

HL History 2: Summer Assignment

This summer assignment is designed to help you to gather and review sources for your IB History Internal Assessment.

The History IA is a hybrid research paper that requires you to pose a historically significant question, provide a defensible answer to the question, evaluate the evidence you used to arrive at your answer and reflect on problems of historical methodology. Our purpose is thoughtful engagement with existing debates not groundbreaking scholarship. While the information you gather is important, the argument you make is paramount.

This is not a book report. It can be a stimulating activity on the macro-level by encouraging reflection on what historians do, how they do it and why it's important. It can also be fascinating on the micro-level if you choose a topic you're curious about and become expert in it. In the interest of synergy, we've also defined research areas that will help you meet with success on the external assessments next May. Finally, the History IA is a chance for you to practice the methods of historical research while cultivating an archival temperament™ open to discovery and revision. Working on this project will make you a better student and person.

This assignment is, moreover, important for your progress in the diploma program. For this reason, it must be ready to turn in on the second day of school. Successful on-time completion of this assignment is directly connected to approximately 40% of your first quarter grade (which includes assignments related to the IA as well as your complete IA) and 20% of your IB History score so please give it the time it deserves.

You should plan to spend approximately 12 hours on this assignment.

Your HL History 2 Teachers are:

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Step 1: Possible Research Areas

Choose a bullet point or a piece of a bullet point as an area of interest. Identify a case study that can help you understand the concept at issue in the bullet point. Get far flung. Consider choosing a case from South or Central America, Africa, Asia or the Middle East. The major restriction in terms of the case you choose is that there must be a body of historical evidence and interpretation in English for you to work with.

When you get back to school in the fall, we'll be asking you to craft a narrow question within your topic. These are two examples from the IB History Curriculum Guide:

“How systematic were the deportations of the Jewish population of Dusseldorf to Minsk between 1941 and 1942?” (a case study about the Aims and Results of Authoritarian States)

“What were the most important reasons for the failure of Operation Market Garden?”(a case study about practices of war and their impact on the outcome.)

In other words, the IB wants your topic to be quite narrow in order to be dealt with effectively with the word limit of this essay.

Caution read carefully:

- You **MUST** choose a single case study for this project. No comparative case studies (i.e. industrial rev in England and Japan).
- Moreover, your case study should be from no later than 2000. There is a rule against writing about recent events. **IF THERE'S ANY QUESTION ABOUT BEING OUT OF TIME PERIOD, ERR ON THE SIDE OF CAUTION AND CONSULT A TEACHER.**
- Double dipping with a History EE is verboten. The EE cannot be an expansion of your IA. It *could* be in the same general area of interest. **IF THERE'S ANY QUESTION ABOUT DOUBLE DIPPING, ERR ON THE SIDE OF CAUTION AND CONSULT A TEACHER.**

General Topics and some suggested cases.

Independence Movements: 1800-2000

Origins and rise Of independence movements, up to the point of independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Development of movements: role and relative importance of nationalism and political ideologyo Development of movements: role and relative importance of religion, race, social and economic factorso Wars as a cause and/or catalyst for independence movementso Other internal and external factors fostering growth of independence movements.
Methods used and reasons for success	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Methods of achieving independence (including violent and non-violent methods)o Role and importance of leaders of independence movementso The role and relative importance of other factors in the success of independence movements
Challenges faced in the first 10 years, and responses to the challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Challenges: political problems; ethnic, racial and separatist movementso Social, cultural and economic challengeso Responses to those challenges, and the effectiveness of those responses

Africa and the Middle East: Ben Bella and Algeria; Nkrumah and Ghana; Kenyatta and Kenya; Mugabe and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe

The Americas: José Martí and Cuba; San Martín and the former Viceroyalty of the River Plate; Bolívar and Gran Columbia; Dessalines and Haiti

Asia and Oceania: Nehru, Gandhi and India; Jinnah and Pakistan; Somare and Papua New Guinea; Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam

Europe: Kolokotronis and Greece; Kossuth and the establishment of dual monarchy in Hungary (1867); Collins, de Valera and Ireland

20th Century Authoritarian States

Emergence of authoritarian states	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Conditions in which authoritarian states emerged: economic factors; social division; impact of war; weakness of political systemo Methods used to establish authoritarian states: persuasion and coercion; the role of leaders; ideology; the use of force; propaganda
Consolidation and maintenance of power	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Use of legal methods; use of force; charismatic leadership; dissemination of propagandao Nature, extent and treatment of oppositiono The impact of the success and/or failure of foreign policy on the maintenance of power
Aims and results of policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Aims and impact of domestic economic, political, cultural and social policieso The impact of policies on women and minoritieso Authoritarian control and the extent to which it was achieved

Africa and the Middle East: Tanzania—Nyerere; Egypt—Nasser; Iraq—Saddam Hussein; Kenya—Kenyatta; Uganda—Amin

The Americas: Argentina—Perón; Cuba—Castro; Chile—Pinochet; Haiti—Duvalier; Nicaragua—Somoza

Asia and Oceania: China—Mao; Indonesia—Sukarno; Pakistan—Zia ul Haq; Cambodia—Pol Pot

Europe: Germany—Hitler; USSR—Stalin; Italy—Mussolini; Spain—Franco; Poland—Pilsudski

Cause and Effects of 20th Century Wars

Causes of war	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Economic, ideological, political, territorial and other causeso Short- and long-term causes
Practices of war and their impact on the outcome	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Types of war: civil wars; wars between states; guerrilla warso Technological developments; theatres of war—air, land and seao The extent of the mobilization of human and economic resourceso The influence and/or involvement of foreign powers
Effects of war	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o The successes and failures of peacemakingo Territorial changeso Political repercussionso Economic, social and demographic impact; changes in the role and status of women

Africa and the Middle East: Algerian War (1954–1962); Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970); Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988); North Yemen Civil War (1962–1970); First Gulf War (1990–1991)

The Americas: Chaco War (1932–1935); Falklands/Malvinas War (1982); Mexican Revolution (1910–1920); Contra War (1981–1990)

Asia and Oceania: Chinese Civil War (1927–1937 and/or 1946–1949); Vietnam (1946–1954 and/or 1964–1975); Indo-Pakistan Wars (1947–1949 and/or 1965 and/or 1971)

Europe: Spanish Civil War (1936–1939); the Balkan Wars (1990s); Russian Civil War (1917–1922); Irish War of Independence (1919–1921)

Cross-regional wars: First World War (1914–1918); Second World War (1939–1945); Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905)

Origins, Development and Impact of Industrialization: 1750-2000

The origins of industrialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o The causes and enablers of industrialization; the availability of human and natural resources; political stability; infrastructureo Role and significance of technological developmentso Role and significance of individuals
The impact and significance of key developments	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Developments in transportationo Developments in energy and powero Industrial infrastructure; iron and steelo Mass productiono Developments in communications
The social and political impact of industrialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Urbanization and the growth of cities and factorieso Labour conditions; organization of labouro Political representation; opposition to industrializationo Impact on standards of living; disease and life expectancy; leisure; literacy and media.

Examples of countries:

- o Africa and the Middle East: Egypt, South Africa
- o The Americas: Argentina, US, Canada
- o Asia and Oceania: Japan, India, Australia
- o Europe: Great Britain, Germany, Russia/USSR

Examples of technological developments: the combustion engine; steam power/the steam engine; gas lighting; generation of electricity; iron production; mechanized cotton spinning; production of sulphuric acid; production of steel and the Bessemer process; nuclear power; growth in information technology

Step 2: Choose an underlying conceptual problem (see attached Guideposts)

Cause & Consequence
Continuity and Change
Historical Perspectives
Significance

Step 3: Gather Resources (allow 4 hours for general research)

It is not sufficient to know that a source exists and be waiting for it to arrive at your doorstep in September. Obtain hard copies or .pdf copies of materials of 8-10 useful sources. We will be writing and workshopping the essay when school begins.

Try to find all of the following:

- 1) A general introduction to your case study in the form of a book.
- 2) 3-4 academic articles or book chapters in which scholars investigate the specific area of interest you've chosen within your case study.
- 3) 2-3 primary sources related to the specific area of interest you've chosen to investigate within your case study. Depending on the topic you've chosen to investigate, these could range from the text of treaties or agreements, speeches, letters, journalistic accounts, memoirs of eyewitnesses, data tables or official government statistics, or a range of other evidence that can help to better understand some aspect of your topic.
- 4) 1 source that will help you to better understand the academic discussion around your area of interest. For example, if you are generally interested in the roles of women on the homefront in Great Britain in World War I, a general source about women and war could help you to contextualize your case and provoke interesting questions.

Step 4: Read. (allow 6 hours for reading)

Begin with the general introduction. Learn about the contours of your case. Allow a couple of hours for this.

Educate yourself on your topic. Seek out answers to the questions you have.

Abstracts, Introductions, Conclusions, the Table of Contents, and the Index are your dearest friends because they will guide you to the most significant parts of the argument for your research.

Your purpose is to flag the material that is most relevant so you can come back to it later.

Step 5: Write an annotated bibliography. (allow 2 hours for writing your annotated bibliography or approximately 15 minutes per entry)

Your annotated bibliography should be approximately 600 words. What we're looking for is that you've identified a body of relevant material and have begun to explore how it is connected to your area of interest and case study. Too much summary would be a waste of your effort so please keep these entries to the point.

Your annotated bibliography must include all of the following.

- 1) The full citation of your source.
- 2) A one sentence evaluation of the reliability of the source. Every historical source has a standpoint so it would be futile to quest for an "objective" source. You need to be cognizant of the slant or perspective in the materials you've gathered.
- 3) A one to two sentence summary of the contents of the source.
- 4) One to two sentence interpretation of how the source relates to your area of interest.

Example entry in an annotated bibliography.

Glickman, Lawrence B. *A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Glickman traces the history of the idea of a living wage from the end of the Civil War to the 1930s. He argues that American workers moved from seeing themselves as producers to seeing themselves as consumers, which in turn altered American attitudes towards wage labor and the role of government in the workplace. Relying mainly on discourse analysis, Glickman demonstrates that wage labor was heavily racialized and gendered. The book's main weakness is Glickman's heavy reliance on discourse analysis as a methodology. By placing so much emphasis on rhetoric, Glickman does not give the reader a sense of the details of labor reform, nor does he connect idealized rhetoric with the actual lived experiences of American workers.

A Frisson of Tension: IA Questions from the class of 2019

- Was the 1942-1943 British and American bombing of Lorient and St.-Nazaire justified given the expected and realized effects on U-boat activity, political pressure, and the ensuing loss of civilian lives and property?
- Was Philippine nationalism the main contributing factor to a revolution against Spanish colonial rule?
- During China's communist transformation, did Mao's propaganda techniques prioritize galvanizing the Chinese public or pacifying it?
- To what extent was Gaafar Al-Nimeiry's implementation of Sharia Law primarily to blame for the escalation of war between North and South Sudan?
- How effective was radar technology for the British forces during World War II?
- To what extent did the Mexican Revolution bring about social and political change for women through the implementation of the Constitution of 1917 in the post revolutionary era?
- To what extent did the political initiatives of the United States contribute to South Korea's economic situation during the 1940s?
- For what reasons did the United States' intervention policies toward Nicaragua change during the late 1970s?
- To what extent was Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait a diversionary strategy to retain his dictatorship in Iraq?
- Who was to blame for the Dieppe Raid?
- To what extent did the events of "Bloody Sunday" in the Irish War of Independence (1919- 1921) act as a catalyst for the eventual signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921?
- To what extent was the radio responsible for the violence that transpired during the Rwandan Genocide?
- To what extent was Napoleon responsible for the French victory at the Battle of Austerlitz?

To what extent was class conflict the major contributor to factionalism in the Red Guard movement?

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Evaluation of Sources

This investigation examines the collapse of the Red Guard movement in China's Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. It attempts to answer the question: *To what extent was class conflict the major contributor to factionalism in the Red Guard movement?*

A major argument of this investigation is drawn from the article **“Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou”** in *China Quarterly* (no. 83, 1980, Chan, Anita, et al.)¹ As an academic article, the source has value in its attempted objectivity because of its purpose to inform, disputing the common argument of the “scholars of modern China.” The authors conducted doctoral research on the topic, implying a high level of historical understanding. The article was published in 1980, soon after the Cultural Revolution. This provides both value and limitations to the source; it is valuable in its chronological proximity since it can provide details similar to that of first-hand accounts, adding comments such as, “the writing was clearly on the wall for their younger brothers and sisters,” explaining the students’ thoughts and emotions². However, the source cannot fully examine the effects of the Red Guard movement so soon after the events occurred. The scope of the source’s content is also appropriate for this investigation because it focuses on factionalism rather than the whole movement. However, the content is somewhat limited because a majority of the documentation is drawn from Guangzhou, although the authors note that evidence from other urban areas show strong similarities to Guangzhou; it is reasonable to infer that the trends shown in this source apply to other urban areas.

Another key source in this investigation is the article **“Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism”** in *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 112, no. 3, 2006) by Andrew Walder, who argues that factionalism was caused by ideological conflict.³ The origin provides value; Walder’s book *Fractured Rebellions: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* is a highly acclaimed account of the movement, and the journal article is a condensed version of the book’s investigation⁴. He has published other books on the Cultural Revolution as well, showing his historical expertise. The article was published in 2006, allowing time for the effects of the movement to play out. As another academic article, Walder attempts to maintain objectivity in his argument in his aim to investigate the factionalism in a new light: “At the core of every theory of political movements is the question of political choice.”⁵ However, the source’s content is limited in its scope, because it focuses on Red Guards in Beijing. Again, it is reasonable to infer that the

¹ Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

² Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

³ Walder, Andrew G. “Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism.” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 3, 2006, pp. 710–750. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/507854.

⁴ Walder, Andrew G. *Fractured Rebellions: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*. Harvard University Press, 2012.

⁵ Walder, Andrew G. “Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism.” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 3, 2006, pp. 710–750. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/507854.

general trends in Beijing can be seen elsewhere, as Red Guard groups in Beijing were strong leaders in the movement and largely influenced groups in other cities.⁶ The article's content may also be limited by its focus on work teams, since Walder uses this narrow situation as a case study for the cause of large-scale factionalism.

⁶ Chang, Jung, and Jon Halliday. *Mao: The Unknown Story*. New York: Anchor Books, 2006. Print.

Investigation

After the Great Leap Forward, the Communist Party of China (CPC) leaders took the country in a revisionist direction. Mao Zedong wanted to reclaim control to purge the party's "impure elements."⁷ He thus launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966, calling forth a youth mobilization, organized into paramilitary groups called the Red Guards. These students violently harassed the educated class, destroyed traditional Chinese culture, and turned on the CPC to remove its revisionist leaders, promoting Mao's ideals with violence and widespread terror.⁸

Although the youth movement lacked institutional organization, "the one clear call was to follow Mao Zedong, and to accept his teaching,"⁹ showing the shared revolutionary spirit among the groups. However, the Red Guard movement soon disintegrated into factionalism, with rival organizations fighting, eventually collapsing the movement.¹⁰ It is commonly argued that differences in interpretation of Maoist thought led to the split, but upon closer examination, it becomes evident that deep-seated class conflict led to factionalism while causing ideological differences as a byproduct.

Ideological differences were one cause for the split in the Red Guard movement. The students drew different interpretations of Maoist thought, and each group claimed to be the "true followers" of the "great helmsman."¹¹ The first sign of factionalism appeared when the CPC sent "work teams" into the schools to organize attacks against the school administrators. However, the instructions that the teams received did not clarify anything about the existing political structures in the schools; the teams tried to retain the party structures, and in doing so, split the students into opposing groups. Those who cooperated with the work teams were "conservatives," whereas the "radicals" clashed with the work teams and tried to destroy the existing structure.¹² This marks the first time in the Cultural Revolution that the students divided into groups representing differences in ideology, thus leading to the argument that these differences grew into large-scale factionalism. Eventually, Mao accused the teams of "oppressing student activism"¹³ and withdrew them, leaving the students in power; the groups then clashed over who should take control. The radicals saw

⁷ C. P. FitzGerald. "Reflections on the Cultural Revolution in China." *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1968, pp. 51–59. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2754718.

⁸ Ahn, Byung-joon. "The Cultural Revolution and China's Search for Political Order." *The China Quarterly*, no. 58, 1974, pp. 249–285. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652401.

⁹ C. P. FitzGerald. "Reflections on the Cultural Revolution in China." *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1968, pp. 51–59. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2754718.

¹⁰ Richard, W., and Amy A. Wilson. "The Red Guards and the World Student Movement." *The China Quarterly*, no. 42, 1970, pp. 88–104. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652032.

¹¹ Chan, Anita, et al. "Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton)." *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

¹² Walder, Andrew G. "Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 3, 2006, pp. 710–750. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/507854.

¹³ Walder, Andrew G. "Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 3, 2006, pp. 710–750. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/507854.

themselves as “true reds” because they were more willing to attack capitalists, but the conservatives refused to step down from power.^{14,15} The groups held different interpretations of Maoist thought in regards to the work teams; the conservatives agreed in preserving the political structure, while radicals insisted on toppling the party structure to promote true communism.^{16,17} These differences in ideology did eventually lead to factionalism and the ultimate collapse of the Red Guard movement.

It is true that different groups fought over their interpretations of Mao’s instructions and ideals. However, to argue that ideological differences were the sole cause of factionalism is a rather limited view. Although there were differences in interpretation, the overall ideologies of each group were largely similar in promoting Mao’s personality cult and destroying the Four Olds, “old customs, habits, culture, and thinking.”¹⁸ Furthermore, citing the work teams as the beginning of factionalism poses a narrow explanation that fails to address the reasoning behind the split. It is a large leap of logic to claim that a rather confined conflict surrounding work teams and the small ideological differences created the large-scale factionalism that tore the Red Guard movement apart.

It is imperative to investigate the deeper roots of ideological differences in order to understand the factionalism. Upon closer examination, it becomes evident that the ideological differences have origins in pre-existing class conflict. With fewer chances for social mobility in the years leading up to the Cultural Revolution, students competed to show political enthusiasm, a key to higher standing in the highly-politicized society.¹⁹ Students vied for membership in the Communist Youth League, the youth Party core through which students gained political recognition. However, membership often depended on class.²⁰ The “revolutionary cadre” dominated the League as children of high-ranking Party officials. The “red” class, consisting of the poor and lower-middle peasants, also had an advantage in the League, since their class implied loyalty to the communist revolution.²¹ The “middle” class held no distinct advantage, but often outperformed the advantaged students, both politically and academically. The cadres felt entitled to their positions due to their

¹⁴ Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

¹⁵ Lindsay, Michael. “The Great Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards.” *World Affairs*, vol. 129, no. 4, 1967, pp. 225–232. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/20670841.

¹⁶ Chang, Jung, and Jon Halliday. *Mao: The Unknown Story*. New York: Anchor Books, 2006. Print.

¹⁷ Walder, Andrew G. “Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism.” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 3, 2006, pp. 710–750. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/507854.

¹⁸ Hayhoe, Ruth. “Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne De L’éducation.” *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne De L’éducation*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1989, pp. 501–503. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1495432.

¹⁹ Junfei Wu. “Rise of the Communist Youth League.” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 41, no. 12, 2006, pp. 1172–1176. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4417997.

²⁰ Mathews, Jay. “Inside an Enigma.” *The American Scholar*, vol. 41, no. 2, 1972, pp. 304–308. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41208772.

²¹ Junfei Wu. “Rise of the Communist Youth League.” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 41, no. 12, 2006, pp. 1172–1176. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4417997.

“red birth” whereas the middle class students believed their opportunities were being limited despite their hard work; this class conflict fostered resentment on both sides.²²

The class conflict was further amplified as the Red Guard movement took shape. Revolutionary cadres created the Red Guards to bypass the League, which was allowing more middle-class students to become members.²³ The Red Guards strongly emphasized the “theory of the bloodline,” a class-driven principle that created ideological differences. Membership was initially limited to the “five red categories”- workers, lower peasants, the poor, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary martyrs.²⁴ The group was dominated by children of high officials, who quoted a couplet to emphasize their blood purity: “The son of a hero father is always a great man; a reactionary father produces nothing but a bastard!”²⁵ The excluded students banded to form the Outer Red Circle, a group which eventually became the “Rebel” Red Guards, led largely by middle-class students.²⁶

This argument provides a broad explanation for factionalism and includes differences in ideologies as a byproduct of class conflict and another factor of factionalism. The effects of the “theory of the bloodline” become apparent in the work teams; “conservative” students were revolutionary cadres, children of Party officials who wanted to retain the party structure because the existing structure gave them an advantage due to their class, whereas the “radicals” were middle-class students who wanted to overthrow the system since their class limited their opportunities in this structure. The argument about ideological differences still holds true, but ideologies were divided along class lines, rooted in pre-existing class conflict. Furthermore, claiming that class conflict was the source of factionalism implies the students were following Mao out of self-interest, seeking opportunities for social mobility; the frenzied personality cult and the enthusiasm for violence prove the immense pressure of showing political loyalty to advance their position in the highly-politicized society.

The direct involvement of Mao Zedong in the movement promotes both claims. In a speech on July 28, 1968, Mao advocated for less extremism in the factions’ attacks against each other.²⁷ He berated the Red Guards for failing to follow instructions, supporting the argument that the students

²² Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

²³ Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

²⁴ Heaslet, Juliana Pennington. “The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution.” *Asian Survey*, vol. 12, no. 12, 1972, pp. 1032–1047. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2643022.

²⁵ Chang, Jung, and Jon Halliday. *Mao: The Unknown Story*. New York: Anchor Books, 2006. Print.

²⁶ Chan, Anita, et al. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” *The China Quarterly*, no. 83, 1980, pp. 397–446. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/652880.

²⁷ Heaslet, Juliana Pennington. “The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution.” *Asian Survey*, vol. 12, no. 12, 1972, pp. 1032–1047. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2643022.

split based on different interpretations of the same set of vague instructions.²⁸ Mao eventually ordered the Red Guards to disassemble in the Down to the Countryside movement, moving students from cities to rural areas.²⁹ However, students resisted, because they were “unable to overcome the influence of the exploiting class put forth by old society.”³⁰ Students viewed agriculture as inferior to urban jobs; their resistance against the movement highlights the importance of class and status in their society, supporting for the claim that the existing class structure incentivized the groups to split into factions. Mao’s involvement supports both ideological differences and class structure as causes of factionalism but fails to show the nuances of the causal relationship between the two.

The Red Guard movement stemmed from societal pressure to show political loyalty to Mao, but existing class structure fostered competition and resentment among students. The difference in classes resulted in competing ideologies, which certainly contributed to the split into factions. However, it is important to question the source of the pressure of proving political loyalty— did the importance of loyalty stem from the totalitarian nature of the CPC, or perhaps from the political nature of society itself? Each explanation suggests further questions, and although multiple factors split the Red Guard movement, class conflict between the students clearly played a large role in the factionalism. Red Guard factionalism underscores the complexity of underlying causal factors and highlights the ultimate ironic failure of Mao’s Cultural Revolution— in promoting a class revolution, his major instrument was destroyed by class conflict.

²⁸ Richard, W., and Amy A. Wilson. “The Red Guards and the World Student Movement.” *The China Quarterly*, no. 42, 1970, pp. 88–104. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/652032.

²⁹ Mathews, Jay. “Inside an Enigma.” *The American Scholar*, vol. 41, no. 2, 1972, pp. 304–308. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41208772.

³⁰ Richard, W., and Amy A. Wilson. “The Red Guards and the World Student Movement.” *The China Quarterly*, no. 42, 1970, pp. 88–104. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/652032.

Reflection

The Red Guard movement is a shocking piece of the Chinese Cultural Revolution; to know that masses of youths can be whipped into a frenzy of political idolization, violence, and barbarity, that people will allow themselves to be used as political tools, reveals the darker side of human nature. However, it is important to fully understand the rise and the fall of the movement— how class shaped the movement as it began to grow, and how class destroyed the movement— in order to prevent similar frenzies of political violence in the future.

Stepping into the role of a historian, I located as many sources on the Red Guards as I could find. Finding sources with an appropriate scope was a difficult task, as many sources focused on the movement as a whole, such as its economic impacts or its effects on international politics, or perhaps on a smaller idea like the Red Guard movement in one school, rather than focusing on factionalism within the movement. I thus had to piece together perspectives from a variety of sources; it is a historian's task to evaluate multiple arguments to understand how different perspectives interact with each other. Many of the sources I depended heavily on were secondary academic articles. Primary sources tended to focus on personal anecdotes and did not have the large-scale overview and hindsight of secondary sources; discussing first-hand examples of factionalism is different from evaluating the cause of factionalism from a more objective perspective. However, it would have been beneficial to find more primary sources to investigate the effects of factionalism on a middle-class or a red-class family, for example. As a historian, one should attempt to gather a variety of sources to fully understand the historical context.

Additionally, this investigation highlighted the difficulty of tracing a cause-and-effect relationship. Just as this investigation examined the deeper cause of ideological differences, there certainly exist deeper causes of class conflict. Although ideological differences and class conflicts are both valid causes of factionalism, one must investigate even deeper to discover the complex web of causality that eventually led to factionalism. A historian's job is thus never-ending in the examination of causal vectors; the best one can do is establish a firm argument based on existing evidence. This encapsulates the historian's attempt to comprehend and explain history, although we can never truly understand history to its fullest extent.

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