Modern History
Paper Two — Historical sources book

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.
Source A

Long March route, 1934–35

Source B

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 South-East 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, in Morcombe & Fielding, The Spirit of Change: China in Revolution
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.

Milston, 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.

Obituary of Mao Zedong in The Times, 10 September 1976

Source E

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.

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<th></th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1957 planned</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pig iron</td>
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<td>Cement</td>
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<td>Chemical fertiliser</td>
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</table>

History Learning Site
Source F
Building the People’s Republic (1949–1956)

“Warmly love Chairman Mao.”
Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History
**Source G**

*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.”

Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History

**Source H**

*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.

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

**Source I**

*Beijing Red Guards — 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 Guards, Middle School attached to Tsinghua University, in *Peking Review*, 9 September 1966
Source J

A Chinese professor of music reflects on his treatment during the Cultural Revolution 1966–76

We were working in the rice fields and we had to scrape our own fingers into the ground to loosen it. We thought perhaps it would be quite clever if we had some tools to do that but the soldiers said “no way — you have to be educated to do everything with your fingers”. That was very painful to us because for a pianist like me scraping all the time into the ground hurt my fingers. I just thought that I would never play again, because during the Cultural Revolution I thought I will never do music again, never play piano again.

Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China since 1949*

Source K

Cultural Revolution (1966–68)

“Oppose economism: destroy the new counter-offensive of the capitalist class reactionary.”

“Economism” is one of the tendencies combatted in the early phase of the Cultural Revolution. Economism simply means that economical factors have priority over political and ideological factors, an idea opposed by Mao and his supporters.

Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History

Source L

Mao Zedong on the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party

Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, i.e., the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society.

Source M

Mao Zedong on socialism

“The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man’s will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, eventually revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.”

Zedong, Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (6 November 1957)

Source N

The legacy of Mao Zedong

On the parapet of Tiananmen, Mao Zedong on October 1, 1949, declared: “The Chinese had stood up!”

Whereas others from Kang Youwei to Sun Yat-sen made attempts to reform China and make her take a pride of place as among the equals of the world, they never succeeded. Monarchist Kang Youwei failed miserably, leaving an intact and corrupt Qing to rule for a few more years before the republican Sun Yat-sen, together with the other, toppled the Manchu dynasty.

But the marauding Western nations and Japan still held sway in China, and there was no peace or pride left in the Chinese.

Mao Zedong made the difference. From 1950 all vestiges of Western and Japanese past were laid to rest. China became the master of its destiny.

If Mao Zedong were to say to us now, he would want us to get on in life and not harp on the past with hatred and vengeance. He might add that we must make friends with the US, the West, Japan and the rest of the world.

Ever the champion of the underdogs, Mao Zedong would want us to respect and take care of our own compatriots, even if they are of different political hue.

So when Mao Zedong said, “The east is red!” he meant China heralded in an era of peace and tranquillity, where the Chinese people are a red beacon to the rest of the world as a nation of equal rights and opportunities, and where everyone has his or her rights and freedom.

Mao Zedong erred in later life, but that is for the Chinese to accept and live with his errors. In the end, the legacy Mao Zedong left behind exonerates his frailties and foibles; and his mistakes, though gigantic, never diminish his stature.

That is how we would want to remember the great Mao Zedong.

China Daily, 19 January 2004
Source O

The effect of Mao’s policies

Mao policies killed 80 million: report

WASHINGTON: As many as 80 million Chinese were killed by the repressive and radical economic policies pushed by Mao Tse-Tung in the decades before his death in 1976, the Washington Post reported yesterday.

The newspaper said documents unearthed by Western and Chinese scholars and its own investigators suggested the death toll from Mao’s 27-year rule could be millions more than previously estimated.

If confirmed, it would rank Mao ahead of Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin as the most blood-stained leader of the 20th century, the Post said.

One government document said 80 million people died “unnatural deaths” under Mao, most of them because of the failed Great Leap Forward industrialisation programme launched in 1958, the Post said.

The newspaper quoted Chen Yizi, a former communist party official now at Princeton University.

The Post gave no precise breakdown on how all the 80 million alleged deaths occurred.

The newspaper quoted Chen as saying that 43 million people died in the famine of 1959–1961 that followed the Great Leap Forward.

A 1993 article in the Shanghai University journal Society reported at least 40 million deaths up from previous estimates in China of 10 million to 30 million.

China watchers say Mao’s ill-advised call for farmers to abandon their fields and melt their tools down for the iron and steel was responsible for 90 percent of the deaths wrought by the famine.

The Courier-Mail, 19 July 1994
Source P

The cult of Mao

Cult of the chairman

He presided over mass murder and cultural devastation. But 25 years after his death, Mao Zedong is a demigod with a lucrative line in merchandise.

A miracle happened in Shaoshan, birthplace of Mao Zedong, on December 20, 1993. President Jiang Zemin had come with an entourage of party grandees to unveil a 6 metre-high bronze statue of the late Chairman Mao, looking, as the guidebook has it, "firm and steady, and glowing with health". Anyone who sees it, the book continues, "can feel the magnetic power of a great leader, a victorious leader".

December in Hunan province is a cold, dark month, with constant rain or sleet. The freezing winds won't let up until the spring. But on that miraculous occasion, just as President Jiang was pulling the sheet off Mao's shining face, the sun came blazing through the clouds and, even stranger, the moon shone brightly.

I was shown photographs of the miracle when I visited Shaoshan recently, on a typically bleak, rainy day. You could buy the picture in all sizes, the most expensive ones framed in gold. You could also buy gold or marble busts of the chairman, tapes of his speeches, fine embroideries of his countenance, and coins, stamps, ballpoints, pencils, cigarette lighters, key rings, CDs, T-shirts and teacups, all with Mao's image on. Then there were the plastic domes with Mao inside that rained gold flakes when you shook them. And the golden amulets to bring good health and fortune with — instead of the more usual images of Buddhist or Taoist holy men — engraved portraits of the former Chinese leader.

Mao Zedong has clearly entered the pantheon of Chinese folk deities, along with the Yellow Emperor and other legendary sages and heroes in Chinese history. And Shaoshan, visited by millions over the years, is the Lourdes of his cult.

The Guardian, 7 March 2001
Source 1

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.”

Zedong, On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship

Source 2

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.

Source 3

The Hundred Flowers campaign begins strongly

Meanwhile, the Party had undertaken Mao's demand for agricultural collectivisation. By the middle of 1956, the great majority of China's peasantry had been relegated to agricultural producers' cooperatives. In June of that year, Mao felt comfortable in stating that China had effected a socialist victory over capitalism. The threat of counter-revolutionaries had seemingly been eliminated, and China's economy was developing ahead of schedule.

Jackson, Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Intellectuals and the Hundred Flowers Campaign

Source 4

The Great Leap Forward

“Fully engage in the movement to increase production to set up another surge in industrial production.”

Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History

Source 5

The “counter-revolutionaries” (1966)

The many facts exposed during the great cultural revolution show us more clearly that the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements are all careerists, schemers and hypocrites of the exploiting classes. They indulge in double-dealing. They feign compliance while acting in opposition. They appear to be men but are demons at heart. They speak human language to your face, but talk devil's language behind your back. They are wolves in sheep's clothing and man-eating tigers with smiling faces. They often use the phrases of Marxism–Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as a cover while greatly publicising diametrically-opposed views behind the word “but” and smuggling in bourgeois and revisionist stuff.

Editorial of the People’s Liberation Army Daily
Source 6

The Red Guard political youth movement

The Chinese Red Guards were formed by Mao to combat supposedly “revisionist” elements within the Communist Party who opposed him. Massive demonstrations were held in Beijing in 1966, and the numbers of Red Guards swelled to around 11 million. Their activities became ever more zealous and violent, involving widespread persecution and murder of any person suspected of being “bourgeois”. In-fighting and growing economic disruption led Mao and the People’s Liberation Army to suppress the Red Guards by the end of the 1960s.

Source 7

Cultural Revolution (1966–1968)

“Scatter the old world, build a new world.”

A Red Guard at work. The smashing is not just meant symbolically. Property of “rightists”, monasteries, temples and other things considered old, bourgeois or decadent are literally smashed to pieces.

Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History
**Source 8**

“My father is denounced during the Cultural Revolution.”

He had to go to many denunciation meetings … A standard opening was to chant: “Ten thousand years, another ten thousand years, and yet another ten thousand years to our Great Teacher, Great Leader, Great Commander, and Great Helmsman Chairman Mao!” Each time the three “ten thousands” and four “greats” were shouted out, everyone raised their Little Red Books in unison. My father would not do this. He said that the “ten thousand years” was how emperors used to be addressed, and it was unfitting for Chairman Mao, a Communist. This brought down a torrent of hysterical yells and slaps. At one meeting, all the targets were ordered to kneel and kowtow to a huge portrait of Mao at the back of the platform. While the others did as they were told, my father refused. He said that kneeling and kowtowing were undignified feudal practices which the Communists were committed to eliminating. The Rebels screamed, kicked his knees, and struck him on the head, but he still struggled to stand upright. “I will not kneel! I will not kowtow!” he said furiously … “I have committed no crime. I will not bend my head!” … Several large young men jumped on him to try to force him down, but as soon as they let go he stood up straight, raised his head, and stared defiantly at the audience … the hysterical crowd screamed that he was “anti-Cultural Revolution” …

Chang, Wild Swans: Three daughters of China

**Source 9**

Mao’s legacy

Those in the Party who most praise his memory are also those who are working most busily to undo his political legacy.

Since Mao’s death in 1976, the emphasis among China’s Party planners has been on economic reform and the gradual dismantling of state-run enterprises — all, of course, in the name of preserving Mao’s communism.

But Mao’s legacy — even his official one — is not untainted. It is perfectly acceptable in official quarters to speak of Mao’s mistakes: the political upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, during which intellectuals and suspected “capitalist roaders” in the party were tormented, hounded from office and exiled, being the most prominent, and painful, example.

But even in the case of the Cultural Revolution, it is Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing, and the other members of the notorious “Gang of Four” who are the focus of blame, not the man himself.

This despite the fact that during their trial, angry Beijingers were in the habit of surreptitiously holding up five fingers, indicating that Mao was the fifth member of the hated gang.

However, such is the potency of Mao’s image that even his mistakes seem to be endowed with a dramatic quality: “the mistakes of a great revolutionary and a great Marxist”, according to China’s present leader, Jiang Zemin.

BBC
Source 10

50 years of communism

Chappatte

Source 11

Mao (1966–1972)

“Forging ahead courageously while following the great leader Chairman Mao!”

The super-human Mao, overseeing the immeasurable crowds of his faithful supporters. Below left an ecstatic group carries a dish of mangoes, symbolising the seven mangoes Mao received from a foreign delegation in 1968, and presented to carefully selected “Worker-Peasant Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams”.

Landsberger and the International Institute of Social History
Source 12

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.”

Bajoria, 23 April 2008, Nationalism in China

Source 13

The cult of Mao

In October 1966, Mao’s *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which was known as the Little Red Book was published. Party members were encouraged to carry a copy with them and possession was almost mandatory as a criterion for membership. Over the years, Mao’s image became displayed almost everywhere, present in homes, offices and shops. His quotations were typographically emphasised by putting them in boldface or red type in even the most obscure writings. Music from the period emphasised Mao’s stature, as did children’s rhymes. The phrase “Long Live Chairman Mao for ten thousand years” was commonly heard during the era, which was traditionally a phrase reserved for the reigning Emperor.

Today, Mao is still regarded by some as the “never setting Red Sun”. He has been compared to the Sage Kings of the classical China. Since 1950, over 40 million people have visited Mao’s birthplace in Shaoshan, Hunan.

Mao also has a presence in China and around the world in popular culture, where his face adorns everything from t-shirts to coffee cups. Mao’s granddaughter, Kong Dongmei, defended the phenomenon, stating that “it shows his influence, that he exists in people’s consciousness and has influenced several generations of Chinese people’s way of life. Just like Che Guevara’s image, his has become a symbol of revolutionary culture.”

Cultural-China.com

Source 14

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, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia
Source 15

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, *Post-Mao China: From Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism*

Source 16

The 14th Chinese Communist Party Congress

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.

Chappatte
Acknowledgments

Seen sources

Source A

Source B

Source C

Source D

Source E

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Source G

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Unseen sources
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