

# History Higher Level – Paper 2: Single-Party States (Rise)

## Groundwork Questions

### 1. Rise (no given factor)

#### Introduction:

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power after the death of Hindenburg, combining the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- Broad themes consist of use of force, circumstances, and strength of the ruler and his party

#### Thesis:

- Force was extremely pertinent in the case of Mao—it was force that allowed him to defeat the Nationalists and establish himself as the sole ruler
- It was the traditional elites that aided the rise of Hitler—plotting by von Papen and Hindenburg to nominate him as Chancellor and eventual death of Hindenburg

#### Use of force

Factor	Impact
Use of terror	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Reinforcing loyalty and support in the CCP through terror.</li><li>• Futian incident in 1930—execution of several thousand CCP members who were allegedly in the Anti-Bolshevik League: usage of purges to ensure power over Jiangxi Soviet</li><li>• Yan-an rectification campaign in 1942—rapid expansion of the CCP led to worries that it would become a self-serving elite; targeted those who did not accept Mao thought; used thought reform, shame, guilt and desire for conformity; public self-criticisms; 40,000 expelled and 10,000 killed</li></ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The Brown Shirts (SA) supported</li></ul>

	Nazi mass rallies and engaged in street violence and killings—beating up hecklers and provoked clashes with other militia; could have intimidated people to vote for the Nazis
Military	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Military played the main role in developing the PLA</li> <li>• Won peasant support—declared that they were the sea and CCP the fish; relied on them for soldiers, supplies, intelligence and logistics; peasants were to be convinced that they were fighting for their own interests; abolition of ranks and trained them</li> <li>• Created guerilla strategy—small units of 9-11 men to be lightly armed and moving constantly over rugged terrain to harass the enemy; used a developed spy network, surprise and deception to sabotage infrastructure</li> <li>• Talented generals—Lin Biao shifted his mobile defense policy to large scale guerilla raids, encircling GMD cities; used conventional warfare in 1947 to win</li> <li>• Military aid—Soviet training and equipment; 740,000 rifles, 18,000 machine guns, 800 aircraft and 4,000 artillery pieces</li> <li>• Aided by the incompetent GMD army which was worn down by constant wars, taken advantage of by 70% rest, 20% GMD, 10% Japanese policy</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• German military played no direct role</li> </ul>

### Circumstances

Factor	Impact
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Existing government structure	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Long history of autocratic Manchu emperors who disenfranchised the local Han Chinese up till the 1911 Xinhai Revolution; followed by warlord era and then replaced by an authoritarian GMD regime</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strong preference for autocratic leaders up until abdication of Kaiser William II; Weimar republic was the beginning of democracy and had an unstable start given the TOV and loss of WW1 till 1925; rapidly declined after 1929 due to Great Depression and Ruhr Crisis</li> </ul>
Impact of war	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>China was repeatedly at war throughout warlord era and against Japan—national disunity</li> <li>Authoritarian GMD allowed political opposition to fester and develop resentment by failing to institute reforms and extending “political tutelage” to 6 years</li> <li>Economic mismanagement led to sharp drop in living standards and economic conditions from 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Jap war and Civil War</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weimar democracy was blamed for the loss of WW1 and undermined by the myth of a stab in the back</li> <li>Decline in 1928 given the support for right wing parties and rise of a presidential government</li> <li>1923 Ruhr Crisis and 1929 Great Depression</li> </ul>
Party mechanism	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stalin’s meddling in the 1920s almost ruined the party</li> <li>Mao captured the CCP control during the Zunyi conference in 1928 where he was backed by</li> </ul>

	<p>Zhou Enlai against the 28 Bolsheviks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CCP cadres played a major role in winning over peasant support and administrating base areas</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dominated the Nazi Party from the start due to insistence on the Fuhrer principle</li> <li>• Nazi Party regained organization and unity post-1925—these improvements played an important role in distinguishing his party</li> <li>• Challenge of KPD and SPD with established histories and support bases</li> </ul>
Role of foreign policy and support	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popular resentment against foreign imperialism which the GMD failed to eliminated especially after 1931 when Japanese invaded Manchuria and expanded into Chinese mainland by attacking Shanghai in 1932</li> <li>• CCP required support from the Soviets as they helped to build up the PLA</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popular resentment against TOV and failure of government to improve terms despite efforts to improve relations with Allied powers</li> <li>• Weimar government were taking loans from the US—led to a knock-on effect during the Depression</li> </ul>
Traditional elites	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The traditional elites supported the GMD but their incompetence undermined support steadily from all classes, not just the elites—but they may not necessarily have transferred their support to the CCP</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support from the conservative elites was vital as the Nazis were losing support after November 1932—the economy was picking up and people wanted stability, opting for moderates</li> <li>• Presidential governments failed to win majority support of the Reichstag; the elites wished stability and chose Hitler as their puppet even though they despised the Nazis and their ideals</li> <li>• The Legal Revolution: Hitler as Chancellor was able to enact the Enabling Law in March 1933 and dissolve the Reichstag in October 1933, after which all political parties were abolished and civil liberties taken away</li> <li>• Death of President Hindenburg led to creation of the post of Fuhrer in 1934—a combination of the Chancellorship and the Presidency</li> </ul>
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### Strength of ruler and party

Factor	Impact
Personal charisma	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Was not charismatic as he was not an accomplished mass orator</li> <li>• Did have a magnetic appeal which served as the central legitimizing figure—shown in how the Chinese mainland says that he was generally right even up to 1949</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charisma was a major factor for the popularity of the party; had spell-binding ability of oratory and could discern the audience</li> <li>• Able to bind subordinates to him, even high-power officials such as Himmler, Goring and Heydrich</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Necessary skills especially in a democratic system</li> </ul>
Tactical flexibility	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defeated 28 Bolsheviks during 1935 Zunyi Conference and ousted Zhang Guo-Tao during Long March in 1936</li> <li>Able to moderate CCP reforms during Jiangxi and Yan'an periods</li> <li>Jiangxi—appearance of mass line politics and incorporation of popular will in addition to right to vote; adopted moderate land policies which targeted only landlords as Mao realized it was difficult to arouse class consciousness in China; set up People's Banks and gave women rights</li> <li>Yan'an—elections and idea of the mass line; national revolution involving all classes; moderate land reforms, cooperatives, cut taxes, which won the support of the peasants in addition to moderating women's rights due to male hostility</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tactically flexible—shifted away from the failed armed uprising (Munich Putsch in 1923) to winning electoral support and making use of his appointment as the Chancellor</li> </ul>
Ideology	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Made Marxism palatable and adaptable to Chinese context: mobilization of the peasantry rather than the bourgeoisie to capture power as China had no modern industrial economy and no proletariat</li> <li>Developed the idea of Maoism and provided his theoretical credentials; vital in winning mass support especially for the PLA</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideological flexibility: pulled together many different ideas to appeal to all aspects of the population</li> <li>• Promised different things to different classes, focusing mainly on a common German nationalism</li> </ul>
Propaganda	<p>Mao:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Building up of the cult of Mao especially during the Yan'an period</li> <li>• Jiangxi Soviet—used newspapers, songs plays, posters etc., aided by mass literary campaigns and opened schools which aided the process</li> <li>• Yan'an period—1942 rectification campaign and Mao Thought becoming official ideology at the 7<sup>th</sup> CCP National Congress in 1945 where Mao emerged chairman of the Committee</li> </ul> <p>Hitler:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Played an important role in garnering support for the Nazis</li> <li>• Could target their propaganda to address local issues using insiders and notables</li> <li>• Used the latest technology and training: Nazi Film Service and loudspeakers, slideshows, radio</li> <li>• Kept messages simple</li> <li>• Played up the cult of Hitler and directed it towards the population</li> </ul>

## 2. Rise (ideology)

### Introduction:

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power after the death of Hindenburg, combining the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- Mao inherited the Marxist-Leninist ideology and modified it, while Hitler put together an ad-hoc mix of existing beliefs
- Themes: ideology, ability and force

### Thesis:

- Force was extremely pertinent in the case of Mao—it was force that allowed him to defeat the Nationalists and establish himself as the sole ruler
- It was the traditional elites that aided the rise of Hitler—plotting by von Papen and Hindenburg to nominate him as Chancellor and eventual death of Hindenburg
- Ideology was a relatively minor point, although it did play a role in allowing Mao and the CCP to build up the PLA through attracting the peasantry

### Nazism

Ideal	Impact/Relevance
Aryan superiority and anti-Semitism—race war based on Social Darwinism and survival of the fittest <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The German race was superior and were the master race</li><li>• Jews were seen as destroyers of this culture; polluting German purity and were scapegoated</li><li>• Darwinism advocated warfare and struggle</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Blaming of the 1923 Ruhr crisis and 1929 Great Depression on the Jews</li><li>• The <i>mittelstand</i> (lower middle class) were his most important supporters</li><li>• Conservative reaction from traditional elites who were repelled by the role Jews played in the Weimar period</li></ul>
Pan-Germanism and the <i>Volksgemeinschaft</i> —unity of all German people <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• National community, strength through unity</li><li>• The many over the one</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Powerful message for those unhappy with the disunity created by the Depression</li><li>• A national community arguably transcended class</li><li>• Were able to attract a broad base of support more so than other parties</li></ul>
Ultrationalism <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Intense and militant sense of national greatness</li><li>• Myth of a glorious past with</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Highlighted the unfairness of the TOV</li><li>• Universal German opposition to the treaty</li></ul>

future “greater Germany”—to make it great again	
<p><i>Lebensraum</i> (living space)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Living space in the Slavic islands to create autarky and self-sufficiency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1929 exposed Germany’s weakness—countries like Britain and France had empires which allowed self sufficiency, shielding them from the full impact of the depression</li> <li>Living space appealed to many social groups</li> </ul>
<p>Anti-communism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Seen as a Jewish philosophy</li> <li>Threatened the propertied class</li> <li>Working class might be seduced by communism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Right wing groups sought to suppress the left wing—they were protected by the government</li> <li>Right wing ideology won the sympathy of the traditional elites</li> <li>Fought the German Communist Party using the SA</li> </ul>
<p>Anti-democracy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weakness shown in the Weimar Republic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Manipulated the myth of a stab in the back against the Weimar</li> <li>Rejected the Weimar system as unstable</li> <li>Moderate and left-wing parties were at conflict; Reichstag and weak Chancellors discredited democracy</li> </ul>
<p>Anti-finance capitalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Opposed to unearned income and to nationalize businesses</li> <li>Favored smaller trader</li> <li>Capitalism was considered pursuit of self-interest</li> <li>Redistribution of wealth and land from non-Germans to Germans</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adopted in 1925 to attract support from <i>mittelstand</i></li> <li>Modified this position in favor of big businesses later on</li> <li>Big business was part of the traditional elite who brought Hitler to power</li> </ul>
<p>Anti-modernism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urbanization was considered corruption and decadent</li> <li>Focused on <i>blood and soil</i>, highlighting pure racial qualities aided by labor</li> <li>Fuelled expansionist tendencies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Initially drew support from rural areas</li> <li>Hitler realized working class drawn more to the left wing parties</li> <li>Urban support was lower than rural</li> </ul>
<p>Fuhrer principle and anti-intellectualism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cult of the leader—<i>Urbemensch</i></li> <li>Unquestioning obedience and authority from the leader</li> <li>Focus on willpower and favored</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Key message, Hitler presented himself as a panacea</li> <li>Played on Germany’s autocratic history</li> <li>Possessed charisma and</li> </ul>

action	attracted the Protestants
Anti-feminism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chauvinistic view of the world</li> <li>• Gender roles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attracted many women, probably attracted to conservatism regarding family values</li> </ul>

### Ability

- Hitler's charisma
- Improvements in Nazi Party organization
- Propaganda
- Manipulation of circumstances
- Manipulation of the traditional elites and legal system

### Force

- Violence with the SA

### Maoism

Ideal	Impact/Relevance
Two stage revolution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First a bourgeoisie revolution and retention of private ownership</li> <li>• Followed by the second proletariat revolution and lead to collectivization and nationalization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Went against Marxist-Leninist doctrine that revolution was primarily prolet-driven</li> <li>• Mao called for a united national revolution</li> <li>• CCP was really unable to win the bourgeoisie over in any way, though the policy aided the CCP's victory in the CCW as the GMD alienated their already narrow support base of the economic elites—they adopted a neutral position during the CCW</li> </ul>
Voluntarism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power of the human will</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Went against Marxist belief of forces of production and economic structure</li> <li>• Undermined Marxism and justified Mao's reliance on peasant revolution</li> </ul>
Capture of power <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Development of a guerilla army to capture rural areas followed by urban</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did not support the 28 Bolsheviks who preferred urban uprisings</li> <li>• Developed the People's War and protracted war</li> <li>• Peasants as the backbone of a guerilla army and peasants to supply and manage logistics and intelligence</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 rules and 8 points of conduct for good relations between military and masses</li> <li>• Egalitarianism; abolition of ranks</li> <li>• Vital role in the growth of the PLA which was the decisive factor in defeating the GMD</li> </ul>
<p>Party organization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constant need to purify the party</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mao was concerned that the party may become a <i>nomenklatura</i> and become bureaucratic and corrupt; rapid expansion in Yan'an led to these concerns being more salient</li> <li>• Mandated self-criticism and enacted 1942 rectification campaign in Yan'an</li> <li>• CCP was indeed far more unified and organized</li> </ul>
<p>Role of the peasantry</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To overthrow capitalism and create socialist society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marx thought the peasantry was disorganized, dispersed and incapable</li> <li>• Stalin and Lenin thought the peasants were politically reactionary and sought to divide them (<i>kulaks</i>) and force them into collectives</li> <li>• Mao's recognition of the potential of the peasants was unprecedented—previous Soviet-directed urban uprisings were quelled by strong GMD presence in these areas</li> <li>• Encouraged peasants to be more politically active and gave them rights</li> <li>• Adopted a moderate land policy in opposition to forced land confiscation and killing of <i>kulaks</i></li> <li>• Promoted the role of women and introduced liberal marriage laws</li> <li>• Was vital in the Yan'an period post-Long March; helped it recover from the White Terror</li> <li>• Peasants formed the backbone of the PLA during the CCW</li> </ul>
Ruthless determination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adopting the use of purges</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belief that willpower and determination could ensure change</li> <li>• Necessity of violence</li> </ul>	<p>against political enemies of the CCP and Mao</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Futian Incident in 1930 where Mao purged the Anti-Bolshevik League</li> <li>• Rectification campaign in 1942</li> <li>• Ensuring the internal discipline of the CCP and loyalty to Mao in contrast to GMD</li> </ul>
<p>Primacy of Mao Thought and cult of the individual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His ideas were the ultimate solution</li> <li>• Centrality of Mao's leadership and person</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Went against Marxist-Leninism but was similar to Stalin's cult of personality</li> <li>• Spread of Maoism and acceptance as the official ideology in 1945 clearly marked his dominance over the CCP</li> <li>• The 28 Bolsheviks had only served to hinder the CCP</li> </ul>
<p>Internationalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoting communism to other countries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not a concern for Mao</li> </ul>

### Ability

- Manipulation of circumstances (GMD weakness, economic and political instability, 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Jap war)

### Force

- Military strength and tactics of Lin Biao in overpowering the GMD

## Essay Questions/Practice

### **1. To what extent did the following aid the rise to power of either Stalin or Hitler: First World War, weakness of the existing regime, and ideological appeal? (November 2008)**

#### **Introduction:**

- Hitler rose to power after the death of von Hindenburg, combined the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- Was the leader of the far-right NSDAP and were aided by circumstances up till a period of economic recovery
- Afterwards, the lack of political cooperation and parliamentary deadlock compelled the traditional elites to appoint him Chancellor in 1933 in a taming strategy.

#### **Thesis:**

- Since the traditional elites were trying to appoint and manipulate Hitler to get rid of the political chaos and communism (which was a result of weakness of the regime), the problems with the existing regime were in fact the real reason for Hitler's rise

#### **Weakness of the existing regime**

Perennial problems as a result of the Weimar Constitution and its existing weaknesses were a key reason contributing to Hitler's ideological appeal

- The very origins of the Weimar Republic: rose out of the ashes of WW1
- Was considered the "most democratic in the world" and the Chancellor and government required Reichstag support; voting was by proportional representation
- Led to over 20 deadlocked coalition governments by 1930
- Presidential powers: the usage of Article 48 to bypass the Reichstag when there was a deadlock occurred more often than desired: over 100 laws by Presidential decree, only 29 by Reichstag
- Deal with the German traditional elites following the post-WW1 German revolution by Ebert in 1920 to quell political unrest

Opposition against the Weimar also resulted from the inability of the government to deal with economic and foreign policy problems; Weimar culture also too liberal

- Ruhr crisis due to the ToV and reparations in 1923—the government adopted increased money supply and led to hyperinflation
- Low growth and depressed agricultural prices up to 1929; BOT was consistently in a deficit
- 1929 Great Depression revived fears as 1923 crisis was in living memory
- Due to overreliance on US loans; crash in the US meant Germany suffered
- Fall in industrial production by 1923 to 58% and collapse of prices
- 6 million unemployed by then

- Affected the rural traders and mittelstand (lower middle class); would become Nazi supporters
- Shift in foreign policy to moderate stance towards the West was criticized as a capitulation
- Explosion of new cultural ideas and experimentation from the USA, dominated by Jews; interpreted as decadence

#### Political disunity

- Coalition governments and the Reichstag were extremely hostile after 1930
- Von Hindenburg elected President in 1925; increased usage of Article 48 (authoritarian return)
- Von Papen elected Chancellor then von Schleicher; von Papen would try to overthrow Schleicher by using Hitler

Therefore, the inherent flaws evident in the Weimar constitution, the inability to deal with economic problems, and political disunity, were breeding grounds vital to the rise of Hitler; flaws and lack of ability to govern led to disunity, which would compel the elites to bring Hitler into the Chancellorship.

#### World War 1

Did cause widespread disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the civilian Weimar regime

- Civilian Weimar regime took the blame for the surrender and signing of the ToV
- Led to the "stab in the back" myth which would be exploited later on (November criminals)
- The ToV and the forced paying of reparations led to the occupation of the Ruhr industrial region (coal, iron, steel) and the subsequent inflationary crisis
- WW1 also probably led to Hitler's rise within the ranks of the German army; his service saw him marked for distinction
- Would later send him to infiltrate the NSDAP, of which he would ultimately take over
- Circumstances gave Hitler the opportunity to use his ideology and strength of the NSDAP to drum up support from the population who suffered following the defeat of Germany

Thus, World War 1 not only exposed many of the flaws within the current Weimar system, it also created suitable breeding grounds for discontent and led to economic crises which saw the yearning for an authoritarian, strongman government by the people, thus opening up the opportunity for Hitler to manipulate that power. However, the circumstances changed for Hitler by 1932 anyway, and their vote share gradually decreased. It was the traditional elites (President Hindenburg) that bypassed the democratic system and installed Hitler against democratic process.

#### Ideological appeal

Hitler first developed his ideals in 1926 and were still unchanged by 1945; Germans were actually taken in by the ideological appeal of Hitler during the instability of the period

- Appealed to different classes using different strands of ideology
- Pan-Germanism was vital as firstly ToV was resented due to disregard for self-determination, and secondly nationalism would hold together the diverse society
- Collective spirit did the same
- Anti-democracy appealed to those wishing for a strong authoritarian government; the Weimar democracy was considered a failure given its deadlocks and ineffectiveness
- Anti-communism appealed to the fears that communism would lead to class conflict and the rise of the KPD
- Disregarded Germany as a world power and anti-finance capitalism, and did not focus too much on anti-Semitism
- Displays Hitler's pragmatism and ability to appeal; this did lead to their subsequent popularity and the winning of almost half the Reichstag by 1933

However, ideological appeal clearly was not enough, if it was even an intended measure by Hitler, as the Nazis suffered a drop in vote share of 4.2% by November 1932. The middle class was alienated by their authoritarian leanings and violence, as well as their zero-sum attitude towards coalitions. The Nazi party itself was growing weak and the finances dried up by 1932; the recovery of the economy also led to the gradual destruction of the electoral successes

### **Conclusion:**

Given that the NSDAP's ideological appeal was not definitive and lasting, and that the circumstantial impacts of World War 1 were almost gone by 1932, working against the NSDAP, it was ultimately the traditional elites that were able to bring Hitler to power as the Chancellor in 1933, beginning a chain of events that would lead to his creation and filling in of the post of Fuhrer. The plotting by the traditional elites was due to the political disunity and the parliamentary deadlock leading to the rise in Presidential governments. This, in turn, was due to the perennial issue with the democratic Weimar government; the elites still held their power and had vested interests in trying to regain power as a whole and on a personal front (von Papen and von Schleicher). Thus, it was the weakness of the existing regime that allowed Hitler to rise to power.

## **2. Examine the importance of each of the following in the rise to power of either Stalin or Hitler: popular support for their aims, underestimation by opponents, economic conditions. (November 2014)**

### **Introduction:**

- Hitler rose to power after the death of von Hindenburg, combined the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- Was the leader of the far-right NSDAP and were aided by circumstances up till a period of economic recovery
- Afterwards, the lack of political cooperation and parliamentary deadlock compelled the traditional elites to appoint him Chancellor in 1933 in a taming strategy.

#### **Thesis statement:**

- Though economic conditions were a notable factor in enabling Hitler to gain popular support for his aims, this popular support not only was not of real help to Hitler, it was also waning by 1932.
- The traditional elites were trying to appoint and manipulate Hitler to establish their dominance and bypassed the population and the Reichstag. Hitler would become the absolute ruler after Hindenburg's death. Therefore, the underestimation of Hitler by his opponents, the traditional elites such as von Papen and von Hindenburg, were in fact the real reason for Hitler's rise

#### **Analysis:**

##### Economic conditions

- Weimar republic faced its worst inflationary crisis in 1923
- Blamed on the Allies and the war reparation orders (the Treaty of Versailles had imposed the bulk of the guilt of starting World War 1 on Germany and hence ordered a massive sum of reparations to keep them powerless)
- Ruhr crisis was brought about by the poor judgment of the Weimar government—failure to solve the economic issue and used monetary policy, causing the inflationary crisis
- 1929 Great Depression—the US crash led to a major crisis in Germany as well, as the Weimar government had depended on US loans to tide over their own economy
- Industrial production fell 42% and agricultural prices collapsed
- The balance of trade was consistently in the red and the Great Depression revived more fears of economic hardship as the 1923 crisis was still in living memory
- Unemployment remained very high; peaked at 6 million by 1932 and 18000 farmers were bankrupt
- Led to exaggerated fears and irrational beliefs—hungry men are angry men
- Government's hands were tied—restrained by orthodox economic beliefs
- Prior to 1929, the NSDAP had a dismal vote share; this improved by 1932: from 3% in 1928 to 37.4% in 1932—the largest party in the Reichstag
- Significant because basically only 43% voted for parties leaning to center and democratic beliefs
- Allowed Hitler to gain public support for his aims
- However, the economy was recovering by 1932 and he lost much of this public support—would be the elites who actually propelled him to power

### Popular support

- Not a very important factor, though it was one of the reasons Hitler and his party were handpicked by the traditional elites; the elites felt that his asset was his ability to mobilize popular support
- Hoped to use his popularity for their own ends and thought Hitler would be a solution to the political deadlock and still preserve the role of the elites
- Hitler was a charismatic orator and a central rallying figure who could keep the NSDAP and by extension, Germany, united
- Could exploit discontent and anxiety of the people—polarized issues into either-or conundrums
- The NSDAP focused on the rural and smaller town areas as the working class preferred the communists
- Used propaganda and the latest technology such as loudspeakers, slide shows, and the radio
- Had access to media baron Alfred Hugenberg's newspapers
- Kept their message simple and discussed bread and butter issues
- Used violence through the SA which was formed in 1921; the militia of the NSDAP
- Possibly swayed people into being intimidated into voting for the NSDAP
- Appeal of ideology—got support from all sections of society and they promised different things to different classes
- Nazism seemingly spoke to their interests and inclinations
  - Collective spirit used to bind together the different strata of society—nationalism and indignation of the ToV and defeat in WW1
  - Anti-democracy as Weimar was considered a failure
  - Anti-communism exploited fears of Communism
- However, Nazi vote share fell 4.2% by November 1932; the middle class was beginning to leave as they were alienated by the violence and disappointed at their unwillingness to join a coalition
- Nazi finances were drying up by 1932 and the recovering economy would have decimated his vote share
- This popularity however did convince the traditional elites to choose Hitler as the pawn

### Underestimation by opponents

- The NSDAP and Hitler came to power because of Hindenburg and von Papen, not because of Hitler's popularity or his ability to make use of the circumstances
- The elites politically miscalculated and combined with the death of President von Hindenburg, Hitler was able to make use of false-flag events such as the Reichstag Fire in 1933 to pass the Enabling Act in March
- The elites actually despised the Nazis; they resented the violence, propaganda, anti-Semitism and anti-capitalism
- However, felt that Hitler's asset of being easily able to gain popular support was remarkable

- Hoped to make use of his popularity and thought that Hitler could be easily manipulated by them
- Accepted him because Hitler ostensibly did not threaten the elites
- Von Papen appointed Hitler Chancellor in January 1933 along with the other elites simply to take down Schleicher
- Led to the Legal Revolution; Reichstag Fire, then the Enabling Act, then the removal of any and all opposing political forces
- SA and SS moved into police positions and dissolved all the political parties except the NSDAP by July
- Many opponents fled
- Death of Hindenburg led to Hitler combining the Presidency and Chancellorship—endorsed by a plebiscite in 1934
- Society was looking for a strongman—Hitler seemed to be the answer

#### **Conclusion:**

- Therefore, though economic conditions were a notable factor in enabling Hitler to gain popular support for his aims, this popular support not only was not of real help to Hitler, it was also waning by 1932.
- The traditional elites were trying to appoint and manipulate Hitler to establish their dominance and bypassed the population and the Reichstag. Hitler would become the absolute ruler after Hindenburg's death. Therefore, the underestimation of Hitler by his opponents, the traditional elites such as von Papen and von Hindenburg, were in fact the real reason for Hitler's rise.

### **3. To what extent did the weakness of his opponents contribute to the rise to power of either Mao or Stalin? (May 2016)**

#### **Introduction:**

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949 through three factors: the weakness of opponents, the circumstances which were favorable to the CCP, and finally the ability of Mao and the CCP
- Weakness of opponents included internal party opponents such as the 28 Bolsheviks and Zhang Guo-tao, while external opponents included GMD's inability to rule during the Nanjing Decade from 1928-1937 and tactical missteps in the Civil War
- Ability of Mao and the CCP include their achievement in escaping the Encirclement Campaigns, the success of the Long March and the ensuing propaganda, the organization and popularity of the PLA and the CCP in rural areas, and their tactical superiority during the war itself
- Circumstances include how the GMD leading up to the Chinese Civil War had been bogged down and hurt by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Japanese War from 1937-1945

#### **Thesis statement:**

- Loss of the Civil War in 1949 came as a result of the ability of the CCP and the tactical flexibility of Mao and his cadres, whom ultimately bested the GMD during the Chinese Civil War
- It is true that circumstances and the weaknesses of internal CCP opposition and the GMD did aid the CCP camp, but it took the ability and strength of Mao and the CCP to take advantage of these weaknesses and circumstances through propaganda and superior tactical and strategic flexibility

### **Weakness of opponents**

#### Internal—the 28 Bolsheviks

- Mao played an exceedingly tangential role in the CCP up to 1928
- Joined the Central Committee only in 1923 and supported the 1<sup>st</sup> United Front
- Was involved in rural activism only from 1926 onwards
- After the White Terror, the 28 Bolsheviks came to the Jiangxi Soviet where Mao was established and placed him under house arrest—the Bolsheviks nearly ruined the Soviet
- The 5 GMD encirclement campaigns forced the CCP to undertake the Long March; 100000 members fled for 11000 and only 5000 survived when they reached Yenan
- Mao seized power by blaming them for the Long March disaster
- 28 Bolsheviks had placed Mao under house arrest and thus Mao would not be held responsible for any part of the Long March disaster
- Were condemned at the 1935 Zunyi Conference by Mao (immune to criticism) which installed him as a dominant figure

#### Internal—Zhang Guo-tao

- Was an influential figure in the CCP as well
- Mao and him disagreed over the correct route to take for the Long March; Zhang took a different route and took some men with him
- But came back after facing stiff GMD resistance; closed ranks with Mao and made him the most credible leader

#### External—GMD (Nanjing Decade)

- Failure of the Nanjing Decade: mismanagement of the economy and appeal to the elites and middle class during the decade led to lack of support of the masses
- Sun wanted to **install a three stage revolution**
  - Military unification (Northern Expedition)
  - Political tutelage (GMD provisional government)
  - Constitutional government
- Chiang's secret deals with warlords and lack of full control over the entirety of China disabled any form of real governance over the livelihood of the people as the warlords did not really care
- The warlords broke away as well and GMD controlled only 5 provinces by 1930s—warlordism was never quelled

- Chiang did not have much patience for democracy and was somewhat Confucian
- Depended too much on the "Blue Shirts Society" that became akin to the secret police of the Nanjing Decade; played a leading role in the New Life Movement and aimed to make Chiang a dictator
- GMD corruption weakened the bureaucracy; public office was bought and advancement was usually due to nepotism
- Green Gang paid major bribes and a drug baron was appointed to multiple positions
- Corruption provided CCP with a powerful weapon of public opinion
- GMD also lacked sympathy towards the peasants given their traditional support base and source of finance
- Failure of the economy due to budget deficits caused by high military spending and lack of proper tax collection
- Selling of government bonds at low prices to cover the deficit which increased liabilities
- Deflationary spiral in China due to the massive outflow of silver when the US began buying it up
  - Wholesale prices fell by 25% and net exports fell 66%
  - 33% of urban factories and 40% of stores closed
  - Farmers hurt by lower prices and floods
  - Famine in 1934-35 which caused the death of 30 million Chinese
- Unemployment reached 30% by 1946 and inflation began to accelerate by 1946
- Collapse of the monetary system by 1949
- Hypocrisy evident in the New Life Movement, e.g. Mdm Chiang was smoking opium and the business was supported by the GMD when it openly discouraged smoking

#### External—GMD (Civil War)

- Poor leadership of Chiang during the war—did not stamp out corruption or remove incompetent officials
- Chiang trusted those he liked even when they were not the best people for the job
- Tactical blunder when Chiang sent his troops into Manchuria without securing complete control over northern and central China; also eliminated warlord remnants and personal armies in 1947, which led to thousands of decommissioned troops defecting to the CCP
- GMD army strength and equipment far outstripped the CCP but the troops were poorly trained and lacked discipline
- Nationalists gained a reputation for brutality and lack of discipline; troops often went without food and water, pay was frequently stolen
- Espionage—Liu Fei who leaked vital military plans and Wei Lihuang who was a communist agent

#### Circumstances

### Impact of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Japanese War and the 2<sup>nd</sup> United Front

- Without the war, the GMD may have continued encirclement and wiped out the CCP which was already weakened post-Long March
- Strong Chinese pressure on Chiang to focus on the Japanese threat which he ignored
- The 2<sup>nd</sup> United Front saw the CCP and GMD cooperate against Japan
- Invasion in 1937 led to untold misery, discrediting GMD rule
- GMD's best troops were destroyed by WW2 and led to severe morale losses
- Japanese successes destroyed weak GMD control over the countryside and allowed CCP to fill the power vacuum
- The CCP had to make use of this and convince everyone that they were the real nationalists
- Allowed the CCP to turn to a guerilla strategy which emphasized on the countryside and the large rural population
- US intervention where they asked for a truce between the GMD and CCP from January to July 1946 gave the CCP time to build its army
- GMD was receiving support from the USA and was hence accused of being a puppet

### Ability of Mao and the CCP

#### Overcoming internal opposition

- Opportunism—made use of his favorable situation to gain credibility and blamed the 28 Bolsheviks for the Long March disaster at the 1935 Zunyi Conference
- Made use of the Long March to win over Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng and Zhu De because of appeal to a brotherhood
- Tactical superiority in besting Zhang Guo-tao during the Long March division of route—could have been luck

#### Strengthening the CCP and gaining mass support

- Adopted moderate socio-economic reforms during the Jiangxi Soviet and Yen-an period; the advent of mass-line politics where the CCP tried to develop a relationship with the masses
- Won them over through proper treatment—ideological conversion was a bit far fetched
- Realized collectivization and murdering of kulaks was too extreme and hence they adopted moderate land reforms to win over as much support as possible
- Confiscated and redistributed only the landlord's lands
- Provided basic medical and educational programs and a new marriage law
- Nominal political reform "On New Democracy" in 1940, and the creation of a three thirds system which gave the impression of democracy

#### Development of the PLA

- "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"

- Building up of the Red Army in the Jiangxi Soviet and enforced civilian control over the army
- Well-indoctrinated and disciplined military who abided by 8 rules and 3 points of contact which ensured proper treatment of the masses
- Jiangxi and Yenan were defensible and self-sufficient base areas which would be difficult to destroy for the GMD
- Lin Biao's guerilla and protracted warfare; conversion to mobile defense and conventional warfare much later

Terror and repression to ensure dominance over his jurisdictions

- 1930 Futian incident in the Jiangxi Soviet—alleged Anti-Bolshevik League, over 4000 purges and 2000 executed
- 1942 Rectification campaign in Yenan where there was a large influx of educated Chinese but may not have adhered to Maoist beliefs; used the self-criticism and thought reform methods to ensure ideological adherence

Propaganda

- Played up their resistance against Japan in juxtaposition to the perceived half-heartedness of the GMD
- Mao was openly willing to work with any progressive political groups against the Japanese, which led to the 2<sup>nd</sup> United Front
- Adopted an increasingly independent position from the Soviets which was attractive as it played to the appeal of sovereignty and lack of foreign influence—in contrast to the GMD who took US loans
- In reality, the CCP was letting GMD do the heavy lifting and were “70% resting and 20% fighting the GMD”
- Took advantage of the failures of the Nanjing Decade and used this against the GMD in propaganda—corruption, economic mismanagement, lack of effort in defending China

**Conclusion:**

- Loss of the Civil War in 1949 came as a result of the ability of the CCP and the tactical flexibility of Mao and his cadres, whom ultimately bested the GMD during the Chinese Civil War
- It is true that circumstances and the weaknesses of internal CCP opposition and the GMD did aid the CCP camp, but it took the ability and strength of Mao and the CCP to take advantage of these weaknesses and circumstances through propaganda and superior tactical and strategic flexibility

#### **4. Evaluate the importance of ideology, popular support, or weakness of existing governments in aiding the rise to power of either Mao or Peron. (November 2015)**

**Introduction:**

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Three factors to be discussed: the weakness of existing governments, the appeal of CCP ideology, and the ideological appeal of Maoism
- Weakness of governments: inability to solve political problems and neglecting the peasants, and then the inability to solve economic problems and alienating the traditional elites and merchants
- Appeal of CCP ideology to the masses because of the weakness of existing governments and also because it included the peasantry
- Popular support: the ability of the CCP to garner mass endorsement and/or soldiers for the PLA especially in the rural areas; made guerilla warfare possible

#### **Thesis:**

- Was primarily the weakness of the GMD government which presented the CCP and Mao himself with the opportunity to garner widespread popular support through the appeal of ideology, amongst other things

#### **Analysis (weakness of existing governments):**

GMD in politics during the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937)

- Had planned a three stage revolution, firstly to unify the country by the military (the Northern Expedition), then secondly political tutelage, a provisional government, and then finally constitutional government
- Made too many compromises with the warlords—Jiang Jieshi's eagerness to win quickly and unify the country during the Northern Expedition
  - Negotiated with progressive warlords that would cooperate with GMD efforts as long as their interests were not harmed
  - However, these warlords had little interest for the welfare of the masses and the peasantry
  - Jiang never really managed to completely stamp out warlordism despite the victories in the Northern Expedition—Jiang's maximum was 1/3 of China and 2/3 the population
  - Did defeat the coalition of Feng Yuxian and Yan Xishan
  - Some militarist governors broke away from Nanjing and ruled their domains independently—led to the Nanjing government controlling only 5 provinces
  - Most GMD generals and officials were connected with the interests of the gentry and hence their attention did not turn much to radical reform or anything touching their position; Sun's principle of the people's livelihood and equalization of land ownership rights did not occur
- Dictatorial system enacted by Jiang
  - Democracy was but a long-range goal; the Chinese people would have to go through a period of "tutelage" under Jiang
  - Took the title of Generalissimo
  - Confucian political style and did not care for democratic ideals

- Never achieved Sun's principle of constitutional republican system during this period
- Authoritarianism and Confucian fascism through the Blue Shirts Society
  - A group of Whampoa officers formed the Blue Shirts in 1931 and became infamous for their terror activities
  - They built up the Investigation and Statistical Bureau into the ROC's equivalent of a Gestapo or NKVD and employed about 1800 agents by 1930s
  - Were free to arrest and hold suspects without trial—operated above the law
  - Tried to revive the GMD and make Jiang a dictator; played a leading role in the New Life movement through force
  - Criticized excessive individualism and freedom to try and override any class struggle
- Corruption
  - Weakened the bureaucracy; public office was bought and nepotism was the main mean of advancement during this period
  - Rampant corruption; e.g. Shanghai due to opium and narcotics being a huge part of their economy and politics, resulting in bribes and deals between politicians and gangsters
  - Green Gang paid bribes which amounted to a major portion of government revenue
  - As a result, drug baron Du Yuesheng was appointed to multiple positions in the Nanjing government including chief of the Opium Suppression bureau, giving the Green Gang a monopoly on drugs
  - Would betray basic GMD moral purpose by aligning with the Chinese underworld
- Lack of sympathy towards peasants
  - Jiang's main base of support was drawn from the capitalist class, congregating in the ports and cities
  - Over 90% of GMD revenue came from Shanghai; little need for rural peasantry

#### GMD economic failures

- Major budget deficits due to fiscal irresponsibility
  - Heavy military spending; government revenue was 80% of expenditure levels
  - Unable to collect taxes effectively and hence placed a ceiling on their revenue levels
  - Banks sold large quantities of government bonds at a discounted price, increasing government liabilities
  - Borrowed from American financiers
- Great Depression
  - US bought more silver from China to balance its gold reserves and led to an outflow of silver from China, leading to a deflationary spiral
  - Wholesale prices fell by a quarter in 1932 to 1935 and net exports fell from 1417 million yuan in 1931 to 535 million yuan in 1934

- 1/3 of urban factories and 40% of stores closed down
- Farmers were badly hit by low prices and floods in the 1930s
- GMD could not prevent a widespread famine, which caused the death of 30 million in 1934-35
- Poor treatment of peasants
  - GMD passed a land law in 1930 to restrict rent to 3/8 of the main crops, but was never enforced
  - Peasants suffered a sharp drop in income following world depression and outflow of silver
  - Microcredit scheme for farmers mooted in 1932 through the National Agricultural Research Bureau but most of the loans went to the landlords; little was invested in land
  - Failed to carry through the policies of land reform and equitable rents; the principle of the people's livelihood was not achieved

### **Analysis (ideology):**

Ideology allowed Mao and the CCP to build up the PLA through attracting the peasantry

Two stage revolution: first a bourgeoisie revolution and retention of private ownership then followed by the second proletariat revolution and to collectivization and nationalization

- Went against Marxist-Leninist doctrine that revolution was primarily proletarian-driven
- Mao called for a united national revolution
- CCP was really unable to win the bourgeoisie over in any way, though the policy aided the CCP's victory in the CCW as the GMD alienated their already narrow support base of the economic elites—they adopted a neutral position during the CCW

Voluntarism: power of the human will

- Went against Marxist belief of forces of production and economic structure
- Undermined Marxism and justified Mao's reliance on peasant revolution

Capture of power using a guerilla army in rural then urban areas

- Did not support the 28 Bolsheviks who preferred urban uprisings
- Developed the People's War and protracted war
- Peasants as the backbone of a guerilla army and peasants to supply and manage logistics and intelligence
- 3 rules and 8 points of conduct for good relations between military and masses
- Egalitarianism; abolition of ranks
- Vital role in the growth of the PLA which was the decisive factor in defeating the GMD

Constant party purification

- Mao was concerned that the party may become a *nomenklatura* and become bureaucratic and corrupt; rapid expansion in Yan'an led to these concerns being more salient
- Mandated self-criticism and enacted 1942 rectification campaign in Yan'an
- CCP was indeed far more unified and organized

#### Role of the peasantry to overthrow capitalism and create socialism

- Marx thought the peasantry was disorganized, dispersed and incapable
- Stalin and Lenin thought the peasants were politically reactionary and sought to divide them (*kulaks*) and force them into collectives
- Mao's recognition of the potential of the peasants was unprecedented—previous Soviet-directed urban uprisings were quelled by strong GMD presence in these areas
- Encouraged peasants to be more politically active and gave them rights
- Adopted a moderate land policy in opposition to forced land confiscation and killing of *kulaks*
- Promoted the role of women and introduced liberal marriage laws
- Was vital in the Yan'an period post-Long March; helped it recover from the White Terror
- Peasants formed the backbone of the PLA during the CCW

#### Ruthless determination—the necessity of violence to ensure historical change

- Adopting the use of purges against political enemies of the CCP and Mao
- Futian Incident in 1930 where Mao purged the Anti-Bolshevik League
- Rectification campaign in 1942
- Ensuring the internal discipline of the CCP and loyalty to Mao in contrast to GMD

#### Primacy of Mao thought and cult of personality—his ideas were ultimate

- Went against Marxist-Leninism but was similar to Stalin's cult of personality
- Spread of Maoism and acceptance as the official ideology in 1945 clearly marked his dominance over the CCP
- The 28 Bolsheviks had only served to hinder the CCP

#### **Analysis (popular support):**

Popular support came as a result of the CCP's pro-peasant policies in the areas they controlled and promises of land reform; ensured the discipline of the Red Army and portrayed themselves as the true Nationalists as compared to the GMD

- Dealing with peasants: discipline and to treat the civilians with respect and prohibited usury and to be honest in all transactions
- Led to a huge growth in the party from 40000 in 1937 to 1 million by 1945
- Volunteers for the Red Army came from this expanding membership
- Peasants were also nationalist; supported the CCP's opposition against the Japanese invaders—Mao also presented the CCP as a force for good in contrast to Jiang's GMD which had been depending on US aid

- Land reforms in CCP areas did not just include moderation; the CCP introduced the “land to tillers” program in 1945 and confiscated large estates, reverting to class struggle and violence
  - Would sanction violence against landlords
  - Denounced and humiliated richer peasants and landlords—this contributed to fear that if the GMD retook the area, these people would retaliate; thus the peasants strenuously supported the CCP
- Dominance in the rural areas allowed the CCP to utilize guerilla warfare and then slowly convert to conventional warfare after mobile defense; culminated in the 1948-49 Huaihai Campaign which was one of the few conventional battles fought by the CCP—together with Liaoshen and Pingjin, it spelled the end of the GMD

## 5. Compare and contrast the rise to power of two rulers of single party states. (November 2003)

### Introduction:

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power after the death of Hindenburg, combining the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- Broad themes consist of use of force, circumstances, and strength of the ruler and his party

### Thesis:

- Force was extremely pertinent in the case of Mao—it was force that allowed him to defeat the Nationalists and establish himself as the sole ruler
- It was the traditional elites that aided the rise of Hitler—plotting by von Papen and Hindenburg to nominate him as Chancellor and eventual death of Hindenburg

### Use of force

#### Terror

- Mao:
  - Reinforcing loyalty and support in the CCP through terror.
  - Futian incident in 1930—execution of several thousand CCP members who were allegedly in the Anti-Bolshevik League: usage of purges to ensure power over Jiangxi Soviet
  - Yan-an rectification campaign in 1942—rapid expansion of the CCP led to worries that it would become a self-serving elite; targeted those who did not accept Mao thought; used thought reform, shame, guilt and desire for conformity; public self-criticisms; 40,000 expelled and 10,000 killed
- Hitler:

- The Brown Shirts (SA) supported Nazi mass rallies and engaged in street violence and killings—beating up hecklers and provoked clashes with other militia; could have intimidated people to vote for the Nazis

## Military

- Mao:
  - Military played the main role in developing the PLA
  - Won peasant support—declared that they were the sea and CCP the fish; relied on them for soldiers, supplies, intelligence and logistics; peasants were to be convinced that they were fighting for their own interests; abolition of ranks and trained them
  - Created guerilla strategy—small units of 9-11 men to be lightly armed and moving constantly over rugged terrain to harass the enemy; used a developed spy network, surprise and deception to sabotage infrastructure
  - Talented generals—Lin Biao shifted his mobile defense policy to large scale guerilla raids, encircling GMD cities; used conventional warfare in 1947 to win
  - Military aid—Soviet training and equipment; 740,000 rifles, 18,000 machine guns, 800 aircraft and 4,000 artillery pieces
  - Aided by the incompetent GMD army which was worn down by constant wars, taken advantage of by 70% rest, 20% GMD, 10% Japanese policy
- Hitler:
  - German military played no direct role

## Circumstances

### Existing government structure

- Mao:
  - Long history of autocratic Manchu emperors who disenfranchised the local Han Chinese up till the 1911 Xinhai Revolution; followed by warlord era and then replaced by an authoritarian GMD regime
- Hitler:
  - Strong preference for autocratic leaders up until abdication of Kaiser William II; Weimar republic was the beginning of democracy and had an unstable start given the TOV and loss of WW1 till 1925; rapidly declined after 1929 due to Great Depression and Ruhr Crisis

### Impact of war

- Mao:
  - China was repeatedly at war throughout warlord era and against Japan—national disunity
  - Authoritarian GMD allowed political opposition to fester and develop resentment by failing to institute reforms and extending “political tutelage” to 6 years

- Economic mismanagement led to sharp drop in living standards and economic conditions from 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Jap war and Civil War
- Hitler:
  - Weimar democracy was blamed for the loss of WW1 and undermined by the myth of a stab in the back
  - Decline in 1928 given the support for right wing parties and rise of a presidential government
  - 1923 Ruhr Crisis and 1929 Great Depression

#### Party mechanism

- Mao:
  - Stalin's meddling in the 1920s almost ruined the party
  - Mao captured the CCP control during the Zunyi conference in 1928 where he was backed by Zhou Enlai against the 28 Bolsheviks
  - CCP cadres played a major role in winning over peasant support and administrating base areas
- Hitler:
  - Dominated the Nazi Party from the start due to insistence on the Fuhrer principle
  - Nazi Party regained organization and unity post-1925—these improvements played an important role in distinguishing his party
  - Challenge of KPD and SPD with established histories and support bases

#### Foreign policy and support

- Mao:
  - Popular resentment against foreign imperialism which the GMD failed to eliminated especially after 1931 when Japanese invaded Manchuria and expanded into Chinese mainland by attacking Shanghai in 1932
  - CCP required support from the Soviets as they helped to build up the PLA
- Hitler:
  - Popular resentment against TOV and failure of government to improve terms despite efforts to improve relations with Allied powers
  - Weimar government were taking loans from the US—led to a knock-on effect during the Depression

#### Traditional elites

- Mao:
  - The traditional elites supported the GMD but their incompetence undermined support steadily from all classes, not just the elites—but they may not necessarily have transferred their support to the CCP
- Hitler:
  - Support from the conservative elites was vital as the Nazis were losing support after November 1932—the economy was picking up and people wanted stability, opting for moderates

- Presidential governments failed to win majority support of the Reichstag; the elites wished stability and chose Hitler as their puppet even though they despised the Nazis and their ideals
- The Legal Revolution: Hitler as Chancellor was able to enact the Enabling Law in March 1933 and dissolve the Reichstag in October 1933, after which all political parties were abolished and civil liberties taken away
- Death of President Hindenburg led to creation of the post of Fuhrer in 1934—a combination of the Chancellorship and the Presidency

## **Strength of ruler and party**

### Personal charisma

- Mao:
  - Was not charismatic as he was not an accomplished mass orator
  - Did have a magnetic appeal which served as the central legitimizing figure—shown in how the Chinese mainline says that he was generally right even up to 1949
- Hitler:
  - Charisma was a major factor for the popularity of the party; had spell-binding ability of oratory and could discern the audience
  - Able to bind subordinates to him, even high-power officials such as Himmler, Goring and Heydrich
  - Necessary skills especially in a democratic system

### Tactical flexibility

- Mao:
  - Defeated 28 Bolsheviks during 1935 Zunyi Conference and ousted Zhang Guo-Tao during Long March in 1936
  - Able to moderate CCP reforms during Jiangxi and Yan'an periods
  - Jiangxi—appearance of mass line politics and incorporation of popular will in addition to right to vote; adopted moderate land policies which targeted only landlords as Mao realized it was difficult to arouse class consciousness in China; set up People's Banks and gave women rights
  - Yan'an—elections and idea of the mass line; national revolution involving all classes; moderate land reforms, cooperatives, cut taxes, which won the support of the peasants in addition to moderating women's rights due to male hostility
- Hitler:
  - Tactically flexible—shifted away from the failed armed uprising (Munich Putsch in 1923) to winning electoral support and making use of his appointment as the Chancellor

### Ideology

- Mao:

- Made Marxism palatable and adaptable to Chinese context: mobilization of the peasantry rather than the bourgeoisie to capture power as China had no modern industrial economy and no proletariat
- Developed the idea of Maoism and provided his theoretical credentials; vital in winning mass support especially for the PLA
- Hitler:
  - Ideological flexibility: pulled together many different ideas to appeal to all aspects of the population
  - Promised different things to different classes, focusing mainly on a common German nationalism

### Propaganda

- Mao:
  - Building up of the cult of Mao especially during the Yan'an period
  - Jiangxi Soviet—used newspapers, songs plays, posters etc., aided by mass literary campaigns and opened schools which aided the process
  - Yan'an period—1942 rectification campaign and Mao Thought becoming official ideology at the 7<sup>th</sup> CCP National Congress in 1945 where Mao emerged chairman of the Committee
- Hitler:
  - Played an important role in garnering support for the Nazis
  - Could target their propaganda to address local issues using insiders and notables
  - Used the latest technology and training: Nazi Film Service and loudspeakers, slideshows, radio
  - Kept messages simple
  - Played up the cult of Hitler and directed it towards the population

## 6. Analyze the methods used and the conditions that helped in the rise to power of one ruler of a single party state. (May 2005)

### Introduction:

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power after the death of Hindenburg, combining the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934
- (Note the question only requires 1 ruler's rise)

### Thesis:

- Force (hence method) was extremely pertinent in the case of Mao—it was force that allowed him to defeat the Nationalists and establish himself as the sole ruler

- It was the traditional elites that aided the rise of Hitler—plotting by von Papen and Hindenburg to nominate him as Chancellor and eventual death of Hindenburg—hence, the political conditions were responsible as it pushed the elites towards electing a right-wing strongman as Chancellor

### Analysis (methods):

#### Terror

- Mao:
  - Reinforcing loyalty and support in the CCP through terror.
  - Futian incident in 1930—execution of several thousand CCP members who were allegedly in the Anti-Bolshevik League: usage of purges to ensure power over Jiangxi Soviet
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- Hitler:
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  - Military played the main role in developing the PLA
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  - Aided by the incompetent GMD army which was worn down by constant wars, taken advantage of by 70% rest, 20% GMD, 10% Japanese policy
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### Tactical flexibility

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  - Defeated 28 Bolsheviks during 1935 Zunyi Conference and ousted Zhang Guo-Tao during Long March in 1936
  - Able to moderate CCP reforms during Jiangxi and Yan'an periods
  - Jiangxi—appearance of mass line politics and incorporation of popular will in addition to right to vote; adopted moderate land policies which targeted only landlords as Mao realized it was difficult to arouse class consciousness in China; set up People's Banks and gave women rights
  - Yan'an—elections and idea of the mass line; national revolution involving all classes; moderate land reforms, cooperatives, cut taxes, which won the support of the peasants in addition to moderating women's rights due to male hostility
- Hitler:
  - Tactically flexible—shifted away from the failed armed uprising (Munich Putsch in 1923) to winning electoral support and making use of his appointment as the Chancellor

### Ideology

- Mao:
  - Made Marxism palatable and adaptable to Chinese context: mobilization of the peasantry rather than the bourgeoisie to capture power as China had no modern industrial economy and no proletariat
  - Developed the idea of Maoism and provided his theoretical credentials; vital in winning mass support especially for the PLA
- Hitler:
  - Ideological flexibility: pulled together many different ideas to appeal to all aspects of the population
  - Promised different things to different classes, focusing mainly on a common German nationalism

### Propaganda

- Mao:
  - Building up of the cult of Mao especially during the Yan'an period

- Jiangxi Soviet—used newspapers, songs plays, posters etc., aided by mass literary campaigns and opened schools which aided the process
- Yan'an period—1942 rectification campaign and Mao Thought becoming official ideology at the 7<sup>th</sup> CCP National Congress in 1945 where Mao emerged chairman of the Committee
- Hitler:
  - Played an important role in garnering support for the Nazis
  - Could target their propaganda to address local issues using insiders and notables
  - Used the latest technology and training: Nazi Film Service and loudspeakers, slideshows, radio
  - Kept messages simple
  - Played up the cult of Hitler and directed it towards the population

### Analysis (conditions):

#### Existing government structure

- Mao:
  - Long history of autocratic Manchu emperors who disenfranchised the local Han Chinese up till the 1911 Xinhai Revolution; followed by warlord era and then replaced by an authoritarian GMD regime
- Hitler:
  - Strong preference for autocratic leaders up until abdication of Kaiser William II; Weimar republic was the beginning of democracy and had an unstable start given the TOV and loss of WW1 till 1925; rapidly declined after 1929 due to Great Depression and Ruhr Crisis

#### Impact of war

- Mao:
  - China was repeatedly at war throughout warlord era and against Japan—national disunity
  - Authoritarian GMD allowed political opposition to fester and develop resentment by failing to institute reforms and extending “political tutelage” to 6 years
  - Economic mismanagement led to sharp drop in living standards and economic conditions from 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Jap war and Civil War
- Hitler:
  - Weimar democracy was blamed for the loss of WW1 and undermined by the myth of a stab in the back
  - Decline in 1928 given the support for right wing parties and rise of a presidential government
  - 1923 Ruhr Crisis and 1929 Great Depression

#### Party mechanism

- Mao:
  - Stalin's meddling in the 1920s almost ruined the party
  - Mao captured the CCP control during the Zunyi conference in 1928 where he was backed by Zhou Enlai against the 28 Bolsheviks

- CCP cadres played a major role in winning over peasant support and administrating base areas
- Hitler:
  - Dominated the Nazi Party from the start due to insistence on the Fuhrer principle
  - Nazi Party regained organization and unity post-1925—these improvements played an important role in distinguishing his party
  - Challenge of KPD and SPD with established histories and support bases

#### Foreign policy and support

- Mao:
  - Popular resentment against foreign imperialism which the GMD failed to eliminated especially after 1931 when Japanese invaded Manchuria and expanded into Chinese mainland by attacking Shanghai in 1932
  - CCP required support from the Soviets as they helped to build up the PLA
- Hitler:
  - Popular resentment against TOV and failure of government to improve terms despite efforts to improve relations with Allied powers
  - Weimar government were taking loans from the US—led to a knock-on effect during the Depression

#### Traditional elites

- Mao:
  - The traditional elites supported the GMD but their incompetence undermined support steadily from all classes, not just the elites—but they may not necessarily have transferred their support to the CCP
- Hitler:
  - Support from the conservative elites was vital as the Nazis were losing support after November 1932—the economy was picking up and people wanted stability, opting for moderates
  - Presidential governments failed to win majority support of the Reichstag; the elites wished stability and chose Hitler as their puppet even though they despised the Nazis and their ideals
  - The Legal Revolution: Hitler as Chancellor was able to enact the Enabling Law in March 1933 and dissolve the Reichstag in October 1933, after which all political parties were abolished and civil liberties taken away
  - Death of President Hindenburg led to creation of the post of Fuhrer in 1934—a combination of the Chancellorship and the Presidency

## 7. Assess the contribution of economic instability and lack of a united opposition to the rise to power of leaders of single

## **party states, each chosen from a different region. (May 2012)**

### **Introduction:**

- Mao and the Chinese Communist Party rose to power after defeating the Nationalist GMD in the Chinese Civil War in 1949
- Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power after the death of Hindenburg, combining the posts of President and Chancellor together to form the Fuhrer in 1934

### **Thesis:**

- Economic instability merely exposed the weakness of the GMD and swayed the peasantry towards the CCP as the GMD could not solve these issues—also weakened their base of support, the bourgeois
- Lack of a united opposition in the form of the 28 Bolsheviks/Wang Ming and Zhang Guo-tao, who both solidified Mao's position as the leader of the CCP and hence wielded ideological and political power
- Economic instability did aggravate the mood of the German people and led the NSDAP to become quite the force, but was not decisive in enabling Hitler's rise
- Would be the disunity of the traditional elites (von Papen vs. Schleicher) and the general political turmoil in the Reichstag that would ultimately see Hitler elected Chancellor

### **Analysis (economic instability):**

#### **Mao**

- Severe agrarian crisis in the countryside
- Perennial problem of tenancy farming and heavy taxation of the peasantry was exacerbated by famine and drought—peasants in China were struggling to survive
- GMD's power base stemmed from the traditional elites and the economic city centers
- Hence, only focused on coastal economic development; gave meager lip-service to the rural areas and their development because of this
- Relegated land tax to provincial administrations, who were often bullies, while the GMD government depended on customs revenues and commercial taxes
- Mao would thus be able to fill this gap through enacting moderate rent reduction and land reform programs
- Made sure interrelations between the CCP and the peasants would be respectful and honest: 8 guidelines and 3 points of contact
- Economic mismanagement in the cities
- The Silver Dollar Crisis in 1931: silver outflow as a result of the Depression and the US began buying up silver—the price increased and silver outflows did as well, leading to a deflationary spiral and hurt the peasants

- Abused paper money during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937, leading to inflation of 3000% and alienated everyone
- Hyper-inflationary pressure in the cities and towns especially during the Civil War, where the CPI increased over 300 million times
- Eroded GMD support base which was mainly middle class workers and some traditional elites
- Dealt a severe blow to GMD fortunes but did not exactly turn support to the CCP
- Turning support to the CCP was done through taking advantage of such circumstances through propaganda, moderate reforms, and this led the CCP to gain popularity
- Led to the CCP expanding to about 1 million members in two years

### Hitler

- 1923 Ruhr Crisis of hyperinflation fresh in living memory of the people when the Great Depression hit
- Blamed on the Allies and the war reparation orders (the Treaty of Versailles had imposed the bulk of the guilt of starting World War 1 on Germany and hence ordered a massive sum of reparations to keep them powerless)
- Ruhr crisis was brought about by the poor judgment of the Weimar government—failure to solve the economic issue and used monetary policy, causing the inflationary crisis
- 1929 Great Depression—the US crash led to a major crisis in Germany as well, as the Weimar government had depended on US loans to tide over their own economy
- Industrial production fell 42% and agricultural prices collapsed
- The balance of trade was consistently in the red and the Great Depression revived more fears of economic hardship as the 1923 crisis was still in living memory
- Unemployment remained very high; peaked at 6 million by 1932 and 18000 farmers were bankrupt
- Led to exaggerated fears and irrational beliefs—hungry men are angry men
- Government's hands were tied—restrained by orthodox economic beliefs
- Prior to 1929, the NSDAP had a dismal vote share; this improved by 1932: from 3% in 1928 to 37.4% in 1932—the largest party in the Reichstag
- Significant because basically only 43% voted for parties leaning to center and democratic beliefs
- Allowed Hitler to gain public support for his aims
- However, the economy was recovering by 1932 and he lost much of this public support—would be the elites who actually propelled him to power

### Analysis (lack of united opposition):

#### Mao

- Opportunism—made use of his favorable situation to gain credibility and blamed the 28 Bolsheviks for the Long March disaster at the 1935 Zunyi Conference, which was held at the right time

- The CCP had lost up to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the force by the end of the year and had discarded all heavy equipment; Mao was immune to criticism as he had been detained by the 28 Bolsheviks for being radical during the Jiangxi Soviet era
- Wang Ming favored close cooperation with the GMD which was refuted by the GMD and CCP's failure of the 2<sup>nd</sup> United Front
- Made use of the Long March to win over Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng and Zhu De because of appeal to a brotherhood
- Avoided criticizing Zhou Enlai and won him over at the 1935 Conference
- Tactical superiority in besting Zhang Guo-tao during the Long March division of route—could have been luck
- Zhang did not accept the Zunyi Conference outcome and broke away, but was met with stiff GMD resistance; returned to Shanxi in shame
- Opposition against Mao was in brief incidents, had no real consistency or staying power
- GMD was a united opposition in a way; but were simply incompetent and lost the Civil War
- Mao's rise to paramount leadership was cemented by these incidents which positioned him as the ideological and political leader

#### Hitler

- Support from the conservative elites was vital as the Nazis were losing support after November 1932—the economy was picking up and people wanted stability, opting for moderates
- Nazi vote share fell 4.2% by November 1932; the middle class was beginning to leave as they were alienated by the violence and disappointed at their unwillingness to join a coalition
- Nazi finances were drying up by 1932 and the recovering economy would have decimated his vote share
- This popularity however did convince the traditional elites to choose Hitler as the pawn
- Coalition governments and the Reichstag were also extremely hostile after 1930
- Von Hindenburg elected President in 1925; increased usage of Article 48 (authoritarian return)
- Von Papen elected Chancellor then von Schleicher; von Papen would try to overthrow Schleicher by using Hitler
- Presidential governments failed to win majority support of the Reichstag; the elites wished stability and chose Hitler as their puppet even though they despised the Nazis and their ideals
- Hoped to use his popularity for their own ends and thought Hitler would be a solution to the political deadlock and still preserve the role of the elites
- The Legal Revolution: Hitler as Chancellor was able to enact the Enabling Law in March 1933 and dissolve the Reichstag in October 1933, after which all political parties were abolished and civil liberties taken away
- Death of President Hindenburg led to creation of the post of Fuhrer in 1934—a combination of the Chancellorship and the Presidency