Directions
You may write in this book during perusal time.

After the examination session
Take this book when you leave.
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


1953–57  The First Five Year Plan.

1954  Major centralisation of CCP and government.

1957  The Hundred Flowers Campaign.


1966–76  The Cultural Revolution.

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

1977–81  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.

1989  Student protests in Tiananmen Square.

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

1997  Death of Deng Xiaoping.

2008  China hosts the Summer Olympic Games in Beijing.
Source A — The Communists and nationalism

The Communists, for their part, after shedding the theoretical internationalism that had hampered their early efforts, could plausibly claim to be more nationalist than the Nationalists, and indeed the only real nationalists. Whatever may have been the hidden thoughts and real feelings of the two parties during the war with Japan and the civil war, the evidence is beyond dispute; it was the Chinese Revolution, and only the Chinese Revolution that brought Chinese nationalism to fruition …


Source B — Mao claims a marvellous feat

But the fact is … that the broad peasant masses have risen to fulfil their historic mission, that the democratic forces in the rural areas have risen to overthrow the rural feudal power. The patriarchal-feudal class of local bullies, bad gentry, and lawless landlords has formed the basis of autocratic government for thousands of years, the cornerstone of imperialism, warlordism and corrupt officialdom. To overthrow this feudal power is the real objective of the national revolution. What Dr Sun Yat-sen wanted to do in the forty years he devoted to the national revolution but failed to accomplish, the peasants have accomplished in a few months. This is a marvellous feat which has never been achieved in the last forty or even thousands of years. It is very good indeed.

Mao Zedong 1965, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume 1

Source C — 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 1978, A Short History of China

Source D — 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 E — Cultural Revolution (1966–76)

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

http://chineseposters.net

Source F — The policy of “de-Maoisation”

The policy of “de-Maoisation” was accelerated in 1978–81, as the new moderate leadership pushed further along the paths of modernisation and increased cooperation with the industrial West. The policy of “Four Modernisations” — in industry, agriculture, defence and technology — stressed practical achievement. Experts and specialists were again to be respected, education was to have high priority and material incentives were restored. The policy also implied an inevitable strengthening of relationships with capitalist powers, which could provide the investment, products and expertise China needed to achieve these goals. Foreign technology and technical imports were actively sought.

HR Cowie 1987, Asia and Australia in World Affairs, Volume 3
On June 9, Deng Xiaoping made his first public appearance since May 16, expressing his support for the military measures imposed on the demonstrations. The document below explores the meaning of his speech, and also reports that Chinese authorities continue to round up suspected “counter-revolutionaries” and search for evidence to use against those responsible for the turmoil. The authors comment that although most Chinese leaders blame a small number of instigators for stirring up the population, “that ‘tiny group’ is likely to include thousands of bureaucrats, intellectuals, students, and labor activists.”

CHINA: MIXED SIGNALS ON PURGE

DENG XIAOPING YESTERDAY USED HIS FIRST APPEARANCE SINCE MAY 16, AND HIS FIRST PUBLIC COMMENTS ON RECENT EVENTS, TO UNDERSCORE HIS SUPPORT FOR MILITARY MEASURES TAKEN TO RESTORE ORDER AND HIS CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC REFORM. HE CHARACTERISED THE UNREST AS HAVING OCCURRED “INDEPENDENT OF MAN’S WILL” AND HAVING TURNED FROM “TURMOIL” INTO COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REBELLION. HIS FORMULATION IS Milder than the one used by leaders who have focused on counterrevolutionaries within the party or leadership. Deng also repeated the formula of “ONE CENTER (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT) AND TWO POINTS (PARTY CONTROL PLUS REFORM AND OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE).” This slogan is closely associated with Zhao, who had to fight to have it accepted as official dogma in 1987. Many party elders and all members of the politburo standing committee except Zhao and Hu Qili attended, signaling that both have been purged. But search for evidence continues. Security forces searched offices in the academy of social sciences and the national defense university, and swept through dormitories on at least one college campus, apparently looking for incriminating evidence and seizing accounts …

Source H — Figures showing the average annual income of people in China, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison of incomes between urban and rural workers</th>
<th>Percentage of population</th>
<th>Average annual income (yuan*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban people</td>
<td>approximately 29%</td>
<td>4377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural people</td>
<td>approximately 71%</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In 1996, $A1 = 6.58 yuan

P Burke 1999, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia
Source I — 50 years of communism

In New York Times Book Review
www.globecartoon.com


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

http://chineseposters.net
Source K — Nationalism in China: historians’ views

“Chinese nationalism was actually partly a creation of Western imperialism,” says Minxin Pei, a senior associate in the China program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Pei says the first surge of Chinese nationalism was seen in 1919 in what’s now widely referred to as the May 4th Movement when thousands of students demonstrated against the Treaty of Versailles’ transfer of Chinese territory to Japan. Some of these student leaders went on to form the Chinese Communist Party two years later in 1921. “The current Chinese communist government is more a product of nationalism than a product of ideology like Marxism and Communism,” says Liu Kang, a professor of Chinese cultural studies at Duke University. Kang says today nationalism has probably “become the most powerful legitimating ideology.”

Unseen sources (Sources 1–15)

Source 1 — The Mandate of Heaven: the basis of imperial rule

The Chinese developed a way to explain these changes of dynasties; they called it the Mandate of Heaven. They believed that the emperor ruled by the will of Heaven; indeed the emperor was sometimes called the Son of Heaven and his throne was called the Celestial (Heavenly) Throne. He had the mandate (authority or permission) of Heaven to rule the people as long as he ruled wisely. Because the emperor had the authority of Heaven, the people had a duty to obey him. The idea of the Mandate of Heaven was linked to the teachings of Confucius. He had taught that society was based on different relationships. In the family the father had authority over his family; in the country the emperor had authority over his people.

KJ Mason et al 2004, Experience World History: Kingdoms, Dynasties and Colonies

Source 2 — Long March route, 1934–35

![Map of the Long March route, 1934–35](image)

Brian Hoepper, Deborah Henderson, Ian Gray et al 1996, A Source-based Approach to Modern History: Inquiry 1

Source 3 — The history of revolution in China

All the nationalities of China have resisted foreign oppression and have invariably resorted to rebellion to shake it off. They favour a union on the basis of equality but are against the oppression of one nationality by another. During the thousands of years of recorded history, the Chinese nation has given birth to many national heroes and revolutionary leaders. Thus the Chinese nation has a glorious revolutionary tradition and a splendid historical heritage.

Mao Zedong 1965, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume 1
Source 4 — The proclamation of the People’s Republic of China, 1 October 1949

We proclaim the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. Our nation will from now on enter the large family of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilisation and happiness and will, at the same time, promote world peace and freedom. Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up. Our revolution has gained the sympathy and acclamation of the broad masses throughout the entire world. We have friends everywhere the world over.

Mao Zedong 1950, On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship

Source 5 — 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, 1959–68) and Anna Louise Strong in 1946)

Margot Morcombe and Mark Fielding 1999, The Spirit of Change: China in Revolution
Source 6 — The Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1957

Known as the Hundred Flowers Campaign, Mao’s new policy had a dramatic effect. For the next several weeks, China’s intellectuals answered the chairman’s call for criticism with a vengeance derived from years of CCP oppression. Finding itself the subject of serious criticism, the Party soon repealed its newly adopted liberal policy and placed the intellectuals under even more strict control. Despite its early demise, however, the Hundred Flowers Campaign had far-reaching effects on the direction of the People’s Republic of China and the CCP’s view of intellectual debate. Under Mao’s leadership, these policies hindered China’s modernisation efforts and would eventually culminate in the disastrous Cultural Revolution.

John M Jackson 2004, An Early Spring: Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Intellectuals and the Hundred Flowers Campaign

Source 7 — 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 8 — The Great Leap Forward (1958–62)

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 9 — 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!

Red Guard, Middle School attached to Tsinghua University, *Peking Review*, 9 September 1966

**Source 10 — 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)

P Burke 1999, *Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia*

**Source 11 — Totalitarianism to authoritarianism in post-Mao China**

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.

S Guo 2000, *Post-Mao China: From Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism*
Source 12 — The 14th Party Congress comes up with the formula “Socialist Market Economy”, inscribed in the Constitution the following year. From now on, making profit is OK. As long as it is “socialist” profit.

Source 13 — One year before the games
Source 14 — 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.

Source 15 — No Western-style reforms: China uncompromising on reform in sensitive year

Wu Bangguo, ranked number two in the Communist Party formal hierarchy, told delegates at the annual meeting of parliament they must maintain “the correct political orientation”.

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.
Acknowledgments

Seen sources

Source A

Source B

Source C

Source D

Source E

Source F

Source G

Source H

Source I

Source J

Source K

Unseen sources

Source 1
Source 2  

Source 3  

Source 4  
Australian Associated Press (AAP), Sydney.

Source 5  

Source 6  

Source 7  

Source 8  

Source 9  

Source 10  

Source 11  

Sources 12 and 13  

Source 14  

Source 15  

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