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**

**US view on China, 1945**

Just days before the Japanese surrendered on 15 August 1945, a high-ranking American general sent a telegram to his joint chiefs of staff about the situation in China.

... if peace comes suddenly, it is reasonable to expect widespread confusion and disorder. The Chinese have no plans for rehabilitation, prevention of epidemics, restoration of utilities, establishment of balanced economy and redispersion of millions of refugees.

(From Spence, JD 1991, *The Search for Modern China*, Norton, New York, p. 484)


**Source B**

**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 C**

**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.

Source D

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, M 1950, *On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship*
Source E

The First Five-Year Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Original output targets in 1952</th>
<th>Output actually achieved by 1957</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross industrial output (value in millions of yuan)</td>
<td>53,560</td>
<td>65,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal (million metric tonnes)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil (mmt)</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel (mmt)</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>5.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric power (billion kwh)</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>19.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydro-electric turbines (kw)</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>74,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine tools (units)</td>
<td>12,720</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotives (units)</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight cars (units)</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant ships (thousand tonnes)</td>
<td>179.15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucks (units)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles (units)</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>1,174,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured chemicals (thousand metric tonnes)</td>
<td>1,580</td>
<td>2,087</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source F

The Great Leap Forward

“Long live the General Line! Long live the Great Leap Forward! Long live the People’s Communes!”, 1964

Despite the indications that the Great Leap had failed to reach its objectives, the movement continued to be upheld. During the celebrations of the Tenth Anniversary of the People’s Republic in October 1959, the “General Line of the Great Leap Forward, the people’s communes and the steel campaign” were reaffirmed. The movement turned into a disaster when in the period 1959–1961 China was struck by natural disasters. More than an estimated 30 to 40 million people died in the ensuing famine.

Landsberger, SR & the International Institute of Social History

Source G

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)

Source H


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1952–62</th>
<th>GDP growth rate (% per annum)</th>
<th>Inflation rate (% per annum)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>−0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954</td>
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<td>1961</td>
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<td>16.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>−6.5</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1984–94</th>
<th>GDP growth rate (% per annum)</th>
<th>Inflation rate (% per annum)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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<td>13.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source I

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.”

Zedong, M 1957 (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 J

Deng Xiaoping outlines China’s economic aims, 1982

Invigorating our domestic economy and opening to the outside world are our long-term, not short-term, policies that will remain unchanged for at least 50 or 70 years. Our modernisation program is a socialist program, not anything else. All our policies for carrying out reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy are designed to develop the socialist economy. We allow the development of individual economy, of joint ventures with both Chinese and foreign investment and of enterprises wholly owned by foreign businessmen, but socialist public ownership will always remain predominant. The aim of socialism is to make all people prosperous, not to create polarisation.

Modernisation

Given China’s backwardness, modernisation would require assistance from foreign countries. During the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government had put up barriers against influence from outside and its foreign relations were in general very constricted. But Deng Xiaoping instituted the slogan “openness to the outside” (duiwai kaifang) and set about improving relations with foreign countries, especially those which he believed were in a position to help China’s modernisation.

Burke, P 1999, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia

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 1999, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia
Unseen sources (Sources 1–18)

Source 1

Chiang Kai-shek’s view on the Communists

… the Chinese Communists were aware of our long-range objective of building up China into a strong modern nation with a higher standard of living, and timed their moves against the Government with those of the Japanese militarists … the Chinese Communists resorted to armed insurrection … to hinder the Government’s program of demobilisation, to disrupt the people’s economic life, and generally to introduce chaos and conflicts into Chinese social structure. They spread defeatism at a time when the people were weary after China’s long war. Finally, the people became so confused and bewildered that all they asked was peace, however costly and transient it might be. This was the basic reason for China’s tragic reverses in her war against Communism.

(From Kai-shek, C 1969, Soviet Russia in China: A Summing Up at Seventy, China Publishing Company, Taipei, pp. 222–3)


Source 2

The differences between the Communists and the Nationalists

The US Ambassador in China at the time recorded the following observations.

… This Party [Nationalists] almost from the time it came into power had tolerated among its officials of all grades, graft and greed, idleness and inefficiency … These evils had become even more pronounced after VJ Day in the attempts to crush Communism by a combination of military strength and secret police … In painful contrast the CP was free from private graft. Officers and men lived very much together, simply and industriously, severely disciplined, thoroughly indoctrinated. All this was evident as they came to Nanking. There was almost no mistreatment of the populace … Their morale was excellent. The daily drills and lectures went on all round our Embassy property … The CP was thus giving the appearance of being a dynamic movement, fostering among millions those qualities of which China had stood so in need.

(From Stuart, J 1954, 50 Years in China, Random House, New York)


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.

Zedong, M 1965, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, vol. 1
Source 4

The 100 Flowers Movement

“[The slogan of] ‘Let a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend’ … was put forward in recognition of the various different contradictions in society … If you want to grow only [fragrant flowers] and not weeds, it can’t be done … To ban all weeds, and stop them growing, is that possible? The reality is that it is not. They will still grow … it is difficult to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds …”

Mao Zedong, quoted in Short, P 1998, Mao: A Life

Source 5

The Meaning of 100 Flowers

“At the time of Mao’s call for free expression, one historian warned that intellectuals “have to guess to what extent” if the call is sincere, flowers will be allowed to blossom, and whether the [policy will be reversed] once the flowers are in bloom. They have to guess whether [it] is an end, or just a means … to unearth [hidden] thoughts and rectify individuals. They have to guess which problems can be discussed, and which problems cannot be discussed.”

Jian Bozan, quoted in Short, P 1998, Mao: A Life

Source 6

The Cultural Revolution

“Render new service for the people”, February 1968

Landsberger, SR & the International Institute of Social History
Source 7

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 program 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, G 1978, A Short History of China

Source 8

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.”

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

Source 9

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 10

Peasant nationalism

As Chalmers Johnson has argued in his seminal study of the Chinese communist movement, the CCP owed much of its success to the Japanese invasion which enabled it to mobilise the rural population as never before. It took an eight-year war — marked by extreme Japanese brutality and Chinese suffering — to galvanise the Chinese population into action, and it took the communists considerable efforts to bring an urban-based nationalism to the countryside. The bourgeois nationalism of the May Fourth period was now changed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The “pool of scattered sand” that Sun Yat-sen had lamented was cemented through mass mobilisation and popular participation in the struggle against the Japanese. Thus, in Johnson’s view, Chinese communism during the wartime period was “a particularly virulent form of nationalism” — peasant nationalism — and the communist rise to power was “a species of nationalist movement”.

(From Mackerras, C (ed) 1992, Eastern Asia: An Introductory History, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, p. 175)

Source 11

The Legacy of Deng

After Deng’s death in 1997, Jiang Zemin has been instrumental in having Deng Xiaoping Theory included in the canon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought.

"Usher in a new epoch — Celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China”, 1999
Landsberger, SR & the International Institute of Social History
**Source 12**

**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.

Guo, S 2000, *Post-Mao China: From Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism*

**Source 13**

**Views of Deng**

Henry Kissinger, who as U.S. Secretary of State under the Nixon administration helped engineer “normalisation” of U.S.–China relations, dismissed Deng as “a nasty little man”.

This “nasty little man” oversaw the violent repression of demonstrators at Tiananmen Square, and said of them: “We should never forget how cruel our enemies are. We should have not one bit of forgiveness for them”.

The official appraisal of Deng was more flattering. The *New China News Agency* offered this assessment:

*The death of Comrade Deng Xiaoping is an immeasurable loss to our Party, our army and the people of various ethnic groups throughout the country and will certainly cause tremendous grief among the Chinese people.*

*We must conscientiously study Deng Xiaoping’s theory of building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, learn from Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s revolutionary style and his scientific attitude and creative spirit in applying a Marxist stand, viewpoints and method to studying new problems and solving new problems.*

*Without Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s theory, there would not be the new situation of reform and opening up in China, and there would not be the bright future of China’s socialist modernisation.*

It is not only in China that Deng was viewed reverently. Uniformly, the leaders of the major western capitalist powers and their media were quick to eulogise him. “Such a rare combination of skills and political genius does not come often in a national leader”, the *Wall Street Journal* solemnly declared on 20 February 1997. Bill Clinton said Deng would be remembered as an “extraordinary figure on the world stage over the past two decades”.

**Source 14**

**Deng Xiaoping**

Deng Xiaoping’s economic legacy is overwhelmingly positive and quite secure — in this, it stands in contrast to his troubled and ambiguous political legacy. Of all of Deng’s achievements, the transformation of China’s economic system is the only one that is currently judged to have succeeded, and to have benefited large numbers of people. Deng presided over the Chinese government during a period of enormous economic change. Under his leadership, the government extricated itself from a legacy of massive economic problems and began a sustained program of economic reform. Reforms transformed the economic system and initiated a period of explosive economic growth, bringing the country out of isolation and into the modern world economy.


**Source 15**

**US Secretary of State’s Morning Summary for 10 June 1989**

On 9 June, Deng Xiaoping made his first public appearance since 16 May, 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.”

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**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 counter-revolutionary rebellion. His formulation is milder than the one used by leaders who have focused on counter-revolutionaries within the party or leadership.

Deng also repeated the formula of “one centre (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 …

George Washington University, www.gwu.edu
Source 16

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.

Cowie, HR 1987, Asia and Australia in World Affairs, vol. 3

Source 17

China and the World Trade Organisation

“China and the US reach a deal on trade, paving the way for Beijing’s entry into the World Trade Organisation”, 1998.

Source 18

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.

Acknowledgments

Seen sources

Source A

Source B

Source C

Source D
Zedong, M 1950, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, Foreign Language Press, Beijing, China. Australian Associated Press (AAP), Sydney, NSW.

Source E

Source F

Source G

Source H

Source I

Source J

Source K

Source L

Source M
Unseen sources

Source 1

Source 2

Source 3

Source 4

Source 5

Source 6

Source 7

Source 8

Source 9

Source 10

Source 11

Source 12
Guo, S 2000, Post-Mao China: From Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism, Praeger, Connecticut, USA.

Source 13
Source 14

Source 15

Source 16

Source 17

Source 18

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