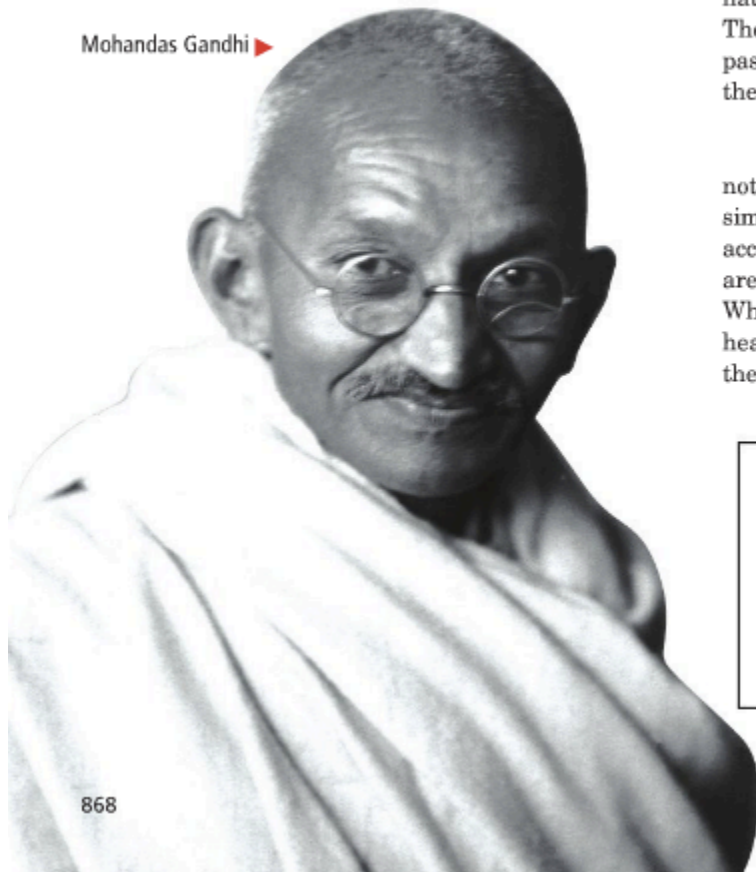


Mohandas Gandhi: *Hind Swaraj*

Mohandas Gandhi led a successful, peaceful revolution in India against British rule. In the following excerpt from his book *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, Gandhi explains the ideas behind his nonviolent method of passive resistance in the form of an imaginary conversation between an editor and a reader. *Hind Swaraj* was first published in 1909 in South Africa, but was banned in India.

Mohandas Gandhi ▶



Editor: Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant [offensive] to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law, and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim that he is absolutely in the right, or that a particular thing is wrong, because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is therefore meet [proper] that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force.

Editor:

Reader: You would then disregard laws—this is rank disloyalty. We have always been considered a law-abiding nation. You seem to be going even beyond the extremists. They say that we must obey the laws that have been passed, but that, if the laws be bad, we must drive out the lawgivers even by force.

Editor: Whether I go beyond them or whether I do not is a matter of no consequence to either of us. We simply want to find out what is right, and to act accordingly. The real meaning of the statement that we are a law-abiding nation is that we are passive resisters. When we do not like certain laws, we do not break the heads of law-givers, but we suffer and do not submit to the laws.

Thinking Critically

- 1. Identify Central Issues** What is the goal of passive resistance?
- 2. Draw Conclusions** According to Gandhi, could soul-force ever be used to support an unjust cause? What does Gandhi mean when he says that a person using soul-force "does not make others suffer for his mistakes"?

SECTION 4

A family of refugees (right) flee a conflict between warlords in 1926.



Chinese currency showing Jiang Jieshi, the next leader of Sun Yixian's Guomindang party.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Change in China

Sun Yixian, “father” of modern China, painted a grim picture of China after the end of the Qing dynasty.

“But the Chinese people have only family and clan solidarity; they do not have national spirit. Therefore, even though we have four hundred million people gathered together in one China, in reality they are just a heap of loose sand. Today we are the poorest and weakest nation in the world and occupy the lowest position in international affairs. Other men are the carving knife and serving dish, we are the fish and the meat.”

As Sun emphasized, China needed to change, but how and in what direction?

Focus Question How did China cope with internal division and foreign invasion in the early 1900s?

Upheavals in China

Objectives

- Explain the key challenges faced by the Chinese republic in the early 1900s.
- Analyze the struggle between two rival parties as they fought to control China.
- Describe how invasion by Japan affected China.



As the new Chinese republic took shape, nationalists like Sun Yixian (soon yee SHYAHN) set the goal of “catching up and surpassing the powers, east and west.” But that goal would remain a distant dream as China suffered the turmoil of civil war and foreign invasion.

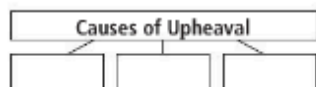
Terms, People, and Places

Twenty-One Demands Guomindang
May Fourth Movement Long March
vanguard

Note Taking

Reading Skill: Recognize Multiple Causes

Use a chart like the one below to record the causes of upheaval in the Chinese Republic.



The Chinese Republic in Trouble

As you have read, China’s Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911. The president of China’s new republic, Sun Yixian (also called Sun Yat-sen) hoped to rebuild China on the Three Principles of the People—nationalism, democracy, and economic security for everyone. But he made little progress. China quickly fell into chaos in the face of the “twin evils” of warlord uprisings and foreign imperialism.

The Warlord Problem In 1912, Sun Yixian stepped down as president in favor of Yuan Shikai (yoo AHN shih KY), a powerful general. Sun hoped that Yuan would create a strong central government, but instead, the ambitious general tried to set up a new dynasty. The military, however, did not support Yuan, and opposition divided the nation. When Yuan died in 1916, China plunged into still greater disorder.

In the provinces, local warlords seized power. As rival armies battled for control, the economy collapsed and millions of peasants suffered terrible hardships. Famine and attacks by bandits added to their misery.



Note Taking

Reading Skill: Sequence Use a chart like the one below to sequence the fighting that went on among the Guomindang, the warlords, the Chinese Communists, and the Japanese from 1921 through 1937.



Vocabulary Builder

intellectual—(in teh LEK choo ul) *adj.*
involving the ability to reason or think clearly

Foreign Imperialism During this period of upheaval, foreign powers increased their influence over Chinese affairs. Foreign merchants, missionaries, and soldiers dominated the ports China had opened to trade.

During World War I, Japanese officials presented Yuan Shikai with the **Twenty-One Demands**, a list of demands that sought to make China a Japanese protectorate. With China too weak to resist, Yuan gave in to some of the demands. Then, in 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Allies gave Japan control over some former German possessions in China. That news infuriated Chinese Nationalists.

May Fourth Movement In response, student protests erupted in Beijing on May 4, 1919, and later spread to cities across China. The protests set off a cultural and **intellectual** ferment known as the **May Fourth Movement**. Its goal was to strengthen China. Reformers sought to improve China's position by rejecting Confucian traditions and learning from the West. As in Meiji Japan, they hoped to use their new knowledge to end foreign domination.

Women played a key role in the May Fourth Movement. They joined marches and campaigned to end a number of traditional practices, including footbinding. Their work helped open doors for women in education and the economy.

The Appeal of Marxism Some Chinese turned to the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Lenin. The Soviet Union was more than willing to train Chinese students and military officers to become the **vanguard**, or elite leaders, of a communist revolution. By the 1920s, a small group of Chinese Communists had formed their own political party.

Checkpoint How did warlord uprisings and foreign imperialism lead to the May Fourth movement?

Jiang Jieshi, Leader of the Guomindang
Jiang Jieshi headed the Guomindang (Nationalist) government in China from the late 1920s until 1949.



Struggle for a New China

In 1921, Sun Yixian and his **Guomindang** (gwoh meen DAWNG) or Nationalist party, established a government in south China. Sun planned to raise an army, defeat the warlords, and spread his government's rule over all of China. When Western democracies refused to help, Sun accepted aid from the Soviet Union and joined forces with the small group of Chinese Communists. However, he still believed that China's future should be based on his Three Principles of the People.

Jiang Jieshi Leads the Nationalists After Sun's death in 1925, an energetic young army officer, Jiang Jieshi (jahng jeh shur), took over the Guomindang. Jiang Jieshi (also called Chiang Kai-Shek) was determined to smash the power of the warlords and reunite China, but he had little interest in either democracy or communism.

In 1926, Jiang Jieshi began the Northern Expedition in cooperation with the Chinese Communists. In the Northern Expedition, Jiang led the combined forces into northern China, crushing or winning over local warlords as he advanced and capturing Beijing. Jiang would go on to take control of a new government led by the Guomindang—but without the Communists.

■ COMPARING VIEWPOINTS

Who Should Lead the New China?

The excerpts below present the views of China's two most influential leaders on who should direct the future of China. **Critical Thinking** *Who does each person think should lead China?*

One Strong Leader

The most important point of fascism is absolute trust in a sagely able leader. Aside from complete trust in one person, there is no other leader or ism. Therefore, with the organization, although there are cadre, council members, and executives, there is no conflict among them, there is only the trust in the one leader. The leader has final decision in all matters.

—Jiang Jieshi, 1933

Peasant Masses

The broad peasant masses have risen to fulfill their historic mission . . . the democratic forces in the rural areas have risen to overthrow the rural feudal power. . . . To overthrow this feudal power is the real objective of the national revolution. What Dr. Sun Yat-sen [Yixian] wanted to do . . . but failed to accomplish, the peasants have accomplished in a few months.

—Mao Zedong, 1927



In mid-campaign, Jiang seized the chance to strike at the Chinese Communist Party, which he saw as a threat to his power. The Communists were winning converts among the small proletariat in cities like Shanghai. Early in 1927, on orders from Jiang, Guomindang troops slaughtered Communist Party members and the workers who supported them. In Shanghai and elsewhere, thousands of people were killed. This massacre marked the beginning of a bitter civil war between the Communists and the Guomindang that lasted for 22 years.

Mao Zedong and the Communists Among the Communists who escaped Jiang's attack was a young revolutionary of peasant origins, Mao Zedong (mow dzuh doong) (also called Mao Tse-tung). Unlike earlier Chinese Communists, Mao believed that the Communists should seek support not among the small urban working class but among the large peasant masses.

Although the Communists were pursued at every turn by Guomindang forces, Mao was optimistic about eventual success. In southeastern China, Mao and the Communists redistributed land to peasants and promised other reforms.

The Long March Jiang Jieshi, however, was determined to destroy the "Red bandits," as he called the Communists. He led the Guomindang in a series of "extermination campaigns" against them. The Guomindang harassed Mao's retreating army throughout the **Long March** from 1934 to 1935. Mao's forces used guerrilla, or irregular hit-and-run, tactics to fight back. At the end of the Long March, the Communists set up a new base in a remote region of northern China. There, Mao rebuilt his forces and plotted new strategies for fighting the Guomindang.

During the march, the Communists enforced strict discipline. Soldiers were told to treat peasants politely, pay for goods they wanted, and avoid damaging crops. Such behavior made Mao's forces welcome among peasants, many of whom had suffered greatly at the hands of the Guomindang.



Checkpoint How did the Communists manage to survive Jiang's "extermination campaigns"?






Mao Zedong, Leader of the Communists Mao Zedong led the Chinese Communists through some of their darkest times, including the Long March.



Civil War in China, 1927–1936

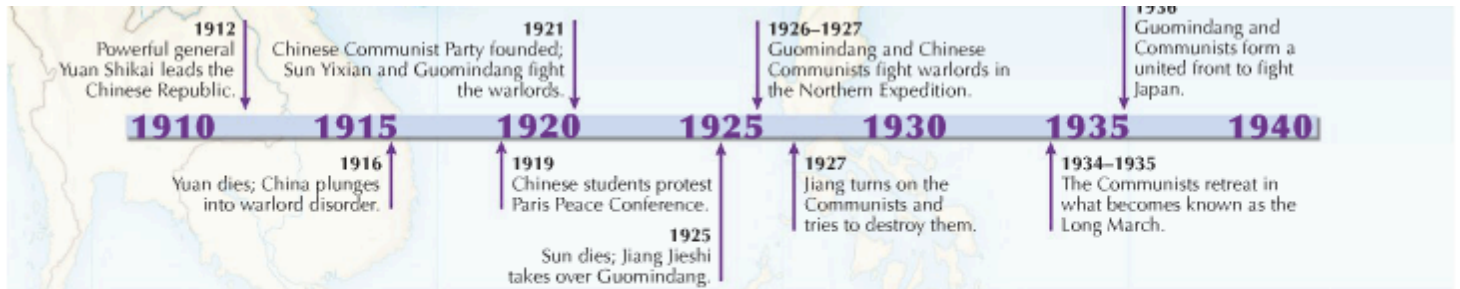
Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map and timeline
Web Code: nap-2741

-  Site of Communist purges by Guomindang, 1927
-  Communist bases, 1934
-  Controlled by Guomindang, 1934
-  Route of Long March, 1934–1935
-  Cities



The Communists scale a mountain pass during the Long March.



Map Skills The Guomindang and the Communists waged a long and bitter war for control of China.

1. **Locate:** (a) Beijing (b) Shanghai (c) Jiangxi (d) Yan'an
2. **Movement** What natural features made the Long March difficult?
3. **Synthesize Information** Based on the map and timeline, describe the relationship between the Guomindang and the Communists.

One of the most dramatic events in the conflict between the Guomindang and the Communists was the epic retreat known as the Long March. During the Long March, Mao and about 100,000 of his followers fled the Guomindang. In the next year, they trekked more than 6,000 miles, facing daily attacks as they crossed rugged mountains and mighty rivers. Only about 8,000 marchers survived the ordeal. For decades, the Long March stood as a symbol of communist heroism and inspired new recruits to follow Mao. He claimed the great retreat as a victory. As he observed:

Primary Source

“The Long March is also a seeding-machine. It has sown many seeds in eleven provinces, which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit, and yield a crop.”

—Mao Zedong, “On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism”



Japanese Invasion

While Jiang was pursuing the Communists across China, the country faced another danger. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria in northeastern China, adding it to the growing Japanese empire. As Japanese aggression increased, a **faction** within the Guomindang forced Jiang to form a united front with the Communists against Japan.

In 1937, the Japanese struck again, starting what became the Second Sino-Japanese War. Airplanes bombed Chinese cities, and Japanese troops overran eastern China, including Beijing and Guangzhou. Jiang Jieshi and his government retreated to the interior and set up a new capital at Chongqing (chawng CHING).

After a lengthy siege, Japanese troops marched into the city of Nanjing (nahn jing) on December 13. Nanjing was an important cultural center and had been the Guomindang capital before Chongqing. After the city's surrender, the Japanese killed hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians and brutalized still more. The cruelty and destruction became known around the world as the "rape of Nanjing."

The united Chinese fought back against the Japanese. The Soviet Union sent advisors and equipment to help. Great Britain, France, and the United States gave economic aid. The Guomindang and the Communists still clashed occasionally, but the united front stayed intact until the end of the war with Japan.

Checkpoint How did the Japanese invasion help unify the Chinese temporarily?

Vocabulary Builder

faction—(FAK shun) *n.* a group within a larger group

Looking Ahead

The bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 brought the United States into the war against Japan and into an alliance with the Chinese. By the end of World War II, Jiang and the Guomindang controlled China's central government, but Mao's Communist Party controlled much of northern and central China. The Communists had organized hundreds of thousands of Chinese peasants at the village level, spreading their political ideas. Meanwhile, corruption grew in Jiang's government. Soon, the Communists would triumph, and Mao would impose revolutionary change on China.

SECTION 4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-quiz with vocabulary practice
Web Code: naa-2741

Terms, People, and Places

1. What do many of the key terms listed at the beginning of the section have in common? Explain.

Note Taking

2. **Reading Skill: Recognize Multiple Causes** Use your completed charts to answer the Focus Question: How did China cope with internal division and foreign invasion in the early 1900s?

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

3. **Identify Central Issues** Why did the new republic of China fall into chaos after 1912?
4. **Identify Point of View** Do you think that the retreating Communists' policy to pay for goods they wanted during the Long March was a good idea? Why or why not?
5. **Predict Consequences** How do you think the "rape of Nanjing" affected Japan's reputation around the world?

Writing About History

Quick Write: Answer Opposing Arguments Every persuasive essay should present arguments that support the thesis *and* refute arguments that oppose the thesis. Your thesis for a persuasive essay is "The Long March ultimately helped the Chinese Communists' cause." Think of the strongest argument against this thesis, and then write a paragraph to refute that argument.