EDEXCEL INTERNATIONAL GCSE (9–1)

HISTORY

CHINA: CONFLICT, CRISIS AND CHANGE, 1900–89

Student Book

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT THIS BOOK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIMELINE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. THE FALL OF THE QING, WARLORDISM AND CHAOS, 1900–34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. THE TRIUMPH OF MAO AND THE CCP, 1934–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. CHANGE UNDER MAO, 1949–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT, 1965–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CHINA, 1976–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOSSARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABOUT THIS BOOK

This book is written for students following the Edexcel International GCSE (9–1) History specification and covers one unit of the course. This unit is China: Conflict, Crisis and Change, 1900–89, one of the Breadth Studies.

The History course has been structured so that teaching and learning can take place in any order, both in the classroom and in any independent learning. The book contains five chapters which match the five areas of content in the specification:

- The fall of the Qing, warlordism and chaos, 1900–34
- The triumph of Mao and the CCP, 1934–49
- Change under Mao, 1949–63
- The Cultural Revolution and its impact, 1965–76
- China, 1976–89

Each chapter is split into multiple sections to break down content into manageable chunks and to ensure full coverage of the specification.

Each chapter features a mix of learning and activities. Sources are embedded throughout to develop your understanding and exam-style questions help you to put learning into practice. Recap pages at the end of each chapter summarise key information and let you check your understanding. Exam guidance pages help you prepare confidently for the exam.

Learning Objectives
Each section starts with a list of what you will learn in it. They are carefully tailored to address key assessment objectives central to the course.

Timeline
Visual representation of events to clarify the order in which they happened.

Activity
Each chapter includes activities to help check and embed knowledge and understanding.

Extend your knowledge
Interesting facts to encourage wider thought and stimulate discussion. They are closely related to key issues and allow you to add depth to your knowledge and answers.

Source
Photos, cartoons and text sources are used to explain events and show you what people from the period said, thought or created, helping you to build your understanding.
Exam-style question

Questions tailored to the Pearson Edexcel specification to allow for practice and development of exam writing technique. They also allow for practice responding to the command words used in the exams.

Skills

Relevant exam questions have been assigned the key skills which you will gain from undertaking them, allowing for a strong focus on particular academic qualities. These transferrable skills are highly valued in further study and the workplace.

Exam guidance

At the end of each chapter, you will find two pages designed to help you consolidate and reflect on the chapter as a whole.

Recap

Key term

Useful words and phrases are colour coded within the main text and picked out in the margin with concise and simple definitions. These help understanding of key subject terms and support students whose first language is not English.

Exam-style question

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Exam guidance

At the end of each chapter, you will find two pages designed to help you understand the exam questions and how to answer them. Each exam guidance section focuses on a particular question type that you will find in the exam, allowing you to approach them with confidence.

Pearson Progression

Sample student answers have been given a Pearson Step from 1 to 12. This tells you how well the response has met the criteria in the Pearson Progression Map.

Advice on answering the question

Three key questions the exam question are answered here in order to explain what the question is testing and what you need to do to succeed in the exam.

Commentary

Feedback on the quality of the answer is provided to help you understand their strengths and weaknesses and show how they can be improved.

Recall quiz

This quick quiz is ideal for checking your knowledge or for revision.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the causes, events and consequences of the 1911 Revolution
- Understand how China was ruled under the warlords
- Understand the rise of the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party and the reasons for development of the United Front.

In 1900 the Qing imperial dynasty, which had been in power since 1644, ruled China. China was politically undeveloped; it was more like a medieval state than a 20th-century power. It was exploited for its economic resources by the Western powers and by its neighbour, Japan. In the period 1900–34, China experienced significant changes in its leadership and system of government. A revolution which overthrew the Qing dynasty and turned China into a republic prompted a period of great political trouble. In the absence of imperial rule, political power fell into the hands of warlords, who competed with one another for power. A nationalist party, the Guomindang, led first by Sun Yat-sen and later by Chiang Kai-shek, grew in strength and aimed to control China. At first it worked with the newly formed Chinese Communist Party in a United Front, but by 1934 the Guomindang and the Communists had become bitter enemies and were in conflict with one another.
1.1 CHINA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand China at the beginning of the 20th century.

China is the largest country in Asia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was the producer of many natural resources including tea, sugar, silk and opium. These resources could be moved around the country using China’s natural rivers. Its wealth made it attractive to outside powers that increasingly came to China to exploit it. By the early 20th century, China was still one of the world’s largest producers of manufactured goods, and its growing trade had enabled many cities to develop, such as Shanghai, which had become a major port for the import and export of goods.

RULING THE COUNTRY

China had been ruled by an emperor since 2000 BC. The emperor lived in the Forbidden City in Beijing and had the Mandate of Heaven. This meant that fate had given him the authority to rule and that his actions were seen as keeping within the natural laws of harmony. By 1900, the emperor ruled over a population of 300 million subjects who were divided into four main ethnic groups:

- Han
- Manchu
- Mongol
- Tibetan.

The Han formed 90 per cent of the population, but it was the Manchu that ruled. They had come from outside of China, from Manchuria in the north east. When the Manchu took control in China, they brought Manchuria into the empire. The development of the imperial system with its rules based on the works of the Chinese philosopher, Confucius, resulted in a strict class structure in China. An emperor who ruled with the Mandate of Heaven was not to be challenged by his subjects. Confucius taught that people should accept their position in society and obey orders. This philosophy supported the unquestioned authority of the emperor.

The business of government was conducted by a class called Mandarins, who were students of Confucius. They studied to pass examinations that allowed them advantages and rights, and then worked to prevent change.

The Mandarins had great advantages and rights, but most of the population were peasants and had few rights. The group with the least rights were women. They were the property of their fathers and husbands. Marriages were arranged and a ‘bride-price’ had to be paid. In many cases, women were bought and sold like cattle.

KEY TERM

imperial the rule of an emperor or empress over an empire
However, by the early 20th century, the emperor was beginning to lose the Mandate of Heaven. China was repeatedly humiliated by foreign powers who aimed to extend their power and wealth in China.

- Britain had gained great wealth as a result of the opium trade and victory in the opium wars.
- Japan had defeated China in war in 1894 and took control of Korea.
- France had seized territory in the south.

These events revealed weaknesses in the power of the emperor, and his authority of the emperor had declined significantly.

The binding of young girls’ feet was practised in China because small feet were more attractive to potential husbands. Binding usually started between the ages of 4 and 9 years. The toes were bent under each foot to keep the feet small, and then squeezed tightly in bandages until they broke. The process left women with lifelong disabilities. Some girls caught infections as a result of foot-binding and died.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

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1.2 THE IMPACT OF THE BOXER UPRISING AND SELF-STRENGTHENING REFORM

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the causes of the Boxer Uprising
- Understand the impact of the Boxer Uprising
- Understand self-strengthening and the reforms introduced in 1902–11.

The Qing dynasty that ruled China in 1900 came from Manchuria in north-east China, but most of the Chinese population came from the Han ethnic group. Manchuria originally lay outside China, so the Qing dynasty was seen as foreign to China. Most people resented the political domination of the Manchurians, but since Chinese culture encouraged respect for and acceptance of the political system, they remained obedient to it. The teachings of Confucius helped to keep the Qing emperors in power.

In the 19th century, the Qing had given rights to foreign powers to exploit China’s economic resources. This increased the resentment towards the Imperial house and to foreigners. The Western powers not only brought their technology to change China’s economy; they also brought missionaries to convert the Chinese from their traditional religious beliefs, which included Confucianism and Buddhism, to Christianity. Buddhism had been practised in China, particularly in Tibet, for over a thousand years. It taught that the way to end suffering in life was to achieve a state of enlightenment. Many Chinese people came to regard Westerners as foreign devils who had to be driven out if China was to be restored to greatness. This view was clearly seen in the Boxer Uprising (also known as the Boxer Rebellion), an attack on Westerners that broke out in 1899 in Shandong in northern China. The uprising spread to three of China’s north-eastern provinces by 1900.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

The members of the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists were called ‘Boxers’ by Westerners. This was because they carried out exercises that they hoped would protect them from bullets and other forms of attack. The Westerners thought this looked like shadow boxing (fighting with an imaginary opponent).

THE CAUSES OF THE BOXER UPRISING

There were a number of factors that led to the uprising.

- In 1898, Emperor Guangxu tried to modernise the government and end the criticisms of the Qing dynasty and its policy of making concessions to foreigners. However, his policy of ‘the Hundred Days Reform’ was strongly opposed by his aunt, the Empress Dowager Cixi. She and her supporters seized control of the government and ended the reforms.

- The Chinese hatred of the ‘foreign devils’ included hatred of their religion as well as fear of their technology, especially the railways (which disturbed dragons) and the telegraph wires (which many Chinese people believed were poisonous). This hatred helped fuel attacks on foreigners.

- Cixi encouraged attacks on foreigners to avoid criticism of imperial rule.

EVENTS

By the late 1890s, a Chinese secret group, the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists (Boxers) began carrying out attacks on foreigners and Chinese Christians. The Boxers were mostly peasants, who had suffered from natural disasters such as famine and flooding, and believed the concessions...
given to foreigners made their lives even harder. The attacks began in Shandong and spread to Hebei, Shanxi and Henan in north-east China. The ‘Boxers’ attacked Christian missionaries, burned down their churches and schools, and killed both foreign and Chinese Christians. The uprising spread to Beijing, where the German ambassador was shot. The Western population retreated into the British legation, which was surrounded by Boxers for 55 days in a siege.

The Boxers had the support of Empress Dowager Cixi, who declared war on the foreigners, but they were unable to defeat the defences of the legation. The Westerners raised an international force which broke the siege. Many Boxers were executed in the streets by the international forces. Cixi and the emperor disguised themselves as peasants and fled south to Xian.

An image of the Boxer Uprising from a Paris journal printed in June 1900. The image shows the Boxers burning buildings and attacking telegraph wires.

SOURCE A

The wicked chief of the province, Yü Hsien, announced that the foreign religions encouraged men to do evil. There were the Boxers who were faithful to their emperor, loyal to their country, and determined to work together to wipe out the foreign religion. Yü Hsien also offered to reward, either with titles or office or money, anyone who killed foreigners. When the leader of the province supported the Boxers, what could the men who worked below him do? It was a time of lawlessness, when not only Christians were killed, but hundreds of others whom individual Boxers resented.

SOURCE B

Cixi’s support for the Boxers was a great mistake. It hurt the authority of the Qing dynasty by showing the people that the imperial house was not able to free China from foreign control.

The immediate effect of the failure of the rebellion was a tightening of foreign control in China.

- A severe financial penalty was put in place. The Western powers demanded £67 million in reparations to be paid over 39 years.
- The Westerners insisted on the destruction of China’s military fortifications and her arsenals of weapons.
- Ten officials were executed.
- Foreign soldiers were to be placed permanently in and around Beijing.

There were more wide-reaching consequences for the Qing rulers. In 1902, Cixi and the emperor were allowed to return to Beijing, but their authority had been severely damaged by the failure of the Boxer Uprising. In an attempt to save not just the reputation of the royal house, but also its very existence, Cixi, who was largely in control of the government, allowed a series of reforms to be started. However, the damage to the royal house from the failed Boxer Uprising was impossible to mend. The reforms Cixi introduced were too little and too late, and their failure to satisfy the reformers in China ultimately led to revolution in 1911 and the fall of the Qing dynasty.
In order to ensure the survival of the dynasty, Cixi began introducing reforms. Since her campaign against foreigners had failed in the uprising, she was now obliged to accept their presence in China and to make use of them. The reforms she introduced were inspired by the self-strengthening movement, which began in the 1860s. The purpose of self-strengthening was to learn from foreigners, to copy their sciences and technology, and to apply it in exploiting China’s resources. Cixi believed that self-strengthening would re-establish China’s power and save the Qing dynasty. Little had been achieved in the late 19th century. It was therefore now essential for the Qing that reforms should be introduced and that they should succeed.

**Activity**

1. Study Source B. Make a list of the reasons for the Boxer Uprising that you can identify in the source.
2. Develop the reasons by selecting evidence from the source and explaining it further with your knowledge.

**Self-strengthening and Reform 1902–11**

In order to ensure the survival of the dynasty, Cixi began introducing reforms. Since her campaign against foreigners had failed in the uprising, she was now obliged to accept their presence in China and to make use of them. The reforms she introduced were inspired by the self-strengthening movement, which began in the 1860s. The purpose of self-strengthening was to learn from foreigners, to copy their sciences and technology, and to apply it in exploiting China’s resources. Cixi believed that self-strengthening would re-establish China’s power and save the Qing dynasty. Little had been achieved in the late 19th century. It was therefore now essential for the Qing that reforms should be introduced and that they should succeed.

**Figure 1.2 A summary of reforms 1902–11**

- Nationalisation of the railways to provide greater control by the Qing government
- Educational reforms with the establishment of new naval and military academies and the introduction of scholarships for students to study abroad
- Introduction of provincial assemblies with a limited right to vote, 1909
- Reform of the civil service 1905: removal of the traditional examination that had led to a Mandarin domination of the civil service
- The abolition of foot binding, 1902
- Establishment of a National Consultative Council to be a cabinet with responsibility to advise the government, 1910–11
- The establishment of a ‘new Army’ under Manchu control, 1908
- The abolition of foot binding, 1902
- The establishment of a National Consultative Council to be a cabinet with responsibility to advise the government, 1910–11
The power of the Qing dynasty was significantly reduced after the Boxer Uprising. A series of problems led to the revolution in 1911 which overthrew the dynasty.

- **Weak government:** In November 1908, both Emperor Guangxu and the Empress Cixi died. The new emperor, Puyi, was just 2 years old. Prince Chun, Guangxu’s brother, ruled as regent and tried to save the dynasty by continuing with Cixi’s reforms. However, Prince Chun was inexperienced in ruling and could not provide strong government.

- **The failure of the political reforms:** The reforms introduced in the years 1909–11 were too little and too late. The domination of the Manchus in the new National Consultative Council increased Han resentment of the government. The limits placed on the provincial assemblies (only 0.4 per cent of the population had the right to vote, and all changes were to be delayed for 9 years) led to calls for faster reform, and the failure of the government to do this increased support for revolution.

- **The consequences of the army reform:** The reform of the army was expensive and so Chun increased taxes on tea, wine, salt and land. These were on top of the taxes that had to be paid for the reparations owed after the Boxer Uprising. Furthermore, as part of the reforms, Prince Chun dismissed General Yuan Shikai who, he believed, was becoming too powerful. General Yuan declared he would get his revenge. These reforms were particularly damaging to the Qing dynasty, because the heavy taxes were unpopular with the ordinary people and the dismissal of Yuan created a powerful enemy to the regime.

- **The spread of revolutionary ideas:** Sun Yat-sen, who had been educated in the West, brought the ideas of nationalism and republicanism back to China (see pages 12–13). He was a great opponent of China’s imperial government and believed that the Qing had to be overthrown in order for China to modernise. He was forced into exile in the years 1895–1911 because of his anti-government views, but this did not stop his ideas from spreading. They were especially popular among young Chinese men who travelled to Japan to complete their education, after scholarships were introduced by the government as part of educational reforms.

- **Growing resentment over the control of China’s railways:** Nationalisation increased Manchu control in the provinces and the owners were angry that they did not receive full compensation for giving up ownership. This anger was increased when the Qing government paid for the expansion of railways by borrowing more money from the Western powers and granting further concessions to foreign companies to build the lines. It looked as if the Qing were partners with the ‘foreign devils’. Growing anger among the population increased the possibility of revolution.
The revolution that overthrew the Qing began by accident. On 9 October 1911, a group of young revolutionaries in Hankou exploded a bomb that they were preparing for later use. Although this happened accidentally, it provided the signal for a wider revolt by those whose unhappiness with the Qing government now became revolutionary activity. The following day, known in China as the ‘Double Tenth’, soldiers in Wuhan began a mutiny which spread to other provinces until all but three provinces south of Beijing were in revolt. They declared themselves to be independent from government control. In particular, Han soldiers revolted against Manchu control and massacred Manchu troops. But the rebels lacked a leader. They found him in Yuan Shikai, the former general who wanted revenge for his dismissal in 1909. Although he had agreed to put down the rebellion for the government, when he reached Wuhan, he switched sides to support the rebels. He then returned to Beijing to form a Han government.

The Emperor Guangxu died on 14 November 1908. It was suggested that the Empress Cixi had him poisoned by her favourite servant, because she was determined to live longer than him. The poisoning was confirmed in 2008 by forensic experts, who tested his remains and found high levels of the poison arsenic in his hair, stomach and burial clothes. However, if Cixi was responsible for the murder, she did not live long to enjoy her victory. The following day, it is said that she ate too many pears and fainted, and shortly afterwards she died.

The reforms introduced in the years 1900–11 were intended to save the Qing dynasty. Working with a partner, draw a table with two columns. On one side, list each of the reforms. On the other side, note down why each reform failed.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

Explain two causes of the 1911 Revolution in China. (8 marks)

HINT

This question is about causation. When explaining the reasons why something happened, you should identify two reasons, then use your knowledge to explain why those reasons caused the thing to happen. Write a detailed paragraph for each reason.

The revolution that overthrew the Qing began by accident. On 9 October 1911, a group of young revolutionaries in Hankou exploded a bomb that they were preparing for later use. Although this happened accidentally, it provided the signal for a wider revolt by those whose unhappiness with the Qing government now became revolutionary activity. The following day, known in China as the ‘Double Tenth’, soldiers in Wuhan began a mutiny which spread to other provinces until all but three provinces south of Beijing were in revolt. They declared themselves to be independent from government control. In particular, Han soldiers revolted against Manchu control and massacred Manchu troops. But the rebels lacked a leader. They found him in Yuan Shikai, the former general who wanted revenge for his dismissal in 1909. Although he had agreed to put down the rebellion for the government, when he reached Wuhan, he switched sides to support the rebels. He then returned to Beijing to form a Han government.

Sun Yat-sen was still in exile when the revolution began. In November he was offered the position of president, and he hurried back to China to take up his office on 1 January 1912. However, General Yuan persuaded Sun Yat-sen to step down and allow him to be president. In return, the general promised to persuade the Manchus to abdicate and to replace the imperial system with a republic. This was a significant concession because Yuan himself was not a republican. What he really wanted was to be the emperor.
Sun stepped down because he did not have the military support to resist Yuan. Yuan’s first act was to organise the abdication of 5-year-old Emperor Puyi. The abdication decree was issued on 12 February 1912.

Source E

From the abdication decree issued on 12 February 1912.

I have induced [persuaded] the emperor to yield [give up] his authority to the country as a whole, determining [deciding] that there should be a constitutional republic. Yuan Shikai has full powers to organise a provisional [temporary] Republican government.

Activity

Write a paragraph to explain why Yuan Shikai became the leader of China in 1912.

1.4 China under the warlords, the May the Fourth movement and the rise of the Guomindang

Learning Objectives

- Understand how China was ruled during the warlord era
- Understand the May the Fourth Movement
- Understand the importance of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and the rise of the Guomindang.

Key Term

Japan’s Twenty-One Demands - a set of demands imposed on China which gave Japan control over China’s territory, forced China to appoint Japanese political and military advisers and buy weapons from Japan.

The Era of the warlords, 1916–27

With military support, from 1912 to 1916, Yuan Shikai ruled China as a dictator, and in 1915 he tried to make himself emperor. However, his rejection of democracy made him unpopular with Sun Yat-sen’s new party, the Guomindang, and the military governors in the provinces feared that they would lose authority if Yuan took more power. The final crisis came when Yuan accepted most of Japan’s Twenty-One Demands to control many of China’s factories, railway lines and ports. The Twenty-One Demands were issued by Japan in 1915 to strengthen their position during the First World War. They would have resulted in a loss of China’s independence. In December 1915, the army revolted against Yuan. He was forced to abandon his plan to become emperor. He died of a stroke in June 1916.

After Yuan’s death, there was no military general who could rule China with the same authority. The central government collapsed, since although there was still technically a republican government in Beijing, in practice, power was exercised by powerful local generals in their own provinces. These generals were known as warlords. They ran their own legal and financial systems, collected taxes and terrorised their populations. Originally, most warlords took power because they were the military governors chosen by Yuan Shikai to manage the provinces. After 1920, some warlords were removed by other
ambitious men who seized power. There were hundreds of warlords with different ideas and styles of ruling.

- Feng Yuxiang was known as the ‘Christian general’. He insisted on baptising his troops and believed that his province should be ruled by moral values. He carefully watched over the behaviour of his troops and refused to allow them to fight with one another.

- Zang Zongzhang was a violent ruler who enjoyed splitting open the heads of his opponents; he called this ‘splitting melons’.

- Zhang Zuolin believed in the use of cruel punishments for his soldiers to warn them against attempting to mutiny. On one occasion he had two soldiers beheaded for entering a theatre without paying.

Although there were many differences among the warlords, they also had features in common.

- None of them was prepared to give up their private armies or submit to an outside authority.

- They were cruel rulers.

- They made agreements with the foreign powers who wanted to protect their economic interests in China.

Warlord rule caused great suffering for the Chinese people. Not only were they treated with great cruelty, but when drought struck in 1918 and flooding in 1923–25, there was no effective central government to organise relief for the population. As a result, increasing numbers of Chinese people turned to revolutionary ideas.
EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

**THE MAY THE FOURTH MOVEMENT, 1919**

**ACTIVITY**

Draw a large spider diagram outlining the consequences of the collapse of central government after the death of Yuan Shikai.

**THE QING, WARLORDISM AND CHAOS CHINA, 1900–89**

The May the Fourth Movement was driven by the news that Japan was to be given German possessions in the Shandong province under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty had ended the First World War with Germany. In spite of discussions about self-determination, this concept was not applied to Germany or to China when her territory, previously ruled by Germany, was handed over to Japan. On 4 May 1919, students from Beijing University led a protest in Tiananmen Square. They called on the government to resist this humiliating treatment of China. The movement spread to other cities, where strikes and protests took place. As a result, China’s government refused to sign the treaty.

There were also more significant consequences of the development of ideas from the May the Fourth Movement, including a rejection of old-fashioned ideas and the adoption of modern beliefs including freedom, democracy and equal rights. This was known as the New Tide. These ideas inspired revolutionary groups to fight to achieve unity and independence for China in the 1920s.

**KEY TERMS**

- self-determination allowing people of the same race, history and culture to rule themselves
- ideology a set of ideas which refer to a political or social system

**SUN YAT-SEN, CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND THE GUOMINDANG**

Sun Yat-sen was born in Guangdong province in 1866. When he was 12 years old, he was sent to live with his elder brother who lived in Hawaii. Sun was educated in Honolulu, where he learned to speak English. Later on he moved to British-owned Hong Kong, where he studied medicine and converted to Christianity. Inspired by his nationalist beliefs, in 1895, he led a rebellion in Guangzhou. When it failed, he was forced into exile. He travelled extensively in Europe, Japan, the USA and Canada, and returned to China after the 1911 Revolution, becoming president. However, after it had become clear that he could not fight against Yuan Shikai’s military strength, he agreed to step down as president and fled to Japan, not returning to China until 1917.

When Sun returned to China in 1917, he set up his own nationalist government in Guangzhou. It was here that he declared the formation of the nationalist party, the Guomindang (GMD), in 1919. Sun announced the political ideology of the GMD in a speech in 1923. It was called the ‘Three Principles of the People’. The Three Principles were a key moment in the growth of the GMD as a political party. They placed great emphasis on the people as a whole, rather than on the rights and freedoms of individuals. The main idea was to remove foreign control and then to raise up the Chinese people out of the poverty and old-fashioned world in which they lived.

The GMD needed to overthrow the warlords in order to take control of China. To do this, it needed an army. In 1924, Sun Yat-sen established the Whampoa
Military Academy to train GMD soldiers, and the GMD became a military organisation. Its army was known as the New Republican Army (NRA).

Sun was assisted in his development of the GMD by advisers from the newly established Bolshevik government in Russia. Alfred Joffe organised negotiations and Mikhail Borodin helped to reorganise the GMD as a mass party with a powerful central leadership. Borodin also helped the GMD to acquire large quantities of arms for their campaign to destroy the warlords. It was Borodin who approved the appointment of Chiang Kai-shek as the commander of the GMD army. This was a key moment in the development of the GMD. When Sun Yat-sen died of cancer in 1925, Chiang was ideally placed to succeed him, and to lead the GMD’s campaign to overthrow the warlords. This campaign became known as the Northern Expedition.

In the modern spelling of Chinese names, the pin-yin system, Chiang Kai-shek is known as Jiang Jieshi. However, because the name Chiang Kai-shek is so familiar, most Western textbooks continue to use his name from the Giles-Wade system. The Giles-Wade system was developed in the 19th century and was based on a phonetic pronunciation of Chinese words.

Originally, Chiang was not seen as the obvious replacement to Sun, because he was regarded as a military man and not a leader. However, this view underestimated his ambition and the importance of military power. Chiang himself was convinced that control of the army would give him control of China.

Chiang Kai-shek was seen as a military man with no claim to a big role in civilian government. Chiang was easy to underestimate. Known for his bad temper, he appeared to GMD leaders as a rough provincial type. But Chiang understood where power lay. ‘If I control the army, I will have the power to control the country,’ he told his wife. ‘It is my road to leadership.’

Sun Yat-sen wanted to free China from foreign control. Why do you think he accepted help from the Soviet government in Russia? Working with a partner, list two advantages and two disadvantages of working with the Soviet government.
One consequence of the May the Fourth Movement was the spread of revolutionary ideas. One of these new ideas was communism. The German philosopher Karl Marx wrote about the theory of communism in the mid-19th century. Marx taught that history was a series of stages in which the proletariat struggled against the economic, political and social control of the higher classes. Eventually, through revolution, the higher classes would be overthrown and a state of equality would be achieved by the lower classes.

The table on the left gives a summary of Karl Marx’s ideas, outlining the stages of history that would lead to revolution and the achievement of a communist system in which all people would be equal.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand how and why the Chinese Communist Party emerged and developed
- Understand the establishment of the United Front and the Northern Expedition
- Understand the reasons for the collapse of the United Front and the Extermination Campaign.

### THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

#### Stage 1: Primitive communism
In the Stone Age, all people were equal and shared the work according to their talents. They had an equal share of everything that was produced.

#### Stage 2: Feudalism
In the Middle Ages, all the land belonged to the King, who shared it with his lords. The majority of the people were peasants, who were exploited for their labour and owned by their lords.

#### Stage 3: Capitalism
In the 18th and 19th centuries, the increase in mechanised forms of production allowed a rich class of business owners – or capitalists, as Marx called them – to develop. Capitalists drew huge profits from the labour of their workers, called the proletariat. They paid their workers only a small fraction of the money made from their labour.

#### Stage 4: Communism
The exploitation of the workers under capitalism would lead them to rise up against the capitalists in a revolution. After the revolution, a state of equality would be achieved in which there were no classes and business, and all property was owned by the whole of society.
One of the reasons why communism was gaining in support was because there had been a successful communist revolution in Russia in 1917. China was very similar to Russia in that both countries were politically and economically old-fashioned. Chinese Communists believed that they could achieve a successful revolution in China.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded in secret in a girls’ school in Shanghai in June 1921. Chen Duxiu, a key member of the May the Fourth Movement, was elected as the general-secretary. One of the 12 members invited to join the leadership of the party was a young bookseller from Hunan, Mao Zedong. He would later emerge as the leader of the CCP.

The Bolshevik government in Russia wanted to encourage the spread of revolution and to protect its border with China. In the 1920s, it was convinced that the best way to achieve this was to work with the GMD.

- The CCP was too small to achieve revolution (it had only 50 members when it was founded).
- Conditions in China were not ready for a Marxist revolution. Karl Marx had taught that revolution would be led by the proletariat, but there were very few workers in China. The majority of the population were peasants.
- The GMD’s ‘Three Principles of the People’ were rooted in ideas of equality and were therefore similar to communist ideas.

Therefore, the Soviet government in Russia, through its organisation the Comintern, encouraged the newly established CCP to work with the GMD to overthrow the warlords.

The CCP could not ignore the wishes of Russia, especially as it provided US$5000 a year to fund the party. Therefore, in 1923 the CCP agreed not only to co-operate with the GMD but also to become a group within it. Mao Zedong was one of those who followed party orders and joined the GMD.

The GMD and CCP had common aims that justified the establishment of the United Front, which were:
- to destroy the warlords
- to expel foreigners from China
- to improve the lives of ordinary Chinese people.

The decision to form a United Front was also encouraged by the 30 May Incident 1925. A protest by Chinese workers in Shanghai was stopped when the British commander from the International Settlement shot into the crowd and killed 12 people. This confirmed for the Nationalists and Communists that China’s internal and external enemies could only be removed by force. Therefore, a United Front was formed. In 1926, Chiang called on its members to join in a battle to destroy the warlords. His speech launched the Northern Expedition.
EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

Explain two causes of the formation of the United Front in 1924–27. (8 marks)

HINT

This question is about causation. When answering questions on why something happened, good answers will clearly link the identified reasons for the outcome. Write an explanation for each of the factors, and link the reason to the formation of the United Front.

THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION, 1926–28

The Northern Expedition was directed against the warlords in central, eastern and northern China. Its military strategy was to surround each individual warlord’s army, to cut off its supply lines and to steadily destroy it. The New Republican Army (NRA) was very successful in achieving its objectives. With the help of its Soviet military adviser, Galen, the NRA had been built into a far more effective force than anything controlled by the warlord. He taught the NRA the value of surrounding the enemy’s troops as a way of achieving victory. The troops were also taught to treat the local peasant populations with...
respect, and were ordered to pay for food. In this way, they won the support of the local populations, who were tired of the bloody rule of the warlords. Mao Zedong played an important role in winning the support of local peasant populations for the United Front.

The strategy followed by the United Front led to fighting and many injuries, but it also brought success. By the summer of 1927, the United Front had taken control of central China and by 1928, with an army that numbered 250,000 men, Chiang took control of eastern China. The final stage came in April 1928, when Chiang drove the warlord Zhang Zuolin out of Beijing in the north. He then declared that the GMD was the legal government in China, and moved the capital city from Beijing in the north to Nanjing in the east.

Reasons for the victory of the United Front include:
- the strength and tactics of the United Front army compared to the private armies of the warlords
- the role of the Communists in gaining the support of the peasants for the United Front
- deals made by Chiang with the warlords – Chiang bribed individual warlords and allowed them to keep their private armies if they submitted to the control of the GMD.

Even before the campaign had brought victory, Chiang had become convinced that the United Front had succeeded in defeating the warlords and it had therefore served its purpose. Chiang had been suspicious of the Communists even before the Northern Expedition began. Chiang was from the rich classes in China, and the GMD relied on businessmen for financial support. They would never accept the ideology of communism and its aim to overthrow capitalism. The crisis between the GMD and CCP came in March 1927. The GMD were able to occupy Shanghai because the Communists had organised a general strike and left-wing uprisings that weakened the control of the city. The next month, Chiang arranged to destroy the Communists in Shanghai.

THE SHANGHAI MASSACRES, 1927

The GMD were able to take control of Shanghai because of the work of its left-wing members and the Communists, who had built a strong trade union organisation in the city. However, 2 weeks after taking control, Chiang turned on the Communists. He was supported by Shanghai’s industrialists and traders, who opposed trade unions, and by the foreigners in the International Settlement, who were afraid that they would lose their economic interests if the Communists took control. Chiang’s troops began a frenzy of killing which has been called the ‘White Terror’, a term used to describe nationalists and to distinguish them from the Communists or ‘Reds’. They were supported by the violent secret societies (triads) in Shanghai and the crime organisation known as the Green Gang. More than 5,000 Communists were dragged out and killed. The attacks spread to other areas. In Hunan, more than a quarter of a million people were killed.
Mao and the Communists did not follow orders from the Comintern to continue the United Front at any cost and staged the Autumn Harvest Uprising in August–September 1927. However, their army was too small to take on the might of the NRA. Mao and his followers were forced to flee to the mountains of Jiangxi province. Here they set up a ‘Chinese Soviet Republic’, generally known as the Jiangxi Soviet, to govern the province. They spent the next 7 years in a struggle for survival there.

The Green Gang was run by the underworld criminal, Du Yuesheng (Big-eared Du). He was a powerful gang leader who ran a prostitution and drug trafficking business. He bribed police to co-operate with his illegal organisation, and had made a profit of US$56 million by 1927.

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The massacre of Communists in Shanghai, whose leaders were captured and beheaded by government troops.

**THE EXTERMINATION CAMPAIGNS, 1930–34**

Chiang was determined to destroy the Communists. He believed that they were an even greater threat than the warlords. In the years 1930–34, he launched five extermination campaigns. The first was launched in October 1930, with 44,000 NRA troops directed at the Communists in Jiangxi. Chiang intended to surround and destroy the Communists. However, his plan failed completely. The Communists refused to fight face to face with the GMD, and instead tricked the NRA in order to enter their territory and then laid traps for them.
The Communists captured the commander of the first army unit and tortured him, cutting out his tongue and damaging his face before they beheaded him. Chiang took personal direction of the next campaign, directing 100,000 troops against the CCP in July 1931. However, even though he caught the Reds by surprise, his cautious strategy of moving slowly to avoid ambushes allowed the much smaller communist forces to escape. Chiang’s troops met with opposition from the peasants, had too little to eat and caught dysentery from the dirty water. The troops reacted violently by burning down villages, massacring all the inhabitants and seizing their crops. Lack of support from the peasants was a key reason why Chiang’s extermination campaign did not succeed. Chiang attempted to recruit volunteers from the villages to help find the Communists, but villagers were unwilling, as they were unhappy with the violent actions of the GMD.

More than a million peasants were killed by the GMD in the years 1930–34. However, the larger numbers of the GMD did begin to wear down the communist forces. In autumn 1933, the GMD launched its fifth and final extermination campaign. The Nationalists established a blockade around the soviet and deprived the inhabitants of food. They built over 11,000 km of roads into the soviet to allow the faster movement of troops. Chiang’s new military adviser, the German General Hans von Seeckt, advised the building of defences to force the Communists back and to provide shelter for the NRA. This allowed the GMD to surround the Communists and the scorched earth policy used by the Nationalists also meant that the Reds would have no alternative but to fight a static war. The Reds faced defeat after defeat; by October 1934 they were left with no alternative but to abandon the Jiangxi Soviet. They had lost over 60,000 soldiers and more than half of their territory.

**KEY TERM**

**scorched earth policy** the tactic of destroying everything that might be useful to an army in an area, including buildings and crops in the fields

**ACTIVITY**

Working with a partner, decide who will represent a member of the GMD and who will represent the CCP. Write a diary entry to describe your involvement in the United Front, the Northern Expedition and the Shanghai Massacres. Compare your descriptions. In what ways are they the same? How do they differ?
RECAP

RECALL QUESTIONS

1. What was the name of the imperial dynasty ruling China in 1900?
2. Which group of people did the Boxers attack in the 1900 Uprising?
3. Who became the leader of the government after the 1911 Revolution?
4. Why was Feng Yuxiang known as the Christian general?
5. What were the main ideas in Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People?
6. What was the name of the GMD army?
7. Where was the Chinese Communist Party founded?
8. What was the aim of the United Front?
9. Who played an important role in winning the support of the peasants for the United Front?
10. What is the name given to the massacre of Communists by the GMD?

CHECKPOINT

STRENGTHEN

S1 Write a paragraph describing the events of the Boxer Uprising.
S2 Who was Sun Yat-sen, and why was he important?
S3 List three reasons why the Northern Expedition was successful in overthrowing the warlords.

CHALLENGE

C1 What were the main consequences of the Boxer Uprising?
C2 Compare the ideas of the GMD and the CCP. Draw up a table with two columns: one for the GMD and one for the CCP. List their ideas. Highlight the points that are similar.
C3 In what ways did the government of China change in the years 1900–34? Draw up a timeline of the years and plot the different governments on it. Use it to help you write a short paragraph describing the changes.

SUMMARY

- Resentment against foreign control led to the Boxer Uprising in 1900.
- The failure of reform in the years 1902–11 led to the outbreak of revolution in 1911, the fall of the Qing dynasty and the declaration of a republic in 1912.
- China’s new republic soon dissolved into chaos as warlords seized control in the provinces and ruled with private armies.
- The spread of revolutionary ideas encouraged the growth of nationalism, the development of the Guomindang under Sun Yat-sen and the birth of the Chinese Communist Party.
- Under the influence of advisers from the Soviet Union, the GMD and CCP formed a United Front to defeat the warlords.
- The United Front defeated the warlords in the Northern Expedition of 1926–28 and established a GMD government in Nanjing in 1928.
- Under the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, the GMD turned against the Communists and massacred thousands in Shanghai and in the following extermination campaigns.
- The Communists were forced to flee to Jianxi in order to survive.
EXAM GUIDANCE: PART (A) QUESTIONS

Question to be answered: Explain two ways in which the way China was ruled by the Qing dynasty in the years 1900–11 was similar to the way it was ruled in the warlord era (1916–27). (6 marks)

1. Analysis Question 1: What is the question type testing?
In this question, you have to demonstrate that you have knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied. In this particular case, it is knowledge and understanding of how China was ruled at the beginning of the 20th century.

You also have to explain, analyse and make judgements about historical events and periods to explain ways in which there were similarities between those events/periods.

2. Analysis Question 2: What do I have to do to answer the question well?
Obviously you have to write about the Qing dynasty and the warlord era, but this is not just a case of writing everything you know. You have to identify two similarities and provide details showing how the two ways of ruling China were similar. If you just write about events under the two governments, you are unlikely to do this. So you should start by identifying ways in which they are similar and then give details to prove it. For example, if you were allowed to put sub-headings in your answers, the two similarities would be the two sub-headings you would use.

So in this case, you might consider the way that they ruled and the ways that they treated the people. You will get one mark for the similarity you show, one mark for explaining that similarity and another mark for detail.

3. Analysis Question 3: Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful?
This is a 6-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 24 marks in total). Therefore, you need to get straight in to writing your answer. The question asks for two similarities, so it is a good idea to write two paragraphs and to begin each paragraph with phrases like ‘One similarity was…’ and ‘Another similarity was…’. You will get a maximum of 3 marks for each similarity you explain, so make sure you do two similarities.

N.B The question does not ask ‘How similar’, so you do not have to point out similarities and differences. You should just focus on similarities.
Answer A

In the years 1900–1911, the Qing dynasty was a weak government and in 1911 it was overthrown by a revolution. The warlords who were also weak and were overthrown by the Northern Expedition. A second similarity is that they treated the people harshly.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?

This answer has some merits. It identifies a similarity (both types of government were weak) and gives some support to the idea that both governments were overthrown – but it does not support the similarity that they treated the people harshly and does not develop the similarity on weak government. It is unlikely that this answer would score more than two or three marks.

Answer B

One similarity is that both the types of government were very weak. The Qing dynasty was very weak after it had to pay the Western powers £67 million in reparations after the Boxer Rebellion. It was too weak to stop revolutionary ideas spreading and this led to its overthrow in the 1911 Revolution. This was very similar to the rule of the warlords. The warlords were very weak because they each only controlled a small area of China and they could not deal with problems in China like drought and famine. They could not stop the spread of revolutionary ideas, like nationalism and communism.

A second similarity was that both the Qing dynasty and the warlords treated the ordinary people very harshly. The Qing put really high taxes on goods like tea and salt which made it difficult for the Chinese people to afford basic foods. The warlords were also harsh. One warlord called Zang Zongzhang used to split open the heads of his opponents.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?

This is an excellent answer. Each paragraph begins by giving a similarity and goes on to provide factual support to explain that similarity. It would be likely to receive full marks.

Challenge a friend

Use the Student Book to set a part (a) question for a friend. Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

- Provide two similarities
- Provide detailed information to explain why they are similarities.

If it does, you can tell your friend that the answer is very good!