Modern History

Paper Two — Historical sources book

Monday 5 November 2018
1 pm to 3:40 pm

Directions
You may write in this book during perusal time.

Contents
• Seen sources (Sources 1–12)
• Unseen sources (Sources A–J)
• Acknowledgements

After the examination session
The supervisor will collect 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.

Seen sources (1–12)

Source 1 — 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, G 1978, A Short History of China

Source 2 — 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 are 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 the Chinese nationalism into fruition ...


Source 3 — Mao on the peasants and revolution

Without the poor peasants it would never have been possible to bring about in the countryside the present state of revolution, to overthrow the local bullies and bad gentry, or to complete the democratic revolution. Being the most revolutionary, the poor peasants have won the leadership in the peasant association. [...] This leadership of the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there can be no revolution. To reject them is to reject the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. Their general direction of the revolution has never been wrong.

de Bary, WT et al. 1999, Sources of Chinese Tradition
**Source 4 — 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, JM 2004, *An Early Spring: Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Intellectuals and the Hundred Flowers Campaign*

**Source 5 — Great Leap Forward (1956–1960)**

![Image of people's commune]

**The people’s communes are good, 1958**

A poster for schools shows the ideal people’s commune, with a rich harvest, backyard furnaces, communal facilities for eating and washing, a centre for the elderly, and the people’s militia.

*Landsberger, SR & The International Institute of Social History 1958*
Source 6 — 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!


Source 7 — The Cultural Revolution

‘Render new service for the people’, February 1968

Landsberger, SR & The International Institute of Social History,1968

Source 8 — 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
Source 9 — Deng’s four modernisations

Deng and his supporters realised that without economic advances, the future position of the CCP would be untenable. The goal therefore became the succinctly stated ‘Four Modernisations’ originally put forward by Premier Zhou in the 1970s: modernisation of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. The most important of the four was the modernisation of agriculture from agricultural production. Unlike the earlier Maoist policies, which were hastily designed and quickly implemented, the new approach called for experimentation with changes in just a few years before beginning wider reforms.

Benson, L 2016, China Since 1949

Source 10 — Official view of Mao, post-Cultural Revolution

Before and after the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the Party led and supported the large-scale debate about whether practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth. The nationwide debate smashed the traditional personality cult of Chairman Mao Zedong and shattered the argument of the ‘two whatevers’

†, the notion pursued by then Party Chairman Hua Guofeng after the death of Chairman Mao. The erroneous notion included that whatever policy decisions Mao had made must be firmly upheld and whatever instructions he had given must be followed unswervingly. The statement first appeared in an editorial entitled ‘Study the Documents Carefully and Grasp the Key Link’, which was published simultaneously in the People’s Daily, the Liberation Army Daily, and later in the monthly journal Hongqi, or the Red Flag. The debate upheld again the ideological principles of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts and brought order out of chaos.

†We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, n.d.

Source 11 — 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 5 000-year-old Chinese national identity.

Marquand, R 2002, China’s Communist Party – different in all but its name
China has been called a ‘post-Communist society’. Marxism and the other dominant thought forms on which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, and exercised that power from 1949, have been buried. It has been described as a system now guided by pragmatism and by simply finding what works to deliver the all important economic growth. And yet, the language that elite Chinese leaders of the ‘fourth generation’ use often seems to contradict this. In their use of terms, in the ways in which they frame the world, and in the moral and intellectual justifications that they invoke for policy, there does seem to be ideology. In comments made in early 2012, Party Secretary and President Hu Jintao wrote of the hostile intent of western powers and ‘their efforts [...] to divide us’, and referred to the fact that ‘the international culture of the west is strong while we are weak [...] Ideological and cultural fields are our main target.’


End of Seen sources
Unseen sources (A–J)

Source A — 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.

Source B — 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 just 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.’

Zedong, M 1950, On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship

Bajoria, J 2008, Nationalism in China
Source C — Communism and patriotism
As early as 1938, Mao wrote that the ‘Chinese Communists must therefore combine patriotism with internationalism. We are at once internationalists and patriots [...] Only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and the working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism’. For Mao, practising nationalism in China was practising internationalism in the service of the socialist world course. This also conformed to the Soviet Union’s orthodox view of Marxism. As Lenin said, ‘The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support.’

Chen, Z 2005, Nationalism, Internationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy

Source D — Mao Zedong on the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party
Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communists’ Party embraces the two stages, i.e., the democratic and 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.

Zedong, M 1939, The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party

Source E — Confucianism
China has a long history of authoritarian rule that has penetrated every facet of society, from the early emperors to the present governing elite. Indeed it could be argued that the CCP represents a modern manifestation of a traditional dynastic succession and that the extant [existing] political system is a continuation of the ancient Confucian hierarchical order.

Moles, BW 2012, Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy: A Cause for Concern or Patriot Games?

Source F — Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) on being a ‘good’ Communist
A good Communist Party member is one who combines the great and lofty ideals of Communism with practical work and the spirit of searching for the truth from concrete facts.

What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist Party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish Communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world. Is a Communist world good or not? We all know that it is very good. In such a world there will be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists, or fascists. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance, backwardness, etc. In such a society all human beings will become unselfish and intelligent Communists with a high level of culture and technique. The spirit of mutual assistance and mutual love will prevail among mankind. There will be no such irrational things as mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter and war, etc. Such a society will, of course, be the best, the most beautiful, and the most advanced society in the history of mankind. Who will say that such a society is not good?
At all times and on all questions, a Communist Party member should take into account the interests of the Party as a whole, and place the Party’s interests above his personal problems and interests. It is the highest principle of our Party members that the Party’s interests are supreme.

Lui, S 1939, *How to be a good communist*

**Source G — Cultural Revolution (1966–1968)**

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

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

*Landsberger, SR & The International Institute of Social History 1958*
During the Cultural Revolution, the representation of Marx played a great role in the attempts to position Mao Zedong as the last living—and therefore most relevant—contributor to Marxism.

Landsberger, SR & The International Institute of Social History 1958

Source I — 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.

Source J — Has the Chinese Communist Party transformed itself since 1978?

Overall, it seems clear that the CCP has undergone a significant transformation since 1978. Many aspects of the Party including its composition and the declining role of ideology would be unrecognisable to the Maoist era, whilst Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jianto have emphasised ‘absolute stability at any cost’, a striking contrast from Mao’s chaotic regime. The importance of maintaining political stability in order to facilitate economic development has become central to the party’s role, and the declining significance of ideology has resulted in a ‘shift in the party’s fundamental legitimacy to its capacity to deliver the economic goods’. To a large extent, the institutionalisation and reform program has achieved this stability, but major problems such as widespread corruption remain. However, the Party has adopted a dynamic approach to development and appears flexible in dealing with the challenges of the contemporary world whilst still maintaining its iron grip on power.

Hawkes, S 2011, Has the Chinese Communist Party transformed itself since 1978?

End of Unseen sources
Acknowledgments


Benson, L 2016, China Since 1949, Routledge, London UK.


Burke P 1999, Heinemann Outcomes: Studies of Asia, Melbourne, VIC.


Milston, G 1978, A Short History of China, Cassell, Sydney, NSW.


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