Directions
You may write in this book during perusal time.

After the examination
Take this book when you leave the examination room.
Planning space
Note: The spelling of Chinese names may occur in either the older Wade-Giles form, or the more recently adopted Pinyin form, e.g. Guangzhou (Canton), depending on the time frame of the origin of the source. Names like Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) are, however, readily recognisable in either form.

Timeline: selected events in China from 1949

1949 The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) wins control of mainland China.

1953–57 The First Five Year Plan.

1954 Major centralisation of CCP and government.

1956 The Hundred Flowers campaign.


1976 Mao Zedong dies. The “Gang of Four” are purged and imprisoned.

1978–79 Deng Xiaoping introduces economic reforms: “The Four Modernisations”.

1978–90 Introduction of pragmatism in China’s political and economic system – promotion of market elements.

1986 Deng Xiaoping boosts “open-door” policy to encourage foreign direct investments.

1992 Deng Xiaoping accelerates market reforms to establish a “socialist market economy”.

1997 Death of Deng Xiaoping.
Source 1 (unseen)

Long March route, 1934 to 1935

Source 2 (unseen)

Mao’s contribution

Mao Tse-Tung’s great accomplishment has been to change Marxism from a European to an Asiatic form … China is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country in which vast numbers of people live at the edge of starvation, tilling small bits of soil … In attempting the transition to a more industrial economy, China faces the pressures … of advanced industrial lands … There are similar conditions in other lands of Southeast Asia – the course chosen by China will influence them all.

(From an interview between Liu Shaoqi (Head of State, 1959–1968) and Anna Louise Strong in 1946)

Source 3 (seen)
The contribution of Marxism–Leninism

Marxism-Leninism helped the Chinese for a number of reasons. In the pre-war period it gave them the confidence and moral support of belonging to a world movement; it claimed to be scientific and therefore modern; it was disliked by the Western countries and therefore acceptable to Chinese who felt let down by the West; it was optimistic in its assurance that the stage of feudalism must lead through capitalism to socialism; it provided a rationale and a programme for putting ordinary people in the centre of the picture while insisting that an elite group (the Communist Party) must always lead. Moreover, it fitted into the Chinese traditional pattern of an authority-centred society, dominated by an educated elite held together by a common philosophy and commitment to the service of the state.

G. Milston, A Short History of China, 1978

Source 4 (unseen)
Mao’s views on revolution

“If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.”

“Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!”, November 1948
Marxists Internet Archive, www.marxists.org

Source 5 (seen)
Mao’s nationalism

Mao’s greatest service to China was to give his country what it longed for after a century of chaos and indecision — the revolutionary leadership, the strategy and the doctrine that could inspire its rebirth. Mao could never have done this simply as an importer of Marxism. Marxism had to be remade in a Chinese image before it could serve China’s cause, and it was Mao who did it.

All that he did for China he did as a nationalist. The old imperial system had disappeared in 1911. What had remained for Mao to attack was a social and economic order in which the hated class were not the capitalists but the landlords whose oppression of the peasants had fired Mao’s earliest sense of injustice. But Mao the nationalist was also Mao the revolutionary who believed that revolution should be continuous.

The Times, 10 September 1976 (obituary of Mao Zedong)
Source 6 (unseen)

The 1953–57 Five Year Plan

Influenced by Russian engineers, and also by the success of Stalin’s Five Year Plans, China introduced its own Five Year Plan in 1953. Heavy industry was targeted as being in need of major reform. The Five Year Plan attempted to tackle steel, coal and iron production. As in the Russian model, each factory or mine was given a target to achieve. Failure to meet a target was the equivalent of failing your people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1957 planned</th>
<th>1957 actual output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>63 million tonnes</td>
<td>113 million tonnes</td>
<td>124 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig iron</td>
<td>1.9 million tonnes</td>
<td>4.7 million tonnes</td>
<td>5.8 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel</td>
<td>1.3 million tonnes</td>
<td>4.1 million tonnes</td>
<td>5.2 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>0.4 million tonnes</td>
<td>2 million tonnes</td>
<td>1.4 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>2.6 million tonnes</td>
<td>6 million tonnes</td>
<td>4.6 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical fertiliser</td>
<td>0.2 million tonnes</td>
<td>0.6 million tonnes</td>
<td>0.7 million tonnes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source 7 (unseen)

The Great Leap Forward (1958–1962)

The Great Leap Forward took two forms: a mass steel campaign, and the formation of the people’s communes. Life was militarised for this battle of steel.

Put organisations on a military footing, put actions on a war footing, put life on a collective footing.

http://chineseposters.net
Source 8 (unseen)

Mao’s view on the role of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

“The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are carrying out a vigorous rectification campaign in order to develop socialism in China rapidly and on a firmer basis. It is a campaign to resolve correctly the contradictions which actually exist among the people and which have to be resolved immediately, by means of a nation-wide debate which is both guided and free, carried out in the urban and rural areas on such questions as the socialist road and the capitalist road, the basic systems and major policies of the state, the working style of the Communist Party and government functionaries, and the welfare of the people. The debate is conducted by bringing out the facts and by argument. This is a socialist campaign of self-education and self-remoulding by the people and great successes have already been recorded in it. The socialist consciousness of the people has been rapidly raised, false ideas clarified, shortcomings in work overcome, unity within the ranks of the people strengthened, and labour discipline and productivity increased, wherever the campaign has been carried out.”

(From a speech at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, 6 November 1957)

Marxists Internet Archive, www.marxists.org

Source 9 (seen)

Cultural Revolution (1966–1968)

Criticise the old world and build a new world with Mao Zedong. Thought as a weapon.

http://chineseposters.net
**Source 10 (seen)**

**Cultural Revolution (1966–1968)**

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong’s has been proved entirely correct in practice.

*Peking Review*, No. 33, 1966, pp 6–11

**Source 11 (seen)**

**Beijing Red Guard — long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat**

Revolution is rebellion, and rebellion is the soul of Mao Tse-Tung’s thought. We hold that tremendous attention must be paid to the word “application”, that is, mainly to the word “rebellion”. Daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution, in a word, daring to rebel, is the most fundamental and most precious quality of proletarian revolutionaries. This is the fundamental principle of the proletarian Party spirit! Not to rebel is revisionism, pure and simple!

Revisionism had been in control of the school for seventeen years. If we do not rise up in rebellion today, when are we going to? … We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world! Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

*Peking Review*, June 24 1966

**Source 12 (seen)**

**Figures showing the average annual income of people in China, 1996**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison of incomes between urban and rural workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In 1996, $A1 = 6.58 yuan

*Burke P, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia*
Source 13 (unseen)

Two statements by Deng Xiaoping about the need for reform in China

If we do not carry out reform (political and economic) now, our cause of modernisation and socialism will be ruined. (1978)

As economic reform progresses, we deeply feel the necessity for change in the political structure. The absence of such change will hamper the development of productive forces. (1986)

Burke P, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia

Source 14 (seen)

50 years of communism

In New York Times Book Review
www.globecartoon.com

Source 15 (unseen)

The post-Mao changes have led many China analysts to observe that post-Mao China has moved away from communist “totalitarianism” toward “authoritarianism”. It seems to them that post-Mao reforms have brought about some “fundamental” changes at the regime level in that “regime change” from one type to another has occurred in post-Mao China.

Guo S, Post-Mao China: From Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism
Source 16 (seen)

China opens up (1989–2008)

Advance into the 21st century—celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

http://chineseposters.net

Source 17 (unseen)

China’s Communist Party — different in all but its name

It’s an old Chinese proverb: Change the substance, but don’t change the name. As China’s Communist Party meets in preparation for a complete turnover of top leaders expected tomorrow, that proverb rings like a Beijing bell tower.

A party that once doted on former Chairman Mao Zedong’s “little red book” and sought to export its “forever correct” aphorisms worldwide is undergoing major alterations to its core ideology and identity. The change is part of an effort to keep pace with market forces and national sentiments already far advanced in Chinese society.

After 13 years at the helm, President Jiang Zemin is stepping down, though he is expected to retain many levers of power and influence. The tone he is setting is clear: China is open for business. Communism, in turn, is increasingly outdated in a party that now seeks legitimacy by appealing to a proud 5000-year-old Chinese national identity.

www.csmonitor.com, 2008
Source 18 (unseen)

No Western-style reforms – China uncompromising on reform in sensitive year

BEIJING—The head of China’s Communist Party-run parliament struck an uncompromising stance against political liberalisation on Monday, ruling out Western-style democratic reforms in a year of sensitive political anniversaries.

“Leadership of the Party can only be strengthened and in no way weakened,” Mr Wu said, speaking in the cavernous Great Hall of the People next to Beijing’s central Tiananmen Square. “We must draw on the achievements of all cultures … but we will never simply copy the system of Western countries or introduce a system of multiple parties holding office in rotation,” he added.

“Although China’s state organs have different responsibilities, they all adhere to the line, principles and policies of the Party.” Politically sensitive anniversaries in China this year could generate protests and dissent, adding to government worries about unrest as bankruptcies and unemployment rise due to slowing exports amid the global financial crisis.”

www.straitstimes.com, 9 March 2009
Acknowledgments

Source 1

Source 2

Source 3

Sources 4 and 8

Source 5

Source 6

Sources 7, 9 and 16

Source 10

Source 11

Sources 12 and 13

Source 14

Source 15

Source 17
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