

CHAIRMAN MAO:
Education of the Proletariat

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by

DON-CHEAN CHU

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New York

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 78-061107
ISBN 8022-2236-6

Manufactured in the United States of America



FOREWORD

Author Don-chean Chu, from his own life and early education in China, from long years of study of Mao's voluminous writings, and from personal contact in the 1940's with the revolutionary Mao, has written a clear, comprehensive, and admirable book about Mao Tse-tung—the man, the revolutionary, and above all the master educator.

This book comes at an appropriate time, soon after Mao's death, and is a full-scale analysis of the educational ideas which shook and shaped today's China. Although Mao's educational ideas, their origins, influences and consequences, dominate this book, the author places these in the context of the life of Mao, who bestrode the 20th century like a colossus and shook the 4,000-year-old Chinese society into modernity. The author shows all that went into making Mao, for good or ill, into a master teacher: the youth rebelling against a harsh father; the questing young scholar who against odds attended several schools; the young teacher first exposed to inquiring minds; the lowly page at Peking University Library and his conversion to Marxism; the restless organizer teaching urban and then rural adults, the army, and finally the most populous people on earth to lift themselves by their own efforts; the brash new tactician jockeying for influence among seasoned Communists in the faction-ridden Chinese Communist Party; the dialectical theoretician, rising to the challenge of civil war with Chiang Kai-shek's government and war against the invading Japanese; and the supreme helmsman who could declare on October 1, 1949, to all the world: "China has stood up!"

Professor Don-chean Chu's great contribution in this book is that, out of Mao's many-faceted life and his voluminous and sometimes contradictory writings, he has extracted and presented in sequence and in understandable fashion Mao's educational ideas and ideals.

Coverage in the book's ten chapters is complete—from the educational influence derived during Mao's early life and later career, to the educational form and purposes he found suitable to former serfs, to the courses of study appropriate for common people without property, to the learning and teaching methods alone suited to those who must live from their own labor, to the role and responsibilities of teachers and students in such a setting. In a well-organized final Summary and Conclusion chapter, the author pinpoints Mao's educational contributions, shows how Mao's educational shaping has left China today and where it might lead China in the near future.

Professor Chu has written a clear, thorough, and valuable account of Mao's struggle through mass political education to elevate China into modern status.

Franklin Parker
West Virginia University

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PREFACE

The pattern of education in the People's Republic of China, unprecedented in history, is quite unique and little understood. While Chairman Mao Tse-tung's educational ideas and indigenous innovations undeniably guided schooling in China during his lifetime, Mao's doctrines may be even more forceful since his death in 1976. To understand this schooling is to understand Mao's ideas.

This book, attempting to fill a long-existent need of people interested in China, sets forth Mao's educational ideas, innovations and implementations which are ruralizing, sinicizing, revolutionary and pragmatic. His doctrines include education under political command, combining learning and productive labor and knowledge in relation to practice. Of utmost importance are Mao's thoughts and practices on proletariat education, which will be analyzed in this volume.

The aim of this book is to provide a fresh and accurate insight into Mao's educational thought in addition to presenting and interpreting Mao's theories and practices in education. The origins, the impacts and evaluation of his ideas as well as the implementations of his ideology as expressed in Chinese education have been researched and expanded.

This volume, beginning with a general survey of Mao's life and mind, concentrates on his ideas concerning proletariat education: Who are the proletariat in China? Why must education be proletariat-centered? What are the goals of proletariat education? What and how should the proletariat

learn? How can the proletariat be taught? This volume presents a systematic and documented study of Mao's answers. A book with such contents and manner of presentation is as yet unavailable in Chinese or English.

For an accurate presentation and a penetrating interpretation of Mao's ideas, original Chinese sources have been used. I have thoroughly analyzed his writings, speeches, statements and talks as officially recorded in Chinese. The non-Chinese literature is used only as a supplementary source.

Mao's indigenous ideas on proletariat education are derived from his experience with the actual circumstances of revolution and war. He formulated educational guidelines to meet the demands of communizing the Chinese and their culture. Therefore, I will endeavor to interpret Mao's educational ideas in light of his life, his work, the historical context and social change in China. Furthermore, since my interpretations are based upon varied forms of the original documents, an effort has been made to maintain Mao's ways, his tone and his flavor of expression.

I have studied Mao's ideas since my elementary school days. In addition to studying his writings, I have listened to his speeches, met and talked with him, and observed the schools under his command in the 1940's. My personal experience and understanding of his life, work and mind have aided me enormously in writing this book. Hopefully, my knowledge of Chinese history and philosophy enables me to accurately interpret Mao's ideas, because his writings are intertwined with the tradition and problems in China and the mind and history of the Chinese.

While Mao mentioned education in the context of revolution, he never spoke or wrote systematically about education. It is, therefore, difficult even for the experienced

educator using the original sources in Chinese to accomplish a scholarly work on Mao's philosophy of education. However, I hope my experiences with Mao's educational innovations, my long-abiding interest and perseverance in studying his educational ideas and practices and my access to and proficiency in researching the original Chinese documents will make this volume more useful to the reader.

Finally, I am grateful to my colleagues in the United States and abroad who have urged me to write this book. Let me thank Mr. Charles T. Buford for his help, Mrs. Geraldine K. Zalazar and Miss Cynthia A. Barto who read the draft and made suggestions, and Mrs. Arline L. Green and Mrs. Patricia Moretti who typed the manuscript. I also express my gratitude to my wife, an author, and to my daughter, an attorney, for their scholarly assistance and compassionate support.

Don-chean Chu

August 8, 1977

Acknowledgments

The author expresses his appreciation for permission to quote from the following sources:

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CHAIRMAN MAO:

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CHAPTER ONE

CHAIRMAN MAO'S LIFE, MIND AND WORK

Family Background

The Early Years 1893-1908

The New Youth 1909-1917

A Man Searching the Road 1918-1920

A Marxist Revolutionary 1921-1927

The Guerilla Leader and the Kiangsi Soviet
1928-1933: the actual, the indigenous and
innovations in education

The Long March and the Chairman in
Yenan Caves 1934-1936: the march, the
establishment and ideology and education

En Route to Peking 1937-1949: events and
policies, developments and doctrines, the
new era and strategy, the resumed war and
the ideal, and educational policies and im-
plementations

The Making of New China 1949-1976:
solidification 1949-1952, transformation
1953-1957, formulation of the socialist
state 1958-1960, two-fold "supremacy"
1960-1965, cultural revolution 1966-1968
and permanent revolution and the farmward
movement 1969-1976

This is a song, written by the Chinese Red pioneers and
sung by millions of people in China: "Beautiful is our
motherland. Happy is our life today. Thanks to you, dear

Chairman Mao. . . ."¹ General Lin Piao, the late Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of China, wrote: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-around way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage."² However, N. S. Krushchev referred to Mao Tse-tung as "a man, old but unwise, reminds one of a worn-out galosh which can only be put in a corner of a room to be admired."³ Which of these comments can we accept? All? None? First, an objective analysis is needed. Mao said that what you live and do helps you think, and what you think helps you work. It is advantageous and thrilling to delve into Mao's life, mind and work.

I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

Mao Tse-tung was born on December 26 (November 19 by the lunar calendar), 1893. Among the events prior to his birth were China's defeats in the Opium War of 1840 and the Sino-Anglo-Franco War in 1858. Czarist Russia annexed, in 1860 and 1868 respectively, eastern Siberia and Bokhara over which the Chinese had claims to suzerainty. China suffered additional humiliation from defeat in the Sino-Franco War of 1885 in Indo-China. Furthermore, the long Taiping Rebellion, a peasant revolution, had been crushed by Sino-Manchu forces in 1864. We may wonder if time is a factor affecting an individual's place in history.

Mao's birthplace was a plain hut in Shao Shan village, Hsiang T'an county, Hunan province. Hunan is located in central China and was notorious for its heroes and brigands. At times it was known as the home of the rebellious peasants. The Hunanese were characterized as inflexible and courageous. There is an old saying: Hunanese will be amongst the last captured Chinese, should China ever be conquered.

Mao, in 1936, said: "My father was a poor peasant and while still young was obliged to join the army because of

heavy debts. He was a soldier for many years. Later on he returned to the village where I was born, . . . he managed to buy back his land. As a middle peasant then my family owned fifteen mow⁴ (about two and a half acres) of land."⁵ His father, Mao Jen-sheng, a peasant with two years of schooling, was a strict and formidable man. As Tse-tung has said, the older Mao was a severe task master who hated to see his son idle. The father and son oftentimes clashed. Regarding these father-son conflicts, Mao Tse-tung later said: "...the war ended, and from it I learned that when I defended my rights by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained meek and submissive he only cursed and beat me the more."⁶ He also related: "My father's severity was the first cause of rebellious tendencies other people noticed in me before I was aware of them myself."⁷

Mao's mother, whose maiden name was Wen Chi-mei, was a thrifty and illiterate peasant housewife. As a Buddhist, she gave her children instructions in that religion. Mao explained: "My mother was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic and ever ready to share whatever she had. She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines."⁸ In 1918, she drowned herself in a pond near the Mao holding, and was put away secretly.

Mao's younger brother, Mao Tse-tan, worked with him in organizing a labor union in 1925. He was criticized for reliance on Mao Tse-tung's guerilla tactics during the 1933-34 era. Tse-tan was killed in action in March, 1935 during the Long March. Mao's youngest brother, Mao Tse-min, was a comrade and a student of Mao Tse-tung. Tse-min was sent to Sinkiang to lead the underground work in 1938 and was executed in September, 1943. Upon the death of his brothers, Mao Tse-tung adopted and educated their children. In April, 1964, Mao said to his nephew, Mao Jun-shin:

You like comfort, fear bitterness and hardship....You only know thinking for yourself and considering your own problems. Your father, Comrade Mao Tse-min,

confronted the enemies resolutely, courageously, never being a bit shaken, solely due to that he was for serving the majority of the people. If you were in his condition, you would have knelt down on your two knees, begging to have your life saved. Many of our family members were killed by KMT and American imperialists. You have grown by eating "honey" and "sugar"; you have never known what suffering is. In the future, if you could become neutral, not "right," it would be better than I could expect from you. Because you have never experienced bitterness, how can you be a revolutionary "left"?"⁹

At this time, his nephew asked: "Do I yet have a little hope to be better?" Mao said: "You have hope, good! It is better to do more than what I did, to achieve more than the standards that I established."¹⁰

Mao's only sister, Mao Tse-hung, a revolutionist, younger than he, was executed by the Hunan governor in July, 1930.

II. THE EARLY YEARS 1893-1908

Due to the increasing impact of Western powers and the incapability of the Empire, China was in turmoil and in transition after the 1842 Opium War. One year after the birth of Mao, China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Sun Yat-sen's first insurrection to overthrow the monarchy failed in 1895. The "Reform" under Emperor Kuang-hsu lasted only one hundred days in 1898; Mao was then five, being tutored privately in reading and writing under his grandfather's sponsorship.

When Mao was six years old (1899) he started working on his father's farm. In 1900, there occurred the so-called Boxer Rebellion, the anti-foreign uprising. Subsequently, the allied forces of eight nations captured Peking. Mao was then seven and had begun going with his mother to Buddhist ceremonies and learning to sing Buddhist hymns. At this

time, he heard more war stories from his grandfather. Of some significance was the fact that in 1901, Mao, at the age of eight, was sent to the Tung-shan Primary School in his home village of Shao-shan. About his early schooling, Mao wrote:

In the early morning and at night I worked on the farm. During the day I read the Confucian Analect and the Four Classics. My Chinese teacher belonged to the stern-treatment school. He was harsh and severe, frequently beating his students. Because of that I ran away from the school when I was ten.¹¹

Although he was compelled to read the Classics in his childhood, the books which he really liked to learn and which had a great impact upon the development of his life and mind were the old "romances." Mao said:

I knew the Classics but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of Old China, and especially stories of rebellions. I read the *Yo Fei Chuan* (the *Yo Fei Chronicles*), *Shui Hu Chuan* (The Water Margin), *Fan Tang* (Revolt Against the T'ang), *Sankuo* (The Three Kingdoms) and *Hsi Yu Chi* (Travels in the West, the story of Hsuan Tsang's seventh-century semi-legendary pilgrimage to India) while still very young, and despite the vigilance of my old teacher, who hated these outlawed books and called them wicked. I used to read them in school, covering them up with a Classic when the teacher walked past, so also did most of my schoolmates. We learned many of the stories almost by heart, and discussed and rediscussed them many times. We knew more of them than the old men of the village who also loved them and used to exchange stories with us. I believe that perhaps I was much influenced by such books, read at an impressionable age. I finally left the primary school when I was thirteen.¹²

With China in chaos and the world approaching a new age, Mao grew from childhood to adolescence and became politically conscious. In 1904, at the age of eleven, he did such work as digging rice paddies and collecting animal manure; which he later insisted are sacred duties for all students and intellectuals. At this time, he first heard that Huang Hsing, a young Hunanese revolutionary, with poor peasant guerillas had attacked the governor's residence in Changsha, the capital of Hunan province. In 1905, the year of the first Russian revolution, Sun Yat-sen formed the Alliance Society for revolution. The continued revolts led by Huang and the uprisings agitated by the Kelao Hui (the peasant secret society) deeply stirred the young Mao Tse-tung, and subsequently influenced his whole life. Although Mao had believed in gods and worshipped in Buddhist temples with his mother,¹³ his belief in the monarchy and his faith in Buddhism had been deeply shaken at about the age of twelve. Therefore, he started participating in the peasant secret meetings in villages, where he first heard the slogan, "Away with the Manchus and foreigners." He read the pamphlet, opening with "Alas, China will be subjugated," which described China's loss of Taiwan, the sovereignty over Indo-China, Korea, Burma and elsewhere. Mao felt very depressed and thought of saving the country. In 1906, at the age of thirteen, Mao left the primary school and worked full-time on his father's land. The father-son clashes continued. He said, "My father's favorite accusations against me were of unfilial conduct and laziness. I quoted, in exchange, passages from the classics saying that the elder must be kind..."¹⁴ Mao explained, "There were two 'parties' in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother, and sometimes even the laborer. . . . The dialectical struggle in our family was constantly developing. . . . I hated him [his father], and we created a real united front against him."¹⁵ It is most interesting to note here that long before Mao knew about Marxism, he had engaged in "dialectical struggle." It is enlightening to speculate that the "United

Front," his most successfully and emphatically used political and military strategy during the 1930's and 1940's, might have had its origin in his early family life.

When he was about thirteen, after a full day of laboring, Mao always read politically-oriented books. He enjoyed reading *Sheng-shih Wei-yen* (Words of Warning) in which the author advocated parliamentary government and Western systems of transportation and communication. By this time, his reading was gradually beginning to influence him, a fact which he has often acknowledged.¹⁶ Mao also spoke of a primary teacher who helped promote the growth and change of his mind:

....Another influence on me at this time was the presence in a local primary school of a "radical" teacher. He was radical because he was opposed to Buddhism and wanted to get rid of the gods. He urged people to convert their temples into schools.... I admired him and agreed with his view.¹⁷

In 1907, since Mao was physically well-developed and his parents wanted more "man" power for farming, they found him a wife. He later repudiated this marriage: "My parents had married me when I was fourteen to a girl of twenty, but I did not live with her—and subsequently never did. I did not consider her my wife and at this time gave little thought to her."¹⁸

III. THE NEW YOUTH 1909-1917

As Mao's mind grew, he desired more, better and newer education. Due to the father-son quarrels concerning his schooling, he ran away from home again for a period of time. Reaching the age of sixteen, he enrolled in a senior primary school despite his father's opposition. This school, Tungshan, was located in Hsiang-hsiang, the home place of his mother's family, and fifteen miles from his own home.

In Tungshan Mao was despised by schoolmates because of his poverty and peasant background; disliked because he was not a local boy and his mind was progressive. He studied such subjects as science, history and geography. He learned about the old glories of China—the Middle Kingdom, the constant superiority of the Chinese in the past, and the minds and deeds of some foreign leaders. He wrote:

I was fascinated by accounts of the rulers of ancient China: Yao, Shun, Ch'in Shih Huangti, and Han Wu-ti, and read many books about them.... I had first heard of America in an article which told of the American Revolution and contained a sentence like this: "After eight years of difficult war, Washington won victory and built up his nation." In a book called *Great Heroes of the World*, I read also of Napoleon, Catherine of Russia, Peter the Great, Wellington, Gladstone, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Lincoln.¹⁹

Furthermore, it is important to note that Mao became increasingly enthusiastic toward the reform movement in China, reading more about the reforms, because of the humiliation the Chinese repeatedly suffered.

China, the democratically and technologically backward nation, suffered continued indignation. Even the entire subjugation and whole dismemberment of China were proposed by Western powers and Japan before 1910. The signs, "Dogs and Chinese not admitted," were put on the gates of the parks in the extraterritorialities in Shanghai. Thus, the Chinese inferiority complex was formulated. Aiming to overthrow the Monarch and reconstruct a new China, the continued revolutionary movements, above ground and under, became more and more furious as time marched on. After numerous unsuccessful revolts, the Republic of China was established and Sun Yat-sen became its first President in 1911.

Early that same year, Mao walked to Changsha, about sixty miles from his home, and entered the Hsiang-hsiang

middle school. Here, he first met Liu Shao-chi, his comrade for forty years; later his rival or the "revisionist," the purged reactionary. Being deeply agitated by the new social and political ferment, he wrote his first article supporting revolution which he posted on the school wall. "Wall Paper" later became the most indigenous means of propaganda and education under Mao. He began to read newspapers, which he later described as one of the most important media in education. Then he learned about the revolutionary leadership of Sun Yat-sen.

While in the middle school, the young Mao participated in the social reform movement and first demonstrated his speaking ability to agitate the crowds. He also organized and led a group of students, the Revolutionary Shock Troops, to undertake "Spartan" self-discipline. Every day, before sunrise, they ran far across the country. They often waded, swam and climbed the mountains for physical training.

After about a half year in the middle school, Mao joined the revolutionary army where he first learned about socialism, and became a private in October of 1911. He then realized that the army could be the key to political power.

In February, 1912, Mao was discharged and entered a school of commerce; a month later he transferred to the Hunan First Provincial Middle School. After only six months, due to his deep disgust with the subjects and instructional methods, he withdrew from the school and studied independently in the Hunan Provincial Library in Changsha, staying from its opening to closing daily. During this period, he first read the translated works of Charles Darwin, John S. Mill, Jean Rousseau, Adam Smith, Thomas H. Huxley and Herbert Spencer. It was here that he first saw a world map and studied world history. This period of self-education affected Mao's life and mind profoundly; he considered it to have been extremely valuable to him.²⁰ However, Mao's father refused to support him unless he formally entered school. Considering that he was best suited for teaching, Mao, in late 1912, entered the Hunan Provincial First

Normal School which charged no tuition and only a low fee for board and lodging.

In the normal school, Mao disliked both the required curriculum and static instructional methods; however, it was evident that he had a keen interest in the social sciences and his achievements in this field were excellent. As time passed, his mind grew. Mao once said that he preferred to talk with his schoolmates only about the "big topics"—the nature of man, of society, of China, the world and the universe.²¹ Due to the influence of Yang Ch'ang-chi, a teacher at the normal school, Mao became an idealist, as he later acknowledged himself.²² He studied Friedrich Paulsen's *A System of Ethics* and was inspired to write the essay "The Power of the Mind." It illustrates that he was then deeply imbued with moral idealism and far away from becoming a materialist:

I say: the concept is reality, the finite is the infinite, the temporal is the intemporal, imagination is thought. I am the Universe, life is death, death is life, the present is the past and the future, the past and the future are the present, the small is the great, the yin is the yang, the high is the low, the impure is the pure, the thick is the thin, the substance is the words, that which is multiple is one, that which is changing is eternal.²³

In addition to idealism, Mao also learned about the philosophy of Wang Fu-chin, a Chinese hero-patriot and pragmatist. Beginning in 1915, Mao enthusiastically studied the bold new ideas in the *New Youth*, a national magazine. About the evolution of his thinking, he said: "...my mind was a curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism. I had somewhat vague passions about "nineteenth-century democracy," utopianism and old-fashioned liberalism and I was definitively anti-militarist and anti-imperialist."²⁴

During his normal school years, Mao became an ardent physical culturist. He tramped through the rice fields, up and

down the mountains and across the rivers. When it rained, he removed his shirt and had "rain baths"; he took "wind baths" in the winds; "sun baths" under the hot sun. He slept in the open during frosts and swam in cold rivers in the winter. His continued physical discipline enabled him to grow with a Spartan and puritanical spirit, a severe self-control and a strong will power. Mao's article, "A Study of Physical Education," published in 1917, is filled with references to military heroism, national salvation, self-awareness and reliance, and above all, the principle "A healthy mind is based upon a healthy body."

Mao had a love for the rural and the peasants, possibly because he was raised in the country. In the summer of 1916, he set out with a friend across the province by foot. He said: "We walked through these five counties.... The peasants fed us and gave us a place to sleep; wherever we went we were kindly treated and welcomed."²⁵

Mao was a diligent student in the normal school; he discussed the lessons with classmates and often questioned the instructors. He was fond of thinking, writing and making notes in the book while reading. He was a learner with critical views, a progressive mind and often criticized traditional education, especially the authoritarian form of class instructions. He recognized that his political ideas were beginning to take shape and he acquired experience in social action during these school years. He recalled, "The ground work of my knowledge and scholarship was laid at the First Normal School, which was good."²⁶

In 1917, he became a student-teacher. In May 1918, he graduated from the First Normal School. Because his mother had died a few months earlier, he lost the desire to return home. He stayed in the city and taught the manual workers in the evenings.

The development of Mao's life and mind was deeply and intricately related to social events during his Normal School years (1912-1918). The chaos in China continued. Dr. Sun, the first President of the Republic, was compelled to resign by Yuan Shih-k'ai who took over the presidency in

1912. The Second Revolution, designed to overthrow the Yuan government, was defeated in 1913, and Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor in 1914. In the same year Japanese troops landed on Tsingtao in Shantung Province.

As China continued to deteriorate, Mao became more politically conscious and serious. He believed that military strength was basic for national survival and adored Bismarck and Wilhelm II. His patriotism grew stronger and he wanted to save China from being partitioned as the Western powers and Japan seemingly conspired. Gradually, Mao realized that the imperialists from abroad and the feudalists deeply rooted at home must be liquidated so that the salvation of China would be possible. Therefore, he started organizing the youth to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Mao said: "...I one day inserted an advertisement in a Changsha paper inviting young men interested in patriotic work to make contact with me... I did build up a group of students around myself, and the nucleus was formed of what later was to become a society..."²⁷ In 1914, Mao selected a small group of serious-minded, patriotic men to organize the New People's Study Society, the nucleus of the revolution and the embryo of communism in China. Mao wrote: "The ultimate aim of our studies, in either specialized subjects or in current affairs, is a benefit to our country."²⁸

On January 18, 1915, Japan presented the "twenty-one demands" which, in effect, would reduce China to a vassal state. Yuan's weak response aroused a great upsurge of nationalism, especially among the intelligentsia and mercantile bourgeoisie. The Chinese people were hurt by Japanese demands and frustrated by the ineffective government. The young especially became more furious and resolute for the salvation of their mother land. At this time Mao emerged as a student leader.

In 1917, he was excited by the success of the Russian revolution; he was inspired by the flow of patriots to join the new revolutionary government established under the leadership of Dr. Sun in Canton. Furthermore, Peking, the beacon and the powerhouse of the new revolutions and all

social movements, attracted Mao most. On June 18, 1918, Mao left Changsha for Peking.

IV. A MAN SEARCHING THE ROAD 1918-1920

Upon arrival at Peking, Mao stayed for a short time in the home of Yang, his former teacher in Hunan. There he met Yang's daughter who later became his wife. In August, 1918, he tried to get a job as a classroom cleaner in Peking University where he could listen to the lectures and talk with professors and students as he carried out his simple tasks. (It was the general practice of the universities to have a person to clean the blackboards before each class.) Luckily, in September of that year, he got a clerical job in the library of Peking University. His duties included cleaning the books, putting them in order, and some other related tedious work. The monthly salary was eight dollars.²⁹

Mao's stay at Peking University was crucial in the evolution of his life, mind and work. He was looking for the "road" suitable for the future China; he was longing for a social ideology to which he could commit himself. He joined the Society of Philosophy and Journalism. During the winter of 1918-19, he developed a special interest in Marxism, due to the influence of Li Ta-chao—a professor at the university where Mao worked. Mao studied with curiosity, then with a passionate interest, the need of the "Chinese peasant-proletarian revolution" advocated by Li. Regarding his intellectual growth at this time, he said, "My interest in politics continued to increase, and my mind turned more and more radical."³⁰

In 1919, a number of Mao's friends went to France under the "Diligent Work, Frugal Study" Project which enabled students to work part time to pay for their education and subsistence. Because he did not know French and lacked proficiency in English and his intense desire was to know more about China, he did not go to France.³¹ Furthermore, Mao was frustrated at Peking University. Once he lamented

that his position was so low that people avoided him as if he did not exist as a human being.³² Consequently, in March, 1919, he returned to Changsha and became a teacher at the Hsiu-yeh Primary School.³³

Mao became more conscious and active politically. The revolutionary ferment in China intensified. Shortly after he began teaching, the May Fourth, 1919 student demonstrations in Peking were triggered by the Paris Conference proposal to give slices of Shantung province to Japan. The youth spearheaded the protest shouting, "Uphold Sovereignty," "Punish the Traitors," "Down with Feudalism," and "Down with Imperialism." This historic, dramatic and patriotic movement, like a spark on the autumn prairie, spread throughout the nation and expedited the social and cultural revolution in China. Responding to the May Fourth Movement, Mao organized the Hunan Student Union and directed strikes and the boycott of Japanese goods. He agitated the movement against Chang Ching-yao, the Hunan warlord, and established the Problem Discussion Group. He became the editor of both the *Hsiang River Review* and the *New Hunan* and the Director of the Association of the Groups of Ten for National Salvation. He wrote articles including "The Great Union of the Popular Masses," gave lectures introducing Marxism to the public, and read the "Communist Manifesto" for the first time. Mao declared that science and democracy were exactly what China needed.³⁴

Following the momentous May Fourth Movement, people generally and the intellectuals particularly, became more zealous in the salvation and reconstruction of China. A great many of the intellectuals and students joined the government in Nationalist Canton under Dr. Sun's Banner; a number of them and Mao linked with the radicals, most of these being interested in Marxism.

The crucial and drastic development of Mao's mind must be noted. Mao, in the revolutionary "tide," searched for comrades and especially for an ideological guide. In 1920, he wrote: "We must have a group of *people*, fearless of hardships and strong-willed for the creation of this new

atmosphere; what we need more is commonly accepted political philosophy."³⁵ Therefore, he studied more intensely such books as the *Communist Manifesto*, *Class Struggle* (by Kautsky), and *History of Socialismo* (by Kirkup). Mao recalled later that these three books deeply carved his mind.³⁶ Further, the Russian Communist revolution gave Mao impetus, hope, encouragement and inspiration. In Shanghai, in May 1920, he talked with Che'n Tu-hsiu, the Communist leader. Mao later stated that these talks deeply impressed him at what was probably a critical period in his life and mind.³⁷ In the summer of 1920, Mao himself said that he had become a Marxist.³⁸

In 1920, Mao courageously took political leadership in Changsha. He was responsible for the organization of the first political group of workers, the Hunan Branch of Socialist Youth Corps (the first Communist group in that province), and of a "Study Group" in his native village, Shaoshan. He also established the Cultural Book Store for propaganda and wrote articles advocating drastic political reforms for the salvation of China. Most importantly, Mao learned from experience to believe in the power of the masses. He said: "...I became more and more convinced that only mass political power, secured through mass action, could guarantee the realization of dynamic reforms."³⁹ In the Fall of 1920, Mao became the principal of the Primary School attached to the First Normal School; he held the post for about a year. In the spring of the same year Mao married Yang Kai-hui, a daughter of his former teacher, Yang. Mrs. Mao, a university graduate, knew the "isms" and took part in political activities. This marriage was considered by Mao's comrades as the "revolutionary" romance.

V. A MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY 1921-1927

By 1921, Mao had a definite mind for Marxism; therefore, his political life became intensified and simplified. In May 1921, Mao participated in the First National Congress,

which was attended by twelve delegates representing the seventy Communists in all of China.⁴⁰ The clandestine gathering of a dozen intellectual "heretics" established the Chinese Communist Party on July 1, 1921. Mao helped his comrades to write the Constitution of the new Party. Mao, now twenty-eight, momentarily became one of the few leading personalities of the most dynamic Party and of its historical movement.

After the Shanghai Congress meetings, Mao returned to Changsha as a secretary of the Chinese Communist Party of Hunan province. He promptly merged the socialist youth corps into the Party and Party cells were installed in Anyuan mine plants. In August of 1921, he established the "Self-Study College," aimed at providing the youth and the workers an opportunity to discuss amongst themselves and with the teachers and especially to study independently. Modern ideas, particularly Marxism, were emphasized in the program. Mao also initiated the "Sinification of Marxism" which he later developed fully. This "Self-Study College" was dissolved by the government in 1923; however, the impact of this form of education remained. Many "Self-Study" institutions were established in cities, especially in Shanghai and Peking.

In 1922, Mao indefatigably organized the students and especially the workers including miners, carpenters and masons. He fearlessly agitated and directed the famous May 1 general strike of 1922 in Changsha. However, he confessed that very little of his work was done among the peasants.⁴¹ About this time, Mao advocated the "United Front" with the Nationalist Party (Koumintang); he considered the "U. F." policy as the revolutionary expediency for overthrowing the warlords. The Second Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in Shanghai in the winter of 1922, discussed the "U. F." policy. Not knowing the correct secret meeting place, Mao missed the Congress. Among the other activities undertaken by Mao during that year was the "mass education movement"—teaching the workers and peasants basic characters and informing them of their role in the revolution. He also organized schools for miners in various localities.

In order to devote more time to revolutionary politics, Mao resigned from the principalship of the Primary School at the end of the year.

In May, 1923, Mao participated in the third Congress of the Communist Party held in Canton, where he was elected to the Central Committee of the Party. Concerning this congress, Mao said: ". . .the historical decision was reached to enter Kuomintang, cooperate with it, and create a united front against the northern militarists."⁴² Next spring (1924), Mao attended the First National Congress of the Nationalist Party (KMT) which adopted the "Three Big Policies": the "Alliance with Soviet Russia," "Accepting Communists," and "Peasant/Worker Policies." Mao was then elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee of KMT, which he labeled as the "bourgeois nationalist." As the two parties reached the height of their political honeymoon, Mao collaborated with the KMT leaders to promote the nationwide revolution.

In the fall of 1924, Mao was accused of having a "rightist proclivity" toward the KMT and was expelled from the Politburo of his own Party. Due to this political setback, he became sick and returned to his native village, Shao Shan, Hunan, for convalescence. While at home, he organized the nucleus of the great peasant movement of that province. This work proved to be the turning point in the development of his life and mind because he then became more peasant conscious, and firmly recognized the rural as the body and the heart of China.

It was in March of 1925, while Mao was in rural Hunan, that Dr. Sun, the Nationalist Party leader he so respected, died. People were saddened, but their patriotic spirit heightened; the movement to overthrow the Peking Government under the warlords precipitated. On May 30 of that year, nationwide anti-imperialist demonstrations, strikes and boycotts, organized mainly by the Communists, first broke out in Shanghai. The people's patriotism was aroused; Mao intensified his rural work, organizing as many as twenty "peasant unions" successfully. The landlords hated him and demanded

his arrest. In November, 1925, Mao fled to Canton where the Nationalist Revolutionary Government was opposing the Peking Government. Shortly after his arrival in Canton, he was made the chief of the agit-prop department of the Nationalist Party, director of the Peasant Movement Training Institute, and editor of the *Political Weekly* (the propaganda medium of the Nationalist Party). At this time, Mao started his association with Chiang Kai-shek, the Commander of the First Army. Ever since, the "Mao-Chiang relations" generated and reflected the war and peace in China.

Due to the Communists' growth in number and their increasing impact upon the Nationalist Revolutionary Government in Canton, Chiang Kai-shek attempted his first "purgation" of the Communists in March, 1926. At this time, Mao left Canton for Shanghai, where he directed the Peasant Department of the Communist Party. From Shanghai he was sent to Hunan to work with the peasants. As the Nationalists and Communists again reconciled temporarily, the historic Northern Expedition to abolish the Peking Government started from Canton in July, 1926, under Chiang's command. A month later the expedition army reached Hunan where Mao worked. At this time nearly two million peasants had joined his rural reform.

Now Mao's mind had become peasant-centered and his writings more ideological. In one of his two famous articles, written in 1926, he clearly stated that the peasantry was the most powerful, the staunchest and numerically the largest force and ally in revolution which must be proletariat-based. This article was the first ideological springboard for the land reform and the peasant school ventured by the Communists.⁴³

In 1927, the Nationalist Government in Nanking, of which Chiang was the leader, launched the second "purgation" of the Communists. Thousands were shot and many of their sympathizers arrested. Many of the Communist leaders left for Russia or places of safety. Mao remained in Hunan with the peasants. The All-China Peasants' Union was organized and he became its first president; the peasant army was established and he was the first commander. He led

the peasant insurrections, especially the well-known Autumn Harvest Uprising in Changsha. Then, both he and his pregnant wife were captured, beaten and put in jail by Chiang's forces. He saw that she was tied and heard her weeping. Shortly after, he managed to escape by running all night to the mountains. At this time, he was dismissed from the politburo of his own Party because the leaders thought that Mao was a radical adventurist being peasant-oriented. However, Mao's belief in peasant revolution for the salvation of China and the world was not shaken. In October, 1927, Mao and those who remained loyal to this revolution marched to the mountains to build a base which later became the famous Kiangsi Soviet.⁴⁴

As 1927 was the watershed in Mao's revolutionary activities, so was it also a significant year in his ideological leadership. In his report on the peasant movement, he replied to criticisms made both inside and outside his Party against the peasant revolution and impassionately appealed for ruralism in the Communist movement. From this report, we find Mao's ideas for the peasant schools adapted to the needs of the people, and his blunt indictment of the "foreign-style schools" transplanted in China from other lands.⁴⁵

VI. THE GUERRILLA LEADER IN THE KIANGSI SOVIET 1928-1933

1928 was the beginning of Mao's guerilla life. He reorganized and reinvigorated his Red forces in the Ching-kang Mountains, located on the border of Hunan, with Chu Teh as the commander and himself as the political commissar. Then the Government of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers was established. In May he was elected as the secretary of the Party of the Border Area. After the fall meetings of the Party, the sovietization and agrarian reforms became the major programs. Chiang's force attacked Mao's area three times in 1928. However, Chiang did not believe that Mao's peasant revolution could be a seriously urgent threat; therefore, Chiang continued the Northern Expedition in 1928 for

the unification of China, in turn strengthening the Nationalist government. This development gave Mao an opportunity to establish his guerilla bases while the expedition diverted Chiang's forces.

In 1928, Mao called for armed struggle as the main form of revolution, but not for "retreatism" or "capitulationism" as the "rightists-opportunists" intended. He insisted upon using villages to gradually surround and seize the cities, but was against the urban violation undertaken by the laborers, the strategy of the "leftists" or the "adventurists."⁴⁶ Specifically, he opposed the "ultraleft" policy of "turning the petty bourgeoisie into proletarians and then forcing them into the revolution."⁴⁷ Once he said, "Our policy called for free trade (with the White areas), generous treatment of captured enemy troops, and, in general, democratic moderation."⁴⁸

1929 was a year of frustration and progress for Mao. Again he was expelled from the Party because his rural and moderate policies were unacceptable to the Communist leaders in the cities agitating the factory workers to violent and ruthless activities—"burning, killing, etc." In September, 1929, he almost died of malaria, as no drug was available in the remote, rural, mountainous battlefields. Regarding the serious basic living conditions, he recalled, "The troops had no winter uniforms and food was extremely scarce. For months we lived practically on squash."⁴⁹ Internally, there were serious problems of morale, discipline and conflicts of ideology. In the latter part of 1929, the southern militarists and northern warlords against Chiang were quelled; subsequently, the Nationalist forces were transferred to encircle Mao's military bases.

Under desperate conditions, Mao, a man of strong will and revolutionary zeal, continued the struggle. He was elected Chairman of the Front Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1929. The Red Army broke the "blockade" placed by Chiang's forces; the Central Soviet was established. During this difficult time, Mao assumed the ideological leadership. His military doctrines included "politics, the

leading power in the army," "fighting and producing with the masses," and the indigenous guerilla war strategy which was characterized by the "elusive and defensive offense, and elusive and offensive defense."⁵⁰ He denounced non-proletarian ideas such as "pure-militarism," "extreme-democraticism," "absolute-equalitarianism," "anarchism," "subjectivism," "individualism," and "adventurism." He analyzed the origins of these non-proletarian deviations and suggested methods for their correction. For example, "democratic centralism" was proposed by Mao for correcting "extreme-democraticism," "social and scientific life and mind" for "subjectivism," "works as one can, takes as one works" for "absolute equalitarianism." He fully recognized that the rectification of unsound ideas was an educational undertaking.⁵¹

As many revolutionists in history, Mao experienced much personal sorrow. In 1930, his wife, Yang K'ai-hiu, his sister Mao Tse-hung, and the wives of his two brothers were executed by the Chiang supporters in Hunan; Mao An-ying and An-ching, his sons, were missing. Later in the year, Mao married Ho Tzu-chen, a school teacher, seventeen years his junior, and a Communist organizer, who was wounded several times in the battlefields. In December of the same year, Chiang, immediately following his victory in the "Middle China War" with Feng (Yü-hsiang)—Yen (Hsi-shan), started his first Annihilation Campaign against Mao. The second and third campaigns were undertaken in February and April, 1931. The establishment of the anti-Chiang government in Canton and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (both in 1931) and the attack of Shanghai by Japan (in 1932) diverted Chiang's attention and armed forces. However, Chiang conducted a fourth Annihilation Campaign against Mao in 1933.

Mao faced many struggles during 1930 to 1933. In 1930, the Kiangsi Provincial Soviet Government in Juichin was established under his leadership. The Central Committee of the Party "underground" in Shanghai was compelled by Chiang's forces to transfer to Mao's Soviet district in the

deep hinterland. The following year, Mao was elected as the first Chairman of the All-China Soviet Government. In 1932, Mao's government declared war on Japan, because the people were deeply angered by the aggressive actions of the Japanese army in northern and northeastern China.

During the same period, Mao trained peasant militias and armies in the enlarged soviet areas. Land was distributed to the tillers; taxes were lightened; thousands of collective enterprises and soviet "cooperatives" were formed; rural schools were established. Furthermore, among the basic ideological evolvments were that Mao's "ruralism" officially superseded "urbanism" and that "Terrorism" or "Adventurism" was substituted by Mao's "moderationism" or "graduationism." From the articles he wrote during 1930-33, we find his expositions: the faith in revolution which is contagious and a prolonged strife, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in China, the criteria for determining class status in the rural areas, the policy for the simultaneous state, the private and co-operative economy, and especially the land reform doctrines, which were the point of departure for the revolution.⁵²

During the soviet period, particularly from 1930 to 1933, Mao declared that education was a political, economic and military means to achieve revolutionary goals. He asserted that schools must serve the masses. The ruralized, decentralized, regular and irregular schools for adults and children were established. Spare time learning, down-to-earth teaching and self instruction were among Mao's innovations.⁵³

VII. THE LONG MARCH AND THE CHAIRMAN IN YENAN CAVE

1934-1936

According to Chiang, the soviet described previously should not exist. In addition, while accepting the people's demand to resist Japanese invasion militarily, he believed

that "enemies" can only be defeated by the nation which is politically and militarily united. Therefore, beginning in October 1933, Chiang skillfully manipulated 900,000 troops to annihilate Mao's forces and to encircle the soviet areas. The fifth Annihilation Campaign cost a year of almost constant fighting, struggle and enormous losses on both sides. At this time, Mao put forward the policy of economic development and warmly expounded that "being with the people" was the way to victory.⁵⁴ Later in 1934, conditions became more unfavorable to Mao's forces. The Long March began on October 18 of that year. It was designed to join with other Communist forces for existence and continuous revolution. Mao and his wife were compelled to leave with Soviet peasants their two children, who were never found. Mao, himself, then was sick, emaciated and suffering from a fever that seemed incurable. The Long March took twelve months, sweeping across more than 20,000 li,⁵⁵ through eleven provinces. The Long March, as Mao commented, was the revolutionary "manifesto," "agitation corps," "seeding-machine," and above all, the first of its kind ever recorded in history.⁵⁶

The 85,000 soldiers on the March were constantly under the attacks of Chiang's powerful forces everywhere and all the time. High mountains, raging rivers, extremely hot or cold days, hunger and thirst, all made the March dramatic, historic and humanly unendurable. In October, 1935, Mao's column reached Pao An, south of the Great Wall, in north-western China. A mere twenty percent of his force was fortunate enough to survive. Mao had to sleep in a cave located in the loessland.

Time is an opportunity for one who recognizes and utilizes it. During the "marching," Mao obtained and solidified his indisputable leadership at the 1935 Tsunyi Conference of the Communist Party. In the same year, as Chiang's political and military power grew enormously, Japanese troops took more illegal and violent actions in northern China in order to defer the Nationalist Government from getting stronger. Mao then wisely faced the

development. He, as a patriot and political strategist, on August 1, 1935, called for a united Anti-Japanese Front and appealed for an end to the "Civil War," while he was still marching. It was in Mao's mind, it seems, that war against Japan could save China and that the war would give the opportunity for Communist revolution. Consequently, on December 27, 1935, Mao presented a report entitled "On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism." In this report, Mao elaborated his analysis that the Japanese invasion changed class relations. The Communist Party not only represented the peasants and workers, but also must work with various classes of the people. Even the national bourgeoisie could be an ally of the proletariat in the fight against Japan. He refuted the old, narrow "proletarian strategy" as the "infantile ill" or as "closed-doorism." Mao's famous credo was "United Front"—all Chinese united to resist Japan and save China. All intellectuals, students and teachers were urged to undertake the work for war, politics, and education.⁵⁷

Initially in 1936, Mao's fragile army and the Chinese Soviet Republic were established in the base area in the northwest and later the Soviet expanded to Yen-an of Shensi province. At this time, Chiang's powerful army intensified the attack against Mao's newly reorganized force. Chiang conducted the final Annihilation Campaign and was there surprisingly arrested by his own army in Siam, near the battlefield on December 12, 1936. The captors demanded that the anti-Japan war must be carried out at the earliest, and the army encircling the Communists must be relocated. Chiang accepted the demands and was released. He modified his attitude toward tolerance of the Communists. It was believed by many Chinese that the whole "Siam Incident" might have been agitated and managed by Mao's agents. In the same year, Mao twice proposed collaboration with Chiang to fight against Japan.

As Mao proposed war against Japan, he revealed his theory and tactics of war. In mid 1936, Mao gave lectures at the Red Army University on "Problems of Strategy in

China's Revolutionary War." From these lectures we find some of Mao's ideas such as: (1) The war implementation of Marx's logic, (2) The implementation of the ancient Chinese concept of war—the art of flexibility and mobility, (3) The dynamic, developmental and integral nature of war, (4) War for the "elimination of war," (5) "Diversifications for Concentration," (6) "Defense for offense, retreat for march," (7) "Quick action for protraction," (8) Situational decision-making.⁵⁸ Furthermore, although Mao was not an educator, he had indeed expressed his concept of schooling in his ideological or military statements. We can point out some of the concepts as follows: Revolution is an education; a "classroom" can be anywhere; learning about war is to learn from war; utilizing what one learns is the hardest.⁵⁹

VIII. EN ROUTE TO PEKING 1937-1949

The period of 1937 to 1949 is important to the study of Mao's life and mind. Mao divorced Ho Tzu-chun and married Chiang Ching in 1937. Although he suffered embarrassment and encountered court proceedings in relation to his personal life, the same year marked progress in his revolutionary life. Since 1937, he had been the unchallenged leader of the Chinese Communist Party—its political and military strategist, its over-all field operator and commander.

Events and policies, 1937—On July 7, 1937, the Japanese troops attacked Lukouchiao, southwest of Peking and continued their march south. The Chinese garrison courageously resisted the enemy's advance. The war against the Japanese invasion broke out; all Chinese jointly defended their motherland. Mao, implementing his "United Front" policy, signed an agreement with the Nationalist government for the sake of war against Japan. The Chinese Soviet government was dissolved; the Red Army reorganized under Chiang's nominal command. The ten year old civil war had seemingly

ended. Mao at this time emphasized the efforts to establish military bases for guerilla warfare against Japan.

During this period of time Mao, experiencing extreme personal privation, lived in caves. His life was Spartan, puritanical and simplistic; his mind, very strong and productive. Not only was he the supreme leader of the party, but also its chief theoretician and teacher as well. He wrote more during this time, incorporating the wealth of his experience. In 1937, he published ten articles, containing approximately 60,000 words. In one of these articles, he resolutely advocated "anti-capitulationism in the war against Japan" and proletarian leadership (the Party mission).⁶⁰ In another article, he emphatically proposed training cadres in order to win the masses in the united struggle for peace and democracy.⁶¹ In his six other articles, he denoted such ideas as "total war" and "anti-capitulationism" (class and national). While Mao combated against "liberalism" which, he believed, would be passive and irresponsible, he advocated "Democratic Centralism," which he considered most effective.⁶² "On Practice" revealed his theory of knowledge, the interdependence of knowing and doing, and criticized the "subjectivism" which belittles practice. He disapproved empiricism which fragments experience and does not view the whole situation; he also condemned the empiricists for ignoring the value of theory in revolution.⁶³ In his militant work, "On Contradiction," he expounded his materialist dialectics, and his view on the "unity of opposites." Mao severely criticized the dogmatists who adopt an unalterable formula in revolution and arbitrarily apply it. He stressed the analysis of concrete and different situations and the application of different methods for resolving varying contradictions.⁶⁴

In the following year, the Japanese army overwhelmed North China. The Nationalist government retreated to the west. Mao, as the undisputed leader of the Communist Party, organized partisans and peasants for guerilla war deep in Japanese held territory. Mao formulized the following political and military means and ends in his six articles⁶⁵ published in 1938: (1) The most valuable strategic means for national

salvation against Japan is guerilla war, which must be based in the wide rural areas and the vanguards of which must be the "powerful" peasants. The art of war is the use of initiative, flexibility and mobility under planning. The science of war is to conduct offensives within the defensive, to make quick decisions within protracted war, and to control the exterior-line operations within interior-line operations. Positional battle prepares for elusive retreat and vice versa.⁶⁶

(2) Final victory in the protracted war against Japan is assured because of the big land and its topographic features, the persevering character of the people and their rural self-sufficient economy. (3) War is the ideological means; political mobilization is the road to triumphant war. (4) Weapons are important, but not decisive factors in war. Both the conscious, dynamic characteristics of man and the objective possibilities of the conditions are essentials. (5) The militias and the masses of peasants are the crucial force.⁶⁷ (6) A Communist can be a nationalist; wars of national liberation are applied to internationalism. Hence, class struggle serves the war against Japan. (7) Individuals and parties are interdependently united, but each person must have his relative independence and liberty. (8) The proletariat-conscious Party is an "intra-democracy"; members, cadres and leaders must comply with Party discipline and develop self-discipline.⁶⁸

The development and doctrines, 1939—Because of mutual suspicion of the Nationalists and Communists and of each one's desire to be the only power in China, 1939 heralded the reoccurrence of local clashes both politically and militarily. In 1940, their practical cooperation broke down. After the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, the Nationalists relied on American aid, while the Communists vigorously expanded their guerrilla bases. During this period (1939-41), Mao continued to build up his own Party for fighting against Japan and for the Communist revolution, while carrying the "United Front" policy which he believed was the needed strategy.

It is significant to note Mao's political doctrines that

evolved from 1939 to 1941. Then, he wrote profusely and profoundly on these doctrines. In the officially published *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, we find his thirty-five articles written from May, 1939 to November, 1941.⁶⁹ He expounded his ideas concerning international, economic, military and intellectual affairs, the youth movement, the "United Front" policy and anti-capitulationism. Mao wrote at length on definite doctrines regarding Party mission and political system. In "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," he pointed out the character, targets, tasks, motives, forces and perspectives of the Chinese revolution. He concluded that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was the first stage and the proletarian-socialist revolution, the second; the leadership in this two-fold revolutionary task devolved on the Chinese Communist Party.⁷⁰

In January, 1940, Mao wrote "On New Democracy," a widely publicized work. Based on the international changes due to the triumph of the proletarian-socialist revolution and on the character of Chinese society which is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, Mao formulated the doctrine of new democratic revolution. This new system, which embraced bourgeois-democratic revolution, is the needed bridge and preparation for proletarian-socialist revolution. Absorbing the theses of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, Mao shattered the reactionary dream of a bourgeois dictatorship in China. However, utilizing his twenty-year experience in Chinese revolution and the actual circumstances in China, Mao outlined these transitional programs: (1) China is a part of the world; revolution extends from one's own nation to the global community; "Nationalism" is prior to "Internationalism." (2) Individual and local freedom, as well as autonomy, are under central planning and coordination; it is "Democratic Centralism." (3) The transitional "coalition government," embracing the delegates of all progressive classes is under the proletariats' leadership, not under their dictatorship. (4) Economic policies include "regulating the capital," "equalizing the land-ownership," "land to the tiller," and "permitting no few capitalists or landlords to dominate the livelihood

of the people." (5) The proletarian policy actually is peasant-revolutionism; peasants represent China and revolution must center around their welfare. (6) Culture reflects the politics and economics of the respective societies. Culture and education in the "new democracy" is the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist program; it is a national scientific and mass culture, as Mao clearly stated.⁷¹ Mao's "On New Democracy," the comprehensive series of theory and practice, played an immense role in mobilizing and uniting the Chinese in their struggle for "liberation" and toward the building of a new China.

Strategy and the new era, 1941—The December, 1941 Pearl Harbor attack, plunged America into war against Japan in the Pacific. Japanese defeat in all theatres seemed inevitable. In order to win the war against Japan and the political struggle against the Nationalists, and especially for the eventual success of the Communist revolution, Mao formulated his policies and effectively carried out the tasks. Beginning in 1942, the military training program was expanded. Mao claimed a half-million troops and trained militia in 1943, 910,000 troops and 2,200,000 militia in "liberated" or "guerilla" areas of 100 million people in 1945.⁷² His military strategies and tactics were "expanding and solidifying the base areas," "engaging in guerrilla war," "making the army peasant-centered," and "fighting from victories in the rural areas to victories in the cities." Among the pillars of Mao's economic policies, we find "Continuation of Rent Reduction," "Enforcement of Land Reform" and an "Indigenous productive program—army production for self-sufficiency, the soldier and peasant integrated in production, etc." He also insisted upon principles which led the peasants to socialism via the road of "cooperatives" as well as collective farms and of a production plan to be developed under actual and specific conditions of the time and place.⁷³

Most important was the conspicuous and successful rectification of ideology Mao launched in February, 1942.⁷⁴ The ideological rectification revealed and emphasized the real meaning of "new democracy": which was not, by any means,

intended to eclipse the essential role of the Party. Party members could not be the professional elites controlling the masses; they must be of, for, by and with the masses. The "rectification" was to strengthen the "soft-minded" who had a bourgeois background. The rectification was not only to correct the "old formalism"—theory divorced from practice, but also to purge the "foreign formalism," meaning "Marxism from other lands" unsuitable to China. It was to unify doctrinal standards so that the Party directives would be clearly understood and effectively implemented by all members of the Party. Above all, the rectification was to educate or indoctrinate Party members and cadres in Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist precepts selected and interpreted by Mao. In short, he was to purify the Party spirit with Maoism, the sinocized Marxism, or Asiatic form of Communism, for Chinese revolution.⁷⁵

Politically, Mao continued to implement the "United Front" strategy, in coordination with the theories revealed in his "On New Democracy" and "On Coalition Government."⁷⁶ For establishing this type of government, he visited Chungking, the war-time capital of the Nationalists, in August, 1945. The civil strife between Nationalists and Communists erupted widely after Japan's capitulation in the spring of 1945. The October Cooperation Agreement did not actually put an end to the conflicts. The race for control of China began as both sides sought control of the cities, strategic areas, and rail lines formerly held by the Japanese. Between 1944 and 1946, the United States Government entered the Chinese struggle in an attempt to bridge the Nationalists and Communists.

Resumption of civil war and the ideal, 1946—With the collapse of American mediation efforts, the second civil war in China broke out in the summer of 1946. In 1947, Mao pointed out that that year was not only the turning point in the civil war, but also the watershed for the extinction of more than 100 years of the imperialistic rule in China. Although in this year Chiang's 250,000 troops forced the Communists to yield Yen-an, their headquarters for ten years, Mao's

massive militia, inadequately armed but superbly led, fought courageously and effectively. To insure victory in this war, Mao gave the Army and Party such instructions as "training more militia," "reducing the rent," "expediting production" and "getting closer to the masses—the peasants."⁷⁷ He proclaimed, among enormous ideas, that the land of the feudal class must be confiscated and turned over to the peasants in the new China and that the bureaucratic capital belonged to the people's democratic state. He also penetratingly and emphatically expounded that world capitalism and imperialism were going down to their doom, and that world socialism and people's democracy were marching to victory for the lasting peace of mankind.⁷⁸

After leaving Yen-an in 1947, Mao went to the north of Shansi province. It was here that An-ying, Mao's son, worked in a commune in 1948. During that year, the Communist force, under Mao's command, defeated Chiang's well-equipped troops in Manchuria. The Red Army also won the Peking-Tientsin Campaign in the winter of 1948. The final military victory of the Communists became certain. For the total victory, Mao continuously enforced "The work of the Land Reform," "The leadership of the proletariat," "The United Front," "Strengthening discipline in the Party—eliminating all manifestations of Party indiscipline and anarchy." Above all, the revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic-capitalism was continuing, as China approached her new era.

Later in 1948, Mao's 4,500,000 party members and nearly 4,000,000 troops and militia captured other strategic cities such as Suiyan and Mukden in addition to the vast rural areas. Although Mao's peasant-oriented fighters knew little about cities—even mistaking "butter" for "soap"—they successfully organized the urban people for the war. While the Communist forces, the People's Liberation Army, occupied Peking in January, 1949, Chiang and a part of his troops were compelled to retreat to Taiwan from Nanking, the capital of the Nationalist government since 1935. China entered her new epoch.

On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed, "Now we Chinese are standing up! . . . The People's Republic of China representing all Chinese people is established,"⁷⁹ at the People's Broad Square, in front of a million cheering marchers, in Peking. Was this great change in Chinese history caused by the Chinese history beginning with the 1840 Opium War? Was it precipitated or expedited by the Japanese invasions, the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)? By Mao's war and political strategy? By the inefficiency or the corruption of Nationalist government? By some or all the factors? History has told and will tell: "time," "place," and "person," *together* make history.

Educational ideas and implementations, 1937-1949—The years 1937-1949 were the prolific, dynamic and creative period of Mao's ideological development. His educational ideas evolved from the real circumstances of revolutionary war, especially in the fire of economic and political demands. During this period, he believed that economics was for war; war was for political goals; education was for war, politics and economics. For political policies—"united front" and the "coalition government," Mao rallied all the intellectuals, teachers and students. Under the "New Democracy," education should be national, scientific, and proletarian. As "Democratic-centralism" was his political doctrine, he proclaimed the "village management and central planning" policy in education. In order to carry on "prolonged war" and "permanent revolution," he stressed training the cadres. Because "self-sufficient economy" was imperative in the war zones, he consistently insisted upon "education and productive labor combined." Above all, from the peasant-centered war, revolution and economics, he derived the Sinocized "rural system" in order to serve the real needs of the people, such as spare-time education, the "winter school" and "shore-study groups." Consequently, he rejected Russian, European and American styles of school. Specifically, he expounded "Learning by doing," "Learning from farming," "Peasants being the teachers" so that Sinocized rural education would be effective.⁸⁰

IX. THE MAKING OF NEW CHINA 1949-1976

In 1949, Mao was elected Chairman of the Party Political Bureau, the People's Republic of China, and the National Defense Council. In our own day, no one has reached power so dramatically as he. Never in history has any man possessed so much direct power over so many people.

The solidification, 1949-1952—The years from 1949 to 1952 were the "solidification-reconstruction" period for the People's Republic of China under Mao's leadership. Implementing his "New Democracy" ideology and the "United Front" strategy, Mao established, especially for the purpose of solidifying the new regime, a sort of "coalition" government which engaged leaders of various parties and even the "progressive" members of the Nationalists.

Though Mao faced social reality, thus tactically accommodating the actual circumstances, he did not change his basic ideas and the ideals of the new China and the new world. While ruthlessly and resolutely rejecting the Nationalist "suicide" for peace, in 1949, he instructed all Party members and the army to "carry the revolution through to the end." On the political basis, Mao declared: ". . . motherland, liberate yourself from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal fate and take the road of independence, freedom, peace, unity, strength and prosperity."⁸¹ He insisted upon "patriotism-internationalism" meaning from national to world revolution, and upon "One-side theory" joining all the anti-imperialist forces in the world struggle.⁸² In February, 1950, Mao, in Moscow, successfully concluded a treaty of "Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" with the Soviet Government. In November of that year Chinese troops entered the Korean War in which his thirty-year-old son, An-ying, a division commander, was killed. This venture of the "new-born" nation surprised the world. This participation, as Mao thought, was for the sake of both international revolution and the national security of the new China.

In relation to national solidification and reconstruction, we need to note these significant developments: (1) In 1949,

Mao advocated the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class. This dictatorship is a form of carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat; it paved the way for the socialist revolution.⁸³ For solidifying the democratic dictatorship, Mao, beginning in 1950, enforced the "Depressing and Purging the Reactionaries" movement. Among his numerous interesting and powerful orders, we find: "Execute none. Let the reactionaries confess!" "Arrest not many! Let the government agencies and schools themselves punish the majority of the reactionaries." "Depress the reactionaries! Please strike safely! Catch accurately! Fight hard!"⁸⁴ "Our political power can be safely established only by doing well in depressing the reactionaries. This is a great struggle."⁸⁵ (2) On June 30, 1950, the Land Reform Act was promulgated. It implemented the idea, "the tillers own the lands," which was first advocated by ancient Chinese philosophers. Consequently, the landlords were liquidated and lands were distributed to the peasants. The nation-wide land reform movement, through passion, terror, hate and revenge, was also to build the new "minds"—the anti-feudalist minds. (3) For solidification and reconstruction, Mao introduced the "Three Anti" Campaign (anti-waste, anti-corruption, anti-bureaucratism) in 1951, then the "Five Anti" Campaign (anti-bribery, anti-tax evasion, anti-theft of state property, anti-cheating on government contracts, anti-leakage of government economic secrets) in 1952. Among Mao's instructions for these campaigns, we find "Let bygones be bygones," "Severely punish those who reject instructions," and "Tolerate those who honestly confess."⁸⁶ During the same period of time, Mao launched the "Thought Reform Movement" which, he believed, was "one of the important conditions for the thorough-going democratic transformation..." He advocated "thought reform through compulsory labor" and "combining punishment and surveillance with ideological reform, labor and production with political indoctrination." He also said that the imprisoned reactionaries were a big labor force which can be used productively.⁸⁷ In February, 1951, the "Regulations for the

Punishment of the Counterrevolutionaries" had been promulgated. The extensive "reform through labor" camps were established in most parts of China by 1952. A United Nations estimate is that Peking put 25 million men and women into the "reform through labor" camps. Mao gave the total figure killed as 800,000 during the period of "Depressing and Purging the reactionaries."⁸⁸ (5) For reconstruction, Mao asserted that the army was not only a military power, but also a "working" force for the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship and reconstruction of new China. The dual missions of the army, according to Mao, are "Fighting and Producing." In the "Directives" for 1950, he wrote: "The army of the People's Republic of China, during peace time, under conditions not jeopardizing the military mission, must have planned participation in the agricultural and industrial production, in order to help construct the nation," and "The production plan of the army in each region should combine and coordinate with the production plan of each administrative region and of the People's Government and each province."⁸⁹

During the solidification-reconstruction period (1949-1952), education accordingly was under the "united front" strategy and the system of coalition government. Thus, Mao's educational policies were (1) keeping the original system temporarily, (2) making some adjustments, setting in order and gradually achieving unified and centralized planning and leadership, (3) praising and further developing the notorious traditions—meaning the experiences and indigenous innovations in the Kiangsi Soviet (1933-1936) and during the Yanan period (1937-1949), (4) reforming, which included especially the ideological reform of all students, teachers and intelligentsia, (5) opening the school to the proletariat, (6) thoroughly combining theory with practice, (7) learning from the Soviet Union. Mao stated that "walking along the Russian path is the unbreakable truth which has been proven by history."⁹⁰

On September 30, 1949, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, then the highest legislative body

of the new government, declared the Common Programme which was derived from Mao's "New Democracy." In the programme, we find "Cultural and Educational policy" which best epitomizes Mao's educational ideas:

The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are New Democratic, that is, national, scientific and popular. . . . love for the fatherland and the people, love of labour, love of science . . . shall be promoted . . . scientific historical viewpoint . . . shall be promoted . . . Literature and arts shall be promoted to serve the people, . . . The method of education . . . is the unity of theory and practice . . . universal education shall be carried out, . . .⁹¹

The transformation, 1953-1958—According to Mao, the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, marked the completion in the main of the first stage of the revolution—bourgeois-democratic revolution.⁹² To consolidate and solidify the new Republic, under the people's democratic dictatorship 1949-1952, was to prepare for the transformation to the Socialist state. The "transformation-reconstruction" occurred in 1953-1957.

In 1953, Mao, then 60, often participated in the sport of mountain climbing. His excellent health enabled him to struggle indefatigably for this "transformation." At this time, while the Nationalist-U.S. Alliance was formed, Mao greatly improved the friendship between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and heightened the "Anti-American Imperialism" Campaign. His watchwords were "...strengthen the struggle and resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea," and "...learn from the Soviet Union."⁹³ Domestically, Mao criticized the party and government "bureaucracy," "commandism" and "non-discipline."⁹⁴ Consequently, he strengthened the state authority in planning and controlling all national affairs and proclaimed the First Five-Year Plan. Under this plan, the foundations for industrialization were to be laid; the rural transformation began with "mutual-aid teams" to "cooperatives" which became the basis for the

"collectives" to be established later. By 1954, with a few remaining private enterprises, there was the state partnership which served as a step forward to complete nationalization. For the fulfillment of this plan and ideological reform, the 1954 "Regulations Governing Reforms Through Compulsory Labor" were issued; thus establishing thousands of "labor camps" and engaging millions of reactionaries in labor.

In 1955, ~~as the new regime became~~ relatively solidified, it transformed gradually from a "people's democratic dictatorship" to a "proletariat dictatorship." Subsequently, China embarked upon the second stage of the revolution, the socialist revolution in which the "cooperative" system was to supersede the individual economy. Mao's report of this year accelerated agricultural collectivization, which he considered as the semi-socialist system. He feverishly denied conservative and overly-cautious methods and launched the "fast stride" for achieving collective economy. Furthermore, he said that there must be ideological rectification, so that there could be effective methods. He specifically stated that the best method to achieve socialist transformation included such characteristics as "total planning," "objective experience based upon real circumstances," "getting closer with the people," "self-group criticism," "graduation—going step by step" and "appropriateness—neither 'over' nor 'under.'"⁹⁵

In the following year, Mao swam across the Yangtze River, which stands as testimony to his physical strength; his mind also remained strong. He further enhanced his Sinocized Marxism (Communism of and for China) which was praised by the the 12,720,000⁹⁶ Party members and most Chinese people in the Republic. He further enforced the cooperation of the state and the few remaining private enterprises in the urban area. Simultaneously, he elevated agricultural collectives to the "high grade," meaning abolishing the peasant ownership of land. He repeatedly called for the construction of the socialist state under the proletariat dictatorship by means of "democratic-centralism," although he temporarily accepted the "Hundred Flowers Bloom;

Hundred Ideas Contend," the policy of "freedom." He also stated that "victory of the world revolution and defeat of all the imperialists are to be the reality"⁹⁷ was his rallying cry for action.

In order to establish a socialist nation, Mao, in 1957, defined the dialectical process—"Unity-criticism-Unity"—as the best means for isolating the "enemies of socialism" and for resolving the "non-antagonistic conflicts of interest" among the state, the party, and the people. Consequently, the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist movement as occurred in 1952, was again inaugurated. This rectification made the adopted "Hundred Flowers Bloom, Hundred Ideas Contend" policy seemingly a strategy for exploring the rightists in accordance with Mao's writings.⁹⁸ On the international scene, in order to strengthen the people's conviction in socialism and heighten their morale, Mao condemned all the imperialists as paper tigers.⁹⁹ In this same year, while in Moscow, Mao encountered the political and ideological differences expressed by the hierarchy of the Russians.

During the transformation of 1953-1957, as education served political transformation-reconstruction, political education-ideological reform was continued and intensified in every school. Party leadership and central planning in education became effective. Private schools were abandoned and all learning institutions nationalized. Mao made such statements as: "Learn from the education model of the Soviet Union," and "USSR—the best teacher." However, he explained that the most important task was to Sinicize what had been learned from the Soviet school system.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Mao believed that the education program must coordinate with the First Five-Year Plan. Consequently, more spare-time programs, worker-peasant middle schools and special-vocational schools were established. To better serve the political and economic transformation, Mao called for "labouring, disciplining, and collectivizing the process of learning." Mao's ideas regarding people's rights and the state's duty in education are found in the following article (1954 Constitution of the PRC): "Citizens . . . have the right to education. . . . the state

establishes and gradually extends the various types of schools and other cultural and educational institutions."¹⁰¹

Formulation of the Socialist State, 1958-1960—In 1958, the portly man, sixty-seven and in good health, still lived a Spartan life, dressing in a cotton uniform, taking cold baths even in winter, and swimming across the Yangtze several times. It was a significant year in Mao's political life and in the transformation of China. In this year, he resigned from the Chairmanship of the People's Republic due to internal political problems. Also, the gap between Mao's revolutionary policies and those of the Soviet widened. For example, Mao viewed the "Imperialists," as paper tigers. Khrushchev criticized Mao for being infantile in not recognizing that the "tigers" had "atomic teeth." However, Mao's prestige increased as his political power grew. During this year, Mao as Chairman of the Party which was the power above the government, launched the "permanent revolution theory" and the "Socialistic Main Line." The former meant there must be endless contradictions and struggles. The latter were programs for the establishment of the socialist state. The "Second Five-Year Plan" was announced and enforced. The "Great Leap Forward" called for faster and better production through harder work and harsh austerity. It involved the greatest and most intense mobilization of manpower that has ever occurred in Chinese history. The masses were recruited, organized and dispatched all over China. Although the "Great Leap" was designed mainly for the city industries, later every village was involved and thousands of so-called back-yard steel furnaces were built by the peasants.

Importantly, on December 10, 1958, the Party adopted the commune system which was a step beyond the collectivization of agriculture. Under communization, the remaining private possessions of the peasants were confiscated. Although the commune was originally designed for people in the countryside, later it was also implemented in the urban areas. The establishment of the commune, the most adventurous social revolution, surprised the world. Even Khrushchev said that it would not work. Mao said himself: "The

whole world is against the people's commune. The Soviet also is against it."¹⁰² However, Mao uncompromisingly pursued the new system and had complete confidence in its future. He said that the Chinese were poor people who definitely needed and wanted to change; poor people's minds are like blank sheets of paper on which the newest poetries can be written. Above all, poor people would accept communes.¹⁰³

In 1959, Mao was criticized for being authoritarian and inflexible in policy-making. He confessed that he was responsible for some of the problems in relation to the "Great Leap Forward" and said that everyone makes mistakes and that Lenin and Marx both did.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, from Khrushchev's September visit to Peking, Mao realized the deep conflicts of national interests and the wide differences in ideology between China and the Soviet. In addition to the political frustrations in 1959, Mao had personal sorrows. On July 23, he lamented, "One of my sons has been killed in the Korean War; another is becoming crazy."¹⁰⁵ However, a steadfast revolutionist, Mao continued the persistent struggle. Consequently, his ideological impacts became even greater. Among the praises, we find "Comrade Mao is . . . the beacon showing the path...on which we are marching...people trust to him our happiness, hope and future..."¹⁰⁶

There were significant educational developments in the newly-established socialist state which were symbolized by communization of all the people in 1958. In the same year, the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao's guidance, set forth these basic principles: (1) Education must "foster the moral, intellectual and physical development of those who are being educated, in order that they may become socialism-conscious and cultured workers."¹⁰⁷ (2) Education must serve the proletariat. (3) Education must be under the political command—Redness prior to expertness. (4) Teaching and learning must be combined with productive labor.¹⁰⁸

In coordination with the "Great Leap Forward" movement in economic construction, Mao called on the nation for

"More, faster, better and economical development of the Chinese culture and education."¹⁰⁹ He said that education could not be developed at random by individual approach; it required total planning, collectivization and the organization and mobilization of the complete sources of learning. As it has been well understood, he insisted that schools and all forms of educational organizations must be under Party leadership and control for better efficiency. He further demanded that the "total Party and all people develop education." Based upon his doctrine of "Democratic-centralism," he proclaimed, in 1958, the "walking on two legs" policy for a quicker establishment of universal education. This policy defines that the Party and the state have the centralized obligation in the development of education.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the government, in 1958, announced that education must be developed in accordance with the "dual policy" which was first introduced by Mao in 1942. This dual policy means "expanding quantity—universalization of elementary and secondary schools—more education for more people," and "heightening the quality—specialization of higher education—selected education for the capable."¹¹¹

Specifically, he ordered the schools to establish "factories" and "farms," and the farms and factories to establish "schools." The "work-study" plan, and the "spare-time" systems were quickly developed.¹¹² His "work-study" program is best exemplified by his famous dicta "The army is a great school" and "The army must be a productive team." Due to Mao's powerful calls—the "Educational Great Leap Forward" and "The Total Party, the whole Nation and All the People establish and manage education," various types of schools were established. In order to serve people's needs and adjust to their work schedules, such informal, irregular schools as the following were formulated: "Shore School," "Mountaineer School," "Travel Station Class," "Spring School," "Summer School," "Autumn School" and "Winter School."

Mao condemned both the methods transplanted in China from abroad and those inherited from the past. He emphati-

cally stated that the confrontation system and scrutinizing process of examination must be abandoned.¹¹³ Most significantly, he emphasized the "Farmward" and "Factoryward" movements; students, teachers, intelligentsia and government officers were required to be with peasants and workers. For students and teachers, there was the "One—three—four—eight" system which means "One month vacation—three to four months productive labor—seven to eight months studying or teaching in school."¹¹⁴

The two-fold "Supremacy," 1960—After the periods of "solidification" (1949-1952) and "transformation" (1952-1957), and upon the establishment of a socialist state characterized by communization (1958-1960), Mao's triumphant mind was geared in two major directions: "ideological supremacy and Chinese supremacy." While insisting that Marxism is the universal truth, Mao believed that his own ideas and ways for implementing Marxist theories were supreme. Mao stated that his theory of revolution is a new development of Marxism which best suits all the colonial, semi-colonial, feudal and semi-feudal societies and countries with underdeveloped industry such as China.¹¹⁵

Mao denounced the United States as being the home of racism and her world policy as being malevolent, sanctimonious or stupid. He considered United States idealism, imperialistic for the cause of the American Empire, and her pragmatism, capitalistic for the rich giants. While Mao repeated that the imperialists, military, political, economic or cultural, will be defeated by the proletariat in the world, he also denounced Soviet "revisionism."¹¹⁶ Throughout 1960, Mao publicly sneered at Khrushchev's policies such as "co-existence," "peaceful competition," and "consolidating peace." He stated that the nature of imperialism has not changed and will not change; that the wars against imperialists are inevitable; and that the modern revisionists (i.e. Khrushchev) are unduly horrified by the imperialist blackmail of nuclear war. He pointed out that a fair amount of "impure capitalism" has crept back into the Soviet society. While Khrushchev called him a dictator in China, Mao said that his dictator-

ship, if any, was based upon the right principles for the greatest majority of the Chinese.¹¹⁷

Aware of the setback of modern China, Mao had been patriotic throughout his life. He had great trust in Chinese virtues and character, particularly those of the peasants. Above all, he desired to build the independence and "supremacy" of China. In July, 1960, Moscow recalled all Soviet advisors from China, cancelled more than 300 contracts, and withdrew technical help. Hence, Mao called for "self-reliance." He trusted that the quality of China's great manpower could build a new nation by "new revolutionary and indigenous ways" without imported machinery. He was quite sure that China would surpass Britain's industrial output and be at a higher stage of technological evolution by 1968. While believing in the supremacy of Maoism for world revolution, he advised all the "oppressed peoples" in all "exploited territories" as well as those in the developing nations to evolve on the "Chinese model" or "Mao's way" to reconstruct their nations. Furthermore, "supremacy" in the Communist world, he believed, would come naturally and inevitably to the Chinese who have a unique character. Most intensely, he believed that China could become the leader of developing nations and the Chinese could be the spokesmen of the colored peoples, especially of the Afro-Asian bloc.¹¹⁸ Gradually, the competition between the Soviet Union and China for ideological supremacy in the Communist world and for political leadership in the developing nations became intensified. Khrushchev called Mao the "Han Chauvinist," while Mao accused Khrushchev of being the "Social Imperialist."

Consequently, the new campaign propagandizing the supremacy and the infallibility of Mao's thoughts was initiated in 1960. Party members and government officials were exhorted to rededicate themselves to the study of Mao's thoughts. At the same time, they doubled their efforts to spread the leader's ideas among the masses. They said to the people: "The new plant needs the sunshine, the new child needs the mother's nursing. Chairman Mao's thoughts are

the sunshine and the nursing. We need Chairman Mao's thoughts."¹¹⁹

By July 1, 1961, the Party's fortieth anniversary, the membership zoomed to 17,000,000 as compared to 13 at the Party's birth in 1921. The members implemented and propagandized, especially the texts from the newly published *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV. They proclaimed Maoist and anti-revisionist theses "true Marxism-Leninism." At this time, the studious Mao, enforcing his "supremacy concept," published his reading notes containing the evaluation of Soviet politics and economics and the directions given to the Chinese.¹²⁰

Mao's writing and speeches in 1962 were profuse, containing approximately 76,000 words.¹²¹ He reaffirmed, with profound explanations, his ideas such as "Class struggle," "proletariat dictatorship," "Democratic Centralism," "anti-imperialism" and "anti-capitalism." He particularly called for "anti-revisionism" meaning "anti-rightism" and "anti-opportunism." Mao purged some high-ranking officials due to their leaning toward "revisionism" and opposing his programs—particularly the people's commune, the "Great Leap Forward," and the rigid control of the army. When Khrushchev withdrew missiles from Cuba that year, Mao ridiculed him for his "adventurism" and "capitulationism." Furthermore, as Mao was striving for both ideological supremacy and the "supremacy" of China, the Sino-Indian border incidents flared up and were climaxed by a Chinese assault in 1962. The Indians were driven from 35,000 square miles of territory. Then the Chinese troops withdrew unilaterally, created a "demilitarized zone," and called for peaceful negotiations.

Following the economic chaos and deterioration caused by the dislocations during the "Great Leap Forward" and by natural calamities, China slowly recovered from near-famine conditions, beginning in 1963. In this year, to vitalize China to be a powerful socialist state, Mao enforced the "Social Education Movement." The major purpose was to wipe out all types of corruption. He wrote: "...If we are dirty, we

have no strength; after cleaning ourselves we face the enemies together. Some cadres got and possess more, some are involved with the girls of the landlords and rich peasants. Correct these mistakes, then fight the enemies and build our great nation."¹²² Among Mao's instructions for this movement, we find "Humility is the beneficial way of doing; this is true especially for working with the proletariat; . . . Boastfulness, derived from individualism, is the trait of the exploiting and bourgeois class."¹²³

In the same year, as before Mao demanded an international "united front" against American "imperialism," Moscow signed a nuclear test-ban treaty with the United States. Mao also bade for the revolutionary leadership in the underdeveloped nations and for ideological hegemony over the world Communist movement. Consequently, the Sino-Soviet split became deeper; the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* compared Mao with the outrageous aggressor and villain, Genghis Khan.¹²⁴

In 1964, fifteen years of Chinese achievements through revolution were epitomized by the exploding of their first "nuclear device." China became a world power. The Chinese felt elated for the first time since the Opium War (1840). Mao emerged as the Asian political leader to attract significant world attention. His prestige became higher in China. The intensive study of his books was initiated in the People's Liberation Army under Lin Piao's leadership. Mao momentarily continued his criticism of capitalist imperialism and "social-imperialism," especially of the revisionism in China and the Communist world. He made as many as twenty-four ideological speeches containing approximately 118,400 words, as officially printed in 148 pages in 1964. Among the essential ideas expressed were those relating to "class struggle," "production struggle," and "scientific experiment." Specifically, he demanded each Chinese to work selflessly without any form of corruption in order to build a great China and assume world leadership. How? Mao said, "Endless reform through productive laboring," "persuading others, not depressing them" and "learning from the people."¹²⁵

What were some of the developments in 1965? China exploded her second nuclear device. Lin Piao, later designated as Mao's heir, manifested Mao's doctrine of "Rural World Revolution" which calls all rural peoples of the underdeveloped nations jointly to encircle the "cities of the world" under imperialists. In the same year, Mao enforced the third Five-Year Plan. For accomplishing this plan and all revolutionary works, he exhorted the people to follow such methods as "Being Practical—down to earth," "Recognizing and utilizing the actual circumstances," and "Pooling and using the brain and the hands of the masses—going down to the village to learn from the masses," and above all, "Doing it now intelligently and perseveringly."¹²⁶

During the early 1960's, one of Mao's major educational efforts was the "Socialist education movement" which was the ideological remolding campaign. The movement aimed at reeducating the Chinese to be dedicated to the proletariat state and to struggle against the "class" enemies. He ordered the shortening of the school year and the building up of a simplified and more utilitarian curriculum in order to serve the economic construction.¹²⁷ Concerning methodology of learning, he said that "the whole society should be considered as a workshop"; "go to Mother Nature and among the masses of the people to learn"; "go to lower levels to work in industry, agriculture and commerce to learn."¹²⁸ He further stated: "Don't over-emphasize grades; concentrate your energy on nurturing and training the ability for analyzing and solving problems; the students should not blindly follow the instructors...."¹²⁹

During the early 1960's some Party leaders had educational ideas different from Mao's. For example, Liu Shao-chi stated that the contents of the subjects must be strengthened, the quality of schooling should be raised overwhelmingly. Also, reportedly, Liu stated that both the students from proletariat families and those with a bourgeois background should be given equal opportunity. Liu said the "Great Leap Forward in Education" seemingly was to be a "Great Risk Forward." General Ch'en Yi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

said: "Learning well in the special subject is a 'political' mission of the student. Educating a great number of professionals and specialists is the 'political mission' of the school."¹³⁰

The Cultural Revolution, 1966-1968—In 1966, at the age of 72, Mao enjoyed good health, swimming again and again across the Yangtze River. Motivated by his own desire for national and ideological "supremacy," he continuously led the struggle against both capitalist and socialist imperialism and tried more to rally with the "Third World." In China he sponsored the Great Cultural Revolution.

The real causes of the Great Cultural Revolution were two-fold: the personal power struggle between Mao and others and the reaffirmation of Mao's ideology. As Mao said, this movement was first promoted in May, 1966 by Chiang Ch'ing (Mrs. Mao) against the resistance of numerous top leaders of the Party.¹³¹ On August 5 of this year, Mao wrote a big-character poster—"Bombard the Headquarters" which fermented the movement.

The Cultural Revolution was in coordination with the "Socialist Education Movement" known as the movement of "Four Clean-Ups" (political, ideological, organizational and economical). Among the guiding principles quoted from Mao's sayings were "Rebellion is justified," and "Holding thousands of clubs, smashing whatever is foreign and old" (old ideas, old culture, old habits). To understand the goal of the Cultural Revolution, we need to note the following official statement: "...to strike at the ultra-reactionary, the counterrevolutionaries, the bourgeois rights, and the revisionists; to criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung thought..."¹³² In order to inspire people to sacrifice for this revolution, Mao said: "All men must die, . . . the meaning of some death is 'mountain-weight,' but that of other death is 'feather-weight!'" "Struggling, criticizing, reforming," "going to the villages."¹³³

In order to carry on the revolution, Mao mobilized the masses, especially the young. He repeatedly appealed: "The revolutionary students and teachers must get organized to

lead the Cultural Revolution." Then schools were ordered to close for a half year. Millions of students of the middle schools and colleges, called Red Guards, were motivated.¹³⁴ On November 10, 1966, a stream of 600,000 Red Guards paraded in Peking. Mao stood on the gilded vermilion Gate of Heavenly Peace and watched the marching of the youth. Mao, usually considered unsentimental, appeared to be deeply moved and brushed his cheeks with a forefinger, as though he were wiping away tears.

In 1967, China exploded her first hydrogen bomb—twenty-six months after her atomic fission was achieved. At this time, Mao, aged 74, was healthy, happy and confident of his ideology. He continued his struggle against the United States, the capitalist imperialist, and Soviet Russia, the social imperialist. While intensifying the Cultural Revolution, Mao said: "Our work is to fight against those who lean toward capitalism, but our final purpose is to 'dig' and 'cut' the roots of revisionism, so that the problem about 'world-view' can be solved." He also said all types of "self-centered," bourgeois ideas and performances must be totally liquidated.¹³⁵ As Mao allied with Lin Piao, his designated heir and the Minister of Defense, he denounced Liu Shao-chi, the Government Chairman, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the Party General Secretary. High-pitched political and social purges then took place. Following the "three-in-one" principle (mass leaders, army representatives and party cadres), and engaging the "five-waves" techniques ("dragging" out the reactionaries), the nation-wide Cultural Revolution flourished. Millions of students, in fighting against the various types of "rightists," "revisionists," "reactionaries," etc., traveled from cities to villages, south to north, east to west. Their main activities included endless discussion, reading and writing of wall posters (or big character papers), centering around Mao's thoughts, especially those contained in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

In 1968, Mao restated that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was, in essence, a great political revolution and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat

and the bourgeoisie.¹³⁶ He reordered an extensive liquidation of all "class enemies," "rightist splitism" and "rightist verdict-reversing wind." By the middle of that year, numerous "class enemies" including Liu and Teng were degraded and purged; the Mao-Lin alliance won the struggle. At this time, the Cultural Revolution became extremely intensified and reached the tumultuous period with colossal political upheavals. Under the banner of the Cultural Revolution, the red guards fought amongst themselves. Mao said: "Some carrying and raising red flags fight against red flags" alluding that there was a "conspiracy." A "counterrevolutionary coup d'etat" was reported then. Students set up portraits of Mao, and recited quotations from his writings. They swept through streets, invading homes, destroying shops, attacking many things which they regarded as representing reactionary ideas. Under this chaos, Mao himself said to his comrades: "I did not predict this would happen. . . . I myself made the catastrophe. You complain. I do not blame you."¹³⁷ On July 28, 1968, Mao, Lin and other top officials summoned student leaders in Peking for long conversations. Mao said to them: "I and other leaders made many mistakes; you make mistakes and cannot be blamed."¹³⁸ He instructed the student extremists to abandon their struggle for power and finally said: ". . . those who do not listen are robbers to be arrested, . . . to be encircled, arrested or executed."¹³⁹ Later in the year, Lin Piao, under Mao's instructions, mobilized the army to demobilize the Red Guards.¹⁴⁰ Students were ordered to go home, and all schools were reopened.

On June 13, 1966, Mao ordered the "closing of schools for the Revolution." On October 14, 1967, he ordered the "reopening of schools for the Revolution." At this time Mao named Liu's educational proposal the "revisionist production," and re-emphasized "education for proletariat revolution." Some of the specific guidelines re-emphasized were: (1) Enforcement of proletariat leadership in education. (2) "The integration and cooperation of farms, factories and schools for better learning and production." (3) "Students, teachers and education administrators joining, working and

living together with peasants and factory workers for the integration of theory and practice." (4) Balanced learning including school subjects, productive programs, military service, political doctrine and class struggle. (5) The promotion of various patterns of schools, regular and irregular. (6) Diminishing the special "dignity" of the intelligentsia. (7) Graduates of secondary school and college going to farm-villages, mine-fields, especially to those in the border territories and frontiers, to be reeducated by the poor and the lower peasants. (8) Jobs on the lowest basic levels to be first accomplished by educated and trained youth; using the opportunity of doing manual work to serve the people and to learn.¹⁴¹

The permanent revolution and the farmward movement, 1969-1976—The violence subsided and Lin Piao was officially designated as Mao's heir in mid-1969. "Unite all the proletariat," "Be vigilant after victory," "Sum up the experience of the Cultural Revolution for future revolution," were among Mao's instructions then. Official reports disclosed that more than 740 million copies of the little red book, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, had been distributed in 1966-1969. Lin Piao wrote: "Read Chairman Mao's writings; listen to Chairman Mao's talks; follow Chairman Mao's instructions to work."¹⁴²

Along with the progress of the Cultural Revolution, Mao's prestige heightened; he was honored as the prophet and the "never setting reddest sun." Subsequently, he proclaimed the fourth Five-Year Plan in which war preparation integrated with economic construction was emphasized. At this time, the Sino-Soviet border conflict touched off a series of large-scale military clashes. Mao said, "Come home! Land of China."

After the Cultural Revolution in 1969, in order to re-emphasize his proletariat education, he resolutely attacked the feudalist or the Confucianist concept in education, refuted the capitalist school which nurtured individualism, and accused revisionist education of not helping to establish the proletariat world view. Consequently, in August of that year, he again set forth a policy that the workers, peasants

and soldiers re-educate the intellectuals who might be poisoned by Liu Shao-chi's "revisionist education."

Mao's mind of "permanent revolution" had guided his life. After the Cultural Revolution, the activities were many. In 1970, although Mao continued the anti-American campaign, he emphasized anti-Social Imperialism for leadership in the Third World. In April of that year, China surprisingly launched her first man-made satellite. The "New Four Clean-Up Movement" (economic, political, organizational and ideological clean-up) was brought into effect in February, 1970. This movement was directed basically to the economic field with three objectives—against "corruption and malpractice," "extravagance and waste," and "profiteering and speculation." Most importantly, there was the renewed "Re-education Movement" which specifically means "Farmward Movement" after the Cultural Revolution. Students, teachers and academics, both Party and government officials and cadres were encouraged and some were required to stay in the villages with the peasants for a period of time, from time to time, or all the time. Among the purposes of this movement were more economic production, effective "learning" and better population distribution. The "Farmward Movement" was a milestone in Chinese revolution. Above all, it was to change the Chinese work, life and minds according to Mao's ideals.

In 1971, reportedly Lin Piao, Mao's designated heir, plotted a coup and failed to assassinate Mao. Lin fled and was killed in a plane crash near Mongolia according to a Peking announcement.

Mao first wrote, three decades ago, that the hour to give "tit-for-tat" depends on the situation, and that sometimes "going forward" is tit-for-tat and sometimes "coming backward" is. In 1971, after twenty-two years of striving for reconstruction of the new nation, Mao realized that China still was far from being the great economic and political power of his dreams. Also, as the negotiations with the Soviet for getting back some of the territories were discouraging, Mao appreciated that the United States had never occu-

pied any land of China. In a sense, China is seemingly "encircled" by the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. Mao further realized that there was not any practical need to continue the conflict with the United States under this circumstance.

It is interesting to know that Mao was a great admirer of Lincoln, Washington and Jefferson and that, from time to time, he praised American people, especially their spirit of hard work. Consequently, Mao approved the rapprochement with the United States and the commitment to detente in 1971¹⁴³ and negotiated with and entertained Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in 1972.

Mao reached 80 on December 26, 1973; semi-retired from administrative routine. He however, was still the ultimate boss for major policy decision.

In 1974, under Mao's dictum, "Unity, Solidarity, Vigilance for permanent revolution," and the anti-Confucius, anti-Lin Campaign was intensified, the farmward movement was continued, the fifth Five-Year Plan was under consideration, and a new "leap forward" was to be a possible venture in China. It also should be noted that some of the leaders purged by Mao were rehabilitated in 1974 for unknown reasons.

Mao was absent from the meetings of the Fourth National People's Congress (January 13-17, 1975) and those of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (January 8-10), held in Peking. Some of the top leaders Mao degraded a few years before were elected to hold higher positions by the Party Congress. Was his power waning? From the Constitution of the People's Republic of China revised by the January, 1975 Fourth National People's Congress, we find: "...our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought."

Since 1970, up to the time of this writing, Mao's expressions on education include the emphasis upon: (1) The total education system—all forms of production and all types of political struggles and all patterns of military training are together educationally. (2) The farmward movement for

implementation of education—in 1971, Mao said: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants."¹⁴⁴ (3) Education of the proletariat—peasants, workers and soldiers are to be educated, and more proletariat youth should go to college.¹⁴⁵

According to Mao, the innovator of Sinicized Marxism, education is life; life is permanent revolution; revolution is for the proletariat. Mao's education is for, by, and of the proletariat. Above all, education must be proletariat-centered. The ideas and practices in relation to proletariat-centered education will be analyzed and evaluated in the following chapters.