

History

mug 2016 FEs

Warren | Kok Hai | Bairun | Reuben | Galen

Format of FE History: 4 SBQ questions + 1 Essay

Suggested **time allocation** by Mr Lim: < **1 hour for SBQ** and the rest for essay

Content coverage

- Concept of Political Revolution – Factors and Impact
- Rise of Dictators (Germany, Russia and China)
- Rule of Dictators (Germany, Russia and China)
- International conflict and resolution → era leading to WWII

To be included in revision (notes):

- Key Events and Concepts
- Causal Factors
- Stages of development - origin and intensification
- Impact - short, long, +, -

Table (drawn in T3W2 lesson)

Revolutions	Ideology	Dictatorship
Causes	Role	Rise <i>Bloody or peaceful?</i> <i>Ability or circumstance?</i>
Method <i>Planned or spontaneous?</i>	Impact	Impact
Impact	<i>Fixed or shaped by / changes with circumstance?</i>	

SBQ guidelines:

While you plan your essays, you also **plan your SBQs. Make it a habit.**

Annotate your SBQs each time you read them (incl. 1st encounter - don't waste it!)

Major problem made by many history students - when analysing a source, **you focus too much on the source content - comprehension-style - while you ignore the BIG PICTURE**

E.g. Hitler Youth SBQ question

Mistake: focus too much on the text itself [likely to occur if nervous, does not calm down during exam itself], ignoring:

#1 The **BIG PICTURE**: The source is a '**complaint**' letter → link to attitude & feelings of the Hitler Youth member towards the state-organised programmes

#2 **What the question is demanding**: Are you surprised by the source? → how should your answer be answering the question? → Strategise and plan first (do not just rush into writing)

Steps to hitting the right spot for SBQ (a guide):

Question: Are you surprised by the source?

What should I be surprised about? What's the most glaring clue / hint in the source?

→ In the source what first stands out is the tone of the 'private letter' - very exasperated, somewhat annoyed

{Ask yourself: is this typical of a Hitler Youth member? According to CK, shouldn't the youths adopt a positive, cheerful attitude towards the programmes?}

Write this observation beside the source!

→ What then does this observation reveal about? → The boy's attitude towards the camp!

Now look at other sources: what are the ones talking about the same programme / topic / event → Cross-reference

When cross-referring to another source, here are the key elements that should be included in the paragraph(s):

#1 **On what basis are you comparing?** (Theme? A specific idea?)

#2 Quotations and explanations from **BOTH** sources

#3 **Tie the sources together** - justify the contradiction / support

Knowledge from CK should be cleverly included into inference & cross-reference paragraphs

→ **Big picture: what generally describes the source?**

E.g. questions asks for students' judgement for success of Nazi rule (SBQ test)

Source: *German Woman commenting on the state of women under Nazi rule*

The source is a complaint, a negative remark by a German citizen against Nazi policies.

→ **Is this a measure of success?** YES! If there are dissenters, then the state is not successful

→ no faith / support in policies.

{On hindsight, not everyone supported / liked what Hitler was doing. There are dissidents / non-conformers / people skeptical about him & his policies...}

Purpose

Note that purpose should not be misused - only write about purpose when question demands for it / adds to your view meaningfully

All-sources

Each source should answer clearly & directly to the main demand of the question

E.g. Evaluate success of Nazi rule

Source #1 -- A view on book burning -- Destruction of literature / culture = not success?

Failure = not success?

✓ There was opposition to Nazi state endorsed book-burning, showing the its rule is not successful as it couldn't get everyone to support their actions & justifications for the actions

Source #2-- Some lady who was really inspired by the rally speeches

✓ Nazi rule was successful because it could convince ordinary citizens to believe in their ideologies & join in the action.

General rules of thumb when answering SBQs

-Preferably write your stand at the first sentence - guarantees that you straight-away answer the question

-Planning prevents you from veering away from what the question is asking for

-Don't straight-away zoom into the words (don't also read the questions first and making yourself susceptible to ignoring other imp't points)

Essay guidelines:

Things the marker looks out for:

- Answering the question → does the paragraph satisfactorily address what the question asks?
- Consistent focus on the question
- Flow and analysis in the paragraph → well-developed line of reasoning
- Examples that directly support claim(s)
- Persuasiveness when evaluating contrasting views / claims
- Strong link to question

A brief plan is necessary: you should not be deciding what to include or how to respond as you are writing!

INTRODUCTION - Stand & 2 major views framing your essay < 1/3 of the page!

BODY PARAGRAPHS - Keep them focused and accurate! Use wording of the question to explicitly link to the question

CONCLUSION - Opportunity to draw all your points together & leave the marker in no doubt as to your answer. Should clearly and succinctly sum up your arguments.

Using **2 case studies for each point** helps

Formatting guidelines (subject to change)

Giant Title: e.g. **1. Russia** (Size 32: *(32/40 is just nice 4.0)*)

Heading 1: e.g February Revolution (Size 17) → Main event / period of development

Heading 3: e.g. a Cause, an impact (Size 14)

Heading or **Heading**: a sub-point - for organisation

Pictorial sourcebook:

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1mqn-yqPMUyoHn_dbdASujCVzmdaCkyTK0KB9lO6jMS4/edit

1. Russia

From autocracy to communism

Revolutions | Rise of dictators | Rule of dictators | Growth of ideologies

Before the Revolution

Concepts on how ideologies develop | conditions for dramatic social change

INDUSTRIALISATION

Areas where workers were concentrated at: St Petersburg & Moscow

Rapid industrial growth spearheaded by senior minister Sergei Witte

- Oil and coal production tripled and iron production quadrupled

Motivations and goals of industrialisation programme:

- **Boost military might:** Weapons, ammunition and machinery for warfare could only be obtained through an industrial base.
- **Allow Russia to emerge from poverty (& backwardness) as a major international power:** Backwardness and outdatedness in agricultural methods

How did industrialisation create conditions for dissent / opposition / Bolshevism / opposition ideologies to arise?

1. Hardship & suffering

Peasants left the land to work in newly developing industries: **while their living conditions hardly improved**. (There is ample visual evidence of crowded dormitories, packed canteens etc. showing the sub-par living & working standards.)

Phrases to support hardship: Low pay; 12-15-hour days; unguarded machinery; brutal discipline

2. Disparities with the other social classes

Stark contrast (in living standards, treatment, livelihood) between the capitalists + aristocracy & the workers + peasants

Luxury of winter palace surrounded by miserable filth & squalor

Growing capitalist class - landowners, industrialists, bankers, traders and businessmen

Hopes & desires: management of the economy (will fell out with government / rulers if their businesses are threatened); controlling their workforce

(Growing **class tensions & conflict** between classes = class struggle = Increased appeal for Marxist model of REVOLUTION)

Turned to political opposition groups / alternative leadership for redress / hope for change / solidarity (among proletarians)

- Trade unions were illegal → such groups were able to coordinate strikes & riots (e.g. 1901 Obukhov Factory riot coordinated by factory workers who belonged to SD & SR circles)
- The fact that these workers were densely packed in cities also meant that **collective revolutionary mobilisation was made easier**.

February Revolution - 1917

Reasons for revolution can be summarised into 3-4 main areas:

1. Incompetence / inability of the Tsarist leadership
2. Poverty and hardship of the people - Suffering & grievances
3. WWI intensified existing problems & undermined Tsarist authority (sense of hopelessness and disloyalty)
4. Revolutionary action of the time (spirit and sentiments)

1. Poor Leadership/System

Approach #1: SYSTEM WAS INHERENTLY FLAWED

Nicholas II had inherited an inherently flawed system that was **backward and incompatible with modernisation**; a system that would inevitably fall.

The Bureaucracy

- Overly complex, meaning that many of its flaws were beyond Nicholas II's control
- Comprised of many government departments, some of which could be seen as superfluous, such as the Council of State
- Background: Established as a full-scale civil service by Peter I intended to maintain central; governmental control throughout the empire.
- **Reviewed-proposed laws and reported to the Tsar**, however, the Tsar need not pay heed to their recommendations → decisions made had to pass through a large number of officials. Apart from being very ineffective, this also meant that it was not difficult for ministers to keep the Tsar ignorant of what they did not want him to know.
- Bribery was rampant and corruption became a hallmark of Russia's bureaucracy.
- Bureaucracy's **nepotism** (Family connections > merit) and incompetence were the principal reasons for Russia's backwardness.
 - **"Privileged, grasping and self-seeking"** and **"sucking the blood of the people with thousands of greedy, unclean mouths."** -Alexander Herzen, leading revolutionary thinker, critic of Tsarist government in late 19th century

The flawed bureaucratic system contributed to the discontent the people had against the Tsar.

Incompatibility with modernisation & industrialisation

System of **autocracy** was incongruous with modernisation, both in terms of ideals and industrialisation.

Contradictions & clashes between absolutism & modernisation:

- **Education**: fuels demand of skilled labour **yet** is a fertile breeding ground for revolutionaries as people became more able to evaluate the present state of affairs and develop ideas of their own.

Yet, Russia had to modernise to keep up with the international scene. This meant that the fall of monarchy in Russia was inevitable.

Russia's geographical size was also a challenge for the Tsar (especially when bureaucratic system was weak): "The head of one man would not suffice for [the government's] requirements with distances which render everything difficult." (Tsar Nicholas I, 1843)

Approach #2: Tsar indecisiveness & weakness: susceptibility to -ve influence

"His character is the source of all our misfortunes. His outstanding weakness is a lack of willpower." -Sergei Witte

Nicholas II expedited the downfall of monarchy in Russia as he committed aggravating **mistakes** due to his susceptibility to influences (Tsarina & Rasputin) and unwillingness to reform (Firing of Stolypin).

As an individual, he **lacked the decisiveness and wisdom**; two important traits for a leader. His weakness thus allowed influences to essentially **hold a vice grip over national decision making**. Many disastrous decisions were made as a result, chipping away at the confidence the people had for the Tsar.

RASPUTIN AND TSARINA

The 'mad monk' and the 'German woman'

Rasputin claimed to be a **staret** able to heal the Tsar's only son, Alexei's haemophilia. He was thus able to gain the favour of the Tsar and Tsarina with his mythical healing powers.

Actions of Rasputin damaging Tsardom's legitimacy, authority and popularity:

- The Tsar sought his advice for national issues, allowing Rasputin exerted great influence over the Tsar and in court.
- Rasputin's **disgusting lifestyle and sexual depravity** and his **warped doctrine of repentance by sin**, made him unpopular with the Russian population and hated by the imperial court.

- Yet, Nicholas II and his wife continued to fancy this man and officially invited him to the imperial court, giving him **royal favour**. ("Our dear friend", as what Alexandra addressed Rasputin in her letters to Nicholas II.)

De facto rule of Rasputin and Tsarina over Russia

Years of Tsar Nicholas II taking over direct command of Russia's armed services 1915-1917

- (Influenced important decisions) For example, under Rasputin's suggestion, Nicholas II **decided to personally lead the war efforts during World War I**, instead of having his uncle, the **Grand Duke Nikolai**, who had greater military ability. This was an atrocious idea as during this **tumultuous times**, Russia needed the leadership of its Tsar, but instead, Russia, **a nation in the hour of its greatest trial**, fell under the sway of the widely unpopular Tsarina and a **staret**-fraud / debauched monk. (Intention: to rally the nation around him as Tsar and representative of the Russian people.) This decision led to two repercussions.
 - 1. Tsar-led army faced numerous defeats on the battlefield. This **riled up nationalistic fervour** that blamed these losses on the Tsar himself. Nationalists felt that the **Tsar personally responsible for causing Russia's losses, resulting in the rise of anti-monarchical sentiments**. Rasputin has made Nicholas II a hostage to fortune.
 - 2. During the period of the Tsar's absence, the Rasputin and Tsarina failed to rule the nation well. **Ministers were appointed and sacked on Rasputin's 'holy' whims, not on the capability of each individual**.
- Also, under Rasputin's command, the nation's passenger transport system was halted for six days intended to be used for the transport of food. However, Rasputin failed to order for the collection of food, meaning that the transport system was disrupted for absolutely no reason.

The incapability of the government during this period due to Rasputin was **protested by the Duma, three of the Grand Dukes and even the Tsarina's two sisters**. Yet, Tsar Nicholas II did nothing about the situation. These eventually led to the grave and irreversible diminishing of support for the monarchy. The fact that Rasputin had such control of such major aspects of Russia, proved that the Tsar was incompetent by **allowing personal relationships interfere with politics**.

Succumbing to pressure from the nobility to keep status quo

Despite Russia's great need of reform, the nobility, having enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle for ages, saw their societal standing as perpetual and resisted any form of reform that would challenge their power in society. This involved quashing the industrialists and intellectuals who wanted to rise up the social hierarchy to their position. They formed the **United Nobility** to thwart any efforts the Tsar attempted to make.

UNWILLINGNESS TO RELINQUISH POWER

Tensions were high as intellectuals pushed for major reformation of the political landscape, **some seeking a constitutional monarchy, others seeking the complete**

abolishment of the monarchy. It was the general consensus that the people wanted more liberal ideals, yet, the Tsar himself was a firm believer in the absolute power of an autocracy.

- ***"I shall adhere as unswervingly as my father to the principle of autocracy," (Nicholas II, 1894)***

His personal preference of this caused him to **deny reforms that had him relinquish any of his power or compromises to the people.** This stubborn attitude led to **disconnectedness and discord between the government and the people.**

- (Uncompromising stance by Tsarist government) Bloody Sunday episode in 1905
 - Peaceful protesters, including women and children (carrying icons, crosses and portraits of the Tsar and Tsarina and singing hymns) led by Father Gapon marched to the Winter Palace and **APPEALED** to the Tsar (who they regarded as the "little father") **for more liberal reforms.**
 - Yet, they were shot down by armed soldiers and charged by mounted Cossacks, resultant casualty count reached **200 dead and 800 wounded.**
 - This violent crushing of the peaceful protest ruined the 'benevolent' image of the Tsar, who then became **"Nicholas the Bloody"**. News of this spread fast and more became politically aware of the issues of the Tsarist regime.

In a bid to quell the discontent, the Tsar half-heartedly granted most of the requests of the petition in the October Manifesto. He set up an elected Duma and State Council that could suggest laws and granted the freedom of speech and political meetings.

However, the key point of contention is that the Duma could be seen to be a puppet government as the **Tsar preserved his own right to veto any law, as well as to appoint and dismiss ministers.** It was obvious that the reforms were simply political schemes used to appease the masses; the reforms made little impact as the Tsar's power was not at all limited. This lack of sincerity was felt by the masses and contributed to anti-monarchical sentiments.

LACK OF TRAINING

"My god, my god, what a day. My head is spinning, I don't know how to be a Tsar, I have no idea about the business of ruling, I have no idea how to talk to the ministers." -On his father, Alexander III's passing

Nicholas II was not trained sufficiently to take up the responsibility as Tsar. Tsar Alexander III, Nicholas II's father, suddenly and unexpectedly passed away. At the young age of **26, unprepared and untrained,** Nicholas II became the ruler of Russia.

Despite having a holistic education, even knowing how to speak French, German and English, Nicholas II was not trained to be statesmen.

- He knew nothing of being a good political figure, and even less of leading an empire as enormous and diverse as Russia.

- His father was expected to helm the role of Tsar for much longer, and thus held off teaching Nicholas II the work of a statesman as he felt Nicholas II was not mature enough.
- Nicholas II identified himself **more as a family man than a ruler** of Russia. He was deeply devoted to his wife and children, even having photographs of them in his lavatories.
 - ***How could one expect an untrained and unwilling family man to lead Russia through such challenging times?***

A vast number of critiques against Tsar Nicholas II as a leader could thus be attributed to his lack of training. For example, his susceptibility to external influences could be a result of his lack of confidence in his own leadership.

2. Poverty and Suffering

PEASANTS

Mostly poor, illiterate and uneducated, the peasants slogged out their lives on small patches of land they owned.

Despite the peasants having been emancipated from serfdom in 1861, they were still very much oppressed under the Tsarist regime. Their financial status saw little improvement from when they were serfs. In fact, **the peasant annual death rate rose from 24-27 per thousand in 1800 to 35 per thousand in 1880.**

Upon emancipation, those who worked the land and were entitled to land did receive plots. However, they were often small and infertile. The rising peasant population, from 50 million in 1860 to **79 million at the end of 19th century** meant that the land became more and more fragmented, greatly reducing the productivity for each area of land. With more divided plots, the freedom of experimenting and attempting new techniques was very much limited.

In addition, for these lands they received, they had to **pay hefty instalments to the government**. These redemption payments were a major point of dissatisfaction. They were shackled down by these payments and could not advance economically. Believing in the fundamental theory of property, the peasants believed that the land should belong to whoever worked on it. They thus fought aggressively for their ownership of the land. They were spurred on by Social Revolutionaries who persuaded them to take over lands and expel landowners.

Their poverty was exacerbated by **increasing state taxes and taxes** on essential items as a result of Witte's overambitious economic policy to rapidly industrialise Russia. In an attempt to obtain more expensive machinery and to pay off foreign loans, the peasants

were forced to pay more. **Out of 280 million rubles obtained by direct taxes on the people, 267 million was from the peasants.** Their economic position was thus held in a vice grip to which they remained as debt slaves.

Many had to head to urban areas to work in mines and factories during slack farming seasons to supplement their income. The peasants could hardly provide for themselves with the meagre amounts of harvests their small lands obtained, much less pay the overbearing taxes and **redemption fees**. Bad harvests in 1900 and 1902 pushed the peasants to breaking point as famines rose. Driven to starvation, they **burst out in violent uprisings in provinces like Kharkov and Poltava.**

'Domestic' serfs who worked in homes received no land and likewise had to seek employment in urban cities. With a large portion of rural agrarian population moving to and from cities, revolutionary ideas were spread from urban to rural areas.

WORKERS

The proletariat consisted mainly of emancipated serfs and peasants who migrated from rural areas to urban cities in search of employment. The workers suffered **harsh working conditions, low wages and horrid living quarters**. The wages of workers were **perpetually depressed** as the emancipation of serfs and growth in population meant an abundance of cheap and accessible labour.

Excess labour meant workers were dispensable and had little worth, leading to the exploitation by factory employers. In particularly denser cities such as St. Petersburg and Moscow, the standard of living of workers were very low.

As the cities became overcrowded with the influx of rural-urban migration, **sanitation and hygiene deteriorated**. Living quarters, especially factory dorms, were so congested that families lived within literal arms' reach of each other. The rooms were divided by mere curtains and no one had any privacy. Even at work, poor safety regulations meant a high death rate due to accidents or work-related illnesses. The proletariat were thus obviously very much discontented with Tsarist rule.

They thus became susceptible to radicalism by new revolutionary ideas, in particular, Marxism, which fought for workers and equality. **The literacy level of workers was twice the national average, meaning that they could articulate their grievances and were receptive to revolutionary ideas.** In addition, 40% of workers worked in factories exceeding 1000 workers. They were very **concentrated**, making it much easier to organise strike action. A manifestation of discontent can be seen by the increasing number of strikes

3. Wars

Intensification of problems & undermining of authority

RUSO-JAP WAR OF 1905

Nicholas II saw it as an **opportunity to raise Russian morale and patriotism**, paying little attention to the finances of a long-distance war. He attempted to invoke nationalism in the population by perpetuating the image of racial inferiority and military weakness of the Japanese, derogating the Japanese as 'little yellow monkeys'.

In reality, due to **incapable leadership, insufficient supplies and an overall inferior armed force, Russia fared terribly**. For example, during the Battle of Tsushima, Russia's supposedly superior navy lost its entire naval fleet to the Japanese. The eventual defeat in the Russo-Japanese War came as a shock to the Russian public; having lost to an Asian country which they perceived as inferior to them was a major humiliation.

WORLD WAR I

In 1914, out of nationalistic fervour, Russia joined the side of Serbia, a Slavic nation, in World War I. Russia saw itself as the protector of the Slavic people and took it upon herself to fight against Germany and Austria. However, this was a grave mistake as **the poorly trained and poorly equipped Russian forces were no match for the modern German army**. By 1915, over 4 million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded or taken prisoner.

Under Rasputin's suggestion, the **Tsar's decided to assume command of the Russian Army in spite of virtually unanimous cabinet opposition**; the latter correctly feared that any setbacks the Army suffered would necessarily reflect directly upon the Tsar himself.

Setbacks in the WWI days:

- When heavy defeats and great numbers of deaths befell the Russian army, the Tsar faced the whiplash of angry nationalists as morale of the troops fell to dangerously low levels.
- Ordinary Russians were met with acute food and fuel shortages caused by the war. Food was diverted to soldiers at the front, putting a great strain on the agriculture industry. Food prices skyrocketed and the people were left hungry and disgruntled.
 - Requisitioning of horses and fertilizers by the military limited agricultural productivity / output
 - Inflation rendered trading unprofitable, leading to peasants hoarding their stocks
- Forced conscription of able-bodied man (generated anger [families] and low morale [conscripts]). **Nearly half of the peasant households no longer had men to work the land** as 14 million men had been mobilised by 1917, compared the pre-war numbers of 1.3 million.
- Problems faced by railways: **demands of war** (transporting millions of troops and masses of supplies) **overtook capacity** | signalling system broke down | blocked lines and engine breakdowns | lack of coal

- 1916: 575 stations were no longer capable of handling freight
- Undistributed Allied aid to Russia stranded at Archangel
- 1916: Petrograd and Moscow were receiving only a third of their food and fuel requirements
- The shortage of fuel had already meant that some factories were shut down and workers left unemployed. Even those with work saw their **wages remaining at a pitiful level** despite the prices of goods increasing four fold from the start to the end of the war.
- INFLATION: Between 1914 - 1917, government spending rose from 4 to 30 million roubles, forcing the government to abandon the gold standard and print money to meet short term financial demands (enabling wages to be paid and commerce to continue)
 - Acute inflation @ 1916 (Prices of food and fuel were 4 times that of 1914)

These episodes culminated a poor, starving and freezing population, ready to take up any opportunity for alternative leadership. These hardships were directly pinned upon the Tsar's ineptitude to rule the country. Seeing that Tsardom could not provide for even their most basic needs, a flood of strikes, demonstrations and protests broke out throughout the country. Just like the one in March 1917 that resulted in the abdication of the Tsar, large scale protests were not uncommon.

Russia's involvement in the respective wars revealed the **weaknesses of Tsarist rule and military leadership**. The people back in Russia suffered from the detrimental impacts of the war and grew very much weary of war. The sufferings of the people spurred them to take a hostile stance against the monarchy and directly resulted in the Tsar's loss of support.

4. Revolutionary sentiments & spirit of the time

In the late 19th early 20th century, many of the industrialised and powerful nations, like France and Britain, were no longer absolute monarchies. They had democracies and parliaments that the middle class had great influence in.

- Showed the people that other methods of governance exist and are feasible/even better

The liberal ideals of these countries seeped into Russian society, challenging the backward ideals of autocracy (even challenging absolutism itself). In Russia, the middle class was growing as a result of industrialisation, yet they held little political power. This spurred them on to push for reformation against an absolute monarchy as they wanted their own say in the nation's ruling.

Growth of new groups of intellectuals / the middle class due to the increased opportunities for education - e.g. Lenin himself gained his political awareness and revolutionary stance from his education.

Growth of revolutionary ideology:

- E.g. Marxism, which was particularly attractive
 - Advertised a more just and fair society that had been severely lacking in Russia, where the nobility and aristocracy got to enjoy a luxurious life while peasants and workers slogged.

October Revolution - 1917

Rise of the Bolsheviks

Weaknesses of the Provisional Government that led to their ultimate failure

1. POOR PUBLIC IMAGE

Shaky Start

The Provisional Government was **born out of the death of the long standing monarchical system, into an era riddled with monumental problems**. From the start, the legality and authority of the Provisional Government was uncertain for it lacked the administrative apparatus to enforce any orders they issued. They could introduce new policies but how they were put into action was questionable.

Additionally, they **inherited a mountain of problems from the failure of the monarchy**, such as a losing war, critical food shortage, an empty treasury and a discontent population. These problems were so entrenched and severe that the government could be seen to have been predestined for failure. It was not possible for a group of moderate leaders to tackle such extreme issues.

Moreover, the Provisional Government had to deal with the Central Executive Committee of the **Petrograd Soviet**, which proved to be a **conflicting institution of authority** for they represented the revolutionary leftist mob. With multiple leaderships in play, efforts towards salvaging the urgent problems were often hindered due to dissenting views. Needless to say, with such an inherently weak formation, the moderate and arguably overly conservative Provisional Government had little in its power to defuse the volatile bomb that was Russia.

Kornilov Crisis - revealed hidden fractures in government

Kornilov was the newly appointed commander-in-chief of the remaining Russian armies. He was a traditionalist who believed in corporal/capital punishment and despised socialism. Thus he was opposed the Petrograd Soviet and Bolsheviks and was on poor terms with the Provisional Government, who was hesitant in employing corporal/capital punishment. As such, Kornilov sought to strengthen his own power by ousting both the soviet and the government. He was able to attain free reign in military operations, and eventually reimposed the death penalty.

In August, under supposed instructions of Kerensky, **Kornilov and his troops marched into the revolutionary capital of Petrograd, claiming to arrest the Bolsheviks, disperse the Soviets and restore order**. Kerensky knew of the possibility of a military coup and immediately dismissed Kornilov. However, the general refused to leave his post and instead summoned upon anti-Kerensky Russian patriots and more troops to move into the capital. With that, the Provisional Government was forced to engage the help of the soviets and the Bolshevik Red Guards. The Bolshevik troops, many of whom were workers,

were **provided arms and ammunition to protect the city from possible assault**.

Fortifications were made and 7,000 possible Kornilov supporters arrested. After extensive propaganda was used to convince Kornilov's troops that **they were in fact restoring the old regime**, they refused to continue the fight and **Kornilov's putsch fell apart**.

This debacle {sudden failure} revealed the fragility of the Provisional Government's rule and their incapability to handle conflict. They had to seek the help of the Soviets and showed where power truly lay in the capital. This was not only a boost to Bolshevik image, but also to its military might, for **over 25,000 Bolshevik organised workers were now armed and capable of revolution**. Moreover the Kornilov affair **led to the release of Bolshevik leaders like Trotsky** under the pressure of the soviets and now allowed the Bolsheviks to consolidate their support over the discontented population. With the army now in greater shambles and **the Bolsheviks obtaining 50% of the seats in the Petrograd soviet by September**, it was clear that the Provisional Government's shaky authority had little chance of survival.

2. Continued participation in WWI (July 1917)

Kerensky decided that war shall persist till Russian victory (due to the fact that Russia has come to rely on the supplies and **war credits** given by her Western allies to sustain her economy → financial obligation). This was not just **wildly unpopular with the war-weary Russian population**, but also **fiscally draining** as Russia faced continuous defeat.

- ★ Despite knowing the abject state of the troops morale, the lack of supplies, as well as the broken transportation, it was decided that a **new military offensive was to be engaged against Austro-German forces (in July)**. This was in hopes of increasing the government's authority and prestige at home and silence critics.

Unsurprisingly, Russian forces were unable to break the enemy's resistance and eventually fled eastward, committing great atrocities against the innocent civilian population as they retreated. The humiliating defeat not just confirmed the inability of the Russian Army to continue warfare, but the proved the poor decision making of the provisional Government, for they chose to take the gamble of engaging in further offensives despite knowing the slim chances they had.

3. INEFFECTIVE POLICIES

Aloof policies - disconnect with ordinary Russians

The Provisional Government was very aloof in its crafting of policies for it **overlooked the true basic needs of the masses**, focusing more on legality and political reform. It managed to achieve things like freedom of speech, assembly and press, as well as introduce a general system of trial by jury, however these legislative changes did little to improve the livelihood of the people. The actual sources of heated discontent - **peasants' hunger for land ownership, workers' insistence on better wages and conditions and non-Russians' aspirations for true self-determination** - were not dealt with effectively, for the

government was too moderate, too cautious to go ahead with crucial policies. It left a great deal of urgent matters to the Constituent Assembly, which convocation was repeatedly postponed. The masses felt the brunt of the government's incapability to prioritise the nation's needs, losing faith due to their inefficacy and thus becoming more susceptible to the revolutionary element of incoming exiles.

4. SOCIAL UPHEAVAL

Dissatisfaction of Workers

The Provisional Government **was unable to meet the needs** of the workers. Firstly **unemployment was rampant** as increased labour costs and shortage of raw materials forced many industries to close down. The unemployed workers, met with rising inflation and a scarcity of food, **resorted to violence**, such as taking over and running plants so as to earn enough for food. These take overs only further worsened the productivity of the industries as the now worker-run factories had little discipline or expertise. The government however, did not have a firm plan to restore industrial stability and allowed the prevailing anarchy to ensue. These workers, now starving and discontented, were very much willing to pledge allegiance to any other figure who could promise change. Knowing this, the Bolsheviks capitalised on this group of people who were restless for change. As the workers were concentrated in industrial areas and were organized in trade unions, factory committees and the soviets, alternative ideologies, particularly one's like Marxism which offered them an edge, was easily disseminated and absorbed.

Inability to Satisfy Peasants' Land Hunger

The peasant only had one goal, to **own the land they worked**. They did not want the right to vote, or parliamentary reform; the poor, backward and illiterate peasants saw the acquisition nobility's estates as their sole objective. With the fall of the old regime, the peasants launched at the chance to rebel against authority and obtain land. This could be seen in the armed forces, majority of which were peasants, when **over a million men demobilised themselves to return home to secure land**. They turned against their superiors and fraternised with the enemy, leading to an absolute loss of discipline and competence in the army. They were war weary and land hungry. In their quest to obtain land, they removed local landowners by burning, pillaging and murder. The estates were now in the hands of the peasants, who divided the land amongst themselves. This dealt a great blow to the productivity of the land as the now fragmented estates produced a fraction of what they did before. This led to hikes in food prices and was overall detrimental to the economy.

The Provisional Government did little to handle this outpouring of peasant discontent. They were **ambivalent towards the peasant problem**, at times sympathising with their aspirations, and at times deploring their use of radical violence. **They decided that legal procedures to settle the land problem should be settled by the Constituent Assembly**, the convocation of which was repeatedly postponed. With the lack of a firm response from the government, the peasants took law into their own hands and continued attacks on estates.

The government's authority thus diminished rapidly as the peasants viewed them with little regard.

Inability to deal with Self-determination of National Minorities

Upon the demise of the old regime, many nationalities in Russia organised their own administration within their territories and sought for autonomy, even complete separation from within the new Russia. The Provisional Government did not intend to bow to demands from non-Russian nationalities in order to prevent territorial disintegration, yet was incapable of preventing such unrest. Even the Petrograd Soviet favoured self-determination of these lands. As a result, the Provisional Government employed an **inconsistent policy that revealed the weakness of the government to appease and sedate the discontent of national minorities**. They granted independence to certain nationalities like the Poles and Finns, yet denied it to others. This policy only bred further discontent, in particular, from the Ukraine. Ukraine was the principal coal and metal region of empire and was indispensable to the Russian empire. In order to fight for the autonomy they sought, they formed a revolutionary administration, the Central Rada, which had initially desired only broad autonomy within a federated Russian republic. The Provisional Government chose to stall the Rada's efforts by refusing to yield and instead claiming only a Constituent Assembly could resolve such a matter. Such a vague and weak response only left the Ukrainians furious and further bent for autonomy, forming a Ukrainian army

Strength of the Bolsheviks

Strong Ideology

Their ideology offered something to everybody and **aligned essentially with what the masses wanted**. The Bolshevik programme sought an **end to the war, the granting of land to peasants and workers' control of the industry**. These expectedly appealed to the pre-existing pain points of the people. Bolshevik slogans like **'Peace, Bread and Land'** and **'Land to the Peasants'** (the latter was borrowed from the SRs but became a Bolshevik catchphrase) were thus popular. (The peasant slogan produced a considerable swing to the Bolsheviks in the countryside.)

Bolsheviks had the **self-confidence, drive and conviction** to achieve their goals.

April Theses - Lenin succeeded in persuading the Bolsheviks of his arguments as laid out in the April Theses and they provided much of the ideological groundwork that later led to the October Revolution.

Party membership increased fivefold from January to July 1917, to 200,000 members

In summary: PG vs Bolsheviks

PG → has made some unpopular choices / decisions

Continue war or make peace

Distribute land to peasants or urge peasants to be restrained, to wait for elections before taking any land

{Generally cautious about any step that was going to be taken}

→ Declined support & collapse of authority in the 2nd half of 1917

- **Failing war effort** (e.g. the German offensive, 6 July → “Authority and obedience no longer exist ... for hundreds of miles one can see deserters, armed and unarmed, in good health and in high spirits, certain that they will not be punished.” -- Russian officer reporting back to PG) (-- Link to legitimacy)
- **Aug: Kornilov affair** -- attempted coup d'état by the then Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, General Lavr Kornilov, to unseat the PG from power & remove the Bolsheviks -- Kerensky relied on Bolshevik support to save the government, allowing the Bolsheviks to seize the ripe opportunity to organise themselves into Red Guards and gain fighting experience & weapons

Soviets (esp.*Petrograd Soviet) →

Had support of workers in key industries such as coal mining and water, and the support of much of the army

{Many supporters for the Bolsheviks came from the soviets & in the army}

Rise of Bolshevism

Party membership increased fivefold from January to July 1917, to 200,000 members

Extensive & effective use of slogans: ‘Peace, bread, land’ & ‘All power to the soviets’

Process of the October Revolution:

6 November: Red Guards led by Leon Trotsky took control of post offices, bridges, and the State Bank.

7 November: Continued taking-over of important targets, such as railway stations; Storming of the Winter Palace

The Bolsheviks in Power

Impacts (rule of Stalin & Lenin)

DID IT ACHIEVE ITS GOALS? Was it necessary/good?

Civil War (L) [November 1917 – October 1922]

Strengths of the Red Army

- Brilliantly organised and led by Leon Trotsky
 - War Commissar Leon Trotsky headed the reorganization of the Red Guard into a Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, in order to create a more professional fighting force – this included the recruitment of ex-Tsarist officers to train their soldiers
 - Trotsky instituted mandatory conscription of the rural peasantry into the Red Army in June 1918 – This allowed the Red Army to grow to 3 million strong by 1920
- Loyal and disciplined
 - Political commissars were appointed to each unit of the army to maintain morale and ensure loyalty
 - Cheka was also used to prevent desertion
- Strongholds strategically located near railways, at central regions and industrial areas
 - Most of the railway network were theirs- Able to move troops and munitions to the frontlines securely
 - Remained in control of a concentrated central area of western Russia, which allowed them to easily recruit men
 - Had their strongest hold in the industrial centres of Russia, giving them access to **munitions and resources** that were denied to the Whites (exclusive advantage)
- Bolsheviks also made use of the Tsar's old arsenals, which contained 2.2 million rifles, 12000 field guns and a great deal of ammunition
- Use of **propaganda trains**, containing specialised carriages such as cinema carriages

Weaknesses of Bolsheviks' opponents (Whites - including monarchists)

- Blamed as being in league with foreign interventionists due to dependence on supplies from abroad, thus turning the peasants and workers against them.

The Civil War allowed the Bolsheviks to **destroy any dangerous and armed opposition to their rule** and also displayed their ruthlessness, which **instilled fear into peasants**

- Peasants were forcefully conscripted into the Red army, often using threats to their family/possessions

- At least 200000 killed in summary executions by Cheka, including former white soldiers, deserting red soldiers, unwilling peasants and random people

1. Lenin's Rule

Impact of ideology | Impact of dictatorship | Impact of revolution

Vladimir Lenin

~leader when the Revolution had just came into effect and there were still many enemies

- Russian people were still **disunited**
 - Various other political groups still active and posing a threat to Bolshevik rule as they all had their own appeal e.g. Monarchist, secessionists, anarchists, Social revolutionaries

Cult of personality (L)

Lenin did not want a cult of personality, he lived in humble middle-class accommodation, but had one anyway as he became lauded as the Father of the revolution and Stalin often made use of Lenin to legitimise his rule

- Petrograd was renamed Leningrad in 1924
- Face appeared on postage stamps, in statues and busts all around Russia
- Brain extracted and cut into 30000 pieces for scientific study

Brest-Litovsk Treaty (L)

Harsh

- Russia lost a third of its European lands, including Ukraine, Russia's major grain source; 45 million people; around 1 million km²; 90% of coal mines, Russia had to pay 3 billion roubles in reparations; 26% of its railways; 74% of its metal resources
 - Of course, this would make industrialization especially difficult

But **justified**

- Immediate ending of Russia's involvement in WWI + treaty was annulled during the defeat of Germany in 1918)

And **necessary**

- "Our impulse tells us to rebel, to refuse to sign this robber peace. Our reason will in our calmer moments tell us the plain naked truth - that Russia can offer no physical resistance because she is materially exhausted by three years of war." - Vladimir Lenin
- People were deeply dissatisfied with the war and ending it won their support

Showed that the Bolsheviks were very keen above all else to ensure their revolution was on track at home, even allowing the Germans such lopsided terms

Purges

- Political parties were banned and Constituent Assembly was dissolved
 - In the Constituent Assembly elections in late 1917 showed that Bolsheviks only had 24% of the popular vote while the SR had over 40%
 - Showed that they did not have popular support and needed to find some to legitimise their rule
- To create a culture of fear and obedience within the party ranks, the military (which had power to overthrow him) and within the general populace

Cheka and Vesenkha

- **The Cheka** was the brutal secret police of Lenin's reign used to torture dissenters, execute people and purge opposition, turned into GPU which in turn became part of the NKVD at the end
Red Terror: By end 1918, 50000 people were removed, following the August 1918 assassination attempt on Lenin

Vesenkha was a council controlling key economic institutions in Russia e.g. Banks, railways, shipping industries

- Cancelled foreign debts to free up money

War Communism

Aim #1 Put Communist theories into practice by redistributing wealth among the Russian people

Aim #2 Help with the civil war by keeping the towns and the Red Army supplied with food and weapons

- i. Government took over all large factories and planned & organised production
 - Factories with more than 10 workers were nationalized
- ii. Implementation of strict discipline for workers (death penalty for striking)
- iii. Grain Requisitioning - surplus food confiscated / forced handing-over to the government
- iv. Inadequate rationing of food in cities
- v. Free enterprise was illegal: all trade controlled by the state

Punishment of kulaks and peasants labelled as 'counter-revolutionaries'

Negative Impacts:

Shortage of Food: Peasants

All excess food was to be confiscated by the government. However, due to peasants' refusal to conform to the grain requisitioning policy, the government had to resort to coercion by the Cheka. Peasants thus destroyed excess grain or simply didn't grow as much as there was no incentive to do so. This led to a decrease of 50% in grain output, from 80 million tons in 1913 to 37.6 million tons and thus directly contributed to widespread famines.

For example, the great Russian **famine from 1920-1922** was the result of severe grain requisitioning whereby peasants were left with little to feed themselves, as well as unprecedented hot weathers. 5 million starved to death as a result. **Pravda** admitted that 1 in 5 of the population was starving; there were even reports of **cannibalism**.

Shortage of Food: Workers

The shortage of food plagued cities as well, and directly led to a decrease in industrial productivity. The confiscated grain was prioritised for the Red Army and Bolshevik party officials as opposed to the **people**. Thus rationing of food in cities were inadequate and left many starving. As a result, workers left cities and went back to the countryside in the hope of finding more food. Petrograd lost 70% of its inhabitants and Moscow lost 50% during the years of War Communism, leaving the industries in a standstill. Sugar production had decreased from 1.3 to 0.05 millions of tons during War Communism.

Shortage of Food: Need for Foreign Aid

The famine worsened to the extent where foreign aid was necessary. The American Relief Association provided food aid for 10 million Russians. The Bolshevik government as well as its harsh war communism policy was clearly unable to provide for its people, allowing severe discontent to spread throughout the country.

Discontent Amongst the Masses

In February 1921, there were 118 separate uprisings, such as in the Tambov region.

In March 1921, 18000 sailors from Kronstadt, who had originally supported the Revolution, mutinied – they felt that the revolution had been betrayed. They were suppressed by ground forces

“The glorious emblem of the workers’ state - the hammer and sickle - has been replaced by the Communist authorities with the bayonet and the barred window.” - Official statement from the Kronstadt sailors in the Feb 1921 Kronstadt mutiny

War Communism intensified Civil War in that some peasants formed armies (Green opposition) to fight both the Whites and Reds e.g. Nestor Makhno’s army in Ukraine

New Economic Policy “One step back for two steps forward”

Announced by Lenin in March 1921 after realising a need to make changes to the economic system

- **Central economic control relaxed** - brought back capitalism for some sections of Russian society, such as small factory owners and private traders of small goods.
- Peasants allowed to **keep a portion of food surpluses** and sell them at a **profit**
- A new rouble was introduced that dealt with the inflation
- De-nationalization of factories with less than 20 workers, but key industries such as

- coal and steel remained under the state
- Industries were organized into “trusts” – they had their own budgets, which were used to buy materials and pay wages

Marked recovery of the Soviet economy:

1. Grain harvests: **37.6 mil tons @1921** to **51.4 mil tons @1924**
2. Coal production doubled to 16 million tons in the same period
3. Electricity: **520 mil kWh @1921** to **1562 mil kWh @1924**
4. Average monthly wage of an urban worker doubled from 1921 to 1924

Situation of industrial workers stagnated: no increase -- Soviet Commissar for Finance admitted in 1925 that the pay of miners, metal workers and engine drivers was still lower than it had been before 1914.

Yet, **NEP was not sufficient** to allow Stalin **to push the rapid industrialisation** he desired

Scissors crisis where agricultural prices dipped significantly whereas industrial prices increased exponentially due to the excess of food provided by agricultural provinces.

Peasants began hoarding grain and did subsistence farming as grain prices were low and many held smaller plots of land after the revolution → **grain exports remained below 3 million tons of grain in NEP years while it was 12 million tons in 1913** → without Russian exports, Western countries unwilling to export new machinery to Russia to allow them to industrialise

This showed that the revolution **did not stick to its true ideals** → a revolution cannot be driven just by ideology and must be **supported by realistic policies**

2. Stalin's rise to power

After Lenin's death in 1924, a power struggle began among the few leading Bolsheviks. The main contenders were Stalin and Trotsky

Reasons for rise:

Ideology

Socialism in one country (advocated by Stalin)

- USSR's first task is to consolidate Lenin's Revolution and the rule of the CPSU by turning the USSR into a modern state capable of defending itself against internal and external enemies.
- USSR should overcome its present agricultural and industrial problems by its own unaided efforts
- And go on to build a modern state, the equal of any nation in the world
- Survival of the USSR is the absolute priority

Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in one country' appealed to the peasant's nationalistic sense of pride as it seemed like Stalin had confidence in the workers and peasants of Russia

Permanent world revolution (advocated by Trotsky)

- Revolution was not a single event but a permanent, continuous process in which risings took place from country to country.
- Individual nations did not matter, the interests of the international working class were paramount.
- True revolutionary socialism could be achieved in the USSR only if an international uprising took place.

Trotsky's policy of revolution around the world seemed impossible and many workers and peasants no longer wanted more revolutions either. In light of Stalin's ideology, it was implied that Trotsky had no faith in Russia

The failure of various Communist revolutions around the world – notably in Germany and Hungary – would make Trotsky's ideology **seem idealistic and impractical**. The ideology only appealed to more intellectual audiences. To a substantial portion of the Party (i.e. the uneducated workers enrolled by Stalin), **this idea was difficult to fathom**.

Strategy and manipulation

From low-profile secretary to undisputed leader

Expanded own support base with own party designation

Stalin was a scheming, manipulative party member who **made full use of his post as General Secretary** to expand his support base in the party.

Stalin had the power to appoint his men to regional/local secretarial appointments. Thus, these men were grateful to Stalin and saw him as their benefactor. These men would then skew the selection of delegates at the annual party congresses in Stalin's interests.

- An illustration of the party being filled by Stalin's supporters: at the 15th Party Congress in 1927, Trotsky was shouted down when he tried to speak.

As Party Secretary, Stalin **could control Politburo discussions** by crafting agendas beneficial to his interests. For example, he proposed to the Central Committee of the Party that Comrade Trotsky should be removed from the head of the army since the Russian Civil War had ended. Instead he should be in charge of the electrification of the USSR.

- Perception of Stalin for younger delegates: a down-to-earth organiser who makes quick decisions.

Lenin's Funeral

Stalin **organised** the funeral and **took the role as the chief mourner** to make others perceive him as a **close associate** of Lenin. He exploited the funeral as an opportunity to build up Lenin's cult of personality contrary to his wishes.

- Lenin's face appeared on postage stamps, in statues and busts all around Russia
- Streets, squares, institutions etc. named after him (Petrograd was renamed to Leningrad)
- Lenin's tomb became a shrine
- Lenin's brain was sliced into 30,000 pieces and stored so "future scientists could discover the secrets of his genius"

The combined effect of all this was to elevate Lenin to the status of a god, and in doing so, elevate his "anointed successor", Stalin, to an invulnerable position

Stalin **tricked Trotsky into not coming for Lenin's funeral** by deliberately giving him the **wrong date** of the funeral.

→ Trotsky came under fire for failing to turn up, as it showed a lack of respect for Lenin

Fortune

Lenin's Testament could potentially prevent Stalin from rising in power because it contained Lenin's wishes to remove Stalin from his post:

"Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealing among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead

who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious (unpredictable), etc.” -Lenin, 1922

Fortunately, other Bolshevik leaders decided not to make the contents of the testament known because it also contained damaging statements about themselves and also named Trotsky as a preferred successor, whom they detested.

Alliance and betrayal

Stalin + Kamenev + Zinoviev = downfall of Trotsky (expelled from Central Committee & party in 1927)

Stalin + Bukharin = downfall of Kamenev and Zinoviev

Stalin → downfall of Bukharin

Weakness of Opponents

General weaknesses

All opponents **underestimated Stalin and feared Trotsky** – there was no united opposition to Stalin but there was one against Trotsky

- Zinoviev also believed that he could use Stalin against Trotsky, after he had “saved” Stalin by suppressing Lenin’s testament
- The powerful left and right wings of the Party tore each other apart, leaving Stalin unscathed

All opponents were also **reluctant to use their power bases to enrich themselves in the manner Stalin did** (by undermining the system); they had a **naive confidence in the Party mechanism** – Trotsky and Bukharin especially

- **Trotsky** did not use his **Red Army and student base**
- **Zinoviev** did not use his **Leningrad power base**
- **Tomsky** did not use his **trade union base** to threaten industrial action – after Trotsky was removed from the position of Commissar for War he had the greatest amount of “hard” power
- **Kamenev** did not use his **Moscow power base**
- Bukharin failed to use his status as the “golden boy” of the Party, as well as the Moscow base he captured following Kamenev’s downfall

Leon Trotsky’s personal weaknesses

- Seen as a would-be dictator and a **divisive figure** who would split the party
- Arrogant, aloof and dismissive of others – he never went out of his way to seek popularity – in effect alienating himself from many of his equals
- Naive – he did not want to delve into the “dirty business” of political infighting, preferring to hammer out arguments by debate; this made him vulnerable to his less scrupulous colleagues

- Too loyal – he did not want to stand against decisions he opposed for the sake of preserving Party unity – he also did not push for Lenin's testament to be read
- A combination of all these resulted in all factions striving to eliminate him and leaving Stalin in the clear

3. Stalin's Rule

Paranoia and brutality

Cult of Stalin

Propaganda

Extensive use of propaganda focusing on Stalin elevated him to beyond a ruler, to a nearly god-like figure worshipped by millions of Russians.

Pictures and statues of Stalin put up & erected all over the Soviet Union

Doctored photographs - support the idea that Stalin **was** Lenin's heir

Posters (general) - (implicit support for Stalin's policies) happy farmers, cheerful workers and grateful children

Cinemas - showed news stories covering the birth of new towns, achievements of workers and the marvels of life in the USSR

History books - altered to suit Stalinism: downplayed Trotsky's role in the revolution; focused on Stalin's contributions and achievements; taught that Lenin and Stalin were the 2 great leaders of Communist Russia

Art - artists could only draw art that **glorified** Stalin, Communism or the Russian worker/peasant (critical artworks of Stalin or Communism meant that the artist would spend the rest of his/her life in the labour camps)

Literacy - literary works also glorified Stalin

Other behaviour exhibited by the populace that shows pervasive cult of Stalin

e.g. Stalin's birthday: an occasion where there was an outpouring of adulation & praise

- Tributes published in the Soviet press
- New towns named after Stalin
- Shows of affection from ordinary citizens that looked spontaneous but actually prepared & choreographed beforehand

The Great Terror (Purges)

Stalin directed his brutality to everyone including Bolsheviks since he was extremely paranoid and ruthless

Moscow 'Show Trials'

Previous Bolshevik leaders who fought with him to succeed Lenin were forced to write public confessions of outrageous crimes they did not do and were convicted of all their crimes and executed in a public trial spectated by the world e.g. **Grigory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, Karl Radek.**

- Confessions were extracted using brutal torture and threats and false assurances
 - Many of them were threatened with their family member's lives and given assurances that them and their whole family will be allowed to live

Purge of many of the **Army's top leadership** as they were independent of party and had

immense power

- **3/5 Marshals, 8/9 Admirals and 13/15 Army** Commanders were executed in secret trials
- Motivation for the Nazi-Soviet Pact came about as the **Army lost nearly all of its leadership and combat effectiveness**

Party members were not spared: even the NKVD chief, Nikolai Yezhov, who was in charge of the initial purges was purged himself, possibly that he knew too much of the programme.

The **Intelligentsia, Workers, Kulaks and minorities** were also executed without reason, hurting the economy as valuable manpower was lost.

Significance

During the Great Purges of the 1930s, ordinary Russians lived in **constant fear** as there were **arbitrary arrests and people lost faith of justice in the courts**. (This was because Stalin controlled the entire judicial system.)

- Anyone could be arrested, taken away and sent to the much dreaded labour camps. Nobody was safe.

The end result to the Great Purges was complete, absolute loyalty to Stalin among all members of the party and government. No one dared to oppose or challenge him due to his power.

Gulags

Stalin used them to punish enemies e.g. kulaks, petty criminals, political opponents

- People would be taken to forced labour camps in freezing Siberia where they were forced to work in appalling conditions, with long hours of work, shabby living conditions meagre rations which lead to higher mortality rates in the gulags
 - They got a lot of work done though if the workers procrastinate like us they would've gotten shot or whipped
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, famous dissenting writer who got sent to gulags and wrote the famous book on them The Gulag Archipelago

Five Year Plans - drawn up by GOSPLAN

(when Soviet Union sank into tyranny, totalitarianism and inhumanity)

Aims

1. To turn Soviet Union into an industrial power & an autarky (self-sufficient state that does not rely on trade with other countries)

USSR was very dependent on Western manufactured goods; with self-sufficiency, the USSR would be less vulnerable to Western blockades and embargoes.

2. Increase grain supplies

Stalin wanted to end the dependence of the economy on the backward agricultural system

as this had created major problems whenever there was a bad harvest and not enough food was produced. Stalin did not want the country to be at the mercy of the peasantry.

3. Compete with other superpowers - catch up with them (serving the people)
4. To build up military might as Russia did not enjoy good relations with other countries + Stalin's paranoia of invasion

Allied forces had fought on the White side in Russian Civil War

1st 5-year plan [October 1928]

Expanding **industry, transport and power supply**

2nd 5-year plan [January 1933]

Added more **manufactured goods** such as **tractors for collective farms** on top of the 1st plan

3rd 5-year plan [January 1938-June 1941]

Added '**luxuries**' - consumer goods such as bicycles and radios

- Setting of lofty targets for industry to achieve
- Massive capital & human investment into industry

Positive Results

Soviet Union had **sufficient resources to challenge Germany in WWII** and secure its status as a world industrial powerhouse

- **Production from 1928 - 1940**
 - Coal: 35.5 million tons to 165.9 million tons
 - Crude Oil: 11.6 million tons to 31.1 million tons

Progressed from being "50-100 years behind" other countries as quoted from Stalin to one of two world superpowers in the Cold War

- **Modernised economy**
 - In the NEP years many peasants were still using **horses and wooden ploughs** but after the five year plans they were using modern machinery such as tractors
 - 1,800 tractors produced in 1928
 - 173,000 tractors produced in 1936
 - **Dnieper Dam** was the largest dam in Europe upon completion and produced **560 MW of electricity**, becoming one of the largest power plants in the world
- **Growth of industrial centres**
 - **Magnitogorsk**, located in the Urals, became a centre of steel and iron production, built up nearly from scratch in 1929, it went from producing <0.2 million tonnes of steel in 1933 to roughly 1.6 million tonnes of

steel in 1939, more than 1/12 of the entire Soviet Union's steel production in 1939

- **Foreign participation** in industrialisation
 - Highly skilled engineers, building designers and experts came to help set up projects as they were affected by Great Depression in their home countries
 - Henry Ford helped to build up car industry
 - Most industrial enterprises of any size were in state control by the end of 1930s

Negative Results

- Excessively high targets were set which caused **corruption and wastage**
 - In order to reach the high targets (**huge emphasis on rapid production**), factories competed with each other for raw materials, often using underhanded methods
 - **Sub-standard products** were created in the scramble to produce as much as possible, which eventually had to be thrown away or broke down after little use
 - **Over-reporting** to show that factories hit their targets prevented anyone from finding out the holes in the five-year plans
- **Consumer goods industries were sacrificed** (until the third 5-year plan) for the needs of the heavy industries thus failing to provide for basic necessities of workers
 - Production of woollen fabrics dropped from 101 million linear metres in 1928 to 86 million linear metres in 1933 even though the population increased
- **Huge human cost**
 - Lived in **appalling** living conditions as five year plans called for peasants to move to the cities to work in the industry, leading to **overcrowding**. (Many peasants were simply uprooted from their homes and sent to work wherever workers were needed.)
 - **Running water or sanitation weren't readily / widely available in many industrial towns.**
 - **Half the labour force by 1933 was from peasants**
 - Frequently **changed jobs** as factories competed to attract workers to meet targets. Average coal miner changed jobs thrice a year.

Collectivisation @kolkhozy (collective farms)

Needs for Collectivisation

- Stalin's judgement → the only way to raise the capital needed to develop Soviet industry was to **use the land**, and since the peasants weren't cooperating under the NEP, this could be done by force.
- Removing private ownership of land and individual profit makes the USSR a truly

Communist country (Ideological)

Aims of collectivization

- Increase efficiency of farming. Tractors and other machinery would be supplied by the state through MTS (machine and tractor stations) and experts could help peasants to farm in modern ways using metal ploughs and fertilisers. → higher food production
- Mechanised agriculture would require less peasants to work on the land. This would release labour for industries
- Easier for states to **procure grain for cities and export** – this would prop up the Five-Year Plans
- Socialist solution for agriculture → allowed peasants to work together co-operatively and live communally

Process of Collectivisation (Implementation)

- Party officials and volunteers supported by the OGPU were sent to the countryside to start collective farms (**kolkhozy**).
- (Often **forced**) Signing of documents agreeing to form **kolkhozy**
- **Kulaks' properties** (fields, buildings, tools, livestock) then formed basis for the new **kolkhozy**
- By 1940, 97% of Soviet Union's peasants were organised into collectives.
 - Consequences of resistance were deportation to labour camps or execution

Dekulakisation

- Kulaks did not agree to join the collectivized farms, even with incentives such as free seed, as they would then be forced to grow industrial crops, such as flax, instead of food
- Kulaks were depicted as class enemies so as to frighten the middle and poor peasants into joining the Kolkhozes
- Stalin enlisted an army of 25000 urban party activists to help revolutionise the countryside. They were backed by the local police, the secret police (OGPU) and the military. Stalin gave each region a number of kulaks to find.
- Up to 10 million people had been deported to Siberia or labour camps by the end of collectivization.

Positive Outcomes

- Before, most of farms were merely **thin strips of land** owned by individual farmers who were still using **primitive implements** - **This was the main reason for the low output and food shortages in the cities.**
- Towards the end, collectivized farms were modernised and became more **efficient**
 - Some had great production figures that were praised by the government in radio and newspaper articles.

- 2 million peasants are estimated to have been taught to use tractors under the guidance of agricultural experts
- Managed to **drive industrialisation**
 - Peasants who were no longer needed could migrate to the cities to become workers
 - Grain procured by the state increased from **10.8 million tons in 1928** to **22.6 million tons in 1933**, this went to feeding the workers and also exporting to get some money to buy machinery
 - However, some historians argue that it was the Great Depression and grain prices was low so selling so much grain didn't get the Soviet Union the money it needed
- **Reduction in unemployment “the shameful legacy of capitalism”** due to manipulation of labour and land policies (No monetary incentive for Russians to register themselves as unemployed; Collectivisation policy attached peasants to their lands - they were 'employed' as well)
 - **On March 13, 1930, the last Labor Exchange in the Soviet Union closed (in Moscow).** After that, the Soviet Union declared itself the world's first country that finally put an end to unemployment.
- A **political success** for Stalin's govt
 - Peasants were broken, by the end of collectivisation, they were **submitting to government authority and handed over the goods**
 - They were also put into collectives to work together in the “communist way”

Negative Aspects

Massive economic failure

- Putting the peasants in the collectives gave them no motivation to work hard and grow more crops
- Many **rebelled** against the idea of having their grains/livestock taken and killed their livestock/burned their houses/crops
 - Riots and armed resistance against activists, **resulted in OGPU/army being involved and death/arrest of many peasants**→ skilled peasants lost
 - 25-30% of all of Soviet Union's cattle, pigs and sheep were slaughtered during collectivisation and EATEN by the peasants
 - Roughly 10 million peasants died during the process of collectivisation
 - Between 1928 and 1934 production declined substantially
 - Grain harvest: 73.3 to 67.6 million tons
 - Cattle: 70.5 to 42.4 million
 - Pigs: 26 to 17.4 million

- Sheep and Goats: 146.7 to 50.2 million heads

Humanitarian aspect → brutal and ruthless

- Law of the Seventh-Eighths, proclaimed the death sentence on peasants who tried to steal grain, even though they were starving and the requisitioned grain was left rotting at places
- It is estimated **7 million peasants and their families died in the famines of 1932-1934** which was caused by poor weather conditions, the activists inability to run collectives properly, the lack of animals to pull the ploughs and the lack of fertiliser, tractors and other equipment.
 - Grain harvests decreased but grain procured by state did not
 - the government continued forced requisitioning grain at the same pace to export → peasants did not have enough to eat and died
 - Stalin had 4.53 million tons of grains in various reserves, which would have been enough to feed millions of peasants, but he didn't use them

Social Impacts of Stalin's rule

Standard of Living

- Economic policies had no regard for people's standard of living, and urban planners failed to anticipate the huge flood of peasants entering the cities
 - Massive overcrowding, cities and towns growing at a rate of 200,000 per month
 - Long queues for food and basic necessities since there were not enough to provide for the people
 - Terrible living conditions
 - In Magnitogorsk in 1938, 18% of the workers lived in mud huts and 47% lived in barracks which were overcrowded, filthy, had no running water, was filled with way more people than it was built to house and had no proper sewage system

Gender (in brief) +ve

Women were given equal opportunities as the men (**in principle**) but in practice some careers preferred women (such as construction) while some industries preferred men. They were **much less** discriminated but were **still given lower pay in the workforce**. Still, female participation in the workforce was a **dramatic improvement from the backwards pre-revolution days**.

Social welfare (in brief) +ve

Free universal healthcare and education for all. For many Russians, medical care was available for the first time. Literacy rates of Russians also increased dramatically.

- Zeitgeist
 - The spirit of the time was one of economic improvement as the world was bouncing back from the Great Depression, thus, it wasn't Stalin's policies that allowed Russia to improve but it was the general feeling of the time. However,

Russia industrialised at a far faster rate than everyone else in the world. 50-100 years behind to top 2 superpower

2. CHINA

From feudalism & imperialism to communism

Revolutions | Rise of dictators | Rule of dictators | Growth of ideologies

Pre-1949: Period of turmoil

Political awakening of Chinese intellectuals | Origins of internal conflict between opposing parties | Origins of hatred of foreign invasion / imperialism | Growth & development of ideologies | Myths

1919: May 4th Movement

Background: The Chinese delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference had unsuccessfully requested for the reversal of the Japanese '21 Demands' (including expansion of Japan into Eastern Inner Mongolia and Southern Manchuria; Port Arthur) and the unequal treaties with other powers.

3 thousand students took to the streets of Beijing to protest at the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, where **former German concessions were given to Japan rather than restored to China**. It was a patriotic protest against the role in which China had been cast ever since the Opium War of 1839-42 (role of submission & subordination to foreign powers).

The movement was an anti-imperialist, cultural and political one. Protesters called for social reform and heavily criticised the current status of women. Prominent magazines such as *Young China & Morning Bell* took up calls on young people to rejuvenate China. (e.g. Chen Duxiu - one of the most influential writers, editor of *New Youth* - 'Call to youth') Related journals were written in the vernacular, **a break from the past** tradition of writing in classical, scholarly style, to address a wider audience.

Sentiments & attitudes expressed in the May 4th movement:

'Call to youth', 1915 -Chen Duxiu

- (Desire to break away from the past)
 - "Now **our country has still not awakened from its long dream and still isolates itself by going down the old rut** ... All our traditional ethics, law, scholarship, rites and customs are survivals of feudalism."
 - "When compared with the achievement of the white race, there is a difference of a thousand years in thought, although we live in the same period."
- (Desire for independence / freedom from foreign intervention)
- Determination & resoluteness to cause change

Later on in the Sino-Japanese war & civil war, Mao and his party exploited the growing awareness of & hatred towards foreign invasion (imperialism) and feudalism by labelling the two as two evils which the CCP will eradicate.

- (Relating to the fable of 愚公移山, the foolish old man who moved the mountains)

- “Today, **two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people**. One is **imperialism**, the other is **feudalism**. The CCP has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly...” -Mao Zedong, 1945

The May 4th movement is also a reflection of growing discontent of the Chinese people of the current state of affairs (mistreatment by the ‘superior’ West, subservience to the interventionist powers etc.) , especially among **students and intellectuals**. → Revolutionary spirit among students and intellectuals: radical thinkers in the universities turned eagerly to revolutionary theory to justify their resistance.

- ★ It is important to note that the **Marxist creed of violent revolution took on an added attraction and relevance** in the May 4th movement
 - The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia provided a **practical example of a successful popular rising against a defunct ruling class**.
 - Bolsheviks’ declaration of a policy of ‘peace without annexations’ (abandonment of territorial claims beyond Russian borders) was an example of a **Marxist government rejecting the old imperialism, which lay at the root of China’s present humiliation & decadence**.

The anti-western and anti-Japanese demonstrations **continued into the 1920s**, and the authorities continuously cracked down on the demonstrators, an act which was opportunity for the radicals to spread their propaganda (even more).

1921: Founding of the Chinese communist party

Shanghai

20 revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong, a **librarian**

→ Evidence that the May 4th movement did give a sense of direction to radicals and revolutionaries

1923-27: First United Front and the Northern Expedition

The United Front came about under the Comintern’s (an international communist organization that advocated world communism) instructions, **with the goal to destroy the warlords and drive out the foreigners**. The Northern expedition was a successful run, **breaking the power of the warlords in key provinces** in the eastern and central area.

Northern expedition routes taken:

- Shantou - Fuzhou - Hangzhou - Shanghai
- Guangzhou - Wuhan - Zhengzhou - Beijing

1927: Shanghai Massacre ‘White Terror’

Background

Upon Sun Yat-sen’s passing, **anti-Communist elements within the KMT were released** since Dr. Sun has been keeping these elements in check. Chiang Kai-shek subsequently filled the

power void, succeeding in the power struggle within the party, with the following implications:

- Increased intolerance of CCP
 - Chiang came from the military wing of the KMT, which had close relations with China's middle class and was opposed to the social revolutionary policies of the CCP.
 - Chiang was personally opposed to Marxism: he received training in Moscow in the 1920s yet had acquired no love for Marxism.
 - Chiang's own **determination to purge his party** of Communism
- (Action against CCP elements in the KMT)
 - Dismissal of several officials from their posts in the KMT
 - Arrest of several Comintern officials

Process

After witnessing the success of the Northern expedition, Chiang renewed his attack on the Communists

- ★ Shanghai at that time had a powerful trade union movement under the direction of Zhou Enlai & a workers' army

Chiang's troops rooted out and shot down 5000 known Communists and their sympathisers, using information provided by the city's triads (secret societies involved in organised crime) and underground gangsters.

Rampage supported by:

- Shanghai industrialists and merchants - eager to crush and weaken the trade unions
- Residents living near the international settlements - fear of growing tide of anti-foreigner demonstrations (→ Fear of repeat of the May 30 1925 incident, where strikes and riots broke out and foreign legations were attacked)

Episode drove the Communists to a desperate plight and convinced Mao that revolution should be furthered in the countryside (effective resistance in the urban areas was not possible, as they realised).

1928-37: Nationalist China - continued rivalry between CCP and KMT

Reasserting China's independence - KMT

Reasserting Communism & revolution - CCP

Method: KMT - Suppression of opposition, reforms, New Life Movement

Population of China, 1933: 500 million

Urban centres (12%) | **Rural areas (88%)** → translates to **440 million**

Communist base @ Jiangxi (Mao was leader of the Jiangxi soviet)

Growth in number of Communist members, education & development of ideology (ensured all recruits / members are on the same page)

Mao, in defiance of Comintern's instructions and of Soviet Marxist orthodoxy:

- “Within a short time, **hundreds of millions of peasants will rise** in central, south and north China **with the fury of a hurricane**. No power, however strong, can restrain them.”
- “They will **break all the shackles that bind them** and **rush towards the road of liberation**.”
- “If we allot points to the revolution, then **the urban dwellers rate only 3 points** while the **remaining 7 points must go to the peasants**.”
- Mao also told his followers that it was their task to unleash the huge potential of the peasantry: “The peasants are the sea; we are the fish. The sea is our habitat.”

This strategy did produce results in that period: the CCP was making its gains in the countryside; Jiangxi soviet was recruited peasants into the ranks of the party at a rate unmatched in any other CCP-held areas

★ **Development of a unique ideology - Mao taking Marxism and adapting it to the Chinese reality**

Futien incident, 1930 - Mao eliminating opposition ('KMT supporters & agents')

- Execution of nearly 3000 officers and men belonging to the Jiangxi Red Army
- **Controversy of Mao's character / actions:** Ruthless determination to eliminate rivals vs. Taking hard decisions based on realities

1931: Manchurian incident

Occupation of the whole of Manchuria (December)

- Concerted effort of officers in Kwantung Army and 50,000 soldiers
- Creation of *manzhouguo*

Reactions: boycott of Japanese goods (@Shanghai)

1934-35: The Long March

An escape from Jiangxi to Yan'an

(breaking out of encirclement by KMT forces)

Sheer **magnitude** of the feat accomplished:

- Crossing of 11 provinces (meeting with 200 million people), 18 mountain ranges, 24 rivers and numerous deserts areas and quicksands
- Marchers fought 15 fierce pitched battles
- Daily skirmishes with the KMT forces + aerial bombardment
- From 100,000 communists to 20,000 left

Significance of the long March:

- Mythology
 - People associate the CCP with **comradeship, dedication, self-sacrifice**
 - **Admiration and reverence of the 'martyrs'** who sacrificed themselves for the Communist cause

- One story goes that the Communists had to cross Luding bridge against a barrage of enemy machine gun fire and only 17 people died. People volunteered to cross the bridge first to sacrifice themselves also
- Forged brotherhood among surviving marchers (who made up the future leaders of PRC)
- Emergence of Mao as a **top military and political leader** in Zunyi meeting - arriving at Yan'an as the leading figure in the party
 - Mao exposed the urban Reds as being **out of touch** with CCP's real needs
 - Called for a change in strategy, **breaking his force into several columns** that would take **varying paths to confuse the enemy** (strategic judgement)
- Yan'an became the testing ground for political administration. Many policies to deal with peasants

Sino-Japanese War II (1937-1945) & Civil War 1945-49

What led to the victory of the CCP in 1949?

Strengths of CCP

1. Appeal of Communist ideology

The Communists, having completed their long march and endured various conflicts from outside and within, have largely agreed on a coherent set of unifying ideology -

- ★ **'Proletariat'** describes more of an attitude rather than a social class in China's context. Those genuinely committed to revolution were by the fact itself members of the proletariat.
- ★ Ridding China of imperialism & feudalism
 - Anti-imperialist ideology won over students who were against American military support of the KMT.
 - Feudalistic, outdated mindsets expressed in some Confucian traditions were still advocated by the KMT, which many Chinese intellectuals had already rejected.
 - **Link to previous sections: Dying need for reform, a result of imperialist China | Outdated, backwards traditions and mindsets | Decadence | Inequality | Peasants' revolution | Japanese invasion;**

2. Mao's Leadership & ability

Mao Zedong's ingenuity in adapting Marxism to China's conditions

(link to **Zunyi meeting**)

System of indoctrination (also involving some degree of mythologisation) @ Yan'an

Organising ability and awesome power to inspire others and win loyalty of a large part of the population in face of what appeared to be impossible odds.

Sympathy with the masses of the Chinese peasantry & genuine aspirations of the nation - put in much thought in planning & manifestation of the CCP's policies (@Yan'an)

Constant effort to build up positive image of the party

e.g. Positioning the Red Army above the rest in terms of discipline

- Red Army was the party's **major political weapon** (as shown by the Long March)
- The Imperial and warlord armies had been **wreaking fearful havoc among the peasantry**
 - Many of these soldiers in the past were recruited from the dregs of society and had terrorised the civilian population.
- Mao wanted the Red Army to be different, to aid and comfort people instead of causing distress and destruction, hence he personally laid out a **CODE OF CONDUCT** for his troops
 - 2. Be courteous and help out when you can.
 - 6. Be honest in all transactions with the peasants.
 - 9. Don't take liberties with women.
 - 10. Don't kill prisoners of war.
- CCP members led humble lives too in contrast to KMT leaders
 - Lived in caves at Yan'an along with the ordinary people
 - Did not have any special luxuries

LONG MARCH

3. Effective, much-needed reforms

Upon arriving at Yan'an, the communists were efficient in enacting reforms.

CCP Land Law of 1932

- Confiscation of land, houses and property (estates) that belonged to members of the gentry, landlords and rich peasants verified to be members of counter-revolutionary organisations
- Redistribution of land to tenant farmers and poor peasants
- Reduction of rents and taxes for land
 - In the late 1930s, land rent was 45% of total harvests → huge burden for the peasants, many of whom were subject to abuse by their landlords (such as surtaxes and advance taxation); Inequalities were pronounced

→ Land expropriation and redistribution was a quick way of making peasants supporters of CCP & their local soviets

Increasing agricultural output & productivity

The communists were also concerned with the productivity of the land and thus set up an **agricultural school** to educate the peasants on more effective means of farming. The **Red Army also provided thousands of new farming tools**; in fact, the soldiers and party officials themselves also helped peasants work their land on weekends in '**Saturday Brigades**'.

- Obviously such reforms were widely popular with the peasants, who were previously **disenfranchised and discontented** by heavy burdensome taxes. The communists gave them **a sense of ownership of their agricultural work** and provided **tangible benefits, supporting them throughout**.

Organisation of rural areas into district soviets

- Committees for **education, co-operatives**, military training, revolutionary defence, enlargement of the Red Army, **agrarian mutual aid, Red Army land tilling**
- Policies were co-ordinated and aligned with state decisions, taking care of the needs of the local people well.

Reform in culture

In addition, the communists made many great improvements in overcoming the backward traditional social system by **abolishing undesirable and outdated practices**. Before the reforms, traditional Confucian beliefs, whereby women were taught to remain submissive and dutiful, ensured the subservience and oppression of women. Mao had described China as a **feudal-patriarchal society**, whereby women were governed under 4 authorities, Political, Familial, Religious and Masculine.

CCP's policies served to **empower women in 4 ways: marriage, political participation, property ownership, and education**. Various traditionally enforced practices were outlawed, including **foot-binding, arranged marriages, infanticide of unwanted female babies and prostitution**. By abolishing these backward customs that dictated women's lives, women need not face the extent of implicit degradation of their dignity. This thus allowed society to become more open with the idea of more independent and self-respecting women.

In Mao's own words, he believed that **"Women hold up half the sky"**. It is clear that Mao had a personal conviction to empower the women, which was reflected in the many social reforms.

Mao also valued the work of his female comrades, writing poetry commending their valiance and determination in fighting for the cause.

- E.g. Ding Ling (who served @ Yan'an & in the Red Army): "Yesterday a literary young lady / Today a warlike general."
- Ding Ling also wrote a powerful reflective piece on March 8 Women's Day, where she called her women countrymen to strengthen themselves (empowerment) and work towards equality.

- Such progressive policies gained the trust of the peasants and legitimised CCP's leadership.

4. Strong Support Base

The CCP had managed to win the genuine support of a lot of peasants in the countryside **through their effective reforms**. The CCP had their main source of support from the **18 liberation areas in northern China**. These liberation areas provided strategic locations which allowed the CCP to reclaim land after the war effectively. → Liberated areas became Communist administered zones

By **being steadfast in their resistance against the Japanese** instead of in-fighting with KMT, the CCP also increased their bases for power. In 1937, the Communists controlled only 1.5 million people in the north-west but by 1945, the number grew to over 140 million people.

Outreach to areas (to expand support base)

Yan'an also served as the military and political university of the CCP throughout the Sino-Japanese War II and the Civil War. Its **central** geographical location is strategic as it allows new recruits who has travelled from all over the country to interact with more experienced cadres and bring home the message of the resistance movement to the Japanese and the KMT.

Foreign aid from USSR

5. Effective Military Tactics and Strategy

The use of **guerilla warfare** behind the lines and '**passive defence**' allowed the People's Liberation Army to overcome its great weakness in numbers. Passive defence entailed **strategic withdrawal to avoid major clashes with the larger, better equipped NRA**, and choosing to use **raids and sabotages** to wear the enemy down. For example, they blew up railway lines and ambushed KMT patrols.

- ★ All Red army troops knew this **mantra** by heart: When the enemy advances, we retreat. When the enemy escapes, we harass. When they retreat, we pursue. When they tire, we attack.

Through the use of such tactics, they managed to put KMT on the defensive as they took much of central and northern China during 1947. Eventually in 1948, they were able to amass sufficient numbers from the people who joined and abandoned guerilla tactics for head-on fighting.

Lin Biao was an effective leader who led the PLA with great skill. Morale was thus high and conviction entrenched. The rhetoric of class struggle was used to fuel the soldiers' endeavours.

Strict discipline of the Red Army when dealing with peasants led to a great peasant support base who provided food and shelter to soldiers. 2 million peasants were also conscripted for the CCP cause.

The Red Army / PLA also used the strategy of **mobile warfare**, where **troops could be deployed everywhere** as they did not need to guard any particular territory. This gave the communists **great flexibility** and allowed them to focus on destroying the KMT forces.

The CCP forces also **created a network of spies and informers** to provide **advance intelligence** and built a **vast system of tunnels beneath the fields** where units could hide in time of danger. (-American war reporter Jack Belden) → Effective against the Japanese

Weakness of KMT

1. Mismanagement of economy (Inflation as a result of horrible Economic Policies)

The KMT's **strongholds were in ports and cities** where they received great urban support from wealthy entrepreneur capitalists and businessmen. However, with the civil war, KMT's poor economic policies were unable to deal with **hyperinflation** and led to the collapse of the economy.

- **> 90% of revenue** raised by the KMT government came from the area around Shanghai yet the revenue was not well used. Due to the pressing need to fund the war effort, almost all the funds raised went on military expenditures which left a minimal amount for the vital areas of industrial investment and agrarian reform.

The 1948 currency reform resulted in the overprinting of currency and money thus lost its value. This brought about great hardship as wages bought less and working became futile. **At one point in time, 1kg of rice costed over half a million Chinese dollars.** People thus resorted to robbery and public order collapsed. The support for KMT thus dwindled and the KMT government was discredited as conditions worsened and discontent escalated.

Furthermore, **KMT's Blueshirts'** attempts at maintaining order proved to worsen the situation. They adopted harsh heavy-handed methods, like ensorship on press to stop critics and systematic murders of opponents. The KMT was unable to do much to actually fix the severe problems in their cities. This led to a loss of legitimacy, further leading to city people turning towards the communist party for hope.

Price index - a measure of inflation

1937 - price index - 100

1941 - price index - 2000

1948 - price index - **288 million**

2. Poor Leadership

Eradicate Communism before tackling the Japanese

“Effective resistance was largely in hands of the Communists working behind the Japanese lines.”

Chiang Kai-shek chose the widely unpopular stance of **first unifying China before tackling Japanese invasion**. This essentially meant that he rather attack and wipe out the Chinese communists (“Disease of the heart”) before choosing to resist the Japanese conquest of Manchuria (“Disease of the skin”).

- Evidence: **Chiang Kai-shek withdrew westwards to set up his capital at Chongqing** which was **further away from the Japanese-controlled areas**. This effectively positioned the Communists as the only defender of the Chinese people against the invading Japanese.

The Chinese were understandably **disgusted at the KMT’s lack of nationalism**, which some would even criticise as treason. Amongst the Chinese populace, there has been longstanding anti-foreign sentiments, which due to the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, was now directed at the Japanese. This hatred manifested in the form of boycotts of Japanese goods, and was so entrenched that it even involved the **ostracising of Chinese patrons of Japanese commodities**. Yet the Chiang Kai-shek held the firm belief that fighting the Japanese was second to eliminating the communists. (Link to: [personal prejudice against Communists in previous sections of the notes](#))

In 1936, 5 years after the first takeover of Manchuria (Mukden Incident - Sept 1931), **Chiang Kai-shek organised yet another communist extermination campaign to encircle and wipe out the communist base of Yan’an**. However, his troops, as well as the general Zhang Xueliang, were largely from Manchuria and thus much rather **exact vengeance upon the invading Japanese than engage in infighting with their fellow countrymen**. Zhang had also wanted to avenge his father, who the Japanese had murdered. Thus, despite having access to a myriad of military instruments (poison gas, armoured cars, bomber aircraft, tanks etc.) and given the orders to destroy the communists, Zhang Xueliang and the communists eventually had a **tacit agreement to cease fighting and focus on the foreign threat**.

Chiang Kai-shek found out and flew to Xi’an in hopes of renewing the extermination campaign. However, Zhang Xueliang instead of obeying, takes him prisoner in an attempt to convince Chiang to engage a united front against the Japanese. Chiang only accedes after 2 weeks of captivity.

To many Chinese, this was an utter disgrace to the nation. showing to the Chinese **how misaligned Chiang’s priorities were**. It was a stab to the Chinese nationalistic pride to have a leader who rather fight his countrymen than the invading foreigners. This led to the populace’s lost of faith in the KMT.

This sense of shame at Chiang Kai-shek’s lack of Chinese nationalism was exacerbated by Chiang’s **heavy reliance on foreign aid**. Initially, he did not want to face off with the Japanese as he believed China was not strong enough and thus wanted the League of

Nations to stop the invasion. This dishonoured China for it was an outright concession of weakness, that they could not protect their own land and had to rely on external help for their safety. Even during the civil war, the KMT's continued to depend on the financial and military help of the Americans. This did not resonate well with the nationalist and anti-foreigner sentiments of the people bred from the previous eras of Western Imperialism.

Corruption, factionalism, detachment from China's fundamental needs:

- I judge the KMT and CCP by what I saw: KMT - **corruption, neglect, chaos, economy, taxes, words and deeds. Hoarding, black market, trading with the enemy.** Communist programme - reduce taxes, rents, interest. Raise production and standard of living. Participate in government.
- Chiang Kai Shek admitted that the KMT had become a **corrupt and disunited party**, "To tell the truth, never, in China or abroad, has there been a revolutionary party as decrepit and degenerate as we are today; no one as lacking in spirit, lacking discipline, and even more, lacking standards of right and wrong, as we are today ... **Everyone nourishes the evil habit of caring only for himself.**"

- Even though the Nationalists constantly avowed the 3 principles of the people. They made few real concessions to democracy and paid scant attention to providing for the welfare of the people.

3. Ineffective Military Tactics

The KMT's National Revolutionary Army had excessively superior military prowess over the CCP's PLA, yet was defeated by the much smaller PLA. The NRA had **3 million American-trained and equipped soldiers**, which outnumbered the PLA **4:1** (in 1945). However, due to the incompetence of the KMT leaders, the conventional war strategy they employed was trumped by the PLA's more effective guerilla tactics. Additionally, poor morale and high desertion rates crippled the NRA. Thus, their critical advantage in numbers and military capability was thus lost.

Mistakes:

- Chiang Kai-shek **concentrated his forces on controlling the cities** ('symbolic control') rather than winning control in the countryside, thus often keeping the NRA on the defensive, overextending their resources and also neglecting the support of the peasants.
- Chiang also committed his best American-trained troops directly to the North-east without consolidating control of the North China area in between → effectively asking for a military disaster

The KMT **military command structure was also flawed**, as it was built on personal loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek. (**not based on merit**, unlike the Red Army.) The best commanders did not always hold the most important military posts. Commanders were also frequently uncooperative. (Some even used the civil war to make themselves wealthy.)

The KMT also received American foreign aid, whereby 80,000 KMT troops were airlifted to Nanjing, Shanghai and Beijing at the end of the Sino-Japanese war in 1945. America also supplied \$200 million to KMT forces. (Chiang expected more from the USA, such as building airbases in China instead of at occupied Japanese islands, but did not get anymore beyond these.)

4. Aloof Policies

In the KMT-governed cities like Shanghai, Nanjing and Beijing, the people could truly observe how **out of touch** the KMT's policies were. Chiang Kai-shek failed to recognise the actual pressing issues in the cities and thus crafted policies that provided little remedy to China's **basic welfare problem - lack of medical care, poor housing, ignorance, poverty** and so on. (Ironically, "people's welfare" was one of the three principles of the people, which the KMT government often emphasised.)

For example, the **New Life Movement** enacted in 1934 was targeted at improving the self-discipline of the public (regenerating Chinese society by moral commitment and social responsibility), by stressing on things like public health and honesty. For instance, it encouraged people to blow into handkerchiefs instead of on the street. Clearly, although he had good intentions, Chiang's policy making was **completely aloof and tended little to the actual needs of the people**. Another policy on Rural Service, whereby students were sent into the countryside to help peasants harvest crops, was similarly criticised for its **insignificance and ignorance towards the actual grievances of the peasants** - exorbitant land taxes (**50% of income**), famines (1929-32 killed over 3 million people).

These trivial and unhelpful policies thus incurred the distaste of the population and tarnished the KMT's reputation as a reliable and effective government.

1949-1953 The Communist Transformation of China

Years of Great Change

Problems faced by new government (in brief):

- Eliminate enemies (KMT, independent regimes) (Hainan, Xinjiang)
- Install new government throughout China (Tibet)
 - Lacked experience of city administration; inevitably dependent on knowledge and expertise of administrators, traders and industrialists (few of whom were inclined towards Communism or socialism)
- Raise production
 - 1949: Industrial production was half the pre-war level
- Modernise backward areas of economy
- China on the wrong side of the cold war
 - The 'loss' of China to Communism; Truman administration's '*China White paper*'

Proletariat	Class enemies
Poor and lower-middle peasants; Workers; Revolutionary soldiers; Revolutionary cadres; Dependants of Revolutionary Martyrs	Landlords; rich peasants; Reactionaries; bad elements; Rightists; Traitors; Spies

Organisation of society into the proletarian class and the 'class enemies' - the class labels were used in the campaigns against corruption, in the process of weeding out potential enemies of the regime and in enforcing compliance.

Social changes

Land reforms

1950: Agrarian Reform Law

- From 1947-1952, land reform laws had taken 40% of China's arable land from 4% of the population and redistributed it to 300 million peasants
- Execution of landlords: 800,000 (government figure) to est. more than a million
- Undermined lineage as a social force, thus removing an alternative focus of loyalty to the regime (?)

'Speak bitterness' meetings were also organised where former landlords were denounced.

Marriage Laws (1950-51)

- Banned **arranged marriages**, marriage of **children**, **killing of unwanted girl babies** and **bigamy**
- Introduced divorce by mutual consent
- Expectant mothers entitled to maternity benefits of 2 months' wages
- 2nd opinion → Liberation of women from male and family dominion?
 - Women were still subject to usual male abuse (Patriarchal system in China existed for thousands of years - difficult to change overnight)
 - Little access to contraceptives

Apart from abolishing certain practices, **women's rights** were also expanded. The rights to **property ownership as well as voting/running in elections** were granted. Education for women was also improved by literacy campaigns and schools. Previously, only 10% of women were literate, but **by 1958, an additional 16 million women had learnt to read**. Literacy and education was important in empowering women to overcome the ignorance and backwardness of ill-education. With plethora of progressive and overall beneficial social reform targeted at empowering women, Mao definitely left his mark in creating a more inclusive and accepting China, a first step that was not easy to make in a society as orthodox and conformist as China.

Campaign against counter-revolutionaries (1950)

Involved public meetings, denunciations and arrests

- Terrorised millions of Chinese who were labelled as **KMT sympathizers**
- In Guangdong, 1950-51, there were >140,000 arrests and 28,00 executions
- Tianjin, spring 1951: 492 executions
- Suppression of religion: In **April 1951**, up to **15,000 people a day were promising to give up their religion**

Three-anti campaign (1951) - corruption, waste and obstructionist bureaucracy

Five-anti campaign (1952) - bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of government property and of economic secrets

Economic changes (1949-53)

- Emphasis was on restoring confidence in China's economy
- Private industries tolerated and they accounted for well over half of China's gross production from 1949-1950 → "Communist???"
- Very gradual shift into state control and collectivisation
 - State control of heavy industry and foreign trade at 80% and 90% respectively
- **FIX INFLATION (果然聪明伶俐)**
 - New currency introduced that was closely regulated by People's Bank of China (new bank founded)
 - Wage-point system, wages fixed to prices of basic necessities → reduction of money in circulation
- Significance
 - CCP went back against its communist ideals to consolidate power so in the end, realism > ideology
 - CCP were capable rulers, managed to gain support through astute policies that steadied the ship after KMT made a mess of things

1st Five-year Plan (1953-57)

was aimed to increase industrial and agricultural production by centralising control of all economic sectors and increasing investment into industries → finally some communism

- Aided by Soviet Union/ modelled after Soviet five year plans
- Results of economic changes on industrial output, 1949-1957
 - Steel: 0.16 million tons to 5.4 million tons
 - Electricity: 4300 kWh to 19,000 kWh
 - Railway: doubled in length to 44,000 km
 - Industrial production grew on average 19% from 1952-57
 - Iron and steel production increased x4 while coal and cement production increased x2 in 1953-57
- **Agricultural collectivisation**
 - **Reasons**
 - Most peasants' farms were too small for efficient farming
 - Many were protective of their own interests
 - **Process**

- Organisation of 65% of families into mutual aid teams
- Mao ordered lower-level co-operatives to join the higher-level co-ops
- In 1955, Mao sped up collectivisation against the advice of other party leaders such as Liu Shaoqi who wanted to change slowly
- **Impact**
 - Peasants surrendered tools, animals and land to the state
 - → Some refused to comply (much like Stalin's collectivisation programme) and destroyed their tools and slaughtered their animals rather than giving them up.
 - 95% households had joined higher-level co-ops by 1956
 - Mao's rule was not so legitimate as he forced through policies he wanted, similar to Korean WaR in 1950

The Hundred Flowers (1956) & Anti-rightist movement (1957-59)

"Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend"

Background & Process

After the establishment of the new Communist regime, there were still dissidents who attacked the new system. In the Hundred Flowers campaign, Mao **appeared** to be **suggesting** that **the government would no longer be intolerant of opposition** and **encouraging** people to offer new ideas/beliefs and **suggestions on how to improve the current situation** in China.

Response was **lukewarm** at first (2nd half of 1956) where members of the intelligentsia increasingly spoke up. Later on, Mao **expanded the scope of the campaign** to encompass a **rectification in which the party's style of work**, especially tendencies toward bureaucracy, which were now opened to criticism by the non-Party masses.

With the intensification of the campaign, response from the intelligentsia and the democratic parties also intensified, from being suggestions to being criticisms and demands. Some examples include:

- The **diminution** if not the **extinction** of the **CCP's influence on literature, art and science**
- The **appointment of at least one or two non-Communist vice-premiers**.
- The transformation of the **People's Consultative Conference**, in which non-Communists were more strongly represented than the CCP, **from a purely consultative body to a second decision-making body** besides the National People's Congress, i.e. into a Political Planning Board,
- The **abolition of one-party rule** and free competitive elections,
- The **resignation of Mao and of the Communist leadership groups**.

Clearly, the response received would be much damaging to the hold of the CCP on the Chinese people and severely threatened its legitimacy because it **attacked fundamental principles of the authoritarian state** such as centralised control and policy-making and restrictions of civil liberties for the good of the community.

Controversy

Motivations & intentions of the campaign

1st view: good intentions (**promote progress in the arts and sciences**), yet feedback was overwhelming and did threatened rule & legitimacy of the CCP;

- Arts and sciences: Different forms of art and sciences should **develop freely & questions of right and wrong** should be **settled through free discussion** in their respective circles
 - “We must carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is a fragrant flower.” -Mao, 1957
- Mao was “testing the ground” for what kind of **check and balances** could exist in a totalitarian government (Mao hoped for some manifestation of ‘mutual supervision’)
- **Overconfidence** of Mao (due to optimism of the first few years of Communist China - in foreign policy; in economy, in social policies)

2nd view: Mao intentionally setting a ‘trap’ for his political opponents by **first inviting ‘frank and constructive criticism’** but later on severely punishing those who gave them. → encouraging them to **implicate themselves** as enemies to the regime

“The relationship of the-cadres is like that of a mouse when it sees a cat, as though its soul has been eaten away. There was so much on their minds, they didn’t dare speak out” -Mao Zedong

The Great Leap Forward (1958-1960)

A failed attempt at utopian engineering

Impetus for the social movement:

- **Stalinist model of industrial growth not fitted to China** (*perceived inappropriateness*): China in the 1950s had 4 times Russia’s population in the 1920s and China’s standards of living was half as high
- Universal **collectivisation had not achieved higher farm production** in the past few years → government grain collection did not improve much.
 - In 1953-54 grain production had risen by **<2%**
- China was repaying Soviet loans using agricultural products
- Inadequacy of Soviet Aid

Aims of the Great Leap Forward

- ★ To **increase agricultural production** through a **massive organisation of rural labour power** - policy of ‘Walking on two legs’ - modern industry and traditional agriculture
- ★ Mobilise China’s human resources by establishing a new community structure that combines local initiative with the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-sufficiency
- ★ Speed up achievement of Socialism (further egalitarianism and cooperativization of resources)
- ★ Overtake Britain in industrial development within 15 years - **ambition**

- *“Inspired by the success of the first five-year plan, the Chinese people are launching a new nationwide upsurge in industrial and agricultural production. China’s second five-year plan is even more awe-inspiring than the first. In 1962, when the plan will be completed, the yearly output of steel will reach 12 million tons, power 43 billion kW and coal 210 million tons.” - China Pictorial 人民画报, 1958*

Method & process

- Reorganisation of peasants into **communes**, each containing about **5000 families** who **gave up their land, animals and equipment to common ownership** by all members of the commune.
 - “The advantage of People’s communes lies in the fact that they **combine industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs.**” -Mao Zedong
 - By end of 1958, 700 million people (90% of population) had been placed into 26,500 communes across the country→ efficient
- Population in each commune was mobilized to develop not only **agriculture and local industrial enterprises** but also to take part in **large tasks such as water conservation and land reclamation** when required.
 - Communes were expected to contribute to the Great Leap Forward in projects big and small - products made include cement, ball bearings, chemical fertiliser and steel.
 - **Backyard steel campaign:** 6,000,000 backyard steel furnaces were set up in towns and villages all over China.
 - To feed the backyard furnaces, the [cadres] took **bicycles, scissors, knives, cooking utensils and even iron fences.** (Anything metal)
 - Communes also underwent **simultaneous developments** in agriculture, fishery, forestry, animal husbandry, and subsidiary production.
- **Change in lifestyle:** Cooking gave way to **eating halls** (*‘emancipating women from household drudgery’* - People’s Daily); children were looked after in **crèches** (allowing mothers to labour in the fields or stoke the fires of the improvised iron furnaces); **schools, clinics, entertainments and public services** were ran by party members and soldiers.
- **Propaganda:** omnipresence - **slogans, posters and paper articles** urged the Chinese to work long hours whatever the weather / conditions were. Loudspeakers also played revolutionary music and stirring speeches encouraging workers to reach & even exceed the plan’s production targets. The propaganda efforts paid off, resulting in a **frenzy of enthusiasm among peasants** for their work.

- Propaganda was also aimed at **praising the campaign** (to improve public opinion of the campaign).
 - e.g. “With the encouragement and guidance given by the Central committee of the CCP and Chairman Mao, **the movement is making even bigger strides forward.**” -People’s Daily
 - e.g. “**At school, all the talk was about steel - about its key role in modernizing China**, the need to produce more, the need for all of us to help set up new production records.” -Sirin Phathanothai, the ward of Zhou Enlai, *The Dragon’s Pearl*
 - e.g. Loudspeakers promoting the **triumph of the ‘Three Red Banners’** - the General Line, the Great Leap Forward and the People’s Communes
- **Excitement:** e.g. When **production reached a new peak**, the peasants in the people’s communes **celebrated the occasion with revelry** (lively and noisy festivities) by **beating drums and cymbals in enthusiasm.**

+ve aspects of the GLF:

Good infrastructure were built using GLF’s intensive labour, such as flood control and irrigation mechanisms which were put into good effect for a long time.

The much-ridiculed backyard furnaces actually became profitable enterprises in the rural economies of the 1980s.

Failure and disaster

One key reason that undermined the success of the Great Leap forward was the **exaggerated reports made by party cadres in 1958**, which were subsequently accepted and endorsed by the CCP’s Central Committee, resulting in even higher targets for 1959.

Throughout the country, **wildly inflated production figures** were reported in both agriculture (grain and cotton) and industry (coal and steel).

- e.g. **1958 harvest: actual - 200 million tons of grain** (already v. good) | **reported - 375 million tons**
 - Effect: **extra 50%** of grain went to the Soviet Union, free grain sent to **North Korea, North Vietnam & Albania**, **extra grain quotas sent to cities**
- **(Exaggerated) Reporting in government publications**
 - People’s daily: picture of a crop so dense it apparently supported the weight of 4 children
 - The Beijing Review 北京周報, China’s only national news magazine in English, reported overall progress in various industries.

‘Three bitter years’

Chaos on a grand scale

Starvation & famine - directly caused by misreporting of grain production

- Worsened by poor weather in 1959: drought & floods

- Only **170 million tonnes** of grain harvested in **1959**, **144 million tonnes** in **1960**
 - Overreporting persisted in 1959 to cover up the sharp decline in output.
- **1959 - 1962 : 20 million deaths** due to starvation and related diseases
 - Primary source: **"The millet is scattered all over the ground. The leaves of the sweet potatoes are withered. The young and the strong have gone to melt iron. To harvest the grain there are children and old women. How shall we get through next year?"** *Poem by Peng Dehuai, Minister of Defence at that time after returning from his home province and witnessing the man-made disaster*
- Withdrawal of Soviet Aid in 1960 due to widening ideological rifts between China & USSR

(During the famine)

"The communal canteen **did not serve any proper food**, just **wild grasses, peanut shells and sweet potato skins**. Because of this diet we had terrible problems. **Some were constipated but others had constant diarrhoea and could not get beyond the front door...**"

"Instead of **crawling to the field to look for wild grass** I crawled and rolled to save energy."

"All the trees in the village had been cut down. **Any nearby were all stripped of bark**. I peeled off the bark of a locust tree and cooked it as if it were rice soup."

- Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts, China's Secret Famine*

During the three bitter years **armed revolts** broke out in **Shandong** and Henan. In 1962, refugees from Guangdong fled to Hong Kong and those from Xinjiang even crossed over to the Soviet Union.

To fix the desperate situation of the countryside, the Great Leap Forward was abandoned. Communes were reduced in size (thus increased in number) and responsibilities were shifted from the commune level to the brigade and team level. Private plots were restored, a rejoice for peasants. There they could grow a few vegetables and engage in a little private marketing. (Policies shifting **right**)

As Mao saw **1.** his utopian vision of the countryside failing, **2.** the party's agricultural-economic policies **shifting to the right** (and proving to be **well-liked & effective** - restoration of incentives and private plots), **3.** corruption going on among rural cadres, Mao produced **the 23 Articles in 1965** calling for the alliance of peasants, cadres and work-teams and attacking corruption and individual enterprise. Mao insisted that reform was needed at all levels - up to the Central Committee itself. This was a prelude to the Great proletarian Cultural Revolution that became the most extraordinary political upheaval of the 20th century. **4.** **Mao was naive** and he admitted it **yet he tried to plan economic policies**, in 1959 he made a speech saying, "Coal and iron cannot walk by themselves. They need vehicles to transport them. This I did not foresee. ... I am a complete outsider when it comes to economic construction. I understand nothing about industrial planning. Comrades, in 1958 and 1959, the main responsibility was mine"

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

Mao, his ambitions and his revolutionary ideals

The Cultural Revolution, in contrast to the economic and social upheaval of the GLF, was a **political** one. It centred on Mao's judgement that there were Chinese people (including **party members**) who were **taking the 'capitalist and revisionist' road** and **deviating from his revolutionary ideals**. Such behaviour was also perceived by Mao to be a threat to his personal power, hence for these reasons, Mao needed to overcome his opponents in the Party leadership. This act of **cleansing** then spread to the universities, the workers, then to the Red Guards who **characterised** the most dramatic period of the Cultural Revolution 1966-68.

- **Economic outlook** before the Cultural Revolution
 - Positive - recovered well from the GLF
 - Agricultural production up to 1957 levels
 - **Light industry** was expanding at the rate of **27%** per year, **heavy industry** at **17%** per year
 - By the mid-1960s output in heavy and light industry was double that in 1957.
 - e.g. Daqing oilfield in Heilongjiang (manchuria) struck rich oil deposits in 1957, boosting China's oil production **tenfold** since then.

Causes & motivations

- Historical debate over intentions of the cultural revolution: was it primarily a **struggle for power between Mao and his political opponents** or was Mao genuinely committed to **reversing the development** of **1** a new self-interested bureaucratic class (corrupt party cadres) and **2** the trend (since the GLF) of socialism being diluted?

The moderates wanted to introduce more incentives to get the peasants in the communes working hard. (As long as results are produced - pragmatic)

e.g.

Deng Xiaoping - ***"It doesn't matter whether a cat is white or black, as long as it caught mice."***

The Socialist Education Movement

was launched in 1962 with the intent to restore collectivisation and to get peasants back on the right road of Communism. The 'four clean-ups' campaign was also launched to get rid of corruption and bad management in the Party and to discourage people from exhibiting 'capitalist' behaviour such as spending more time on private plots than on the communal plots. Mao also drafted a resolution in Feb 1963 entitled the **'Early Ten Points'** which proposed that work-teams should mobilize the masses to criticize bad party cadres (corrupt, irresponsible, colluded [conspired] with higher party officials) but was later **watered down by Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi**. (This was later used against the

moderates for being **too lenient on 'capitalist roaders'** amongst the peasantry: only the cadres were targeted - middle peasants were protected.)

Development & progression of the revolution

In **1964**, Lin Biao [Minister of Defence since 1959] compiled the **Little Red Book** containing Mao's writings as a pocketbook for PLA troops. In **1965**, he abolished all ranks in the PLA and modified officers' uniform to signify egalitarianism. Lin Biao also showed his **commitment to Mao's revolutionary cause** by publishing a long article entitled 'Long Live the Victory of the People's War'. With Lin Biao's and the PLA's backing, Mao was **strong enough** to launch a super-campaign against 'reactionaries' and 'capitalists' who stood in the way of true communism.

- ★ "So long as there is no world war, **the armed forces should be a great school ...** wasn't this what we did in the various anti-Japanese bases during the 8 years of the Second World War?"
- ★ "In this great school, our army men should **learn politics, military affairs, and agriculture ...** They can also **do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement** in the factories and villages."
- ★ "**Chairman Mao has taught us that in the socialist society there still exists classes and class struggle.** He said: In our country 'the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between political forces of various factions and between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere will still be prolonged, devious and sometimes even very violent.' -Liberation Army Journal, **'Hold high the great banner of the Thought of Chairman Mao and take an active part in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution'**, 18 April 1966¹

Mao set up the **Cultural Revolution group** consisting of Jiang Qing, Liu Shaoqi (vice-chairman of the CCP), Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai among other senior party members in **Spring 1966**. Following its establishment, the Politburo met between 4 and 18 May and made important decisions concerning the party's action plan. Most notably, the **16 May circular** emphasized the threat posed by **counter-revolutionaries 'who had sneaked into the Party and the Government, the army and various cultural circles'**. It also pointed out that there were **'top Party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road'**.

When the 16 May circular was publicly made-known, **lecturers and students in universities responded dramatically (+ve towards statements, -ve/angry at 'counter-revolutionaries')**. Uneasiness and **unrest** soon followed, which pressured Liu into sending work-teams into universities and colleges which did the following in a bid to uphold the role of the Party and maintain his own power and position.

- Laid down rules of behaviour

¹ Original text : 《解放军报》——毛主席教导我们，社会主义社会还存在着阶级和阶级斗争。毛主席说：在我国“无产阶级和资产阶级之间的阶级斗争，各派政治力量之间的阶级斗争，无产阶级和资产阶级之间在意识形态方面的阶级斗争，还是长时期的，曲折的，有时甚至是很激烈的”。

- Put pressure on the Youth League which was made up of children of cadres and those of 'good' (peasant and worker) background (The Youth League was subsequently blocked throughout the 10 years of CR as it was accused of revisionism)
- Demanded self-criticism from Party Cadres, some of whom were sent to labour camps
 - e.g. **Big-character posters '大字报'**, which were big posters with big fonts pasted on the walls used as a tool of expression, were suppressed by the work-teams.

However, Mao did not like what Liu Shaoqi did. Word went to his ears that a **female Beijing University lecturer Nie Yuanzi** had her big-character poster (produced & published in 25 May 1966 - accusing the University President for wrongly interpreting Mao's calls for a CR) removed by a work-team. In response, Mao ordered her poster to be published in the People's Daily and subsequently produced his own poster '**Bombard the Headquarters**' '炮打司令部' which explicitly criticized the activities of the work-teams and head of state Liu Shaoqi's leadership itself. (Content of poster: '**To rebel is justified**') → *See pictorial sources google doc*

With that, work-teams were withdrawn from the universities. **Schools and colleges were closed for 6 months** for the curriculum to be updated with more awareness of Communist ideals. Young people were encouraged to **travel freely on the trains** during the break to visit rallies in Beijing and other provinces to exchange experiences.

Students in Beijing formed into military groups called the '**Red Guards**'. Their aim was to **destroy the 'four olds' - old thought, old culture, old customs and old habits**, amounting to anything considered decadent such as Beethoven's music, classical literature, temples and paintings. The red guards also harassed the intellectuals who demonstrated against the 'four olds'.

Actions of the Red Guards - Immediate effects of the Cultural Revolution

- Destroy & eliminate 'capitalist roaders' who exhibited capitalistic behaviour
- Marched through Beijing in monster parades numbering over a million at a time
- Employed violence
 - Shaved off the hair of girls with Western hairstyles & eradicated 'bourgeoisie hairstyles and outfits'
 - "All revolutionary workers of the hairdressing trade should vigorously rebel against all those bizarre and fantastic things that do not conform to Mao Zedong Thought. They should forgo the 'cowboy' hairstyle and she their 'cowboy' outfits." -'Eradicate Bizarre Bourgeoisie Hairstyles', 27 August 1966
 - Ripped off Western-style clothes
 - Smashed windows of shops selling cosmetics, pets, jazz records, chess sets, fur coats
 - Burned families' long-kept genealogy books to ashes

- Took action against their own teachers who were stigmatised as 'bourgeois intellectuals'.
 - **Insight into students' violence directed at teachers:** "In the past, the teachers had **worked hard to make us intelligent** ... but the mental abilities we gained, we could not apply them anywhere. For instance, **we are not allowed to question our teachers' conclusions**. Students who do so would be criticised as 'disrespectful and conceited'... Thus they have created a **contradiction**. On the one hand, they wanted us to be smart, rational and analytical. On the other hand, they forced us to be stupid, to be 'the Party's obedient tools'."

-Former Red Guard Rae Yang, *Spider Eaters: A Memoir*
 - "On this day I saw a teacher in the fountain, a middle-aged man. His clothes were muddy. Blood was streaming down his head, as a number of students were throwing bricks at him. While trying to dodge the bricks, he crawled in the fountain, round and round, like an animal in the zoo."
 - Art teacher beaten to death by a group of senior students: " 'In the past he has asked students to draw naked female bodies in front of plaster statues to corrupt them!' said one classmate"
- Humiliated, tortured and imprisoned their 'enemies'
- Justified and supported by Mao's ideology:
 - "The **struggle on the cultural front to build up proletarian ideology and get rid of the bourgeoisie ideology** is an important aspect of class struggle ... between the socialist and capitalist roads and their ideologies." -Liberation Army Journal, 1966
- Were misled & radicalised by **radical propaganda**: "If we slightly relax our attention, we shall be hit by bourgeois sugar-coated cannon balls."
- "Krushchovian-type counter-revolutionary revisionists"
- The PLA were given specific instructions not to intervene (some PLA soldiers gave the Red Guards enthusiastic support)
 - "Trust the masses, rely on them, and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances." -Decision of Central Committee of the CCP regarding the CR.

The Red Guards caused **widespread chaos that engulfed the whole country** in 1966-67. **Law and order had broken down** in many parts of China, with Red Guards fighting with 'reactionaries' and even among themselves.

The cultural revolution also **disrupted education for many young people** - by 1981, the government estimated that around **120 million people under 45 years old could not read or write**.

Responses to chaos brought by Red Guards

- Reopening of schools and colleges - young people were ordered to return to their studies
- PLA intervened to disarm the Red Guards who were using violence
- **Down to the countryside movement: 17-18 million privileged urban youths** were sent to mountainous areas or farming villages to learn from the workers and farmers there (re-education)

Cult of Mao Zedong

Manifestations of Maoism prevailed in the Cultural Revolution, enlarging Mao's cult of personality. Some **740 million copies of the Little Red Book** were printed between 1966-69. Big statues of Mao appeared in public halls and parks. Pictures and busts of Mao were also installed along streets and in workplaces.

- Mao's new look in the arts under Jiang Qing was dedicated to him 'serving the people'.
- Upon reopening of schools, the curriculum was heavily indoctrinated with the sayings of Mao.
 - **"In every kind of school** we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Chairman Mao of education **serving proletarian politics** ... so as to enable those receiving education to develop morally, intellectually and physically to become labourers **with socialist consciousness and culture.**"
- People bowed before his picture after getting up in the morning and before going to bed at night.

Conclusions - deepening

CR - Period of struggle against political enemies of Mao ('revisionists') or period of Maoist indoctrination and dominance?

- Mao viewed the CR as over by the turn of the decade - supports 1st view above
 - Yet he failed to solve the problem of revisionism in a Socialist way - Deng was soon back to the 'capitalist road'.

Impact & legacy

- CR: elite & intellectuals suffered most - trauma of torture and abuse (compare to → GLF: the masses suffered most)

- A generation who has lost its schooling - shortage of trained personnel for a decade

- **How did such a thing happen?** - Was the CR a culmination of past mass campaigns directed by CCP to enforce compliance among the populace? → process of public denunciation and struggle sessions involving violence were featured in land reform, 3/5 Anti campaigns and anti-rightist movements after the Hundred Flowers

3. GERMANY

From democracy to fascism

Rise of dictators | Rule of dictators | International conflict and resolution

Pre-1933 years

Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was **signed on 28 June 1919** after months of hard negotiation, argument and compromise.

At the Paris Peace Conference, leaders of Britain and France **were under great pressure to deal with Germany severely** because their people felt that Germany was **responsible** for the war and should be punished.

- Britain and France had over 9 million casualties (killed & injured)
- Damage and destruction -
 - **France:** villages and towns in large areas of the country had been devastated; civilian deaths around 300,000; damage to industry; Clemenceau personally witnessed the Germans invade his country twice in his life - 1870 and 1914 [Qualities: tough, hard, uncompromising - Clemenceau was determined not to allow such devastations ever again.]
 - **Britain:** almost every family had lost a member in the fighting; German U-boats attacked & **sunk ¼ of British merchant ships**, putting a strain on British food imports
- A tooth for a tooth: The public was aware that Germany had treated Russia very harshly in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 which stripped Russia of huge amounts of land and 25% of population (details see → 1. Russia - Lenin's rule) and thus was determined to see Germany punished as severely.
 - e.g. (public opinion of Germany) British Empire Union - "Remember! Every German employed means a British worker idle. Every German article sold means a British article unsold. **Once a German - always a German! 1914 to 1918 - Never again!**"
- **USA:** President Wilson believed Germany should be punished but not too harshly lest it would recover and want revenge one day. [Qualities: idealistic - wanted to build a better and more peaceful world; 14 Points; Self-determination - nations should rule themselves rather than being ruled by others]

Terms of the treaty are discussed in the section below → see *How did Hitler and his party rise to power?*

Political Turmoil & Economic Challenges

In autumn 1918, the Kaiser abdicated and the **Weimar Republic was born**. It was democratic and gave the people the freedom of speech, worship and better constitutions.

Weimar Constitution

- All Germans over 20 years old could vote
- Proportional representation - 20% in election will translate to 20% of seats in the Reichstag
- Chancellor was responsible for day-to-day government but needed support of 50% of the Reichstag
- The president was the head of state and could rule the country directly through Article 48 during a crisis. (Emergency powers - not needed to consult the Reichstag)

Opposition to the moderate government

- ❖ Nationalists - advocated the Stab in the back myth (Dolchstoß) and labelled the leaders who **signed the Armistice on November 11, 1918**, as the "**November Criminals**"
- ❖ Right - Freikorps, Nazis
 - e.g. Kapp Putsch was organised by the extreme nationalist Wolfgang Kapp; supported by Berlin police and Free Corps
- ❖ Left - Communists
 - Spartacists uprising
 - 'Red rising' in Ruhr (1920)

Invasion of the Ruhr Valley (January 1923)

- by France, when Germany could not pay the second installment of reparations
- Taking of control over mines, railways, factories and steelworks (The Ruhr was Germany's richest industrial area)
- French army killed 132 people (who refused to take orders) and expelled 150,000 people from their homes

Hyperinflation (1923)

- **+ve**
- The government paid off debts, including war loans of 2200 million
- Industrialists were able to pay off their debts
- **-ve**
- Too much money was in circulation - prices and wages skyrocketed
 - Price of bread in 1923: **January - 250 marks | November - 201 billion marks**

Stresemann's years

In August 1923, a new government under Gustav Stresemann took over. Stresemann immediately called off passive resistance in the Ruhr and introduced a new currency called the Rentenmark.

Economic achievements

- Negotiated reparations payments such as the **Dawes Plan (1924)** (Germany pays what she could afford every year) and the **Young Plan (1929)** (Reduced payments; removal of British, French and Belgian troops from the Rhineland)
- Negotiated US loans (800 million marks) to rebuild German industry
 - ◆ Germany achieved same levels of production as before the war in 1928

However, the economic boom brought by Stresemann was precarious. The **US loans could be called in at short notice** which would have a profound effect on German economy.

Achievements in foreign policy

- Stresemann managed to make Germany's old enemies trust and respect her more
 - Locarno Treaties (1925) - Germany accepted borders with France and Belgium and promised that Rhineland shall remain a demilitarised zone
 - Entry into the League of Nations (1925)

Great Depression & Impacts

+Stresemann's death before GD

Following the sudden crash of US stock market in 1929 and the USA sinking into economic depression, in a very short time, countries around the world began to feel the effects of this depression, particularly Germany. American bankers and businessmen asked German banks to repay the money they had borrowed (to pay off their own debts). Businesses went bankrupt and workers were laid off. Unemployment skyrocketed. Revealed the underlying fragility of the economic success built by the Weimar, that they had relied entirely on foreign investments and loans, without which the economy would crumble.

Elections overview

1928 Reichstag Elections:

Social Democrats	- 153 seats
Centre Party	- 61 seats
Communist Party	- 54 seats
NSDAP	- 12 seats

1928 was the peak of the postwar German economy under Stresemann (Social Democrats) and the German people were in good stead. The economy was strong and the people's needs were being provided for. There was a sense of optimism in the air.

1930 Reichstag Elections

Social Democrats - 143 seats (Sharp decline in SDP seats due to Great Depression and economic failure. People lost faith in Weimar govt and turned to extremist ideas as they promised stability and prosperity)

Nazi Party - 107 seats (Sharp increase in Nazi seats due to manipulation of Germans' emotions and desperation following the Great Depression).

Communist Party - 77 seats

Centre Party - 68 seats

July 1932 Reichstag Elections

Nazi Party - 230 (37.27%)

SD - 133 (21.58%)

KPD - 89 (14.32%)

Center Party - 75 (12.44%)

This election saw **great gains by the Nazi Party**, which **for the first time became the largest party in parliament**, though without winning a majority. With the Communists remaining strong, **anti-republican parties** together now had a majority in the Reichstag

November 1932 Reichstag Elections

Nazi Party - 196 (40.246%)

SD - 121 (24.846%)

KPD - 100 (20.534%)

Center Party - 70 (14.374%)

- Unemployment numbers has already reached 5 million → Peak of the Great Depression
- The Nov 1932 Elections was called because **Chancellor Franz von Papen** (old friend of President Hindenburg) **could not have support from the Reichstag**
- Again, Hindenburg refused to appoint Hitler as Chancellor → gave the job to **Kurt von Schleicher** (von Papen remained as advisor to Hindenburg)
 - Kurt von Schleicher was also **forced to resign**, this time, within a month of the elections. Failure of the Weimar government became apparent as Hindenburg **repeatedly overthrown the principles of democracy** by running Germany with emergency powers.
 - **Hitler became chancellor in Jan 1933** after Hindenburg discussed with industrialists, army leaders and politicians. **They believed that they could control Hitler** & use him to get support for the Reichstag for policies made by the cabinet (which was dominated by conservatives).

March 1933 Reichstag Elections

Nazi Party - 288 Seats

Social Democrats - 120 Seats

Communist Party - 81 Seats

Centre Party - 73 Seats (27 seat decrease)

Others - 85 Seats

How did Hitler and his party rise to power?

Dictators' rise | Ideologies & their appeal

1. Treaty of Versailles

Diktat - a dictated peace

Geographical

Germany had lost land, namely the **Rhineland** (became demilitarized zone & a buffer for France against Germany), **Alsace and Lorraine**, the **Saarland** (containing valuable coalfields; regained by Germany in 1935 after plebiscite {90.8% for, 8.8% against}), **Upper Silesia** (an important industrial area), and was **forbidden to unite with Austria**. Lost territory meant losing people, factories, farms and mines. Germany lost **13.5% of her land, 12.5% of her population, 16% of her coal production, 15% of her farming production and 48% of her iron production**. The treaty also took away Germany's overseas colonies, a valuable source of raw materials and trade.

- ❖ Loss of territory was a major blow to German pride
- ❖ Even though self-determination was given to the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, **German-speaking peoples were physically divided** by the terms of the TOV (e.g. forbidding Anschluss with Austria & grouping of German people into new countries such as Czechoslovakia)

Military

The German army was restricted. "The German armed forces must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry... the total number in the army of Germany **must not exceed 100,000 men**... The army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within territory and to the control of the frontiers. The total effective strength of officers must not exceed four thousand." In addition, the army was not allowed to enter the Rhineland, and its navy was cut down to six battleships and no submarines. The German army was also not allowed to have armoured vehicles or an air force.

War guilt & reparations

"Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage" The sum was **132 billion gold marks (£6.6 billion)**, to be paid off in equal instalments every year until 1987 - and if they did not pay up, the Allies would invade.

Link: The TOV crippled Germany by taking away land, money and arms. It also angered the German people, because the Germans were not consulted about any of it, but were simply ordered to sign this "Diktat" (Dictated Peace). It was a blow to German nationalism and their pride. Having to be humiliated on the international stage for being the cause of World War 1, and having to demilitarise while all other countries retained their arms, and losing its land and people, all hurt German pride. Germans were angry at the Weimar government for having failed to be firm in the face of the Diktat, and thus were very willing to support an up and rising Nazi party that portrayed the image of a strong and firm leadership.

LINK: The success of the Nazi party was not brought about solely by Hitler, but rather a confluence of factors - the traumas of the First World War, Versailles, and the Great Depression. Yet the success was really only possible due to the charismatic leadership of Adolf Hitler and the relentless promotion of the cult of the Fuhrer through innovative propaganda techniques.

2. The Great Depression

"The economic position is only flourishing on the surface. Germany is in fact dancing on a volcano. If the short-term credits are called in, a large section of our economy would collapse."

The USA went into an economic depression after the value of shares sold on the Wall Street Stock Exchange collapse in the Wall Street Crash. The result was an economic disaster for Germany. **Germany went bankrupt, workers were sacked, and unemployment soared - from 650,000 in September 1928, to 6,100,000 in January 1933.**

As the economy failed, Hitler's ideology now took on a special relevance. The Nazi's 25 Points was especially attractive towards the most vulnerable to the the Depression: the unemployed, the elderly and the middle classes.

- **2.** We demand that the German people have **rights equal to those of other nations**; and that the **Treaty of Versailles shall be abrogated**. → (Reparations would not be an economic burden to Germany anymore once TOV is repealed)
- **13.** We demand the **nationalization of all trusts**.
- **14.** We demand **profit-sharing** in large industries.
- **15.** We demand a **generous increase in old-age pensions**.
- **25.** We demand: the **creation of a strong central authority in the State**, the unconditional authority by the political central parliament of the whole State and all its organizations. → **Strong leadership shall replace the indecisive Weimar government**

The Nazis also blamed the Allies, the 'November Criminals' and the Jews for Germany's troubles

Link → People blamed the government for their misfortunes and turned to the politicians who promised an end to their hardship - aka Nazi Party.

3. Hitler's personal appeal & abilities

Oratorical skills

Hitler was the Nazis' **greatest campaigning asset** because he was a powerful speaker who was **years ahead of his time as a communicator**. Many people at that time commented that Hitler could **hypnotise audiences when he made speeches**.

- "When at the climax [of a speech] he sways from one side to the other his listeners sway with him; when he leans forward and when he ends they are either awed or silent or on their feet in a frenzy."

He was able to cleverly make use of his failure at the Munich Beer hall Putsch in November 1923 to make **convincing speeches during his trial, winning nationwide publicity**. This allowed him to convey his ideas to not just a small group of people, but to the entire German population. This was also the case for the 1932 Presidential elections where Hitler raised his profile hugely through his campaign. He appeared as a **dynamic man of the moment**, the **leader of a modern party with modern ideas**. He also appeared as a **man of the people**, someone who **knew and understood the people and their problems**.

As for the content of his speeches, they were meticulously crafted to leverage on the existing pain points of the Germans. His speeches had the common motif of restoring honour to Germany and reversing the shameful TOV which had Germany forsake its army, land and people, as well as pay absurd amounts of reparations. He knew the people were very much disgruntled at the unfair and humiliating terms of the TOV and thus placed its reversal at the core of the Nazi agenda. Because of these, his annual Nuremburg rallies were able to amass thousands of Germans.

Strategic gaining of the upper hand

- Taking advantage of an event to **gain more power & abilities** (pursue power through 'legal', 'constitutional' means)

Hitler had made the deliberate decision to opt for the legal path to power. After the failure of the Munich Putsch in 1923, Hitler realised that armed seizure of power was never going to work, and that he had to use the legal apparatus and procedures to be voted into power. This was a wise decision, as all the effort that the Nazi party put into propaganda and persuasion could be attributed by this shift in attitude towards seeking the legitimate support of the people.

After having won the 1932 elections, Hitler had the keen sense to know that simply winning the most number of seats was insufficient. He had to obtain a majority. He thus called for another election in 1933 once he became Chancellor in 1933. Under the guise of wanting to secure a more legitimate and democratic affirmation of Nazi rule, he now had a second chance of securing Nazi majority in the Reichstag. This political manoeuvre allowed Hitler later obtain the majority he sought so as to pass crucial policies like the Enabling Act and the banning of other political parties, thereby securing a Nazi dictatorship.

Meanwhile, Hitler also used a **clever combination of methods** (both legal and dubious) to defeat his opponents.

E.g.

1. Reichstag fire (27 February 1933)

Hermann Goering, a senior Nazi politician and a close confidante of Hitler, blamed the communists for the fire, as a young communist Marianus was caught inside the Reichstag with matches and firelighters in his pockets. It **gave Hitler an excuse to smash the communists**. He **persuaded President Hindenburg to pass an emergency Law for the Protection of the People and State**. This was the start of the '**brown terror**' carried out by **the SA**, where 4000 communists were sent to prison, communist newspapers shut down, and meetings broken up. The Law also **banned Communists and Socialists from taking part in the election campaign**.

2. Enabling Act (passed 24 March 1933)

It stated that Hitler would have the power to **make laws for the next four years without having to ask the Reichstag for approval**, giving Hitler the legal right to do what he liked with Germany. Hitler used the power of the Enabling Law to get rid of anything or anyone that limited his authority, like trade unions.

3. Law against the Formation of New Parties (July 1933)

Nazi party was the only party allowed to exist in Germany: anyone trying to set up or run another party would be punished with three years hard labour. In this way Germany became a one party state.

4. Effective use of Nazi Propaganda

PROPAGANDA

Gregor Strasser (1926-1930) and Joseph Goebbels used the latest techniques to impress and convince. Loud speakers and slide shows, music and lighting, and symbols like the swastika, uniforms, and salutes brought a visual spectacle and an **impression of order and purpose**.

Nazis were able to get neutral newspapers to publish favourable stories by issuing regular material to editors at no cost. The Nazi message was also propagated through the **use of radio, theatre, marches, banners, posters, leaflets, PERSONALISED LETTERS and loudspeaker cars**.

Messages were simple, emotive, forceful and often repeated. Slogans were generalised rather than spreading detailed policies. This was very effective for the Nazis in election campaigns. **See also → Pictorial Sourcebook**

- ★ “Arbeit, Freiheit und Brot!” - Work, freedom and bread
- ★ “Tag von Versailles, Tag der Unehre!” - Day of Versailles, the day of dishonor!
- ★ “The battle against Marxism”

Propaganda & campaign posters for elections were also **visually powerful**:

- ★ Workers of the mind and hand! Vote for the front soldier Adolf Hitler!
- ★ “Germans! Give your answer to the System! Elect Hitler!” “The System” was the pejorative Nazi term for the Weimar Republic.
- ★ “Work and Food” -A poster was used for the November 1932 Reichstag election. The Nazis viewed this as one of their most effective posters.
- ★ **A Nazi sword kills a snake, the blade passing through a red Star of David.** The red words coming from the snake are: **usury** (lending money at unreasonably high interest rates), **Versailles, unemployment, war guilt lie, Marxism, Bolshevism, lies and betrayal, inflation, Locarno, Dawes Pact, Young Plan, corruption**, Barmat, Kutistker, Sklarek [the last three Jews involved in major financial scandals], **prostitution, terror, civil war**. This vivid poster from the September 1930 Reichstag election summarizes Nazi ideology in a single image.

The German people were thus promised work, bread, the reversal of the TOV, and Adolf Hitler as the saviour of Germany from Communists and Jews. The Nazis also talked about uniting the people of Germany behind one leader & **a return to the glory days** before the Allies had forced democracy on Germany, a restoration of Germany's former grandeur. They also talked about going back to traditional values, making NSDAP's opponents hard to criticise them.

Party Organisation

In the hierarchy, there were regional leaders and neighbourhood leaders, which pushed for Nazi support locally. They were disciplined and obedient to Hitler's instructions. At the same time, they were given the independence to adapt their actions as they see fit for

their circumstances. This created a flexible and dynamic organisation compared to the indecisive parliament of the Weimar government.

Nazi Special Organisations

Nazi special organisations, such as the Hitler Youth, Nazi Welfare Organisation and Nazi Students' Association, were setup to extend the Nazi support base.

Use of force and terror

In the elections period, there were **frequent street battles between Communist gangs and the police**. In contrast, the SA and SS gave Germans an impression of **discipline and order** and a sense of dignity and uniformity, which many felt was needed.

- "They all carried Nazi banners on their shoulders like rifles ... The banner-staves had sharp metal points, shaped into arrowheads." -Christopher Isherwood, Goodbye to Berlin
- Such behaviour was an impressive aura of confidence displayed by the NSDAP in a time of uncertainty.

The SA played an important part by **beating up communists, smashing their meetings**, and disrupting their rallies, making it **impossible for them to campaign freely** in the elections. The SA were able to rule the streets by violence.

SA also gave Germans. Block leaders snooped on neighbourhoods, and by listening to local gossip and listening at keyholes, they could find out who were the grumblers, critics, and petty criminals. Nazi Party also controlled the police force of Germany.

5. Weakness of the Weimar Government

Dislike & disillusionment with democracy was a major factor that turned voters against the incumbent government for the NSDAP.

- When Germany failed to pay off its instalment in the second year, the French government decided to **invade the Ruhr Valley**, Germany's richest industrial area. The German government replied to the invasion by ordering the people in the Ruhr to not obey the instructions of the French occupying forces - "passive resistance". This resulted in the French killing 132 people and expelled an estimated 150,000 from their homes.
 - This meant that the **rich part of Germany was no longer producing goods**, and the people who were expelled from their homes **had to be fed and housed by the government** since it had ordered the passive resistance in the first place. Yet the government had no money to cope with this. To solve this issue, the government printed more paper money, resulting in hyperinflation. A loaf of bread that cost 0.63 marks in 1918, resulted in 201 billion marks in late 1923. Hitler tried to overthrow the government in the Munich putsch which in fact

gave Hitler much publicity as he appeared in front page news of every German newspaper for days.

- Weimar politicians also seemed **unable to tackle the problems** faced by Germany in the **Great Depression**. When the GD hit, Chancellor Brüning pursued a tough economic policy which cut government spending and welfare benefits. He urged Germans to make sacrifices. Some believed this was an attempt to get the international community to cancel reparations payments while others thought that he was trying to prevent hyperinflation from recurring as in 1923. Brüning also relied on President Hindenburg to use his emergency powers (Article 48) to bypass the Reichstag, further increasing Germans' disillusionment in Weimar democracy.

OTHER FACTORS:

1. Negative cohesion

Even though not everyone were convinced by Nazi campaigning methods or Hitler's magnetism, some of Nazi's sceptics supported the NSDAP because they share Nazi fears and dislikes (rather than share Nazi views), hence they failed to grasp the big picture of exactly what the Nazi ideology entailed. *'You hate what I hate'*

2. Underestimation of the Nazi party

Some thought they could control/use/manipulate the Nazi party/movement and use it to their advantage. For example, the old (military) elites wanted to abolish democracy; the industrialists, labour force and army (basically everyone) wanted abrogation of TOV; the industrialists wanted to stamp out communism which was ruining their businesses because their workers were going on strike etc. hence they allowed the Nazis to take over without significant resistance. This was the case up till February 1938 with the purging of the old military elite which meant that there were no longer any forces significant enough to oppose the Nazis.

CONSEQUENCES OF NAZI RULE

1. Concentration camps (climate of fear)

As soon as Hitler came to power, the SS - Hitler's elite and devoutly loyal bodyguards - was authorised to fulfil the functions of an **auxiliary police force**. Using the Emergency Power Decree, the **SS was permitted to take suspects into 'protective custody'**. The initial objective was to intern political opponents, but as time passed the remit was extended to include anyone deemed a threat to the regime, notably the Jews.

By the end of 1933, 130,000 members of the communist party alone had been arrested and imprisoned (and additional 2,500 had been murdered). Answerable only to the SS, no other judicial or administrative authorities were able to review the camp system. Prisoners had no right of appeal. The brutal SS guards were responsible for constant 'unofficial' cruelty that often led to 'unofficial' killings. However, these deaths were portrayed as 'suicides', 'accidental deaths', and 'justified killings'. **Between 1933 and 1939,**

approximately 225,000 Germans were convicted and imprisoned for political crimes, and an additional 162,000 were in 'protective custody' without trial. This consequently produced fear that pervaded Nazi society.

2. Persecution of Jews

"Jewish people are to be blame for Germany's defeat in WWI and Jewish businessmen were plotting to take control of the world". The SA organised a boycott on Jewish businesses, and Jews were sacked from important jobs in the civil service, the law, universities and schools, broadcasting and newspapers. Children at school were taught anti-semitic ideas.

In 1935, Nuremberg Laws were passed that firstly took away their German citizenship, and secondly forbade marriages between Jews and non-Jews. In many towns, they found it difficult to get food, and many basic necessities had **"Jews Strictly Forbidden To Enter This Town"** or **"Jews Enter This Place At Own Risk"** signs

10 November 1938: Night Of Broken Glass, where nearly 10,000 Jewish shopkeepers had their shop windows smashed and the contents looted. **Jewish homes and synagogues** went up in flames. Dozens of Jews were killed and thousands arrested. Jewish men and women were forced to get down on their hands and knees to clean streets with scrubbing brushes.

Aryanisation and why it worked => EVERYTHING ELSE IS BUILT UPON THIS CONCEPT

Appealed to the masses on an ideological level

- Restoring German honour -> pushed the blame/shame of German defeat during WWI to the Jews -> reassured the Germans that they were destined for greatness, all they needed to do was purge the Jewish elements from their society
- Reasserting German national identity -> legitimised the people's hatred for the Jews which in reality stemmed more from socio-economic inequalities than anything else

Appealed to the masses on a practical level

- People received direct material benefits from the requisitioning of Jewish properties

If the appeal didn't work there was always the SS and Gestapo.

3. Nazi Propaganda

In schools, textbooks were rewritten to paint a good picture of the Nazis. Teachers had to belong to the German Teachers League, and were made to put across Nazi ideas in their lessons. As such, German schoolchildren were not so much educated as indoctrinated. Outside school, young people had to belong to youth organisations which taught them loyalty to Hitler and trained them in military skills, such as the Hitler Youth Movement.

Promotion of the superior Aryan race was a prominent theme in the propaganda. The propaganda utilised the broad ideology of German nationalism - hence everyone could find some aspect of the ideology that resonated with them.

4. Role of Women

Law for the Encouragement of Marriage, meant to encourage people to have children, and pushed for the strict adherence to the racial purity of the children, by pushing Aryan women to produce four children with racially pure German men. Every family that already has four children must set the husband free for this action.

- Women were sacked from their jobs, and were forced to stay at home.
- There were awards for women who had the most children - Motherhood cross.
- There were also homes for unmarried women where they could go there with the aim of becoming pregnant.

They recognised and emphasized the role of women and allowed them to fit into the idea of a strong nationalistic Germany -> leading many to feel a sense of fulfilment in a traditionally patriarchal society.

Had the view that the purpose of women was to perpetuate the Aryan race, something which fits well into the social-Darwinist theory held by Hitler.

5. Economic Improvements

Hitler set up the **National Labour Service** which gave men **jobs in public works schemes** - digging drainage ditches on farms, planting new forests, building schools and hospitals. In January **1933, there were 6 million unemployed** people in Germany. However, this reduced during Nazi rule to **302,000 in January 1939**.

However it is important to note that the drop in unemployment rate was aided by a few factors

1. The removal/replacement of Jews with Aryan Germans; these unemployed Jews were unaccounted for in the statistics
2. Mass conscription ridded many of their unemployment status
3. Remilitarisation provided many jobs for people in related industries such as the heavy industries which produced weapons

In addition, Strength Through Joy was introduced to organise leisure activities for the people. It provided people with cheap holidays, and controlled most forms of entertainment.

-> associated the idea of reward with the Nazi party, leading them to view the Nazis as the source of their entertainment and more generally their happiness.

-> the standard that the people were held to was not a very high one - as long as they did not directly disobey the instructions of the party they would be left alone to reap the benefits of being an Aryan German in Germany.

-> the rewards were easily accessible while the punishments were easy to avoid - appealed to many people

They also got rid of the trade unions by eliminating the communists, gaining them the support of the wealthy German industrialists.

Economic success is an effective propaganda tool in itself and served to solidify the Nazi's support base as people were convinced that the Nazis could deliver on their promises, causing people to be more satisfied and restoring a sense of national pride and achievement.

Conclusions:

Generally the support the Nazi party had (which stemmed from the success of their policies) allowed them to be able to avoid a situation of paranoia (unlike Stalinist Russia)

The Nazi party chose to embrace their past and use that as a motivation to come back from their failure stronger VS Mao who chose to reject the past

ALL VICTIMS OF TIME AND HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCE

4. War and conflict

World War II (WWII or WW2), also known as the **Second World War**, was a global war that lasted from 1939 to 1945, although related conflicts began earlier. The primary combatants were the Axis nations (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Imperial Japan and their smaller allies) and the Allied nations, led by Britain (and its Commonwealth nations), the USSR and the USA. The Allies were the victors. Two superpowers, the USA and USSR, emerged from World War II to begin a Cold War with each other that would define much of the rest of the century.

Causes of WWII

1. Failure of the League of Nations

Failed from the beginning - structural & organisation weakness

USA no longer wanted to sacrifice for Europe after have lost 50,000 men in WWI. American isolationism was problematic as USA was in the strongest military/economic position to enforce conformation to international regulations of other countries. Europe was dependent on USA support; when Wilson was unable to convince the American public of the LON, the organisation became inherently weak. The fact that America was one of the founding members yet did not themselves join paralysed the leadership of the organisation. Also because they did not join, USA need not conform to LON directives. This hindered efforts in LON endeavours, such as during the Abyssinia issue against Mussolini whereby America continued to supply oil to Italy despite international embargoes.

Failure to deal with provocations & threats to peace

The LON lacked a dedicated independent army and wholly relied on member nations to out of goodwill, follow through with military consequences for any violation of international regulations. However, countries like Britain and France were more concerned with their self-interests than the LON's prerogatives. This meant that more aggressive nations could violate rules and escape unscathed. For example, with the blatant disregard of the TOV in German remilitarisation of Rhineland, Hitler faced no opposition from France or Britain. This emboldened him to continue pushing his expansionist agendas in Anschluss, Sudetenland and eventually the whole of Czechoslovakia.

Allowed Rearmament to take place

The Disarmament Conference was organised in February 1932 by the LON but France refused to accept any limitations to her armed forces.

- Hitler pulled Germany out of the conference in Oct 1933 as a result and declared that they would only disarm if other nations did so as well.
- Exit of Germany out of LON
- 1935: German army increased to 550,000 men

2. Nazi/ Hitler's Expansionist Ambitions

In Hitler's speech on the Treaty of Versailles, he said "**Germans; stand together! Up and resist the foe!** ... He who will not be a hammer must be an anvil. An anvil we are today, and that anvil will be beaten until out of the anvil we fashion once more a hammer, a German sword!"

Hitler's ideas can be found in **Mein Kampf**:

1. The Fuhrer Principle

Germany must be ruled under a single, strong leader with great power -> eventually came true via the Enabling Act

2. Lebensraum (Living Space)

Germans need MORE land to live and work in. This land will come from countries east of Germany, eg Poland and Russia. They will use **force** to get this land if these countries do not give it up.

- "We turn our eyes to the lands of the east ... When we speak of new territory in Europe today, we must principally think of Russia and the border states subject to her ... It will be the duty of Germany's foreign policy to provide large spaces for the nourishment and settlement of the growing population of Germany." -Mein Kampf

3. Race

Best races are 'pure ones' which have not interbred with others. The Germans who belong to the 'Aryan' race must keep themselves pure.

- Anti-semitism

Jews are the biggest threat to the purity of the Germans. They are involved in a great conspiracy to take control of the world. They helped to bring about Germany's defeat in WW1. Jews must be destroyed.

- Communism

(ties to Russia) must be destroyed.

4. TOV

The peace treaty was unfair and must be cancelled. Land taken from Germany must be returned. France must be destroyed.

3. Appeasement

Appeasement is most associated with Neville Chamberlain.
Britain signed a naval agreement (in secret) with Germany in 1935.

6 Reasons for Appeasement:

A. Britain was **also concerned with the rise of communism**, and particularly about **the dangers to world peace posed by Stalin**. As such, many saw Hitler's regime as the buffer to the threat of the spreading communism.

B. Britain knew that the American leaders were determined not to be dragged into another war and thus, **Britain feared fighting a war against Germany** without the help of America. This was especially true since British leaders were aware of Britain's lack of readiness for a military campaign.

C. **Some British people felt that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair to Germany**, and assumed that once these wrongs were put right then Germany would become a peaceful nation again. Duff Cooper, then minister for war, said, "the recent reoccupation of the Rhineland... the Germans reoccupying their own territory.

D. Britain and France were **still suffering from the effects of the Great Depression**. They had large debts and huge unemployment.

E. The British and French leaders vividly remembered their horrific experiences of the First World War and wished to `.

F. It was not certain that British Empire and Commonwealth states would support a war against Germany.

Negative repercussions of the Appeasement policy

1. It encouraged Hitler to be aggressive. With each gamble he got away with because of the appeasement policy, he was egged on to take even bigger risks.

2. It scared the USSR. Appeasement sent the message to the Soviet Union that Britain and France would not stand in Hitler's way if Hitler expanded eastwards. This eventually led the USSR to sign the Nazi-Soviet Pact, that led to the invasion of Poland and the start of WWII.

3. It allowed Germany to grow too strong. Germany was able to recover the Saar and the Rhineland that allowed it to grow economically, and also Austria, that provided it with soldiers, weapons and rich deposits of gold and iron ore.

4. It left Czechoslovakia defenceless.

4. The Nazi-Soviet Pact

Important event because it emboldened the Germans to take Czechoslovakia without having to worry about fighting on two fronts; also gave the Russians some time to rearm to fight Germany.

5. Generalisations

Dictatorship

- **Existing authorities too weak** to resist dictators → rise of dictators
 - Notable example: Hindenburg and von Papen's attempt to share power with Hitler failed
- **Decisive, scheming, dynamic, ambitious, ruthless** → common traits
 - Notable example: Stalin's rise to power, in the process backstabbing many of his former allies
 - Ambition → Mao & his GLF
 - Dynamic → Hitler
 - Scheming → Stalin (rise to power), Hundred Flowers (Mao)
- Use of **propaganda** to bolster their rule/win support
 - All dictators
- Culture of **fear**
 - Notable example: Stalin and the NKVD and his purges
- **Suffering** of masses
 - For Hitler, the Jews suffered
 - Peasant suffered in the GLF; Collectivisation in USSR also
- **Restriction of civil liberties**
 - Notable example: Stalin throwing the intelligentsia into gulags if they criticised him/his regime
- Use **economic development to legitimise rule**
 - Exception: Hitler: his rule was already legitimate because of popular support in the elections
- Relative internal stability during dictatorship
 - By using secret police to suppress dissenters and outlawing opposition political parties

Revolutions

- Revolutions necessitate conflict to get rid of the opposition to it
 - Russian Civil War, Chinese Civil War
- Typical stages of revolution: R → Rule of dictator → Rule of moderates
 - De-Stalinization under Khrushchev, Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi taking over before the Cultural Revolution
- Presence of a great leader
- Motivated by existing social circumstance

- Leading to discontent and support for opposing ideologies
- Inept previous leadership

Ideology

- Realism more important than ideology
 - NEP and Mao 1949-1953 rule were more capitalist than communist but were needed for economic stability
- Runs on the dissatisfaction of people
 - Esp. Nazism
- Empowers people
 - Bolshevism → Workers, Maoism → Peasants

Tsar Nicholas II was largely responsible for the February 1917 Revolution due to his incompetence and weak leadership of the country which can be clearly seen in two main aspects - the first being the bad decisions he made with regard to state affairs and the second being his failure to reform in the face of a changing socio-political climate. In other words, the February 1917 Revolution was largely brought about by Tsar Nicholas II, because of both the things he did as well as the things he did not.

Firstly, Nicholas II's bad decisions on behalf of the country resulted in worsening living conditions of the people. This can be clearly illustrated in his decision to enter World War I, the economic results of which only served to increase discontent. Russia was in no way threatened by the dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, yet on 30 July 1914 the Tsar approved the decision to call up troops and began preparing for war against Austria-Hungary and Germany in support of Serbia, involving itself in a conflict it could have stayed out of. In fact, Russia was the first country to mobilise fully. Given that at that time Russia was in far too bad a state to be fighting Germany, Nicholas II should have stayed out of the conflict, yet he chose to proceed with the war effort, draining the society of resources and channelling it towards the war, instead choosing to ignore the plight of the people and the negative consequences this decision would have on them.

The masses suffered very badly from this decision, as their men, livestock and machinery were taken from them to fight a war which was not their own. By 1917, 14 million men had been drafted into the army, reducing the number of workers available for both industry and agriculture and between a third and a half of peasant households in most provinces did not have any able-bodied men to work the land, a severe disadvantage due to the menial nature of the labour involved in agriculture. The number of work horses fell by a third from 17.9 million in 1914 to 12.8 million in 1917 and 26 million heads of cattle were lost from 1914-1916. Industry was also affected from lack of machinery and fuel, which also disrupted transportation. As a Tsar, his relationship with his people was supposed to be one of a father to a son, yet he ignored their plight and continued to make decisions which negatively impacted them such as entering WWI. Given that the revolution originally started as a demonstration expressing the people's unhappiness with the shortage of bread, it can be inferred that the lack of daily necessities such as food (which reflects the poor living conditions of the people) played a very important role in stirring the people to revolutionary movement. Since the war was a very large cause of this lack of daily necessities and the poor living conditions, and the war was ultimately caused by the poor decision of Nicholas II, it can be seen that Nicholas II's bad decisions played a very important role in causing the revolution.

Secondly, Nicholas II's failure to reform contributed to the revolution as he caused the people to think that he was not interested in their welfare and needs by ignoring their proposals. For example, when they wrote a petition to him asking for better working conditions, an eight-hour work day and other political rights and freedoms, the soldiers were ordered to fire on the unarmed, peaceful petitioners, causing hundreds to be killed and hundreds more to be wounded. This tarnished the reputation of the Tsar in the minds of the people and cemented their image of him as a callous ruler who was indifferent to their sufferings, resulting in dissatisfaction towards the Tsar. Furthermore, this act of ignoring the pleas of the people pushed them to believe that revolution was the only way to effect change as they had failed to gain what they had hoped to after attempting to submit their request through officially sanctioned channels, i.e. writing a petition to the Tsar.

Even when the people staged riots to pressure the Tsar into listening to their reforms such as in the 1905 revolts, he consented to the reforms in order to temporarily placate the people but quickly went back on promised reforms afterwards, causing the people to feel betrayed and helpless, leading them to believe that the only way they could effect actual, long-lasting change would be a permanent removal of the Tsar. A clear example of his lack of commitment to reforms can be seen in the case of the Duma. The Duma was originally created to be made up of elected members so as to allow the people to have greater political representation. However, Nicholas II was insistent that his own executive power should not be limited hence he reserved the right to veto any law proposed by the Duma, effectively rendering the Duma obsolete and powerless to do anything which he did not agree with. An example would be how he vetoed a Duma bill in 1909 for implying the Duma's right to make recommendations on naval administration as he took this to be an infringement of his complete authority over the military. This showed the people that he was insincere about carrying out reforms and he was not intending to change anything from the old system of governance (as he did not intend to give up any of the power he held). He was foolish not to use this opportunity to show the people that he was capable of change and reform in accordance with the will and needs of the people, which would have mitigated the need to depose the Tsar to effect change. However, he refused to reform, effectively shutting out all other channels for change except protest activity, which is what the people eventually took.