which you place the key times and events identified in this chapter. Provide brief annotations to ensure you understand the significance of each event in terms of the growth of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Guomindang (GMD).

6. Create a research report in which you investigate the inquiry question: What was the significance of the May Fourth Movement and the subsequent New Culture Movement in terms of the creation of a new breed of revolutionaries?

7. Why was Mao Zedong regarded as a ‘reckless adventurer’ by senior CCP members?

8. What role did Mao see the Red Army playing in the development of the revolution?

9. In what ways did Mao’s ideas about his management of the peasantry and the Red Army differ from those of the 28 Bolsheviks and the party executive?

10. Explain the significance of the Jiangxi Soviet in the creation of Mao’s ideology.

11. What was significant about Mao’s management of his party members in Jinggangshan and the Jiangxi Soviet in terms of the development of Maoism?
12 Official orthodoxy of the CCP implies the strong leadership role of Mao from its very beginnings. Is this accurate? Use evidence to support your answer.

13 Create a flow chart in which you plot the development of events in China from the downfall of the Qing to the establishment of the Jiangxi Soviet.

14 Create your own visual interpretation of the events in China and place against it the growth and development of the CCP and the GMD. This representation should be organic and you can keep adding to it as your learn more about both parties in subsequent chapters.

15 Write an essay in response to this statement by historian Lucien Bianco:

“The May Fourth Movement was a kind of Chinese Enlightenment ... it was a ground-clearing exercise [that] foreshadowed and paved the way for 1949 ... 1919 was more important than 1911: the second attack went beyond the tottering empire ... to a system of thought and social organisation ... [it] called into question the very basis of Chinese society.”

Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution 1915–1949,
Stanford University Press, CA, 1971, pp. 27–8