

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE**

**Faculty of Humanities**

**Meng Xianjie**

**Cultural integration or emphasizing differences? Reflections  
of China's history (1949-1976) in the mirror of British and  
American historiography**

**Master's Thesis**

**Prague 2017**



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**Supervisor: Mgr. Alena Marková, Ph.D.**

**Prague 2017**

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## **Statement**

I solemnly declare that the master's thesis submitted is the result of my independent research work under the guidance of my supervisor. As far as I know, in addition to the content already cited in the text, the research results of this thesis do not contain any of the contents of others' writings. This work has not been used to obtain a same or different degree.

Prague, June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017

Meng Xianjie

### **Abstract**

This thesis introduces China's contemporary history especially the period 1949-1976 based on the analysis of selected British and American historiography. Through the criticism and comparison of British and American scholars' discourse, this thesis will obtain a deeper understanding of China's history. This thesis regards Mao Zedong as the main China's historical figure, as well as the construction of new China as the main line of writing. So the position of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party during the period of the construction of new China is an important part to discuss in this thesis. The thesis mainly talks about the period 1949-76 of China from the perspective of political and economic policies and movements, international relations, social issues, military actions and cultural movements. In addition, this thesis also emphasizes on discussing the angles, methodology and terminology of British and American historiography on China's contemporary history.

**Key words:** Chinese studies, British scholars, American scholars, British and American historiography, China's history, 1949-1976, contemporary history, Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong.

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## **1. Introduction:**

From the perspective of scientific relevance, there are a wealth of ways in which world history can be written. For example, some authors portray Chinese history in the context of global developments and history, starting with its contacts with its neighbors; on the contrary, some authors will choose to isolate China from international environment in order to restore the uniqueness of China. So it is necessary to analyze and compare the approaches and terminology of western (i.e. European and American) scholars used in their study.

From the perspective of societal relevance, the study of foreign Chinese studies can let us know how European and American scholars think about China and how they imagine China. It's a mirror, in which western world could see China and its historical development and relevance. Therefore the study could provide the multidimensional perspective for understanding China's own problems. Chinese scholars have done a lot of work on the review of foreign Chinese studies, especially on the study of Chinese modern and contemporary history. The focus has begun to transfer from the introduction and results evaluation to academic history. However, there are still some shortcomings.

The thesis will choose several typical periods among China's history (which focuses on contemporary China's history), comparing the different angles and approaches the authors used. Based on this, the master thesis could gain a deeper understanding about British and American historiography and its own (western) understanding of China.

This master thesis will focus on the combination of theoretical and empirical aspects. This thesis will examine the angles and the approaches used by western scholars in the study of Chinese history. The thesis attempts to critically analyze and compare the approaches and terminology of British and American historiography on China's history. It will help to reveal the different attitudes and ideological patterns. We will select several typical periods of contemporary Chinese history and summarize the similarities and differences through analyzing and comparing various approaches of interpretations and descriptions. At the same time we could compare the different



angles and approaches of the western authors.

The main approach is analytic and critical proceeding of relevant resources. I am going to use the critical approach to the sources. I am also going to analyze contemporary American and British historical resources based on selected publications. They are *The People's Republic of China 1949-76*<sup>1</sup>, Michael Lynch, London, 2008; *China 1900-76*<sup>2</sup>, Geoff Stewart, England, 2006; *A History of China*<sup>3</sup>, J.A.G. Roberts, London, 1999.

Western scholars attach importance to get rid of the fetters of ideology and require an objective study of contemporary Chinese history, focusing on the actual investigation and the use of archive's sources. We can still see the differences between foreign scholars and Chinese scholars in terms of academic standpoints, research perspectives and basic conclusions even though we see the various improvements that have emerged in the study of contemporary Chinese history abroad. But this won't prevent us to regard the academic tradition and the issues derived from different social structures as an important reference for comparison. Western Chinese historical works emphasize on the approach of political sociology, focusing on the study of nation and social relations. Discourse analysis is a way to deepen the study of contemporary Chinese history through the change of discourse. Through the conceptual analysis, we can realize the organic combination of the text and context, concepts and social history. Along with the political pattern of the new century and the shift of the focus of foreign contemporary Chinese history research, methodological elements become more diversified.

The master thesis aims to find out and discover the angles and the approaches western scholars used in the study of Chinese history. The thesis attempts to critically analyze the approaches and the terminology of British and American historiography on China's history. It aims to reveal the different attitudes and ideological patterns of chosen books. This article will select several typical periods among Chinese history, we can summarize the similarities and differences through analyzing and comparing

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999.

various approaches of interpretations and descriptions. The aim is to gain a broader and more theoretical perspective, from which we could see how the western researchers understand Chinese history. There are also many further related questions and topic to research, such as the comparison between Chinese discourse and British and American discourse on Chinese history, the approaches to analyzing Asian history and so on.

## **2. Methodology:**

The thesis offers a review of numerous English references on China's history and examines the situation of current international study on China's history by critically analyzing and comparing the approaches and terminology of British and American historiography. Based on analysis and comparison, we can examine the different attitudes and ideological framework deeper.

1) comparison: to explore a wide range of historical issues, a comparative framework is essential. Furthermore, comparison is a common way of thinking in all kinds of historiography, even if it is not systematic and conscious use of comparative law.

2) construction of the framework and interpretation: interactive research, comparative research and interactive-comparative research should not be the end of the study. They should also be 'constructed' to form ideological framework, including the construction of causality and the construction of operational mechanisms, construction of a generalized overview, and so on.

This methodological approach will bring a broader and more theoretical perspective, from which we can discover how the western researchers understand Chinese history. This approach also formulates many further problems, such as the comparison between Chinese discourse and English discourse on Chinese history, the approaches to analyzing Asian history and so on. The thesis offers a review of numerous British and American references on China's history and examines the situation of current international study on China's history by critically analyzing and comparing the approaches and terminology of British and American historiography. Based on

analysis and comparison, we can examine the different attitudes and theoretical framework deeper. Based on this, the master thesis can gain a deeper and ideological understanding about British and American historiography.

### **3. Chapter 1: period 1949-1956:**

Generally speaking, China's modernization process can be broadly divided into three stages, and this thesis will follow this time line to analyze three selected Anglo-Saxon writings, including *The People's Republic of China 1949-76*<sup>4</sup>, Michael Lynch, London, 2008; *China 1900-76*<sup>5</sup>, Geoff Stewart, England, 2006; *A History of China*<sup>6</sup>, J.A.G. Roberts, London, 1999:

1) period 1949-1956: transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

2) period 1956-1966: ten years of exploration and construction.

3) period 1966-1976: the Cultural Revolution: ten years turmoil.

The reasons why this thesis follows this time line are decided by the characteristics of this historical period:

1) First of all, this period is called the beginning of the new China to explore the road of modernization. This stage is hard, tortuous, and full of success and failure. This period of China is immature. New China faces major problems in aspects of political construction, foreign relations, economic construction, social life, education and culture. China is eager to build a whole, positive and healthy social order. From the perspective of political construction, China has just achieved national independence, and established the socialist system; from the perspective of foreign relations, the principle of peaceful diplomacy was established in the early days of the new China; from the perspective of economic construction, the planned economic system is established, in the process of economic construction, success and failure coexist; from the perspective of people's lives, people's living standards are low, and lack of living materials; from the perspective of education and culture, national

<sup>4</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999.

defense technology and biotechnology made a major breakthrough.

2) Secondly, the period chosen in this thesis from 1949-1976 can be called Mao Zedong's era from the political point of view. This thesis aims to combine Mao Zedong's political leadership career and the construction of new China, then this period will be the most appropriate for this theme. Mao Zedong<sup>7</sup> is the soul and main policy maker of China's construction during early stages. So the study of Mao is very necessary for a better analysis of the situation of new China.

3) Thirdly, due to the particularity of this period, there are many different ways and angles about its discussion, and the evaluation of this period is different. For example, when talking about and evaluating the outcome of the Cultural Revolution, if from the perspective of Mao, this revolution will contain successful part because it helps Mao to remove his enemies within the party, such as the right-wing led by Liu Shaoqi<sup>8</sup> and Deng Xiaoping<sup>9</sup>; however, if from the perspective of social order and people's lives, this revolution will be a disaster because the Red Guards<sup>10</sup> carried out destructive actions aiming to destroy everything associated with capitalist elements.

The reasons why this thesis chooses these three books:

1) First of all, these three books are the result of the study of Chinese history by Western scholars--Michael Lynch<sup>11</sup>, Geoff Stewart<sup>12</sup> and J. AG. Roberts<sup>13</sup>, which is in

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<sup>7</sup> Mao Zedong: who was a major Chinese Marxist theorist, soldier, as well as a statesman leading China's communist revolution, including Anti - Japanese War and Liberation War. Mao was also the principle leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1935 until 1976, and he was the chief of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1959 and the leader of the Chinese Communist Party also until 1976. Looking at the whole period from the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 to Mao's death in 1976, Mao Zedong can be regarded as the principal architect and planner of the new China.

<sup>8</sup> Liu Shaoqi: who was the chairman of the People's Republic of China from 1959 until 1968, as well as the chief theoretician for the Chinese Communist Party. He was regarded as the successor of Mao Zedong until he was purged in the late 1960s. He participated in the Chinese labor movement actively, and he played a very important role in formulating party and deciding governmental strategies. He also played an important role in Chinese foreign affairs and diplomatic relations after the Chinese Communist Party had gained control of the whole country.

<sup>9</sup> Deng Xiaoping: who was a Chinese communist leader. He was the most powerful and important figure in the People's Republic of China from the late 1970s until 1997. He criticized and gave up many orthodox communist doctrines and attempted to introduce and adopt elements of the free-enterprise system and other economic reforms into China.

<sup>10</sup> Red Guards: which were groups of university and high school students who were militant united and transformed into paramilitary units as an important role during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. They were united under the auspices of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao's instruction in 1966 in order to help party and chairman Mao Zedong to fight against 'revisionist' authorities and elements, for example, those party leaders Mao considered as revolutionary elements.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Lynch: (1938-). Who is a British historian, lecturer and biographer, who is also an honorary fellow in School of Historical Studies of University of Leicester. He focuses on the fields of China under the leadership of Mao, Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. His main works on China have *Mao* (2004), *China: From Empire to People's Republic 1900-49* (2010), *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* (2008).

line with the research direction of this paper. At the same time, from the time of publication, the age gap between the three books is not large. This helps us to compare works of the same age from different angles.

2) Secondly, these three books are all about Chinese history, but are completely different in writing style. From a holistic point of view, this difference is reflected in the different writing frameworks and clues. From a detailed point of view, this difference is reflected in a lot of different understandings about specific details.

3) Thirdly, in *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* and *China 1900-76*, these two books are about the Chinese modern history before 1976. The authors Michael Lynch and Geoff Stewart have made a detailed introduction to this period of China. Nevertheless, the starting point of their writings and the structures of the articles are completely different. This is very helpful for us to compare and summarize. The book *A History of China* is a typical of chronology. It records the main historical events in chronological order and provides a brief analysis. In general, these three books have their own characteristics. It is worth putting together for comparison.

4) Fourthly, from the perspective of academic value, *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* is wrote by British historian Michael Lynch--an honorary fellow of School of Historical Studies in University of Leicester, whose areas of interest contains China under the leadership of Mao, Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany. His representative works on China are *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* (2008); *China: From Empire to People's Republic 1900-49*<sup>14</sup> (2010) and *Mao*<sup>15</sup> (2004). His main ideas on China can be summarized that 'Lynch considers the hero worship of Mao as 'extreme' but acknowledges it is not 'wholly irrational' that he was seen as the liberator of China. According to Lynch, by the time Mao died China was a nuclear superpower, had led a 'momentous social and political revolution' and had become

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<sup>12</sup> Geoff Stewart. The author of the series Heinemann Advanced History.

<sup>13</sup> J. A.G.Roberts: who is the principal lecturer in the field of history at the University of Huddersfield in UK. He has lectured on the histories of China and Japan extensively. And he also has a special interest in researching Western perceptions of Chinese and Japanese society. His main books on China have *A History of China* (2000) and *A Concise History of China* (1999).

<sup>14</sup> Michael Lynch, *China: From Empire to People's Republic 1900-49*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education,2010.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Lynch, *Mao*, Routledge Historical Biographies, London:Routledge ,2004.

the ‘model for the struggle against colonialism’.<sup>16</sup> My thesis chooses his book *The People’s Republic of China 1949-76* published by Hodder Education located in London. On the one hand because Lynch is an expert on Chinese history, and on the other hand because this book is in line with the period I want to study.

*China 1900-76* is wrote by Geoff Stewart and published by Pearson Education Limited located in United Kingdom. ‘The Heinemann Advanced History Series is a series which provides excellent coverage of all the most popular topics.’<sup>17</sup> This book mainly talks about the way how China’s political environment and international relations transformed throughout 1949-76 following key historical figures such as Mao Zedong and Lin Biao and key events such as the Cultural Revolution.

*A History of China* is wrote by the author J. AG. Roberts--‘he is principal lecturer in history at the University of Huddersfield, UK. He has lectured extensively on the histories of China and Japan and has a special interest in Western perceptions of Chinese and Japanese society.’<sup>18</sup> And this book is published by Macmillan Education located in London, UK. Roberts’ main books on China have *A History of China* (1999) and *A Concise History of China*<sup>19</sup> (1999).

5) Fifthly, from the perspective of main line of writing, these three western scholars basically choose Mao Zedong and his policies as the main line of writing when describing the historical period 1949-1976. The advantage of this writing style is that the writing structure will be very clear. It is not based on the simple accumulation of historical materials and events, but rather the selection of important historical events to help the authors explain their views and hypothesis. For example, when Michael Lynch suspected Mao Zedong’s true reasons to launch the Hundred Flower Campaign, he did not simply make an assertion, but fully analyzed the factional disputes within party and the contradictions between Mao Zedong and intellectuals. Finally, Lynch made a very objective conclusion.

<sup>16</sup> <http://alphahistory.com/chineserevolution/historian-michael-lynch/> [11:25, 20<sup>th</sup>, May,2017]

<sup>17</sup>

<http://www.pearson.com.au/products/S-Z-Stewart-Geoff/Heinemann-Advanced-History-China-1900-76/9780435327699?R=9780435327699> [13:10, 20<sup>th</sup>, May,2017]

<sup>18</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J.A.G.\\_Roberts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J.A.G._Roberts). [9:23, 21<sup>st</sup>, May,2017]

<sup>19</sup> J.A.G.Roberts,*A Concise History of China*,Cambridge: Harvard University Press,1999.

6) Finally, according to different periods, these three books shows different structures:

(1) When discussing the period 1949-1956, the structure of *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* wrote by Michael Lynch can be divided into four parts. The first part is the new China's preparation stage, the theme of this phase is to deal with the remaining issues of the war years. At the same time, the government should accumulate economic and political foundations for the construction of new China. Thus, Lynch analyzes from the perspective of class relations, political system, early military issues and ideological unity respectively. Through the analysis of all aspects of the new China, Lynch at the end of this part evaluates the Communist Party (CCP) of China and Mao Zedong. In the second part, Lynch describes the major military actions of new China and the impact of the Korean war on China. In the third part, Lynch analyzes the First Five-Year Plan from the perspective of a economic policy. In the last part, Lynch analyzes the Hundred Flower Campaign from the perspective of ideological movement. Here, Lynch focuses on the analysis of real reasons why Mao Zedong launched Hundred Flower Campaign.

The structure of the *China 1900-76* wrote by Geoff Stewart can be divided into five parts. The first part is the introduction of governmental hierarchy from the perspective of government administration. The second part is about Mao's political status and his democratic image. The third part is the problems new China meet and the main theme of this period is control. Unlike *The People's Republic of China 1949-76*, in addition to discussing economic, political and military issues, *China 1900-76* also discusses many social issues, such as social order, women's issues and opium problems. To my way of thinking, *China 1900-76* pays more attention to the discussion of social relations and security in New China. This shows that Geoff Stewart believes that the new China is facing not only economic, political and military issues, social problems and security also need to be solved and faced. These social problems are the most closely related to the people's living environment. In the fourth part, Stewart analyzes the First Five-Year Plan from an industrial point of view. Unlike *The People's Republic of China 1949-76*, in addition to introducing the First Five-Year Plan, Stewart also specifically analyzes the various social relations of China in the process of industrialization. The last part is Stewart's overall assessment of the new China during this period. This is different from *The People's Republic of China 1949-76*.

*The People's Republic of China 1949-76* focuses on the evaluation of the authority, especially the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong.

The structure of *A History of China* wrote by J.A.G.Roberts can be broadly divided into two parts. The first part describes the four tasks faced by the new China to consolidate the regime, from four aspects: the polity, the economy, the territory and the diplomatic relations. In the second part, Roberts introduces measures to consolidate the political power of New China, respectively, from agrarian reform, universal education and marriage law three aspects.

(2) When discussing the period of 1956-1966, the system of *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* can be divided into two parts. The first part is about the introduction of the Great Leap Forward including industrial reform and agricultural reform. The result of the Great Leap Forward is the great famine. The second part is Lynch's criticism of the Great Leap Forward from the perspective of the law of development, scientific guidance, industrial chain and Mao's mistakes.

The structure of *China 1900-76* includes three parts. The first part is about Hundred Flower Campaign. The second part is anti-rightist campaign. In this part, Stewart emphasizes the factional disputes and power struggle. The third part is the Great Leap Forward.

The structure of *A History of China* mainly focuses on the introduction of the Great Leap Forward.

(3) When discussing the period of 1966-1976, the system of *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* can be divided into four parts in a chronological way. The first part is the eve of the Cultural Revolution. Lynch mainly talks about Mao's cult of personality and the development of factional disputes. The second part is about the Cultural Revolution from the aspects of reasons, instruments, targets, features and the relationship between Mao and the Cultural Revolution. The third part is about the end of the Cultural Revolution and the position of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. The fourth part is the evaluation of the Cultural Revolution.

The structure of *China 1900-76* can be divided into three parts. The first one is the reason why Mao launched the Cultural Revolution from the perspective of



anti-rightist struggle and Mao's approaches. The second part is about how the Cultural Revolution becomes to be possible. The third part is the evaluation of the Cultural Revolution.

The structure of *A History of China* can be divided into three parts, which is very different from *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* and *China 1900-76*. It mainly focuses on the introduction of the Cultural Revolution, Mao's successor and international relations.

### 3.1 *《The People's Republic of China 1949-76》* :

#### 3.1.1 Narrative characteristics:

Let's start with the period 1949-56 of the book *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* wrote by Michael Lynch. First of all, Lynch refers to this historical period as 'the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'. As far as I am concerned, it means that this is an important stage in the development of China's history to consolidate the leadership position of the Chinese Communist Party<sup>20</sup> and Mao. On the one hand, because China has been engaged in internal war--Chinese Civil War<sup>21</sup> (1945-49) and external war-- Sino-Japanese war<sup>22</sup> (1937-45) for long time, so there are still many historical issues in all aspects of economy, politics and culture. It can be said that China is incomplete during this time. On the other hand, the victory of the war and the establishment of new China gave the leadership and the mass great encouragement and motivation to establish an independent and self-improvement country. So even if faced with a lot of difficulties, the Party and the mass are still full of confidence. So 'the early years' here is full of complex emotions, both confusion

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<sup>20</sup> Chinese Communist Party (CCP): China's controlling and leading power is the Chinese Communist Party. It has a parallel hierarchy and system including elected congresses and committees. The way of its function is from the level of villages upward to cities. Its principle is to serve for the people.

<sup>21</sup> Chinese Civil War: almost more than four years after Japan's surrendering, the China's Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) occupied mainland China. Later, the People's Republic of China was established on Oct. 1, 1949 in Beijing. The basic factor of the victory of Chinese Civil War was a communist military triumph growing out of base revolution. In the early stage, from late 1945 to the end of 1946, the Nationalists and communists competed to occupy Japanese-held territories in China and attempted to build up their power, and then during 1947 and the first half of 1948, after Nationalists obtains initial success, the strategic balance turned in favour of the communist. Finally, the communists won a series of victories leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

<sup>22</sup> Sino-Japanese War: which was the conflict breaking out when China started a full-scale resistance and fight against the expansion of Japanese invasion in its territory from 1931. The Japanese occupied large areas of eastern China from 1937 to 1938. The defeat of Japan by the Allies in 1945 ended its aggression and occupation of China.

and confidence in the face of difficulties. At the same time, ‘the early years’ of China is also accompanied by success and failure, growing stronger in the exploration and accumulating experience in failure. In order to describe how the Chinese Communist Party consolidate the leadership position during the early years, Lynch selects four most representative historical events from the aspects of military, economy, art and politics.

Secondly, from the perspective of writing clues, Lynch refers to the early years as the period of China’s Communist Party’s consolidation of authority and Mao’s reconstruction of China. According to Lynch’s view, Mao Zedong’s reconstruction of all aspects of China is based on the guidance of Marxism. As Lynch writes, ‘As head of the Chinese Communist Party, he (Mao) was now in a position to impose his particular brand of Marxism on the new republic. This chapter explores Mao’s early moves towards re-creating China in his own image.’<sup>23</sup> In my opinion, in the early years of China, the guiding role of ideology can not be ignored, especially Marxism-Leninism. But ideology does not always play a positive role because different countries have different national conditions, so ideology need to be constantly adjusted and improved according to local conditions in practice. Maoism<sup>24</sup> is the combination of China’s national conditions and Marxism.

### 3.1.2 Ideological framework:

Lynch elaborates Mao Zedong’s preparatory work in the consolidation stage of regime from several aspects:

1) Accumulating all available capital and resources, uniting all classes and patriots who can be united, which refers to those who support the leadership of Chinese Communist Party and Mao. In the evaluation of Mao Zedong’s policies of consolidating the regime, Lynch objectively and fully embodies the different attitudes

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<sup>23</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 19.

<sup>24</sup> Maoism: which is the doctrine including the ideological patterns and approaches for revolution developed by Mao Zedong and his assistants in the Chinese Communist Party from the 1920s until Mao’s death in 1976. Maoism showed and explained a revolutionary methodology clearly on the basis of a distinct revolutionary framework which is not necessarily associated with Chinese or Marxist-Leninist context.

and policies of Mao Zedong towards the Kuomintang<sup>25</sup> and the patriots. For example, as Lynch says, ‘It is true that the property of those Nationalists who had fled with Chiang Kaishek<sup>26</sup> to Taiwan was seized and the banks and the public utilities were taken under state control.’<sup>27</sup> and ‘Those who had been unwilling or unable to flee with the defeated Kuomintang were invited to stay in their positions and become loyal servants of the new government.’<sup>28</sup> When talking about Kuomintang, Lynch uses terms such as ‘seize’ and ‘defeated’. When talking about those who support reconstruction of new China, Lynch uses terms ‘compensation’ and ‘importance’.

2) establishing the political system of the central leadership. According to Lynch’s view, ‘This effectively left China under military control, a situation which Mao Zedong considered offered the best means of stabilizing China and guaranteeing the continued rule of the Chinese Communist Party. The overarching governmental power resided in the Central People’s Government Council...Mao...was the unchallengeable figure in government.’<sup>29</sup> In my opinion, in order to change chaotic social order, China’s early political system is actually a continuation of the war years, which is an imperfect and incomplete system. It mainly shows that military power leads the regime, the local government is absolutely obedient to the central, the majority of the central are Mao Zedong’s followers. This political system ensures Mao Zedong’s absolute authority position.

3) China’s early military problems are mainly Tibet<sup>30</sup>, Sinkiang<sup>31</sup> and Kwantung<sup>32</sup>. Totally different from main stream of Chinese history writings, Lynch identified these three military operations as war of aggression. In Chinese historical writings, these military actions are often called reunification.

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<sup>25</sup> Kuomintang: which was a Nationalist Party, which is also can be called National People’s Party. It is a political party that governed and controlled the whole or part of mainland China from 1928 to 1949. And finally, it was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party and escaped to Taiwan till now.

<sup>26</sup> Chiang Kaishek: whose official name is Chiang Chung-cheng. He was a soldier and statesman, as well as the head of the Nationalist government in China from 1928 to 1949. And finally he was the head of the Chinese Nationalist government in exile on Taiwan.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 20.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. P 20.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. P 20.

<sup>30</sup> Tibet: where is an autonomous region of China. It occupies a vast area of plateaus and mountains in Central Asia, including Mount Everest Feng.

<sup>31</sup> Sinkiang: where is an autonomous region of China. It occupies the northwestern corner of China.

<sup>32</sup> Kwantung: where is a historical region of northeastern China. It consists of the modern provinces (*sheng*) of Liaoning (south), Jilin (central), and Heilongjiang (north).

4) My point of view is that, if the military actions aim to consolidate the regime, then the anti-movements are to consolidate the leadership of the working class and the leading position of the socialist state economy from the perspective of political and economic control. According to Lynch's view, 'The main aim of the anti-movements was to destroy the remnants of what Mao defined as 'the bureaucratic capitalist class'. It was clear that three years after the communist takeover Mao felt able to turn openly against the classes which he had been obliged to tolerate earlier in order to maintain continuity of administration.'<sup>33</sup> I personally suppose that, Mao's policies of consolidation went through a transition from weak to strong and from loose to intensive. In the stage of political control, Mao Zedong decided to intensify the elimination of capitalist remnants. This point is consistent with previous text. As Lynch says, 'On taking power, Mao did not immediately rush to reform China. His initial moves were cautious.'<sup>34</sup> Some keywords can give us clues, such as 'tolerate', 'cautious' and 'openly'. They reflect the changes of intensity of Mao's policies towards capitalist remnants in the early stages.

5) When discussing how China permeated control into every corner of society, Lynch uses the term 'conformity'. This conformity is in fact a spiritual unity and an absolute obedience to the same ideology--Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. At the same time, it also means an exclusion of dissidents. According to Lynch's view, 'To maintain its control, the Chinese Communist Party turned China into a nation of informers...individuals or families who declined to become involved were immediately labeled as class enemies. Indeed, 'labeling' became the chief means of enforcing conformity. In the People's Republic there was to be no toleration of independent thinking, let alone dissent. China had begun to take its first steps towards becoming a society of informers in which conformity was maintained by exploiting the traditional fear Chinese people had of being publicly exposed as political or social deviant.'<sup>35</sup> In my opinion, Lynch describes this labeling and reporting system as a social control organization. From the perspective of writing style, Lynch tends to use

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<sup>33</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 22.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. P 19.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. P 23-24.

the methodology of classification and compares these various categories. For example, when Lynch talks about registration system-- ‘a notable method by which the party imposed its will was the system which required individuals to register themselves’<sup>36</sup>, he summarizes three registration methods and annotates them, ‘There are three main types of registration: *danwei*<sup>37</sup>-- a permit without which an individual could not hold a job. *Hukou*<sup>38</sup>-- a certificate which entitled a family to obtain accommodation. *Dangan*<sup>39</sup>-- a dossier held by local party officials containing the personal details and record of every individual.’<sup>40</sup> Lynch compares these three registration methods and concludes that ‘the *dangan* was the most intrusive. The *dangans* became the chief means by which the authorities maintained political and social control over the Chinese people. A person’s right to employment, housing or a pension, or indeed to his freedom, depended on the contents of his dossier.’<sup>41</sup> It seems to me that, firstly, *dangan* is defined by Lynch as a very direct way to quickly understand a person’s life experience. Secondly, the purpose of the archives is to manage and maintain political domination. And as an visible means of political domination, the archives can penetrate all aspects of people’s lives and it will accompany every people for life long, it is like everyone’s biography, everyone’s growth experience, together with success and failure will be clearly recorded on the above. This is to ensure that each citizen’s information is transparent.

6) How to evaluate the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong during 1949-56? Firstly, when talking about the features of Chinese Communist Party’s rule, Lynch notes that ‘despite the coercive society that Mao’s China was in practice, in theory it was one of the freest in the world. The Communist Party claimed that all power rested with the people and that the party officials and the government acted as servants of the nation.’<sup>42</sup> Lynch explains the characteristics of the Chinese Communist Party

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. P 24.

<sup>37</sup> Danwei: the places where people work.

<sup>38</sup> Hukou: used to register the household name, place of origin, date of birth and so on. It is a citizen's identity document issued by the local government affairs department.

<sup>39</sup> Dangan: Personal profile is an abbreviation for a person's life trajectory. It helps the employer to understand a person's background, but also an important part of one’s political career.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 24.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. P 25.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. P 26.

from two perspectives of practice and theory. There is an obvious contradiction of Chinese Communist Party's nature between the practice and theory. It is clear that Lynch tends to think that China is a coercive society in reality, although from the perspective of theory, the Chinese Communist Party tries to shape itself as a democratic party aiming to serve the people. My point of view is, according to new China's national conditions, huge population, incomplete political system and the remnants of traditional feudal autocratic system decides that it is difficult to promote democracy in China. However, Leaders are fully aware of the importance of the masses, especially in the phase of new China's construction. Economic construction mainly rely on the public's hard working. Therefore, putting 'serve the people' as principle of the Chinese Communist Party is very conducive to establish prestige and status of the Chinese Communist Party among the masses. Secondly, when evaluating Mao Zedong during 1949-56, according to Lynch's view, 'it was clear evidence of the increasing centralization of power in the party and government and of Mao's refusal to tolerate potential rivals.'<sup>43</sup> Lynch argues that the more power Mao concentrates in his hand, the harder he can hear honest advice and see the real China. Here, Lynch introduces the concept of 'democratic centralization'. As he says, 'Western observers were sometimes puzzled by the Chinese situation in which a party, dedicated to the notion of the rule of the masses, allowed itself to be controlled by one man, Mao Zedong.'<sup>44</sup> Lynch raises a question, he believes that it is contradictory between China's ruling style--centralization and Chinese Communist Party's notion--the masses are the real masters of China. As I see it, 'Democratic centralization' may be able to explain this puzzle which is explained by Lynch, he says, 'This idea had first been formulated by Lenin in Russia. The argument, which Mao took up and applied to his own interpretation of revolution in China, was that true democracy in a Communist party lay in the obedience of the members to the authority and instructions of the leaders.'<sup>45</sup> My consideration is, in order to analyze Mao Zedong's policies better and deeper, Lynch tries to establish a framework of ideology with

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<sup>43</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 25.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. P 27.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. P 28.

Marxism as the core, and Mao's policies are the improvement and application of Marxism in the context of China.

### 3.1.3 Major military action: the Korean War (1950-1953):

According to Lynch's interpretation, 'There have been various attempts to explain this move. It was once believed that the whole affair had been initiated by Mao in collusion with Stalin. This was how the US State Department interpreted it at the time. Their sensitivity over the 'loss' of China to the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 led the Americans to assume that the Communist invasion of South Korea was the first joint venture of the new Communist bloc formed by Red China and the USSR.'<sup>46</sup> From my perspective, firstly, Lynch attempts to analyze the reasons of the Korean War. Here, he mainly describes US state department's interpretation, which believes that this war is initiated by the Communist bloc. Lynch doesn't evaluate whether this statement is correct or not. And then he continues to analyze the Korean War in the context of international environment.

Then, Lynch analyzes the roles of Mao Zedong in the Korean War. And I can see the relationship between Stalin, Mao Zedong and Kim II Sung<sup>47</sup>. Lynch concludes two reasons of China's reaction from the perspective of geographical environment and international political environment. I can find evidence according to his explanation, he says 'Mao was at first hesitant to commit China formally to the Korean struggle. But once he realized the affair was a *fait accompli* he felt obliged to enter. Korea was too close geographically for China to remain detached, and at this early stage in its development the People's Republic of China invariably followed the Soviet lead in international affairs.'<sup>48</sup> As far as I am concerned, from the perspective of national security, Mao Zedong persuades the main army commanders finally.

And then Lynch continues to analyze the impact of the Korean War on China from positive and negative perspectives: from the perspective of negative impact on China:

<sup>46</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 29.

<sup>47</sup> Kim II Sung: who was the communist leader and chairman of North Korea from 1948 until his death in 1994. He was also the country's premier from 1948 to 1972, as well as the chairman of Korean Workers' Party from 1949, and also the president and head of state from 1972.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 31.

According to Lynch's view, 'The outcome of the Korean conflict suggested that Mao had been right in his initial reservations about Chinese involvement.'<sup>49</sup> Because this had a great impact on China, including 'the cost in Chinese lives...The USA pledged itself to the defense of Taiwan and to the continued support of Nationalist China's membership of the UN...The war was a huge drain on the young People's Republic of China's economy.'<sup>50</sup> I suppose that, Lynch evaluates China's situation and loss after the Korean War from three aspects: the number of deaths, the international environment and the domestic economic losses. From the perspective of positive impact on China: Lynch says, 'The government's call for national unity to enable the People's Republic of China to surmount its first great crisis helped Mao and the Chinese Communist Party to consolidate their hold over China... The three-year experience of war hardened China's resolve to stand alone in a hostile world...the USSR chose to play no direct military part. Mao proudly claimed that it was Chinese, not Soviet...The People's Republic of China could justifiably claim that for 3 years it had matched the USA in combat and remained undefeated.'<sup>51</sup> I consider that, in describing the outcome of the war, Lynch doesn't use the statement, such as 'China defeat USA'. Instead of that, he says that in the Sino-US confrontation, China is not defeated. From this example, I can see that Lynch is quite neutral about writing details.

#### 3.1.4 Major economic policy: The First Five-Year Plan (1952-1956):

According to Lynch's view, 'Mao's early attempts to modernize the Chinese economy carried the stamp of Soviet influence. Impressed by the apparent success of Stalin's Five-Year Plans in the USSR, Mao wanted the People's Republic of China to build on the same model.'<sup>52</sup> In my opinion, firstly of all, Lynch elaborates the theoretical basis of this economic policy. Secondly, this policy reflects the relationship between China and the Soviet Union in the early stage of China. The relationship is

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 32.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. P 32.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. P 32.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. P 34.



like the relationship between teacher and student. China hopes to get the most direct and the practical experience of development from the Soviet Union, but it ignores the differences between national conditions. The method of China is to copy the principle of Stalin's state-directed Five-Year Plans. I can find evidence from following statement, Lynch says that 'at this stage Stalin's USSR was the People's Republic of China's political and economic model and mentor. It was, after all, the only country after the 1949 revolution that was willing to offer China economic aid...In the Sino-Soviet agreement of 1950 the USSR agreed to provide China with economic assistance, but the bargain was weighted very much in favor of the Soviet Union.'<sup>53</sup> From his words, I think this kind of paid subsidy is the main way of early Sino-Soviet cooperation.

When discussing the purpose of the First Five-Year Plan, Lynch says, 'Its aim was to develop the state-directed growth of heavy industry.'<sup>54</sup> In my opinion, the goal is to establish the initial foundations of the socialist industrialization of the People's Republic of China and to concentrate its efforts on industrial construction. The guiding principle of the first five-year plan is 'to focus on capital construction'. The construction tasks specified in the plan were completed by the end of 1957. The socialist transformation of individual agriculture, handicraft industry and private industry and commerce is basically completed. The socialist relations of production are basically established.

When evaluating the outcome of the First Five-Year Plan, Lynch emphasizes its success. As he writes, 'China's economic growth rate of nearly nine per cent between 1953 and 1957 compared favourably with that of the USSR in the 1930s.'<sup>55</sup> In my opinion, the positive impact and the success of the First Five-Year Plan on China is that China has changed its industrial backwardness and has moved towards socialist industrialization. The First Five-Year Plan reflects the strong desire of the people to quickly build China into a socialist industrial country. After the First Five-Year Plan was formulated, China's industrial construction and socialist transformation were

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<sup>53</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 35.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. P 34.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. P 53.

flourishing. This success also can be reflected from table 3.1.1<sup>56</sup>.

### 3.2 《China 1900-76》 :

#### 3.2.1 Ideological framework:

Now, let's talk about the period 1949-56 in the book *China 1900-76* wrote by Geoff Stewart. Stewart starts with the sentence 'After 37 years of bloody chaos, China had a new emperor and a new dynasty.'<sup>57</sup> As for me, Stewart sees the founding of new China as the establishment of the new dynasty. The new dynasty was a continuation of the old dynasties. In order to understand how this new dynasty operates, Stewart attempts to construct a political system of various departments. There are three main organizations in China's government: the Chinese Communist Party, governmental organization and the People's Liberation Army<sup>58</sup>. According to Stewart's view, the relationship among these three institutions is mutual support and mutual restraint:

(1) the Communist Party: according to Webster's new world encyclopedia, the Communist Party is defined as 'China's controlling force is the Chinese Communist Party. It has a parallel hierarchy comprising elected congresses and committees functioning from village level upward and taking orders from above.'<sup>59</sup> I suppose that, this definition describes the process of formation and development of the Chinese Communist Party in detail. In addition to introduce the process, it also try to give a brief assessment of the functions of the Chinese Communist Party.

(2) Governmental organization: according to Stewart's description, 'Parallel to the party was the governmental organization it staffed. This was headed by Zhou Enlai<sup>60</sup> as premier and foreign Minister.'<sup>61</sup> In other words, it means the political status of the Communist Party and governmental organization is almost the same.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. P35.

<sup>57</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 88.

<sup>58</sup> People's Liberation Army (PLA): which is a unified military organization controlling China's land, sea, and air forces. It is also one of the largest military forces across the world. The original form of the People's Liberation Army can be traced back to the 1927 Nanchang Uprising of the communists against the Nationalists. Initially it was called the Red Army.

<sup>59</sup> Webster's new world encyclopedia.1992.P237.

<sup>60</sup> Zhou Enlai: who was the leading and famous figure in the Chinese Communist Party and premier from 1949 to 1976. And he was also the foreign minister from 1949 to 1958 of the People's Republic of China. He played an important role during the Chinese Revolution and later in the affairs of China's diplomatic relations. He was also an key member of the Chinese Communist Party from its beginnings in 1921.

<sup>61</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 89.

(3) the People's Liberation Army: according to Britannica Encyclopedia, this term is defined as 'Unified organization of China's land, sea, and air forces. It is one of the largest military forces in the world. Initially called the Red Army, it grew under Mao Zedong and Zhu De<sup>62</sup> from 5,000 troops in 1929 to 200,000 in 1933. After World War II the communist forces, renamed the People's Liberation Army, defeated the Nationalists, making possible the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949.'<sup>63</sup> As far as I am concerned, the People's Liberation Army made a great contribution both in the Chinese revolutionary stage and after the founding of the new China. It is China's most important military guarantee.

1) the position of Mao and his democratic image:

Stewart continues to discuss the position of Mao and his democratic image. Why did Stewart refer new China as a new dynasty, Mao Zedong as new emperor? In my opinion, before the founding of new China, China had been ruled by different feudal dynasties for long term. So if Stewart refers new China as a new dynasty, is there any relations between old dynasties and new China? Does it exist any continuity or similarities between them? From my view, to refer new China as a new dynasty is because there are some similarities between the way new China's management of local and the way in which the Chinese feudal society is dominated. Evidence can be found in Stewart's statements, he says, 'China was divided initially into six great regions...in the North East Bureau, Gao Gang<sup>64</sup> held all four posts. In the south west, Deng Xiaoping held the two crucial party posts of first secretary and political commissar...The reality of these arrangements was that China was now unified and under a centralized control greater than ever before.'<sup>65</sup> From my opinion, the management method of territory is to divide new China into several parts. The important ruling positions in each part is held by a trusted officials of Mao. These

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<sup>62</sup> Zhu De: who was one of China's greatest military leaders, as well as one of the founders of the Chinese communist army.

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Peoples-Liberation-Army-Chinese-army> [10:56, 25<sup>th</sup>, May,2017]

<sup>64</sup> Gao Gang: who was one of the early leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, and he was also one of the most important figures in the government after the establishment of new China. By the early 1950s he was a Politburo member, which is a political bureau. He was also one of Mao's closest comrades, and the head of the country's most industrialized area, which refers to Northeast China nowadays. His purge can be regarded as the biggest scandal during China's contemporary history.

<sup>65</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 90.

officials are responsible to report directly to the central authorities and are directly managed and arranged by the central authorities. This way of management is very similar with FengJian<sup>66</sup> system which started from old Zhou dynasty<sup>67</sup>. FengJian system also tries to centralize power and control in hands of the emperor through a decentralizing way by which the emperor divided the territory into several parts. The emperor arranges the reliable warriors and nobles to the fiefs. The feudal dynasty uses this way to manage the vast territory. Warriors and nobles have the obligation to protect the state and the emperor. According to Stewart's description, it also shows some features of Mao's ruling style. As he says, 'There could be no doubt of Mao's ultimate authority. One man could clearly not govern in detail 500 million Chinese, but woe betide those who acted without his authority.'<sup>68</sup> As far as I can see, China's specific national conditions, vast territory and huge population have decided that China needs to adopt a way of combination of decentralized and centralized management. Decentralized management means that dividing the territory and assigning individuals to manage different areas. Centralized management means that the local officials are subject to the central unified leadership. Initially, the new China control the national affairs in this way. Then, Stewart continues to discuss the position of Mao, he says, 'It was Mao who ultimately set the pace and direction of change.'<sup>69</sup> My view is that, in the early days of the founding of new China, Mao Zedong mainly used personal authoritarian leadership as an emperor. He decided the direction and route of new China.

China's political system has been widely discussed at home and abroad. According to Stewart's description, he says, 'In 1940, he (Mao) had written an essay 'On the new democracy'<sup>70</sup>, and in 1949, this became the official descriptive of the new regime and

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<sup>66</sup> Feng Jian: which was regarded as a political ideological pattern originated from Confucian during the latter part of the Zhou dynasty during ancient China. Its social structure forms a decentralized system from the center. The Zhou kings gave their fellow warriors and relatives the right to create large domains of land. In other words, the Fengjian system allocated pieces of land to trusted individuals.

<sup>67</sup> Zhou dynasty: which ruled ancient China for almost eight centuries. It established the distinctive political and economic patterns and features that were different from the next two millennia in China.

<sup>68</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 90.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. P 90.

<sup>70</sup> New democracy: which is a concept originated from post-revolutionary China, which talked about that the democracy should take a distinct path in China, which is much different from that of the liberal capitalist systems in the western world and Soviet-style communism in Eastern Europe. The purpose of the concept of new

its policies. It was meant to unite workers, peasants and bourgeoisie in building a new China. Private property and private enterprise would be encouraged. Only landlords and agents of the Nationalist Party (KMT)<sup>71</sup> regime and foreign interests were to be seen as enemies. Communism should not be seen as the enemy of freedom...Here was a promise of democracy, but slowly it became obvious that Mao drew his inspiration more from the Qin<sup>72</sup> Emperor than western concepts of democracy and liberty.<sup>73</sup> In my opinion, Mao Zedong's vision of the new China's political system before the founding of the People's Republic of China was to take a new type of democratic line. This democratic line means the unity of all classes can be united. Therefore, workers, peasants and bourgeoisie are listed as the builders of the new China. This democratic line is also manifested as the encouragement of private assets and private companies. In the blueprint of Mao Zedong's democratic society, only the landlords, the Kuomintang remnants and foreign interests are enemies. Communism and freedom are not hostile relations. This is fully embodied and validated in Mao's vision. He tried to combine communism with freedom.

2) The problems new China met and solutions: the main theme and target of new China is 'control'.

(1) Chaotic social order:

According to my point, China has been in a state of war for a long term. Society has long been fragmented. Crimes occur frequently. A large number of Chinese people do not have a proper occupation. At the same time ,the Kuomintang remnants is also a major problem the new China faces. As a result, as Stewart says, 'Some degree of repression in these circumstances was inevitable. It was, however, carried out with a thoroughness worthy of the first Qin Emperor.'<sup>74</sup> In my view, in the course of practice, Mao Zedong realized that China's chaotic national conditions and fragmented state

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democracy is to subvert the control of feudalism and colonialism and obtain the national independence.

<sup>71</sup> The Nationalist Party (KMT): which was a Nationalist Party, which is also can be called National People's Party. It is a political party that governed and controlled the whole or part of mainland China from 1928 to 1949. And finally, it was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party and escaped to Taiwan till now.

<sup>72</sup> Qin Emperor: who was the emperor of the Qin dynasty from 221 to 207 BCE and he was also the creator of the first unified Chinese empire--Qin Dynasty.

<sup>73</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 91.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. P 91.

can only be effectively managed by violent armed means. At this point, Mao Zedong admired and accepted the policy of the Qin Emperor. In order to effectively manage the public and control the flow of people, the central government vigorously promote the household registration management system and file system. As Stewart describes, 'The basis of control became the danwei, a work or neighbourhood unit. It exercised surveillance over its members as well as serving other social, political or economic ends desired by the regime. It was the key building block in the creation of a totalitarian society...Special labour camps were set up.'<sup>75</sup> From Stewart's description, I can conclude several features of the household registration system and file system. These two systems are divided by units and neighborhoods. And they contribute a lot to achieve the control of each person's life experience and movement. In other words, this management system is a good way to achieve the supervision of each citizen. In addition, it also plays other social functions as well. Stewart believes the ultimate goal of this system is to establish a totalitarian society. If the household registration and file system is the supervision of personal experience, then the Labor Union were established to achieve the supervision of the working status and the working enthusiasm of citizens.

## (2) the Korean War:

As far as I am concerned, in addition to the chaotic order of the country, from the new China's external environment, the Korean War is a serious challenge. According to Stewart's view, 'The mood was intensified by the Korean war<sup>76</sup> and the associated 'Resist America, Aid Korea' campaign.'<sup>77</sup> I think, on the one hand, there is a serious shortage of material in new China that makes it difficult to cope with external challenges. On the other hand, the location of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is very important to the security of Chinese territory. So it is necessary for China to make a decision whether to participate in the Korean War at this moment.

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<sup>75</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 92.

<sup>76</sup> The Korean War: which was the conflict between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). During this war, there are more than 2.5 million persons died. The war developed into international scale in June 1950 when North Korea supported by the Soviet Union invaded the South. The United Nations and the United States also joined the war to support the South Koreans, and later the People's Republic of China came to North Korea's side.

<sup>77</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 91.

## (3) the foreigners:

According to Stewart's view, 'Foreigners were particular objects of suspicion and the communist regime returned China to that closed world of the Qing<sup>78</sup> Dynasty...The assets of foreign businesses were frozen and many were forced to sell out at cheap prices...by early 1951, most foreigners had reached the conclusion that it was better to leave than face popular attacks or state imprisonment for espionage.'<sup>79</sup> In my opinion, in Mao Zedong's elaboration of democratic lines, foreign interests are listed on the enemy's blacklist. As a result, foreigners are specially treated at that time of China. In order to collect available resources and funds for socialist construction, new China has frozen a large number of foreign business assets. Faced with such a situation, a large number of foreigners out of fear and disappointment decided to leave.

## (4) the consolidation of control:

Firstly, the consolidation of control is mainly manifested as Three Antis Campaign<sup>80</sup> and Five Antis Campaigns<sup>81</sup>. According to Stewart's view, they 'were models for mass mobilization in the cause of party power. Workers were encouraged to denounce their bosses in struggle meetings...The whole process was aimed at control and ending dissent.'<sup>82</sup> In my view, in order to consolidate the leadership of working class and the state economy, three antis campaign and five antis campaign combat the capitalists deeply. The workers' supervisory system established as an independent sector is to educate and transform industrial and commercial operators. They are the major struggles of the Chinese Communist Party to lead the working class against the bourgeoisie since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Secondly, another important step in consolidating control is land reform. According to Stewart's view, 'It (land reform) was a complex question simplified by the

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<sup>78</sup> Qing dynasty: which was the last one dynasty of the imperial dynasties of China from 1644 to 1911.

<sup>79</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 92.

<sup>80</sup> Three-Antis campaign: whose targets are communist cadres who had a tendency to support China's capitalists and capitalist elements.

<sup>81</sup> Five-Antis campaign: which aimed at the capitalists and brought them into line on charges of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property and economic information, and cheating on government contracts.

<sup>82</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 92.

Communist Party into a war on 'feudal' landlords and exploitation.'<sup>83</sup> To my way of thinking, the central leadership seizes key class contradictions between landlords and peasants to launch land reform. When talking about the outcome of land reform, Stewart says, 'Land Reform was complete by 1952, and it had transformed China like nothing before. It had destroyed the old ruling elite and bought the support of vast numbers of peasants for the new regime. There were still real inequalities in the villages and tensions between poor peasants and their more wealthy neighbours.'<sup>84</sup> In my view, in the early days of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, peasants are the main component of society. So it is very important to change the political status and living conditions of the peasants. Land reform has brought great changes to China and Chinese farmers. The Communist Party's contribution to the life of the peasants also gives itself a strong mass support, although it is difficult to achieve an absolute average of interest. Then Stewart continues to talk about the purposes of land reform, he says, 'It had always been assumed that land reform would be only the first stage of a process that would build socialism in the countryside and release the resources in terms of food and labour for industrial growth. Larger units of production, it was argued, would be more efficient and produce more with less labour.'<sup>85</sup> From my perspective, land reform has two main purposes. On the one hand, this reform aims to prepare for the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside. On the other hand, land reform can effectively improve productivity, separating a lot of peasants and labor force from land to participate into social production as workers. It can provide sufficient manpower and material resources for industrial production.

(5) the women issue:

In addition to describing the important events of history, Stewart also concerns about important social issues and changes. An example is Stewart's concern and discussion of women's issues. Here, Stewart makes a sharp contrast between women's state of life and societal status in the feudal society and the new China.

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid. P 93.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. P 94.

<sup>85</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 95.



First of all, Stewart discusses the change of women's marital status. According to his view, he says, 'The feudal marriage system, which is based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangement and the superiority of man over woman and ignores the children's interests shall be abolished.'<sup>86</sup> It seems to me that, in feudal society, From a micro perspective, in the family, women have no right to decide their own marriage. They did not even see the future husband before marriage. Their marriages are mostly determined by the male elders and brothers. The greatest feature of this marriage is casual and polygamy. From a macro perspective, in society, male status is definitely higher than that of women. Man has the absolute leadership, decision-making power and superiority. Women and children are absolutely dependent and subordinate to men. However, with the establishment of the new China Marriage Law, women's nightmare ended. According to Stewart's description, 'Women benefited from a new marriage law issued in 1950. Women were declared to have equal rights and arranged marriages were forbidden as were dowries and concubinage. Women's property rights were asserted as equal to men. Unmarried, divorced or widowed women could hold land in their own names. Children born out of wedlock were to have equal rights and divorce was to be available on equal terms, except that a man could not divorce his pregnant wife nor for a year after she had given birth. Such changes amounted to a social revolution and challenged many of the age-old traditions of Chinese family and village life.'<sup>87</sup> In my opinion, the Marriage law effectively changes and protects the rights and interests of women. Equality between men and women, freedom of marriage, monogamy and property equality give women a high degree of freedom and full respect. For women, these changes are enormous. Women begin to have the right to choose and divorce. This is a great breakthrough to Chinese feudal old ideas and old traditions. China's family and society have also undergone tremendous changes. This change is positive and helpful. In addition, the rights of children are beginning to be valued and protected.

Secondly, in new China, according to social security regulations, prostitution is

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid. P 95.

<sup>87</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 95.

illegal and forbidden as a remnant of the feudal society. In order to effectively eliminate prostitution, the government relies heavily on the power of the masses and the comprehensive registration system. According to Stewart's explanation, he says, 'War was also declared on prostitution. This involved mass participation and the danwei was crucial. All houses were registered and lists of visitors and their departure times kept by the street committees. The nosy neighbours would, in effect, destroy the trade. Known prostitutes and their pimps were sent to special re-education centres.'<sup>88</sup> In my view, Stewart compared the action to clear the phenomenon of prostitution as a war. This means it is not easy to purify prostitution thoroughly. Like war, this action requires a detailed arrangement and strategic arrangement. It is not enough to rely solely on the power of the government. For this social problem, the government also needs to rely on the broad masses of enthusiastic people and danwei. In danwei, only the strict registration of each person's schedule can effectively reduce prostitution. In the neighborhood, only by mutual supervision between neighbors can control prostitution. For prostitutes, the government has set up a special re-education center for unified management.

(6) the opium issue:

According to Stewart's description, 'Opium addiction was also targeted with some success. Poppy fields were uprooted and dealers shot. Addicts were simply killed or cured by withdrawal of the drug and thereafter their families made responsible for their good behavior.'<sup>89</sup> As for my part, the opium problem is the result of the effect of imperialism. According to Britannica Encyclopedia's description, 'Foreign traders (primarily British) had been illegally exporting opium mainly from India to China since the 18th century, but that trade grew dramatically from about 1820. The resulting widespread addiction in China was causing serious social and economic disruption there.'<sup>90</sup> As for my part, since then, opium has been a social problem in China. The goal of new China is to completely eliminate the remnants of opium. For drug addicts, the government takes measures mainly from the control of opium

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. P 95.

<sup>89</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 95.

<sup>90</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Opium-Wars> [22:38, 27<sup>th</sup>, May,2017]

production and social regulation.

### 3) industrialization and the First Five-Year Plan:

#### (1) analysis from the perspective of variable relations:

As for me, in order to introduce the process of industrialization in new China more fully, Stewart attaches great importance to the analysis of social relations, economic relations and international relations in this period.

First of all, from the perspective of international relations, according to Stewart's view, 'The series of Five-Year Plans<sup>91</sup> that had been the hallmark of the Soviet economy since 1928 now formed the pattern for economic development in China.'<sup>92</sup> As I see it, in the period of the construction of new China, the development model of the Soviet Union became the main textbook for reference. After seeing the importance of the Five-Year Plans<sup>93</sup> for Soviet economic development, China also hopes to achieve industrialization in the same way. So the relationship between Soviet Union and China is like the teacher and student.

Secondly, when Stewart describes how to define the essence of the Five-Year Plan in China, he says, 'the Chinese, very sensibly, had back-tracked and while still claiming to be communist had adopted capitalism as a much more efficient way of promoting economic growth.'<sup>94</sup> In my opinion, the second relationship Stewart talks about is between capitalism and communism. In the process of development, they are not absolutely opposing. Capitalism can also effectively improve the development of industrialization in communist country.

Thirdly, from the perspective of economic relations, as Stewart says, 'Planners not consumers determined what was to be produced and, as in Russia, the emphasis was on heavy industry, steel, coal and electric power. It was all to be paid for by the peasants, hence the need to increase control of agriculture through the promotion of

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<sup>91</sup> Five-Year Plans(Soviet): which referred to the methods of planning economic growth during limited periods.

<sup>92</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 98.

<sup>93</sup> Five-Year Plans(Soviet): In the Soviet Union, the first Five-Year Plan was created by Joseph Stalin. It emphasized on developing heavy industry and collectivized agriculture at the cost of the fall in consumer goods. The second plan insisted the objectives of the first plan. The mode of collectivization led to terrible famines which caused numerous deaths. The third focused on the production of armaments. The fourth emphasized on heavy industry and military buildup.

<sup>94</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 98.

collective farming.’<sup>95</sup> According to Stewart’s description, the focus of the First Five-Year Plan is to develop heavy industry. The development of agriculture is only to provide a material and financial basis for industrial development.

Finally, correspondingly, this economic relationship directly affects social relations. To my way of thinking, excessive emphasis on heavy industry has put a lot of pressure on agriculture and peasants, and peasants have to sell some of the agricultural products to the country at low prices, causing peasants' discontent and resistance to this plan. In the long run, this is not conducive to social cohesion and stability.

(2) the evaluation of the First Five-Year Plan:

According to Stewart’s view, ‘The plan ran from 1953 to 1957 and seems to have been an extraordinary success...Peace and order after 37 years of chaos were probably the most important ingredients of the plan's triumph...Here were the first steps on the road to industrial transformation.’<sup>96</sup> In my point, Stewart gives a very positive evaluation of the outcome of the First Five-Year Plan. However, in addition to the success, I think there are still some shortcomings about this plan, such as great pressure and negative impact on the development of agriculture and the lives of peasants mentioned above. During this period, the industrialization of new China is still in the stage of infancy and sprouting Exploring stage means the coexistence of success and failure.

5) Conclusion--the evaluation of new China during this period:

From the perspective of national development, according to Stewart’s view, ‘Much had been achieved by the new dynasty and its emperor in a mere seven years. Few human societies had been so purposefully transformed in such a short time. The restoration of order, unity and stability was probably the greatest gain for most Chinese citizens.’<sup>97</sup> I suppose that, China during this stage did make a lot of progress. It not only clears the remnants of old society and feudal factors, but also lays a solid foundation for China's economic development. This is a very important transitional

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid. P 98.

<sup>96</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 99.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. P 99.

stage in China's history. From the perspective of individual citizens' life, according to Stewart's description, 'Family life and village life had been transformed by the new Marriage Law and Land Reform and then transformed again by the introduction of collectivization.'<sup>98</sup> As far as I can see, the Marriage law has greatly changed China's gender relations and social relations. In this transition, the status and interests of women and children are protected. Women are beginning to play a role in social life. Land reform separates a large number of peasants from land to participate in industrial production in order to increase productivity. Collectivization of production is an important feature of this period. This approach is considered to be relatively efficient, and it is very helpful in concentrating manpower and material resources. Finally, from the perspective of national enemies, at this stage, China's main enemies is foreign capitalism.

### 3.3 *《A History of China》* :

#### 3.3.1 Ideological framework:

##### 1) the consolidation of power (1949-1952): three tasks

Now, let's talk about the period 1949-56 of the book *A History of China* wrote by J.A.G Roberts. According to Roberts' view, 'Until 1952 the main effort of the new government was expended on consolidating its control.'<sup>99</sup> In my view, the first major task that the new China needs to solve is to consolidate the leadership position of the Chinese Communist Party and eliminate the reactionary forces in the country, mainly including the remnants of Kuomintang. As Roberts says, 'No organized resistance remained in China Proper after the Kuomintang's precipitate departure from the mainland.'<sup>100</sup> As for me, in order to maintain the leadership of the Communist Party and unite Taiwan<sup>101</sup>, the Chinese Communist Party needs to clear the Kuomintang's

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid. P 99.

<sup>99</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 256.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. P 256.

<sup>101</sup> Taiwan: which is an island in the western Pacific Ocean and lies about 100 miles off the coast of southeastern China. Taiwan was returned to Nationalist Chinese control in 1945 as Japan's defeat in World War II. In 1949, Chinese communist armies defeated Nationalist party and established the People's Republic of China on mainland China. The Nationalist government and armies escaped to Taiwan, leading to the separation of Taiwan from China till now.

remnants as soon as possible. And the most effective way is to use force to suppress the counter-revolutionary movements of the remnants of the Kuomintang.

According to Roberts' view, 'The second task was to gain control of the economy, which meant curbing inflation. This was achieved by increasing government revenue by creating a unified fiscal system...and by selling bonds. At the same time various strategies were employed to keep government expenditure under control, for example requiring the army to be partly self-sufficient.'<sup>102</sup> In my view, from the perspective of economic stability, the economic order of the new China was very chaotic. This requires the government to make a timely economic program. New China's inflation problem is very serious, an effective solution is to establish a unified financial system. At the same time, in order to avoid the recurrence of financial problems, the government should strengthen the supervision of government costs to avoid unnecessary expenses.

As Roberts says, the third task is about foreign relations. 'During the Second World War China had been treated flatteringly by the United States as a great power, but in the post-war period and the civil war China's international status had declined to that of a client state.'<sup>103</sup> In my view, if the aspects of economy, politics and territory are internal problems new China is confronted with, then international relations are China's external challenges. As a socialist country, China is fundamentally different from the capitalist world. This essential difference gives China great difficulties to integrate into the world environment. As a result, new China needs to learn how to ignore this distinction at first if it wants to obtain a position in international environment, actively seeking opportunities for cooperation with other countries, and establishing friendships with other countries. The early diplomatic activities of the People's Republic of China were mainly reflected in the relationship with the Soviet Union. This relationship can be reflected from Roberts' description, he says, 'The Chinese Communist Party aspired to present China as an independent and unaligned power, but in 1949, in the atmosphere of the Cold War, it seemed that China must

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<sup>102</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 257.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. P 258.

‘lean to one side’, which meant seeking an alliance with the Soviet Union.’<sup>104</sup> Personally, I think, new China doesn’t have much experience in dealing with international relations. On the one hand, the chaotic situation in new China cannot support itself to confront with Western countries in many aspects. China needs a long buffer period to sort out domestic affairs. On the other hand, both the international context of the cold war and the fact that China is a socialist state make China should be dependent on Soviet’s help in many aspects. So the Sino-Soviet relation warms rapidly during the cold war. New China's diplomatic relations are also reflected in China's participation in the Korean War. As Roberts says, ‘China's involvement also deepened the rift with the United States, which now became committed to the support of the Nationalists on Taiwan.’<sup>105</sup> In my view, China's decision to participate in the Korean War is to protect its own border territory next to North Korea from threats. However, meanwhile China's participation means that China and the United States will become enemies, which is very unfavorable to the international development of new China.

2) the measures the Chinese Communist Party takes to consolidate the power:

(1) the programme of revolutionary land reform:

When talking about the purposes of land reform, according to Roberts’ view, ‘It was not only to end the feudal exploitation of the landlord class, it was also to preserve a rich peasant economy to enable the revival of agricultural production...Many poor peasants, who by definition owned little or no land and survived by selling their labour, now became middle peasants. The importance of this measure in terms of consolidating peasant support behind the regime cannot be underestimated.’<sup>106</sup> In my view, the main contradiction of new China is reflected in the contradiction between landlords and peasants. New China's reality is that farmers constitute the vast majority of social composition. Therefore, for the Chinese Communist Party, only to lead the farmers really get out of the oppression of the landlords to dominate the land and participate production activities freely will

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid. P 258.

<sup>105</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 258.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. P 259.

consolidate social stability. The most direct benefit of doing so is to gain and consolidate the support of the majority of the peasants to the Chinese Communist Party and the government.

(2) the marriage law:

According to Roberts' view, marriage reform also plays an important role in consolidating the power of Chinese Communist Party. As he says, 'In 1950 a Marriage Law was introduced which replaced the 'feudal' marriage system with the 'New Democratic' marriage system...After the law had been promulgated, women's associations led a mass campaign to publicize the changes and a sharp rise in the number of divorces followed. Nevertheless, in rural areas many features of the traditional marriage system survived.'<sup>107</sup> In my view, the promulgation of the marriage law made China begin to end the feudal marriage, replaced by a democratic marriage system. The great change in the way of marriages means a great shift in gender relations and social relations. This means that women's family status and social status are improved. Women began to have the freedom to decide their own marriage and divorce. This is impossible in feudal society. The status of women has been greatly improved and respected. In the early days of new China, a large number of feudal packaged marriage choose to separate. However, this democratic marriage did not cover the whole country, and in some remote villages it was still persecuted by the traditional marital system.

(3) educational opportunities for the masses:

According to Roberts' view, 'Those whose schooling had been interrupted by war were offered accelerated programmes of study and many millions of adults attended winter study classes and sparetime schools. Teachers were re-educated, school texts were revised and political study classes were held.'<sup>108</sup> As far as I am concerned, the emphasis on education is an extraordinary feature and great improvement of new China. In order to restore and ensure the normal operation of school teaching, chaotic teaching order and project should be replaced. The educational materials of feudal

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<sup>107</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 259.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. P 260.



society should be revised.

#### **4. Chapter 2: period 1956-1966:**

##### **4.1 《The People's Republic of China 1949-1976》 :**

###### 4.1.1 Narrative characteristics:

Now, let's turn our focus to the period 1956-1966 of the book *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* wrote by Michael Lynch. In my view, during this period, Lynch mainly emphasizes one historical movement-- The Great Leap Forward<sup>109</sup>. This movement influenced every aspects of society throughout the exploration stage in new China. As the leader of this movement, Mao Zedong is main object to be analyzed. According to Lynch's analysis, 'The power that Mao had as the leader of a one-party state made him, in effect, an absolute ruler. The problem that such power created was that, since there was no one willing or able to put a check on him, the mistakes he made were magnified.'<sup>110</sup> In my view, Lynch defines Mao Zedong as an authoritarian ruler. This definition is based on China's one-party system. The direct drawback of this system is that the power is too centralized so that no one dares to put forward different proposals. It fully reflects the political status of Mao Zedong, as well as the real situation of policy formulation in China. When evaluating the influence of this centralized leadership of Mao, Lynch says that 'The result was that when his industrial and land policies plans proved hopelessly unrealistic and led to the greatest famine<sup>111</sup> in Chinese history the official government response was to pretend

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<sup>109</sup> The Great Leap Forward: which was the campaign broke out by the Chinese communists from 1958 to 1960 to organize the mass population especially numerous rural communes to realize China's industrial and agricultural progress in Chinese history. Through adopting labor-intensive pattern of industrialization, the country hoped to bypass the slow stage. The Soviet model focused on the conversion of capital obtained through selling agricultural products into heavy machinery, which was not applicable in China because China and Soviet Union had different national conditions. China had a huge population and low level of agriculture.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 44.

<sup>111</sup> The Great Famine in China: 'Under the commune system established during the Great Leap Forward, The peasants were organized into brigade teams, and communal kitchens were established so that women could be freed for work. The program was implemented with such haste by overzealous cadres that implements were often melted to make steel in the backyard furnaces, and many farm animals were slaughtered by discontented peasants. These errors in implementation were made worse by a series of natural disasters and the withdrawal of Soviet support. The inefficiency of the communes and the large-scale diversion of farm labour into small-scale industry disrupted China's agriculture seriously, and three consecutive years of natural calamities added to what quickly turned into a national disaster; in all, about 20 million people were estimated to have died of starvation between 1959 and 1962.'<sup>(<https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Leap-Forward>) [13:26 28<sup>th</sup>, May, 2017]</sup>

that none of it was happening.’<sup>112</sup> In my view, from the terms Lynch uses such as ‘pretend’, it fully reflects the governmental officials’ absolute obedience and harboring of Mao's policy. These can be also used as evidence to explain why is Mao defined as an ‘absolute ruler’.

Then Lynch continues to define the Great Leap Forward. According to his view, ‘The Great Leap Forward was the term Mao used to describe the second Five-Year Plan of 1958–62. His aim was to turn the People’s Republic of China into a modern industrial state in the shortest possible time. He believed that by revolutionizing China’s agriculture and industry the People’s Republic of China could build an economy that would catch up with those of the major nations and then overtake them.’<sup>113</sup> In my view, Lynch firstly makes clear the organizer and leader of this movement--Mao Zedong. Secondly, he stresses the internal linkage between this movement and the First Five Years Plan--continuity. This movement is essentially a continuation of the First Five Years Plan. The First Five years plan provided material basis and lessons for this movement. Finally, Lynch focuses on analyzing Mao Zedong's considerations and purposes of this movement, Mao’s ultimate goal is to catch up with the main countries. In my point, in order to achieve this goal, Mao Zedong will focus on economic construction, so agriculture and industry will become the main battlefield of the campaign.

When discussing why Mao used the word ‘leap’ to describe this movement, Lynch explains that leap means ‘China would bypass the stages through which the advanced nations had gone, and go straight from being a rural, agricultural economy to becoming an urban, industrial one.’<sup>114</sup> As far as I can see, Mao Zedong's pursuit of Leap Forward is actually not in line with the law of economic development and national condition. His idea of trying to take the shortcut to catch up with advanced countries is very unrealistic, which also leads directly to the failure of this movement. Evidence can be found in the description of Britannica Encyclopedia, which says ‘The promulgation of the Great Leap Forward was the result of the failure of the Soviet

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<sup>112</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 44.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. P 45.

<sup>114</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 45.

model of industrialization in China. The Soviet model, which emphasized the conversion of capital gained from the sale of agricultural products into heavy machinery, was inapplicable in China because, unlike the Soviet Union, it had a very dense population and no large agricultural surplus with which to accumulate capital.’<sup>115</sup> As far as I am concerned, from the perspective of economic development, China is trying to achieve economic leap forward by copying the path of industrial development of the Soviet Union. However, China and the Soviet Union's national conditions are different. China's huge population and their living needs determine the importance of agricultural development. During the Great Leap Forward, agricultural development not only needed to meet the food supply of China's large population, but also needed to be exchanged for funds preparing for industrial production. Therefore, backward agricultural development can not meet the needs of industrial development is one of the important reasons for the failure of the Great Leap Forward.

#### 4.1.2 Ideological framework:

In order to better explain the goal of the Great Leap Forward, according to Lynch’s description, he says ‘In his (Mao) plans for the modernization of China, the industrialization programme had priority over all other considerations.’<sup>116</sup> In my view, Lynch points out that industrial reform received greater attention so that agricultural reform do not have the same status as industrial reform. In other words, agricultural reform is the preparatory stage for industrial reform, and agricultural reform provides manpower and material support for industrial reform. Industrial reform is the ultimate goal of the Great Leap Forward.

##### 1) the reform of industry:

According to Lynch’s view, he emphasizes on the important role of the mass population in the Great Leap Forward. As he says, ‘First, the collectivized peasants, working in their communes, would produce a surplus of food that could be sold abroad to raise money for the expansion of Chinese industry. Second, the workers

<sup>115</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Leap-Forward> [16:10, 28<sup>th</sup>, May,2017]

<sup>116</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education,2008. P 55.

would create, literally with their own hands, a modern industrial economy, powerful enough to compete with the Soviet Union and the capitalist West.’<sup>117</sup> From my perspective, Lynch clearly illustrates the way in which the masses of the people are coordinated and the division of labor during the Great Leap Forward. In this movement, peasants and workers became the main force. Collectivized working methods and communes<sup>118</sup> became prominent features of this period. This mode of production helps to focus all manpower and material resources. The main purpose of the people's communes movement is to increase output and provide a material basis for industrial development. The material basis of industrial development depends on agricultural production. Only by speeding up agricultural development can promote the development of industry. At the same time, the workers stood on the front of industrial development. According to Lynch's description, ‘Foreigners in China were amazed by the scale and intensity of the people's response. Roderick MacFarquhar<sup>119</sup>, a celebrated writer on Chinese affairs who was then living in Beijing<sup>120</sup>, described the ‘seething, clattering frenzy’ that had overtaken China.’<sup>121</sup> In my point, Mao Zedong's mass line affirmed the important role of the huge population in creating history and developing economy.

## 2) the reform of agriculture:

According to Lynch's description, ‘In 1958 Mao made this collectivization process an essential part of the Great Leap Forward: China's agricultural land was divided into 70,000 communes. Each commune was made up of roughly 750,000 brigades,

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. P 46.

<sup>118</sup> Communes: which refers to an experimental commune, which was established in Henan province in early 1958. And this system spread throughout the nationwide soon. Through the spread of the system of communes, political and agricultural decisions were decentralized. The peasants were formed and organized into brigade teams, and communal kitchens were built so that women could be separated from family and freed for work.

<sup>119</sup> Roderick MacFarquhar: who is the Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science and formerly Director of the John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research. His publications mainly include *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals*, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, *China under Mao*; *Sino-American Relations, 1949-1971*; *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao*; the final two volumes of *the Cambridge History of China* (edited with the late John Fairbank); *The Politics of China 2nd Ed: The Eras of Mao and Deng*; and a trilogy, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*. His most recent, jointly-authored book on the Cultural Revolution entitled *Mao's Last Revolution* was published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press in 2006. He was the founding editor of *The China Quarterly*, and he is also a fellow at Columbia University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the Royal Institute for International Affairs.

<sup>120</sup> Beijing: where is the capital of the People's Republic of China. It have served for so long as the political headquarters and cultural centre of China.

<sup>121</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 49.

each brigade containing some 200 households. The whole system was under the direct control of People's Republic of China's central government; farming methods, the sale and distribution of produce, and the setting of prices were to be dictated from above. Private farming would cease to exist. The peasants needed internal passports to pass from one commune to another.'<sup>122</sup> As for my part, collectivization is the key point of agricultural reform. And then Lynch continues to discuss the relationship between state and peasants for the important significance of developing agriculture to economic development. He quotes the idea of John King Fairbank<sup>123</sup>, who is a US expert on modern China, Fairbank says that 'the revolutionary state, having established its legitimacy by freeing the peasant from landlordism, now had him boxed in as never before. The state had become the ultimate landlord.'<sup>124</sup> From my point of view, it means that agricultural reform is actually another form of oppression to peasants as landlords essentially. Peasants have much pressure to support material resource for industrial development.

### 3) China's Great Famine (1958-62):

To my way of thinking, China's Great Famine refers to the national food shortage and famine caused by the Great Leap Forward movement and the policy of sacrificing agricultural development to develop industry in the period between 1959 and 1961. When discussing the reasons of famine, Lynch says, 'The disruption caused by the ending of private farming was a major cause of hunger since it discouraged the individual peasants from producing food beyond their own immediate needs. But that was only part of the story. Equally significant was Mao's belief that Chinese agronomists had made a series of discoveries about crop growing that would revolutionize food production.'<sup>125</sup> Personally, I think, the man-made causes include: first of all, during the Great Leap Forward period, policies led to the change of

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid. P 55.

<sup>123</sup> John King Fairbank: who is the Harvard historical professor and he was famous for creating the field of modern Chinese studies in the United States and he was also a leading advocate of diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China. He wrote and edited many books, including *The United States and China*, first published in 1948 by Harvard University Press, which is widely regarded as the best introduction to Chinese history, culture and civilization.

<sup>124</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 56.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. P 57.

production mode. The methods of production are transformed from private farming to collectivized farming. Collectivized farming adopts the form of equal distribution. This way of distribution can meet the basic needs of the people of the communes. But this egalitarianism is not conducive to mobilize the enthusiasm of the peasants for farming. Therefore, in the long run, the collective production mode can not effectively promote the production. Secondly, in the case of severe famine across the country, the Chinese government is still exporting grain to the socialist countries such as the Soviet Union to develop the military industry rapidly in 1958-1959.

According to my point, as the policy maker and national leader, Mao Zedong has an inescapable responsibility for the famine. Lynch argues that it is also important to discuss Mao's reaction to famine for a complete description of the Great Leap Forward. First of all, Mao Zedong's attitude has undergone a great change. Evidence can be found from Lynch's description, he says, 'So devastating was the famine in Tibet and the other provinces that eventually Mao came to accept that it was happening.'<sup>126</sup> From my perspective, when the famine occurred only in some remote areas, government officials did not give sufficient attention, and did not timely feedback this situation to Mao Zedong. When the famine developed into a national disaster, the disaster has been unable to be covered up, Mao Zedong had to admit the existence of famine. However, when Mao Zedong finally accepted this fact, according to Lynch's words, 'He refused to acknowledge that the disaster was a result of his policies of collectivization and applied socialist science..Instead of taking the blame on himself, Mao put the famine down to three factors: hoarding of grain by the peasants, which had prevented food getting to the people. Mistakes by local officials who had either misunderstood their instructions or been incompetent in carrying them out. Exceptionally bad weather in the years 1958-61, which had produced both droughts and floods that had destroyed the harvests.'<sup>127</sup> In my opinion, Mao Zedong explained the causes of famine from the aspects of farmers, officials and the weather, but did not mention his problematic policies. Mao's explanation caused Lynch's

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<sup>126</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 68.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. P 68-69.

discussion. Lynch tries to reveal the real cause of the famine. Firstly, from the perspective of weather, Lynch refutes that ‘It is true that 1958 was a bad year, although not particularly exceptional by Chinese standards. However, the weather in the following three years was notably mild. Whatever Mao might claim, the famine was not a misfortune of nature; it was a direct and fatal consequence of the decisions he took.’<sup>128</sup> Secondly, from the perspective of peasants and officials, Lynch refutes that ‘It was in pursuit of his (Mao) instructions regarding the collectivization of the Chinese peasantry and in accordance with his mistaken notions of science that his officials had set in motion a process that culminated in the horrific deaths of millions of his people.’<sup>129</sup> My view is that, the Great Leap Forward and the famine directly affected Mao's popularity in the party.

#### 4.1.3 Criticism of the Great Leap Forward:

##### 1) Contrary to the law of development and the reality.

According to Lynch's view, ‘They were acts of faith in Communist China's ability to produce, not a hard-headed assessment of what was realistically possible. That is why the projected figures were changed so frequently. They were usually revised upwards by officials in order to impress Mao that they were responding to his call for a mass collective effort.’<sup>130</sup> As I see it, at that time in China, ‘Catching up thought’<sup>131</sup> has seriously affected China's development. The Great Leap Forward ignored the level of China's current productive forces at the time, seriously affected the development of productive forces, and even led to economic regression. Mao Zedong's pursuit of an industrialized society made him ignore the reality of backward agricultural level in China. From the perspective of international situation, it was very unfavorable to China, the Western capitalist countries headed by the United States imposed on China's economic blockade and political isolation, so China urgently

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid. P 69.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. P 69.

<sup>130</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 47.

<sup>131</sup> Catching up thought: According to the goal of the Great Leap Forward, China hopes that through the Great Leap Forward in the shortest possible time, accumulating all domestic human and material resources to give priority to the development of industry. The ultimate goal is to change China's backward industrial level and catch up with Western developed countries.

needed to accelerate the pace of improving the level of productivity and realize the economic and industrial development. In addition, blindly copying the achievements and goals of Soviet socialist construction is also a main reason of economic recession.

2) Lack of scientific guidance:

According to Lynch's description, 'The fate of the worthless steel could be taken as symbolizing the Great Leap Forward itself: lots of energy, noise and endeavour, but little substance. It should be added that there was also a heavy environmental price to pay; so many trees were felled to supply the backyard furnaces with wood that large parts of China were deforested beyond the point of recovery.'<sup>132</sup> I suppose that, this example is a good illustration to show that it is irrational to depend on enthusiasm of the mass alone instead of the law of science. One-sided pursuit of high-yield without respecting the environment is unscientific.

3) Mao Zedong's personal cognitive errors as a planner:

When evaluating the role that Mao played in the Great Leap Forward and his policies, Lynch says that 'He (Mao) was very limited in his understanding of the industrial process. He accepted that industrialization was essential, but he had a very imperfect idea of what that meant in practice. He simply believed that by a massive deployment of manpower China could achieve the advanced industrialization it needed.'<sup>133</sup> I consider that, Mao overly relies on the power of the mass population and ignores the limitations of objective conditions. The historical roots of this error can be traced back to the Red Army period<sup>134</sup>. According to Mao's fighting experience, the reasons for victory mainly rely on the army's fighting spirit and the masses' support. However, the economic production of new China depends not only on the enthusiasm of the people. The economic development is also subject to national conditions, such as huge population in China and backward agricultural level. Low productivity can not be improved in the short term by the huge number of people and

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<sup>132</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 50.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. P 53.

<sup>134</sup> Red Army Period: the Red Army grew quickly under the leadership of Mao Zedong and Zhu De from 5,000 troops in 1929 to 200,000 in 1933. After the Long March, only one fraction of army survived. After World War II, the communist forces, renamed the People's Liberation Army, making great contribution to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.



their enthusiasm.

And then Lynch continues to evaluate Mao's role and the Great Leap Forward, he says 'His(Mao's) experience as a political in-fighter and military strategist had in no way prepared him for the task of shaping the economy of a vast nation. His approach was necessarily a series of intuitive leaps. The results were calamitous. His collectivization programme produced not additional food, but famine; his Five-Year Plans wasted rather than successfully exploited China's vast natural and human resources.'<sup>135</sup> From my point of view, the Great Leap Forward, both in China and abroad, is widely regarded as an unprecedented economic catastrophe to China. As the manpower and resources are transferred from agriculture to industry, a large number of peasants starve to death. The movement contrary to the objective economic laws not only will cause a huge waste of manpower and material resources, but also a serious imbalance in the proportion of the national economy, Such as the serious imbalance in the proportion of industrial and agricultural development.

#### 4.1.4 Major ideological movement: The Hundred Flower Campaign<sup>136</sup> (1957):

According to my opinion, the background of The Hundred Flower Campaign is that in 1956, the socialist system was initially established, and China began to explore the road of socialist construction. The purpose of the Hundred Flower Campaign is to mobilize the enthusiasm of intellectuals serving for the socialist construction. According to Lynch's description, 'In a widely reported speech on 'Contradictions', given to leading party workers early in 1957, Mao stated his satisfaction with the economic advances made under the first Five-Year Plan, but went on to complain of

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<sup>135</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 54.

<sup>136</sup> Hundred Flowers Campaign: 'movement begun in May 1956 within the communist government of China to lift the restrictions imposed upon Chinese intellectuals and thus grant greater freedom of thought and speech. the Chinese chief of state Mao Zedong invited criticism of the Chinese Communist Party's policies, even by noncommunist intellectuals, with a famous slogan from Chinese classical history, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, and a hundred schools of thought contend." Criticism was slow in developing, but other party leaders continued to echo Mao's theme in speeches during the next year. Not until the spring of 1957 did articulate members of society begin to criticize communist policies openly; within a few weeks the party became subjected to an ever-increasing volume of criticism. In June—with the publication of an amended version of a speech Mao had given in February, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"—the party began to signal that the criticism had gone too far. By early July an antirightists' campaign was under way in which the recent critics of the regime were subjected to severe retribution; most of them lost their jobs and were forced to do manual labour in the country, and some were sent to prison.' (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Hundred-Flowers-Campaign>) [17:20, 31<sup>st</sup>, May]

the heavy-handedness with which some Chinese Communist Party's officials were applying national and local policies. He hinted that the time might have come to allow intellectuals a greater say in debate.'<sup>137</sup> My point of view is, the Hundred Flower Campaign advocates freedom of thought, freedom of creation and criticism, freedom of debate, and freedom of expression in literary and artistic work and scientific research. This policy fully embodies the transformation of Mao Zedong's attitude towards intellectuals and speech, from prohibition to open acceptance. The transformation of Mao's attitude is very significant. It is firstly reflected in his attitude towards Stalinisation. As Lynch's explanation, 'It is also likely that Mao was influenced by events in the USSR. It was in 1956 that the new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev<sup>138</sup>, shook the Communist world by launching an extraordinary attack on the reputation of his predecessor, Joseph Stalin<sup>139</sup>, who had died three years earlier. In a programme of de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev denounced Stalin for his 'cult of personality'<sup>140</sup>.'<sup>141</sup> I consider that, this historical event gives Mao's profound lessons and warnings. This makes him aware of the serious consequences of 'cult of personality'. In order to curb the tendency of individual worship, Mao Zedong actively encourage people to freely express their views. As Lynch's description, 'Early in 1957 Mao urged Communist Party officials to be prepared to undergo criticism from the people. With the slogan, 'Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend'.<sup>142</sup> I think this change is a great progress for the leadership from being closed to welcome criticism and freedom of speech. This is an important step in the process of China's democratization.

However, this movement did not move towards a positive and healthy direction.

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<sup>137</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 37.

<sup>138</sup> Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev: who was the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964 and the premier of the Soviet Union from 1958 to 1964. His policy of de-Stalinization had widespread affected the communist world, including China. From the perspective of diplomatic relations, he aims to maintain peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world.

<sup>139</sup> Joseph Stalin: who was the secretary-general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1953 and the premier of the Soviet state from 1941 to 1953. He had dictatorially ruled the Soviet Union for a long term and developed it into a major world power.

<sup>140</sup> Cult of personality: under which, Mao aspired to being the great helmsman because he led China out of poverty and into a bright communist society. Like Stalin's cult of personality, Mao's cult of personality portrayed him as larger than life, numerous evidence can be found in *Little Red Book (Quotations from Chairman Mao)*.

<sup>141</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 37.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. P 37.

Evidence can be found in Lynch's description, he says that 'Everything now went into reverse; it became a time not of freedom of expression, but of fierce repression. The Hundred Flowers campaign was abandoned and replaced by an anti rightist movement. Those who had been foremost in responding to Mao's call to let a hundred schools of thought contend were now forced to retract their statements.'<sup>143</sup> According to my point, the nature of the Hundred Flower Campaign movement has changed dramatically. For the central leadership, excessive criticism is a big threat to Mao and his authority. As a result, intellectuals no longer dare to criticize the Chinese Communist Party and its government. Their criticism makes the Party and Mao afraid of capitalist democratic thoughts emerging within the party. So they decide to find and clear these capitalist elements, which is called anti-rightists movement. The political struggle transforms from external the Chinese Communist Party to internal Chinese Communist Party. After the anti-rightist movement, the CCP's policy returned to the line that emphasizes class contradictions and class struggles.

There is a well-known discussion among historians on Mao Zedong's real motives to launch the Hundred Flowers Campaign. Lynch chooses two main points of view:

1) 'Was it a trick?'<sup>144</sup>-- Jung Chang<sup>145</sup>

According to Lynch's interpretation of Jung Chang's view, 'She suggests that, far from being intended as a liberalizing measure, it was a deliberate manoeuvre by Mao to bring his critics into the open so that they could be easily exposed, identified and removed.'<sup>146</sup> According to Lynch's interpretation, I think Mao Zedong pretended to welcome criticism and freedom of speech. In fact, this movement aims to master intellectuals' mistakes by letting and encouraging them freely and openly express their opinions about the Chinese Communist Party and the leadership of Mao. Lynch also says that 'As Jung Chang sees it, the Hundred Flowers campaign was part of the movement towards a controlled society in which all expression of opinion had to meet

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid. P 37.

<sup>144</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008., P 39.

<sup>145</sup> Jung Chang: who is a Chinese-born British scholar living in London now. She is best known for her family autobiography *Wild Swans*, which sells over 10 million copies across the worldwide banned in the People's Republic of China. Her biography of Mao Zedong, *Mao: The Unknown Story*, which is written by her and her husband, who is the Irish historian Jon Halliday, was published in 2005.

<sup>146</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 39.

the criteria of political correctness as defined by Mao.’<sup>147</sup> My opinion is that, the Hundred Flower campaign is the preparation stage of anti-rightists movement, which is also the stage that the right-wing express freely and expose their problems, as well as the stage that the Chinese Communist Party collects materials for attacking the right-wing and think of countermeasures.

2) ‘Was Mao genuinely seeking criticism?’<sup>148</sup>--Lee Feigon<sup>149</sup>

According to Lynch’s explanation of Lee Feigon’s view, ‘By giving scientists and engineers the freedom to express their ideas, Mao sought to prevent party bureaucrats from interfering with technical decisions. He wanted intellectuals to expose and attack corruption and bureaucracy. He also wanted peasants, students and workers to speak out and even demonstrate to prevent government bureaucrats from running roughshod over their rights.’<sup>150</sup> My view is that, its real purpose is to eliminate the bourgeoisie within the government and the party by giving the intellectuals adequate freedom of speech and criticism. Therefore, it can be inferred that Mao Zedong may sincerely welcome the criticism of intellectuals, but criticism is by no means his ultimate goal. Criticism is only a means of his elimination of the bourgeoisie.

## 4.2 《China 1900-76》 :

### 4.2.1 Narrative characteristics:

Now, let’s talk about the period 1956-1966 of the book *China 1900-76* wrote by Geoff Stewart. As far as I can see, in this part, Stewart mainly discusses the relationship between Marxism and the Chinese Communist Party in order to fully understand the policies from an ideological point of view. According to Stewart’s view, ‘Like Confucianism<sup>151</sup>, Marxist-Leninism, to give Soviet Marxism its correct name, stressed the role of the group. Class conflict was the all-important engine

<sup>147</sup> Ibid. P 39.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. P 39.

<sup>149</sup> Lee Feigon: who is an American historian who researches the period of 20th-century Chinese history. In 2002, he published *Mao: A Reinterpretation*, which is a book that talks about the positive aspects of Mao Zedong’s political leadership.

<sup>150</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 39.

<sup>151</sup> Confucianism: which is regarded as the way of life propagated by Confucius and which is followed by the Chinese people for more than two millennia. It deeply influenced the source of values and the social code of the Chinese for a long term. It constitutes the main part of Chinese traditional culture.

driving human society. Individuals were of little consequence as either victims or determinants of outcome.<sup>152</sup> As for my part, in Chinese history, whether it is influenced by Confucianism or Marxism-Leninism, both of their subjects emphasize the importance and role of the collective. Therefore, from the ideological point of view, compared to individualism, China pay more attention to the significance of collective. This is also the reason why western democracy is difficult to be applied to China. Because China lacks emphasis on individual citizen's will and freedom. In the course of historical development, the impact of the individual citizen is too small to be ignored. In addition, Stewart also stresses the importance of class struggle. Class struggle is the driving force to promote the development of human society. According to Stewart's view, 'Mao and the other leading members of the Chinese Communist Party created an official ideology, which claimed to be Marxist but in reality was an amalgam of traditional Chinese thought, with its emphasis on the greater good of the state and Marxist-Leninism. Mao himself expressed great sympathy for the first Qin Emperor and his belief in Legalism<sup>153</sup>.'<sup>154</sup> To my way of thinking, although China regards Marxism-Leninism as the guiding ideology, it is difficult to get rid of the influence and bondage of Chinese traditional thought in the course of actual development. In the face of chaotic social order, Mao Zedong increasingly inclined to appreciate the leading style of Qin Shihuang and legalists thought. Both Qin Shihuang and Legalism advocates that it is necessary to establish a disciplined society and the method of violence is preferred when dealing with social chaotic issues. The way they advocate can effectively solve social problems. Evidence can be seen in the description of Britannica Encyclopedia, it says that 'The Legalists advocated government by a system of laws that rigidly prescribed punishments and rewards for specific behaviours. They stressed the direction of all human activity toward the goal of increasing the power of the ruler and the state. The brutal implementation of this policy by the authoritarian Qin dynasty led to that dynasty's overthrow and the

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<sup>152</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 103.

<sup>153</sup> Legalism: which is one school of Chinese philosophy that became famous during the turbulent Warring States era. The main philosophers of Legalism include Shang Yang, Li Si, and Hanfeizi. It also laid the ideological basis for China's first imperial dynasty, the Qin dynasty.

<sup>154</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 103.

discrediting of Legalist philosophy in China.’<sup>155</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Ideological framework:

##### 1) the Hundred Flower Campaign:

According to Stewart’s view, ‘The Hundred Flowers is an old adage referring back to the period before the unification of China under the Qin Emperor when different philosophies, most notably Confucianism and Legalism, were in contention. In May 1956, Lu Dingyi<sup>156</sup> made reference to it in a Party debate ‘Let a hundred flowers bloom, and a hundred schools of thought contend’.<sup>157</sup> I personally suppose that, in this part Stewart compares Mao’s Hundred Flower Campaign with Qin Shihuang’s Hundred Flower Campaign. The Hundred Flower Campaign of Mao has a template in China’s history. In the Qin Dynasty<sup>158</sup>, the Hundred Flower Campaign was once the classic case of ideological emancipation. However, with the development of the diversification and liberalization of thoughts, many thoughts that are not conducive to the ruling class began to appear. In order to eliminate reactionary remarks, Qin Shihuang launched the burning books movement to prevent intellectuals from threatening the regime. Mao Zedong followed the practice of Qin emperor. At first, he promoted the intellectuals to express their views freely. According to Stewart’s view, ‘The old China of the pre-Qing imperial dynasties had once again reasserted itself, extinguishing the hopes of greater personal freedom and a genuine voicing of dissent. The spring of blooming flowers had been very short. Winter returned. The chill struck deep and lasted long.’<sup>159</sup> From my point of view, Stewart vividly describes the Hundred Flower Campaign in Chinese feudal society in order to compare it with the Hundred Flower Campaign in new China. After comparison, it was found that their processes and results were similar. At first, the government strongly encouraged the

<sup>155</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Legalism> [15:25, 29<sup>th</sup>, May, 2017]

<sup>156</sup> Lu Dingyi: who was one leader of the Chinese Communist Party. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China and before the Cultural Revolution, he was regarded as one of the top officials in government.

<sup>157</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 108.

<sup>158</sup> Qin Dynasty: which was the first imperial dynasty to unify China as one country created by Qin Emperor. During Qin Dynasty, Qin Emperor Unified the weights and measures, as well as the official writing Chinese characters. Legalism is considered to be the official guiding ideology of the Qin Dynasty.

<sup>159</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 112.

intellectuals to express free speech. But later, the emergence of critical remarks seriously affected and threatened the leadership of the regime. Thus, the result is that intellectual freedom of speech is ultimately strictly controlled. This movement can only be called short-lived freedom in academic history.

When discussing the relationship between the intellectuals and the Communist Party, according to Stewart's view, 'There was real tension between the intellectual elite and the Communist Party. The educated tended to come from the wealthier classes and many had had connections with the Kuomintang (GMD) regime or had been educated abroad... The new China subjected its intellectuals to endless bouts of self-criticism and re-education...Zhou Enlai and others came to see the need for a freer climate which would aid economic growth. How much freedom should be allowed was a moot point.'<sup>160</sup> As for me, the relationship between the intellectuals and the Chinese Communist Party is very complicated. This relationship has different characteristics in different historical stages of China. Since most of the intellectuals are from affluent living environment and class, so they are more or less Western-educated. Their capitalist rhetoric and democratic way of thinking are largely challenging the Chinese Communist Party and its regime. But in the process of building a new China, the leadership is increasingly aware of the importance of intellectuals and science. So the central government tried to relax restrictions on intellectuals, giving them more freedom and more relaxed academic environment. So, how to coordinate academic freedom and the protection of the regime has become a hot topic of discussion. Stewart gives a very famous case. He says, 'In 1955, the respected author and editor, Hu Feng<sup>161</sup>, who was also a party member, attacked the idea that all literature should serve political ends and had the temerity to suggest that Marxism could stifle creativity. This was going too far and after bitter denunciation

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid. P 109.

<sup>161</sup> Hu Feng: 'Chinese literary theorist and critic who followed Marxist theory in political and social matters but not in literature. Zhang Mingzhen studied literature at Beijing University and Qinghua University. In 1933, he returned to Shanghai, where he joined the League of Left-Wing Writers and became Lu Xun's assistant. During the drive against intellectuals in the early 1950s, Hu Feng was subjected to a campaign of criticism for the emphasis he placed on the subjective nature of creative writing. Ultimately, his views were condemned as counterrevolutionary, and from 1955 to 1979 he was imprisoned for his views; while in prison he sustained physical and mental damage.' (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hu-Feng>) [11:34, 3<sup>rd</sup>, June, 2017]

and the rejection of three pieces of self-criticism as inadequate, he was imprisoned.’<sup>162</sup> I suppose that, the intellectuals were judged politically because they publicly expressed their critique and questioning of Marxism. On the one hand, Hu Feng's point of view represented the voice of the vast majority of intellectuals. They argue that academics should not serve politics and should not be constrained by ideology--Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On the other hand, in order to maintain the ideological and one-party ruling, the Chinese Communist Party does not agree with the voice of challenge, especially capitalist democratic ideas. As Stewart says, ‘Nevertheless, the feeling continued to grow that there should be some degree of liberalization, and Mao himself appears to have increasingly accepted this...and Mao's own growing worries about the party and bureaucracy. Mao increasingly felt he could use the intellectuals to shake up the party.’<sup>163</sup> In my opinion, Mao's change of attitude towards intellectuals was mainly because he saw the important political role of intellectuals. He hopes to use intellectuals and inner party contradictions to achieve the elimination of opposition within the party. He hopes to get more information by giving the intellectuals more freedom of speech and criticism.

## 2) the anti-rightist campaign:

According to Stewart's view, ‘The clampdown on those members of the intelligentsia denounced as ‘rightists’ exceeded anything so far meted out to intellectuals. All of suspect class origins were targeted. There tended to be a quota system as in the Russian purges.’<sup>164</sup> From my perspective, China's anti-rightist movement is an imitation of Russia's purges of intellectuals. This movement mainly includes assessment and inspection of the intellectuals' class background, educational background and historical experience. The purpose is not to miss any suspicious intellectuals.

## 3) the Great Leap Forward:

According to Stewart's opinion, ‘The aim was to transform China in record time, a dash for economic growth and development...China would overtake Britain as an

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<sup>162</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 109.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. P 109.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid. P 111.



economic power in less than 15 years it was announced. Life for most Chinese would be transformed for the better with every need catered for. All that was necessary was enthusiasm and real hard work. Mass mobilisation could solve anything.<sup>165</sup> From my point of view, the central leadership hopes to achieve China's economic development and social transformation within a limited period of time by accumulating domestic human and material resources. They even imagined China in a few years time can catch up with the developed countries. Central leaders believe that as long as the people have a high enthusiasm and serious work attitude, the goal of the Great Leap Forward can be completed. Why does China emphasize on the role of the mass? This is because in the war years, the Chinese Communist Party lacked advanced weapons and strategic materials. The victory of the Chinese Communist Party is mainly based on the spirit of the army and the people those are not afraid of sacrifice. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party has always believed that there is nothing that people can not overcome. However, the construction of new China and the war years are completely different. It is not enough to rely solely on the huge number and high enthusiasm of people. Appropriate policies should follow national conditions and the laws of economic development. New China's economic base and productivity levels can not meet the requirements of the industrial development. As a result, Stewart says, 'Large numbers of ordinary Chinese men and women died because of the misplaced and almost mad enthusiasm of their emperor. The story is a classic warning against a political system which lacks checks and balances on its government's actions.'<sup>166</sup> From Stewart's evaluation, I can summarize a few points. First of all, Stewart argues that blunders and inaccuracies of policy have caused a large number of ordinary people to sacrifice. Secondly, he argues that policy blunders are mainly caused by the rulers. It is due to the wrong assessment of the central government of the new China about national conditions and economic level. Thirdly, Stewart believes that the failure of the Great Leap Forward provides a classic case and experience for the new China.

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid. P 114.

<sup>166</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 114.

(1) the Four No's campaign:

As Stewart's says, 'A taste of what was to come (and what was wrong), came about in October 1957 at a full meeting of the Central Committee of the Party when Mao announced the extermination of the Four Pests. It led to the Four No's campaign: no rats, no sparrows, no flies and no mosquitoes.'<sup>167</sup> It seems to me that, the reason for this movement is that these four animals seriously disrupt crops and affect agricultural production and people's health. This movement mainly relies on mass participation to complete.

(2) people's communes:

According to Stewart's view, 'Central to the whole concept of the Great Leap Forward was the grouping together of collectives into much larger units.'<sup>168</sup> I consider that, the theme of the people's communes movement is collectivism. The communes are described as 'Large refectories provided food and there was no allocation of reward other than need. It was known as eating out of one big pot. Children were looked after in kindergartens releasing women for more labour. Women would no longer primarily serve their families but the state.'<sup>169</sup> In my opinion, Stewart vividly describes the scenes of collective production and life. Peasants' way of production and lifestyle has undergone tremendous changes, from individualized production to collective production. The food and household necessities needed by the peasants are distributed by the communes. The purpose of this is to accumulate human and material resources for agricultural production, to provide adequate supplies for the country's industrial development and economic construction. Collective way of life has greatly changed the original social relations. The concept of the family was gradually replaced by the collective communes. Women's social role is no longer to take care of the family and children, but to work for the national construction separated from the original family. As Stewart's evaluation, 'Given the centrality of family life in China, it was a massive assault on traditional values.'<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid. P 117.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. P 118.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid. P 119.

<sup>170</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 119.

My view is that, the role of women in the people's commune movement is a challenge to the traditional Chinese family concept. On the one hand, it reflects the transformation of the new China relations and social status of men and women. The role of women in social production is fully affirmed. Women are no longer constrained in family life, but become to be more involved in social production. On the other hand, the new law of marriage effectively guarantees the equal status of men and women in social relations and family relations.

When describing the system of the people's communes, Stewart says that 'The communes were also declared to be militia units and they were used as an instrument to militarise Chinese society. Communes were of ten referred to as military units subdivided into brigades and production teams were platoons...There was to be a fighting style in the approach to work, platoons setting out together and returning together. Rising, eating and sleeping together would nurture military discipline. China had become one vast barracks.'<sup>171</sup> My point is that, Stewart likened the people's commune to a civil military organization. Whether it is from the way of organization and discipline, or from the conditions of living and production, both of which have a lot of similarities. The communes are instruments to realize the militarization of Chinese society. This militarized management has a well-organized arrangement and hierarchy. Both the high enthusiasm of the people and the spirit of the army are based on loyalty to the country. The degree of collectivization of the people's communes is very similar to that of the army.

(3) the evaluation of the Great Leap Forward and Mao:

According to Stewart's view, 'Mao and his colleagues, with more people to play with, killed even more. The leadership cut itself off from reality and believed what it wanted to believe. At every level down the chain of command, officials joined in the pretence of success. No one dared to speak the truth. It was too dangerous. Mao's faith in mass mobilisation and contempt for experts produced millions of tons of useless iron. Ordinary people had their lives wrecked by the arrogance of men who thought

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid. P 119.

they had the answer.’<sup>172</sup> Personally, I think, Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward movement mainly depends on the joint efforts of the government and the people. However, the failure of the Great Leap Forward caused a large number of people to die. This is mainly due to the decision of the central leadership does not respect the facts, resulting in errors and unrealistic decisions. Because of the personal despotism and idealism of the leaders, Chinese government officials did not dare to give him real data and information. So the Chinese government of this period is full of false figures and reports. In addition, Mao Zedong's resentment of intellectuals and experts caused the Great Leap Forward to be seriously out of science and technology, only by the enthusiasm of the public working. The consequences of doing so are a lot of waste of resources. The normal order of the people's life has also been disrupted.

#### 4) the Great Famine:

According to Stewart's view, ‘The ultimate condemnation of the Great Leap Forward lies in the horrific famine that resulted...It was not wholly man-made or Mao-made; dreadful weather in 1959 and again in 1960 partly accounts for it. Nevertheless, as many Chinese authorities have since admitted, it was 70 percent due to human incompetence.’<sup>173</sup> My point of view is, in discussing the causes of famine, Stewart's attitude is very objective. First of all, he uses the terms such as ‘condemnation’ and ‘horrific’ to describe the Great Leap Forward and the famine. He believes that the Great Leap Forward is the cause of famine, but not the only one reason. Man-made reasons and policy mistakes are indeed very difficult to deny. But Stewart also objectively analyzed the weather conditions at that time.

It is very necessary to discuss the Mao's attitude towards the famine. Stewart says, ‘the disasters stemming from the Great Leap Forward led many in the party to question Mao's judgement. Mao was inclined to gloss over the disaster and see it as an unfortunate hiccup in the achievement of his egalitarian utopia. He still remained committed to the pursuit of equality even when equality seemed to mean equal misery

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<sup>172</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 126.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid. P 125.

for all.’<sup>174</sup> As for my part, in Stewart's description, the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the ensuing famine made Mao's inner-party status and prestige be seriously affected and shaken. In order to keep his political leadership, Mao Zedong did not admit his decision-making mistakes, but tried to cover up the truth. He is committed to the realization of utopian society. But in practice, his egalitarianism and utopian ideas are embodied in the collectivized way of production and life. This egalitarianism not only reduces the enthusiasm of the people, but also undermines the people's normal life order.

### 4.3 *《A History of China》* :

#### 4.3.1 The Great Leap Forward:

Now, let's turn our attention to the period 1956-66 of the book *A History of China* wrote by J.A.G Roberts. According to Roberts' view, 'In late 1957, while a Second Five-Year Plan was being considered, indications began to multiply that the conservative economic strategy was about to be replaced by a radical programme.'<sup>175</sup> From my point, the results of the First Five-Year Plan laid the industrial basis for the Second Five-Year Plan, and also greatly enhanced the confidence of the central government and the mass to continue the industrial development. People are eager to get a bigger harvest from the Second Five-Year Plan. Therefore, I can see from the target set by the central government for the Second Five-Year Plan, the industrial development model began to jump out of original conservative development model, trying to large stride forward. This strut forward is described by Roberts as a radical project. He mainly evaluates the Great Leap Forward from the aspects of education, economy and international relation. First of all, from the perspective of education, Roberts says 'the Great Leap Forward was more than a leap for economic growth was demonstrated by other aspects of the movement. In September 1958 a 'great leap' in education was announced. In part this was a matter of rapidly expanding educational

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid. P 127.

<sup>175</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 267.

opportunity, particularly in the countryside.<sup>176</sup> To my way of thinking, Roberts emphasizes the positive role of the Great Leap Forward on China's education. During the Great Leap Forward, the government advocated the need to strengthen the education of workers and peasants in order to be better applied to industrial production. Although the Great Leap Forward failed, the practice of expanding educational opportunities was commendable. Secondly, from the perspective of economy, Roberts says, 'the main economic benefit of communes was the mobilization of labour for large-scale labour-intensive projects. To maximize the release of labour, the private plots which peasants had been allowed to keep in the Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives were abolished and rural markets ceased to function. To enable women to participate in productive labour.'<sup>177</sup> From my view, the most obvious changes in the economy are reflected in the people's communes. Collective production and lifestyle replaced the individual production and life. Collectivization is reflected in the centralized mobilization of labor and large-scale intensive production, but also in the individual trading transactions replaced by the national unified distribution. In addition, social relations and family relations have also undergone corresponding changes, the concept of family was replaced by the collective concept. Women are freed from family life to contribute to social production. The way of collective production and average distribution in fact is quite consistent with Mao Zedong's vision of utopia which is emphasizing on average. However, this idea is difficult to achieve. Egalitarianism can not fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the people to create and work. Thirdly, from the perspective of international relation, Roberts says, 'the Great Leap Forward and its consequences played a significant role in deepening the Sino-Soviet dispute.'<sup>178</sup> In other words, the Sino-Soviet relations began to deteriorate during this period, and the Soviet Union stopped providing guidance and assistance to China's industrial development.

### **5. Chapter 3: period 1966-1976:**

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid. P 269.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid. P 268.

<sup>178</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 271.

## 5.1 《The People's Republic of China 1949-1976》 :

### 5.1.1 Ideological framework:

Now, let's talk about the period 1966-1976 of the book *The People's Republic of China 1949-76* wrote by Michael Lynch. Before discussing the Cultural Revolution<sup>179</sup>, Lynch firstly reviews the relationship and change within the Chinese Communist Party since the Great Leap Forward and China's Great Famine (1962-1966). According to Lynch's view, 'it had become clear that the Great Leap Forward had failed to meet its industrial targets and had caused a catastrophic famine in the countryside. This had led to Mao's adopting a less prominent place in politics, a decision he came to regret when he saw Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, the ministers he had entrusted with ending the famine, growing increasingly popular within the party.'<sup>180</sup> I suppose that, these sentences provide us with a wealth of information. First of all, Lynch summarizes the failure of the Great Leap Forward, the devastation of famine, and the failure of the Great Leap Forward is the direct cause of famine. Secondly, Lynch points out that the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the famine directly led to changes within the party's leadership, and Mao chose to withdraw from the political front. Thirdly, Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, who took over political leadership, led the people to gradually get rid of the plight of famine, which made their prestige in the party and the people greatly increased. However, this situation caused Mao's anxiety and regret. This tense relationship within the party indicates the struggle for power and the struggle between factions.

In order to describe the Cultural Revolution completely, when discussing the purposes of the Cultural Revolution, Lynch analyzes the methods, victims, revolutionary targets, revolutionary instruments and results of the Cultural Revolution in turn. According to Lynch's description, 'It would not be hyperbole to say that in that period China went mad. The People's Republic of China became contorted by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a movement launched by Mao Zedong during

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<sup>179</sup> Cultural Revolution: which was also called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in full. It was launched by Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong during his last decade in power (1966–76). Fearing that China would develop along the lines of the Soviet Union, as well as concerned about his leadership and status in China, Mao threw China's cities into turmoil and launched the Cultural Revolution.

<sup>180</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 73.

which, at his command, the mass of the Chinese people engaged in an orgy of violence. They humiliated, beat and killed anyone suspected of being opposed to Mao and deliberately destroyed the priceless cultural treasures that had adorned China for centuries.<sup>181</sup> From my point of view, The Cultural Revolution was universally defined as a civil strife that was wrongly launched by leaders and used by counterrevolutionary groups to bring serious disaster to the party, the state and the people. Finally, Mao's death marked the end of the Cultural Revolution and the end of the Mao era.

1) On the eve of storm (1962-1966):

In 1966, when the adjustment of the national economy was basically completed, the state began to implement the Third Five Years Plan. The critical movement in the field of ideology<sup>182</sup> has gradually developed into the contradictions of inner-party leadership. As Lynch describes, 'Mao judged that he was losing his grip on the party and that a power struggle was looming. He also considered that it had been an error to have largely withdrawn from the forefront of the political scene; his absence had enabled factions to develop.'<sup>183</sup> In my point, the failure of the Great Leap Forward and famine seriously affected Mao's political status and leadership. Thus, in 1962, Mao Zedong decided to withdraw from the political front. Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi stepped in to lead China out of the shadow of famine, and gradually restore social stability. With their fame in the party to enhance, Mao Zedong's sense of crisis has also been deepened. Leadership tensions are becoming more and more prominent, factional disputes followed.

In Lynch's description, Mao Zedong's mental activity and state plays an important role to influence his policies. And this description mostly around a sense of crisis, anxiety and extreme emotions. On the one hand, from the point of view of policy

<sup>181</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 72.

<sup>182</sup> Critical movement in the field of ideology: 'Mao's concerns about "bourgeois" infiltrators in his party and government—those not sharing his vision of communism—were outlined in a Chinese Communist Party Central Committee document issued on May 16, 1966; this is considered by many historians to be the start of the Cultural Revolution. At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee. He shut down China's schools, and during the following months he encouraged Red Guards to attack all traditional values and "bourgeois" things and to test party officials by publicly criticizing them. Mao believed that this measure would be beneficial both for the young people and for the party cadres that they attacked.' (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Cultural-Revolution>) [13:26, 4<sup>th</sup>, June, 2017]

<sup>183</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 73.



makers, anxiety emerges because of policy failures and imperfections. On the other hand, according to the analysis of the speech, behavior, and the physical and mental situation of Mao at that time, Lynch says, ‘Mao never lost his fear that his colleagues, even those who professed the greatest personal loyalty, were ready to remove him from power if the opportunity came. Mao convinced himself that Liu (Liu Shaoqi) and Deng (Deng Xiaoping) were using their position to mount a challenge.’<sup>184</sup> As far as I can see, it is difficult to judge the authenticity of this psychological guess. The only way to explain is to find clues from subsequent behavior of Mao Zedong. The truth is after the withdrawal of political front, Mao Zedong really try to regain the regime. In order to regain political power, Mao Zedong and his supporters--especially Lin Biao<sup>185</sup> and Chen Boda<sup>186</sup> have made many efforts:

(1) Ideological rule and deification of Mao Zedong:

According to my view, personal worship is essentially a loss of self-consciousness, manifested as the deification and obedience of the individual figures. The exploiting class, in order to maintain its own centralized rule, often controls the minds and actions of the broad masses of the people with personal worship. The proletarian revolution is fundamentally opposed to and rejecting individual worship in order to achieve the liberation of all mankind. However, in the 1930s and 1950s, after the rise of Stalin's personal worship in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong's personal cult was in succession in China, and accompanied by the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution to create a frenzy to the construction of New China. As Lynch describes, ‘Lin Biao made the *Little Red Book*<sup>187</sup>, the secular bible of China, the source of all truth. A copy was distributed to every soldier and became the basic text used in the study sessions which Lin made a compulsory and daily part of military training. In this way the People’s

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<sup>184</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 73.

<sup>185</sup> Lin Biao: who was a Chinese military leader. As a commander of the Red Army, Lin Biao contributed a lot to the communists' many years struggle for power. He played an important role in the early stage of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. However, in 1971, he sought to replace Chinese leader Mao Zedong and seize his power. He eventually died in a plane crash.

<sup>186</sup> Chen Boda: who was a revolutionist and propagandist. He was also the chief interpreter of the ‘thought of Mao Zedong’, as well as one of the most powerful leaders of modern China. Later he was prosecuted due to his role during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976.

<sup>187</sup> *Little Red Book*: Lin Biao compiled a simplified and dogmatized booklet of Mao's thought. Eventually, it was published in the form of *the Little Red Book*, which was also called *Quotations from Chairman Mao* to spread Maoist thought among the uneducated military recruits.

Liberation Army, the institution with the highest prestige and proudest revolutionary tradition in Communist China, was politicized as a force totally committed to the support of Mao Zedong. The message soon carried over into the civilian sphere.’<sup>188</sup> As for my part, *the Little Red Book* is also called *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*. *The Little Red Book* edited and published by the People’s Liberation Army General Political Department set off a god-making movement at that time in China. *Little Red Book* initially spread in the army. Subsequently, *the Little Red Book* gradually spread to the masses from Army. Thus the cult of personality reached its climax. Lynch compares *the Little Red Book* to the secular Bible of China and the source of all truth. This metaphor is quite accurate and appropriate to reflect how *the Little Red Book* affects and dominates the minds of the Chinese people. In my opinion, in order to regain power, Mao Zedong firstly through the ideological spread to consolidate the absolute worship and obedience of the People's Liberation Army and the masses towards him. Whether to support *the Little Red Book* once became the religious belief of the Chinese people. It is the answer to solve all problems. It is also the standard to measure one’s political positions and loyalty. The ‘Cultural Revolution’ can be regarded as a religious activity. The Cultural Revolution and religious activities are inherently common and connected, that is, to seek supernatural shelter to lift the people's inner crisis and fear. This evokes the people's desire for the savior and paves the way for the frenzy of personal worship.

According to my point, in addition to Mao Zedong’s cult of personality spread through *the Little Red Book*, Mao Zedong and his followers’ control and sensitivity about literature and cultural works is also quite high. In this regard, the most well-known event is the Wu Han<sup>189</sup> affairs. As Lynch describes, ‘The central importance of literary and cultural works in the mounting power struggle was especially evident in the furore that developed over a play, ‘The Dismissal of Hai Rui from Office’<sup>190</sup>, written by Wu Han...Since Wu Han belonged to a group of writers

<sup>188</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 73.

<sup>189</sup> Wu Han: who was a famous Chinese historian targeted in the Cultural Revolution because of a play Wu wrote. He supposedly used allegory to lampoon Mao and the deposed former minister of defense, Peng Dehuai.

<sup>190</sup> Hai Rui Dismissed from Office: ‘a theatre play notable for its involvement in Chinese politics during the Cultural Revolution. Wu Han, who wrote the play, was a historian (and a municipal politician in Beijing) who

thought to be critical of Mao Zedong, it was possible to interpret his play as an intended reference to Mao's previous dismissal of Peng Dehuai<sup>191</sup> for opposing the Great Leap Forward.<sup>192</sup> I think, this is not limited to the criticism of literature and art, Mao Zedong and followers have lifted the issue to a certain political height. They accuse that Wu Han's work 'The Dismissal of Hai Rui from Office' is anti-Party and anti-socialist in order to reverse the verdict Peng Dehuai. Therefore, Wu Han was accused as a traitor and spy. On the one hand, the Wu Han affair provided intellectuals with deep warnings at the time. Intellectuals are aware that cautiousness is the way to survive. On the other hand, Mao Zedong and his followers hope that through the Wu Han affair to influence and control the spread of ideas. Everything that is not good for them to regain control of the regime will be criticized and removed.

(2) Factional dispute within the China's Communist Party:

According to Lynch's view, factional dispute is one of main reasons of the Cultural Revolution. As he says, 'The Wu Han affair deepened the divisions that had begun to develop within the China's Communist Party and between the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army.'<sup>193</sup> From my perspective, differences within the party's leadership and factional disputes are important features of this stage. Wu Han Affair is the fuse line to deepen the tensions among factions. Factions are divided into three categories: the left, the neutral and the right. The factional dispute is mainly reflected between the left and the right. The left is mainly composed of Lin Biao, the gang of four<sup>194</sup>, Chen Boda and the cultural revolution group. The right is mainly led

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focused on the Ming Dynasty. In 1959, Wu Han became interested in the life of Hai Rui, a Ming minister who was imprisoned for criticizing the emperor. Wu Han wrote several articles on his life and his fearless criticism of the emperor. Wu then wrote a play for Peking Opera titled "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office", which he revised several times before the final version of 1961. The play is a tragedy in which an honest official carries the complaints of the people to the emperor at the expense of his career. It portrays Hai as an efficient magistrate who requests an audience with the emperor. Hai then criticizes the Emperor directly for tolerating the corruption and abuses perpetuated by other officials in the imperial government. The emperor is so offended by Hai's criticism that he dismisses Hai from office. Hai is restored to office after the emperor dies. The play was published under Wu's pen name, Liu Mianzhi. The play enjoyed great success, and was initially praised by Mao Zedong. With a changing political climate, the play later came under severe criticism' ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hai\\_Rui\\_Dismissed\\_from\\_Office](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hai_Rui_Dismissed_from_Office)) [15:17, 5<sup>th</sup>, June, 2017]

<sup>191</sup> Peng Dehuai: who was a military leader. And he was also one of the greatest figures in Chinese communist history, as well as the minister of national defense of China from 1954 until 1959. Finally, he was removed because of criticizing the military and economic policies of the party.

<sup>192</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 75.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid. P 75.

<sup>194</sup> Gang of Four: 'the most powerful members of a radical political elite convicted for implementing the harsh policies directed by Chinese Communist Party chairman Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76).

by Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi. As Lynch describes, ‘Jiang<sup>195</sup> (Jiang Qing) urged that steps be immediately taken to remove Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping from their positions in the China’s Communist Party. She further demanded that Chinese culture should be cleansed of those writers and artists whose attitude betrayed their lack of commitment to Mao’s revolution.’<sup>196</sup> My point of view is, the contradictions within the party are mainly concentrated between the left and right. As a member of the Gang of Four and Mao Zedong's spouse, Jiang Qing's political enemy is the leaders of the right-wing. At the same time, she also insisted on carrying out large cleaning campaign in the field of literary and culture. Although the neutral faction is not her main enemy, but she also expressed dissatisfaction with the neutral faction. As Lynch says, ‘She (Jiang Qing) also aimed to undermine the Group of Five, whose essential objective was to act as peacemakers to prevent party splits widening. Despite their declared loyalty to Mao, the Group of Five were condemned by Jiang for their moderation at a time when utter ruthlessness was the only proper response.’<sup>197</sup> As for my part, due to the special status of Jiang Qing, she is quite authoritative in the party, especially in the left-wing. From her words and deeds, I can see the factional relations within the party. The left and right are incompatible hostile relations. The neutral faction, as a defender of peace, claimed to support Mao's leadership, but remained neutral at the crucial moment.

## 2) the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976):

According to Lynch’s description, ‘The Cultural Revolution broadened from an internal party purge to a national movement with a poster campaign in the summer of 1966.’<sup>198</sup> I personally think that, the Cultural Revolution originated from the party factional disputes, and then gradually expanded to a national war. As Lynch says, ‘On

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The group included Mao’s third wife, Jiang Qing, and Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan. Their backgrounds were similar in that prior to 1966 all four were low- or middle-ranking officials who lacked leverage within the existing power structure. Shared traits included their ability to manipulate the mass media, their good standing with Mao, and their dislike of and subsequent desire to overthrow moderate government officials who clustered around Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.’(<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Gang-of-Four>) [18:23, 6<sup>th</sup>, June, 2017]

<sup>195</sup> Jiang Qing: who was the third wife of Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong. She was also the most influential woman in the People’s Republic of China until her downfall in 1976. As a member of the Gang of Four, she faced the conviction of ‘counter-revolutionary crimes’ and imprisoned in 1981.

<sup>196</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 76.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid. P 75.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid. P 78.

Mao's instructions, Lin Biao organized students and radical teachers in the universities to put up wall posters attacking the education system for its divergence from the revolutionary path. The enthusiasm with which the students abandoned their classes and attacked their teachers caused such unrest that Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi sent special work teams to the campuses in an attempt to contain the trouble...The work teams were attacked by the students who, in a particularly ominous development, began to take to the streets as 'Red Guards' intent on creating a reign of terror.'<sup>199</sup> My consideration is that, inspired by the left-wing, the school firstly became the battlefield of the Cultural Revolution. Students and radical teachers become the main force. The purpose of the revolution was to clear out the educational system that deviated from the revolutionary path. The leftists use students' enthusiasm and worship towards Mao to manufacture unrest. In this regard, the right-wing tried to send work teams to the campus to quell the problems. However, it is impossible for the teams to curb the disorderly and fanatical riots. Gradually, the students' individual riots have developed into a collective Red Guards organization. The lethality of the Cultural Revolution is on the rise.

(1) The reason of the Cultural Revolution:

According to Lynch's description, 'Why was Mao Zedong willing to plunge into renewed turmoil a nation that had only just emerged from decades of foreign occupation, civil war and famine? At its simplest, the answer is that the Cultural Revolution was to be the means by which Mao would reassert his authority over China and the China's Communist Party.'<sup>200</sup> As far as I can see, the Cultural Revolution was the evidence of Mao's attempt to regain leadership. Lynch analyzes the reasons why Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution. There are several reasons: First of all, from the perspective of Mao Zedong, the Cultural Revolution is launched because the change of Mao's political position during that period. In order to change his position within the party and regain leadership, he must clear all the voices against him. The failure of the Great Leap Forward and the great famine in China

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid. P 78.

<sup>200</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 81.

actually influenced Mao's political position. The decline of his position and reputation hit him deeply. In addition, the Cultural Revolution is also affected by Mao's personal experience. By the influence of the long-term revolutionary experience, Mao Zedong tends to use the way of fighting when dealing with any problems. This seems to become his fixed thinking mode. Therefore, even in the age of peaceful construction, in dealing with economic construction and political reform, he is also accustomed to using the way of revolution. This militant character is closely related to his strong self-confidence, especially when he is surrounded by the uprooting and worship of the masses. Secondly, from the perspective of economic development, in the 1960s, the single structure of ownership and the stagnant economic system were no longer suited to the requirements of economic development. China's economic development model is in urgent need of reform. Central leaders are also aware of this problem. Mao argues that the commodity economy is an antagonist of the socialist economy, so he can not tolerate when other governmental officials suggest that China should take the path of capitalist economic development, such as Deng Xiaoping. These inner-party differences and factional disputes leading to the Cultural Revolution arise from the debate on different paths of economic development. Around the issue of how to restore and develop agricultural production after the Great Leap Forward and Great Famine, differences within the party are gradually intensified. Thirdly, from the perspective of international relations, Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution to solve the domestic political problems. According to Lynch's description, 'In the late 1950s he(Mao) had interpreted the Soviet attack on Stalin's 'cult of personality' as a criticism of his own leadership of China...Mao viewed Khrushchev and his successors as guilty of betraying the revolution by encouraging revisionism and by détente with the West and he was determined that such developments would not happen in China after him.'<sup>201</sup> I suppose that, in order to avoid the same situation made by the Soviet revisionism, Mao regarded the Cultural Revolution as an experiment against revisionism. Fourthly, from the perspective of culture, the traditional thoughts of feudal slavery still deeply affects the Chinese people. The people of this period are

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<sup>201</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 82-83.

more inclined to obey the collective and leadership, lack of self-consciousness. All in all, As for my part, the Cultural Revolution was initiated by Mao Zedong as the party leader. Internal cause is the influence of Mao Zedong's political experience, the external reason is the comprehensive influence of economy, politics, international situation and culture.

## (2) The instrument: Red Guards

According to Lynch's view, 'Mao had enlisted the youth of China as his instrument for reimposing his will on the nation and reshaping it according to his vision.'<sup>202</sup> As for my part, Red Guards as a youth revolutionary collective organization, has some characteristics. First of all, due to the imperfect political system and the prevalence of Mao Zedong's personal worship, the closed cultural environment makes young students deeply affected. Chairman Mao became the spiritual sustenance of people. Worship and absolute belief of authority makes people gradually lose their self-consciousness. The early Red Guards organization was organized by a group of passionate young people spontaneously assembled. Later, the Red Guards evolved into a student organization, and the influence spread to the nationwide. Secondly, in the 'Cultural Revolution' movement, the rebel groups were mainly composed of unprivileged social groups. Therefore, they hope to vent their inner grievances and dissatisfaction in this extraordinary period, such as power and status. Thirdly, Communist education has trained a group of young people regarding communism as faith. As Lynch describes, 'It was his (Mao's) way of encouraging China's young people to criticize and attack those ideas and those members in party and government that Mao wanted to remove.'<sup>203</sup> To my way of thinking, when Mao's revolution encountered a group of youth loyal to the party and leadership, the youth serve as the backbone and tools who are utilized during the Cultural Revolution. According to Lynch's view, 'In choosing China's youth to be the instruments of the Cultural Revolution, Mao showed an astute grasp of mass psychology. The young were made to feel that they had a special role to play, not only in the regeneration of the nation,

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid. P 79.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid. P 79.

but in the creation of a new socialist world order.<sup>204</sup> My view is that, the closed cultural environment and patriotic education and propaganda make this generation of young people have a deep worship and trust in Mao Zedong. In other words, they lack self-consciousness and judgment. Absolute support and response to the leaders is their most loyal and patriotic performance. Mao Zedong grasps the fanatical features of the youth generation.

When describing the actions of the Red Guards, Lynch says, ‘The Red Guards became a terrifying and destructive movement. Mao’s policies deliberately brutalised China’s idealistic young people. By presenting chaos as more virtuous than order, Mao effectively declared that there was no moral restriction on what could be done in the name of the revolution.’<sup>205</sup> From my point of view, Lynch defined the Red Guards movement as a devastating riot. All actions in the name of the revolution are not bound by morality. For example, a large number of students openly accused their teachers and elders. This behavior is contrary to traditional Chinese moral values. Mao Zedong, like religious beliefs, sought after by people.

(3) The targets: ‘Four olds’, the right, the intellectuals...

According to Lynch’s introduction, ‘In Mao’s name, Lin (Lin Biao) identified ‘four olds’ as targets for the young to attack: old ideas; old culture ; old customs; old habits.’<sup>206</sup> In the summer of 1966, the Red Guard of Beijing Second Middle School announced that it would smash all old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. The next day, Mao Zedong met with the Red Guards in Tiananmen Square. After the ceremony, the Red Guards of the capital began to walk on the streets began to get rid of four olds. They simplified the thought of breaking old ideas and creating new ideas into a series of sabotage of old habits, old ideas and old customs. As a result, numerous outstanding cultural books were burned. A large number of National Heritage suffered looting. The Red Guards under the banner of defending Mao Zedong, destroyed a large number of precious cultural heritage they thought belonged to four olds everywhere. Social order has become more chaotic. With the rise and

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid. P 86.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid. P 89.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid. P 81.



expansion of the Red Guards movement, the Cultural Revolution gradually escalated into national turmoil. Lynch vividly describes the impact of the Cultural Revolution on China. As he says, 'It is doubtful whether any other society in peacetime has witnessed organized upheaval on such a scale. China had been told that nothing in its past was worth preserving. Hardly anywhere in China, even the remotest regions, would remain untouched. Nearly every family would be affected by what was to happen. Millions would die; many more millions would have their lives irreparably damaged.'<sup>207</sup> My view is that, the scale of the Cultural Revolution is nationwide. The influence of the Cultural Revolution can cover every corner of the country and every family. It is hard to imagine that a reform of ideology and culture can be developed into nationwide riots. The most bitter thing is that tens of thousands of people were killed in this revolution. This frenzy deeply stabbed China.

As far as I am concerned, in addition to removing four olds, the main target of the Cultural Revolution is the right-wing led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. The contradiction between Mao and them can be traced back to the period of great famine. On the one hand, Liu and Deng replaced Mao Zedong after the failure of the Great Leap Forward to lead the country out of famine and social chaos. Their achievements are prominent. As a result, their status and prestige grows. This creates a serious threat to Mao Zedong's political status. On the other hand, the famine made the central leadership eager to find a way which is suitable for China's economic development. In this debate, the contradictions between the left and the right are intensified. The right wing advocates the inclusion of capitalist experience in China's economic development. While the left wing resolutely rejects any capitalist elements. Mao Zedong categorized the rightists' ideas directly into the path of capitalist development. As a socialist leader, Mao Zedong can not tolerate the existence of capitalist elements. Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution in order to hit the right-wing led by Liu Shaoqi. Evidence can be found in Lynch's description, 'They (Liu and Deng) had adopted 'a bourgeois reactionary line' and had become 'revisionists'. Mao let it be known that he had been offended by the way in which Deng and Liu had previously

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<sup>207</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 81.

tried to bypass him. He complained that they had treated him 'like their dead parent at a funeral'.<sup>208</sup> As far as I can see, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were hit because they had the tendency to take the bourgeois line to the development of economy. Mao Zedong and his political views and positions are diametrically opposed bourgeois line. He has been accustomed to personal autocratic leadership style, so it is difficult to tolerate for him.

In the Cultural Revolution, intellectuals have also been severely persecuted. According to Lynch's description, 'An especially vulnerable group were the intellectuals, those whose work or privileged way of life was judged to detach them from the people. Schoolteachers, university staff, writers, and even doctors were prey to the Red Guard squads who denounced them as 'bad elements' and made them publicly confess their class crimes.'<sup>209</sup> As I see it, why did Mao Zedong regard the intellectuals as the target of the Cultural Revolution? First of all, Mao Zedong advocated a high degree of political centralization and unity of thought. The intellectuals who have received the influence of scientific education and democratic thought advocate independent thinking and oppose authoritarian dictatorship. One of the major features of the intellectuals is their commentary of national affairs and government behavior. Mao Zedong cannot accept the idea of western democracy as a socialist leader. He wants to override the intellectuals and become their spiritual master through ideological propaganda, such as *the Little Red Book*. But economic construction and education require the scientific knowledge and the intellectuals. Therefore, the central government put forward the policy of 'unity, education and transformation' when dealing with the issues about the intellectuals. The central government instructed schools to carry out large-scale ideological transformation work, with the method of criticism and self-criticism. The ideological transformation movement quickly expanded from the education sector to the whole intellectual community. Under great political pressure, all intellectuals who have experienced the old society must confess their own history.

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<sup>208</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 84.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid. P 89.

(4) The features:

First of all, as Lynch says, ‘Given free rein, the Red Guards seized public transport and took over radio and television networks.’<sup>210</sup> In other words, the Red Guards fully realize the importance of mastering the means of transport and propaganda. The cultural environment of China during this period is relatively closed. Control the traffic system can effectively control the flow of people. Control of propaganda tools not only can better publicize the ideas of Mao, but also can inhibit the speech which is not conducive to Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Both aspects are closely related to the exchange of information.

Secondly, according to Lynch’s view, ‘Those regarded as particularly culpable were forced to undergo ‘struggle sessions’.’<sup>211</sup> In my viewpoint, the core meaning of struggle sessions is criticism and self-criticism. This theory is created by Mao Zedong. He believes that criticism and self-criticism are effective to re-educate ‘those regarded as culpable’. Brainwashing, self-criticism and confession Lynch mentioned are common means in the Cultural Revolution to transform so-called the guilt. These people will be constantly tested and blamed.

Thirdly, I personally suppose that, after the instructions of Mao Zedong, the Red Guards movement is more rampant. They do not miss any clues about capitalism. For those who ever contributed to the new China, even if there is a little bit relationship with capitalism, will be accused as well. Therefore, in the Cultural Revolution, China deeply hurt the hearts of many patriots.

(5) The relationship between the Cultural Revolution and Mao:

To my way of thinking, it is very necessary to discuss the relationship between Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution. According to Lynch’s view, ‘It is noteworthy that once Mao had begun the Cultural Revolution, he tended to remain in the background, allowing others to organize it...But none of this absolves Mao from the responsibility for what occurred. Everything was done in his name. He could have called off the terror any time he wanted, but he chose not to...Mao was the originator of the

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<sup>210</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People’s Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 89.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. P 89.

movement that convulsed China. Without him there would have been no Cultural Revolution with all its attendant horrors.’<sup>212</sup> It seems to me that, Lynch thinks that Mao Zedong has an undeniable responsibility for the consequences of the Cultural Revolution. On the surface, Mao Zedong did not affect the trend and details of the Cultural Revolution too much. But his laissez-faire attitude made his followers such as the Gang of Four make many policies in his name. Lynch believes that Mao Zedong's approach is to follow Stalin's purges. Mao clearly recognizes that only possessing a large number of enthusiastic and loyal followers can help him remove the potential enemies. Therefore, the People's Liberation Army and the youth Red Guards became his most loyal executor.

In discussing Mao Zedong's leadership style, Lynch vividly compared the Qin Shi Huang with Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong respects and appreciates the leadership style of Qin Shi Huang. He ever said in public, although Confucianism has many ideal political ideas, but when dealing China's problems, Qin Shi Huang and legalism is much suitable than Confucius<sup>213</sup>. Qin Shi Huang is the first person to unify China. The similarities between Mao Zedong and Qin Shihuang are manifested in similar political experiences, personalities and leadership styles. First of all, both of them achieved the unification of China through the means of violent military actions. Secondly, as national leaders, they all show strong personality. As Lynch says, ‘Mao himself in whom there was a strong element of paranoia. None of his colleagues could relax; even his most devoted supporters fell foul of his suspicions. Mao often spoke of the ruthlessness with which China's revolution had to be pursued.’<sup>214</sup> As far as I am concerned, leader's personality directly affects his leadership style and policy. This character makes his political means mainly manifested as violence. At the same time, Mao's colleagues and followers also showed a cautious state around him. Few people dare to challenge his authority and decisions. He wants to concentrate major powers in his own hands and remove all objections. Thirdly, as Lynch says, ‘He(Mao) drew

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<sup>212</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 98.

<sup>213</sup> Confucius: who was China's most famous teacher, philosopher, and political theorist, whose ideas have influenced the civilization of East Asia.

<sup>214</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 102.

parallels between his own position and that of the ferocious, but effective, Emperor Qin Shi Huang.<sup>215</sup> It seems to me that, Mao Zedong is willing to follow the leadership style of Qin Shi Huang. He thinks that although this kind of leadership is cruel, it does work. From the perspective of national development, effective policy is the most important to Mao, even if it is cruel.

### 3) The fall of Cultural Revolution and the return of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping:

As the leader of the Gang of Four, Lin Biao's death means the decline of the Cultural Revolution. According to Lynch's view, 'One important effect of Lin Biao's dramatic end was the enhancement of Zhou Enlai's position in the government and party.'<sup>216</sup> 'Lin's fall also benefited Deng Xiaoping, another great survivor in the cut-throat world of the People's republic of China's politics.'<sup>217</sup> Lynch believes that Zhou and Deng make a great contribution to the process of saving China. Evidence can be found in his description, he says, 'Zhou was one of the great survivors of Chinese politics. His shrewd sense of political judgment and genuine popularity enabled him to evade the attempts made to bring him down during the Cultural Revolution. It was Zhou who had worked to prevent the fracturing of the party during the power struggles of the 1960s and it was he who became recognised as an outstanding international statesman in the 1970s.'<sup>218</sup> My view is that, first of all, Lynch acknowledges the tremendous contribution made by Zhou Enlai in the process of saving China in the late stage of Cultural Revolution. He uses the term 'survivor' to describe Zhou. Secondly, he fully affirmed Zhou's political talent and his mass base. Finally, Lynch affirmed Zhou's active efforts in the power struggle, his efforts for China's foreign affairs and improving China's international situation. It should be noted that although Lin Biao's death greatly weakened the Gang of Four. But that does not mean the end of the Cultural Revolution. Jiang Qing took over the leadership of the Gang of Four, but also get the support of Mao Zedong. This means that the Cultural Revolution continues.

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid. P 102.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid. P 101.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid. P 101.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. P 101.

### 5.1.2 The evaluation of the Cultural Revolution:

As for my part, the Cultural Revolution can be evaluated from the aspects of politics, economy and education.

Firstly, from a political point of view, a large number of government officials, democratic parties, celebrities and the masses were persecuted. Government agencies and social order have been paralyzed for a long term.

Secondly, from an economic point of view, social unrest is bound to affect and hinder the development of the national economy. The proportion of the national economy is seriously out of balance. Economic management system is also stagnant for a long period. China not only failed to achieve the goal of pursuing the developed countries, but also widened the distance.

Thirdly, from the perspective of education, the campus as a base for the spread of ideas, a large number of intellectuals were also severely persecuted. Many scientific institutions have been revoked.

The cultural revolution is imaged to use moderate means to solve the problems of culture and ideology, but it has evolved into a force revolution. This attempt to solve the ideological problem by means of force is improper, will inevitably lead to tragic results. In the period of peaceful construction, the government should avoid to use the means of violence to change the situation. Before the liberation of China, because the enemy is too strong, we can only use violent means to overthrow the invasion. But after the liberation, in addition to causing national chaos, violent means is not conducive to national construction and development.

## 5.2 《China 1900-76》 :

### 5.2.1 Ideological framework:

Now, let's talk about the period 1966-76 of the book *China 1900-76* wrote by Geoff Stewart. According to Stewart's words, 'In 1966 (Mao) launched one of the most extraordinary examples of mass mobilization in the history of humanity, the Great Cultural Revolution. It swept away his political rivals and while reducing China to

anarchy in many areas, transformed Mao into a god.<sup>219</sup> According to my point, Stewart believes that the Cultural Revolution is also a major historical event that Mao Zedong depends on the power of the masses. His purpose is to clear the party's political enemies. Through the spread of *the Little Red Book*, Mao Zedong realized the control of the national ideology-Maoism. Personal worship of Mao became an important feature of the Cultural Revolution. Individual worship, like religious beliefs, controls the masses of the people. As Stewart says, 'As head of the People's Liberation Army, Lin stressed the primacy of ideology and correct thought, and to produce this, he suggested a short compilation of Mao's sayings, which became the famous *Little Red Book*.'<sup>220</sup> As for me, *the Little red book* became a symbol of this period of the Cultural Revolution. The red color background on the cover and the picture of Mao Zedong symbolizes the sun and faith in the hearts of Chinese people. In addition, *the Little Red Book* played a very important political role. It records Mao Zedong's famous political speech and quotations. These words, like creeds, control the minds and beliefs of the Chinese people. Lynch says, 'Lin, in fact, was taking Mao's cult of personality to new heights.'<sup>221</sup> From my point of view, initiated and edited by Lin Biao, *the Little Red Book* helps Mao Zedong set up the same image of God. As an advocate of Mao Zedong, Lin Biao is keen to promote Mao Zedong's thought. It turns out that since the new Chinese cultural environment is closed, so Lin's promotion does work. The Chinese people's support and trust in Mao Zedong is beyond imagination. According to Lynch's description, 'Basically, with Lin Biao in charge of the People's Liberation Army, Mao was creating a strong counterweight to those he considered revisionists in the party hierarchy.'<sup>222</sup> I suppose that, in addition to helping Mao Zedong to carry out ideological propaganda, Lin Biao also makes the army become a loyal warrior of Mao Zedong because of his leadership position in the People's Liberation Army.

According to Stewart's view, both People's Liberation Army and Red Guards are

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<sup>219</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 127.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. P 133.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid. P 133.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. P 133.

loyal supports of Mao during the Cultural Revolution. As Stewart says, 'Red Guards units multiplied throughout August 1966. By the end of the year, all schools and colleges were closed for revolutionary struggle. Free travel was announced on the railways for Red Guards.'<sup>223</sup> From my point of view, as the main force of the struggle, the Red Guards' team expanded rapidly in 1966. Schools and universities have become the main battlefield for reform struggles. China's education began to stagnate. The traffic system is also controlled by the Red Guards as a means of transport. As Stewart describes, 'Houses were broken into and pillaged of suspicious materials, of ten books and works of art. Anything that could be labelled foreign or capitalist was suspect. Books were confiscated and burnt.'<sup>224</sup> To my way of thinking, Stewart vividly describes the Red Guards' destruction of the people's lives during the Cultural Revolution. They do not miss anything with capitalist elements. This revolutionary way is violent and destructive. A large number of books and houses were destroyed. Initially, the Cultural Revolution, mainly on the strength of the Red Guards to destroy the campus. Later, with the rapid development of the Red Guards nationwide, China's social order of life has been seriously damaged. Workers' organizations are also quick to join the ranks of the Red Guards. As a result, Stewart says, 'Inevitably, in such an atmosphere of chaos the most brutal and criminal of ten rose to the top and used the whole episode as camouflage for robbery. Mao seemed unconcerned. Some must die in any creative process was his approach.'<sup>225</sup> As I see it, a chaotic Chinese society will certainly breed a variety of illegal behaviors.

### 5.2.2 Why did Mao launch the Cultural Revolution?

According to Stewart, the reason why Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution is complex. As the planner, Mao Zedong himself is influenced by various internal factors and external factors. The most important reasons are the power struggle within the party, Mao Zedong's leadership methods and the impact of Mao Zedong's psychological state.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid. P 137.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. P 137.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid. P 138.



1) From the perspective of power struggle, Stewart says, 'his (Mao's) motives appear to have been mixed. At one level, it was a simple power struggle between political rivals. Mao resented the shadow emperor Liu Shaoqi and wished him removed. He resented and feared any other potential rivals, particularly anyone who might be seen as working with the Russians to dethrone him...In this sense, the Cultural Revolution was a resounding success for Mao. It left him as unchallenged emperor.'<sup>226</sup> As far as I can see, Stewart thinks that Mao Zedong hopes to clear the right-wing elements of the party represented by Liu Shaoqi through power struggle. The failure of the Great Leap Forward and the nationwide famine makes Mao Zedong greatly reduced in status and prestige within the party leadership. In order to restore the people's life and social order as soon as possible, Mao Zedong chose to withdraw from the leadership front, replaced by Liu Shaoqi to lead the government work. But that does not mean that Mao Zedong gave up his leadership. His practice is to temporarily ease the contradiction between him and the people, as well as contradictions within the party. With the improvement of famine and the rebuilding of social order, Liu Shaoqi's position in the Party has been significantly improved, which greatly threatened Mao's political status. This is why Mao Zedong wanted to regain the ruling power. In addition, with the rise of Russian revisionism, Mao Zedong increasingly frightened the party's hostile elements to imitate Russian revisionism to threaten his leadership. Mao Zedong's psychological state at this time is also one of the important reasons for his decision-making. Stewart uses the terms such as 'resent' and 'fear' to describe Mao Zedong's attitude towards the party's hostile elements. Obviously, this contradiction within the party has been constantly intensified and upgraded. This tense and frightening mood makes Mao think that the campaign against revisionism should be launched as soon as possible and the hostile voice in the party should be cleared. Stewart believes that from the perspective of power struggle, Mao Zedong's goal is achieved. He has not only cleared the potential political enemies he considers, but also established his absolute leadership in China and the Chinese Communist Party. The personal dictatorship became his way of leadership.

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<sup>226</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 140.

Mao's suspicion makes the governmental officials around him can not easily express different opinions to him.

2) From the perspective of Mao's approach, according to Stewart's description, 'it was, however, more than just a political struggle between personalities. In one sense, it was the logical outcome of the Socialist Education Movement, representing the triumph of Mao's approach of rectification from below rather than discipline from above, as Liu and Deng wanted. It embodied Mao's essential faith in popular involvement and mass mobilisation and his distrust of the intelligentsia.'<sup>227</sup> I think that, first of all, Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution to express the hatred of intellectuals and bourgeoisie. On the one hand, because most of the intellectuals are from wealthy families and classes, and have long been educated by capitalism and democratic ideology. On the other hand, the demands of intellectuals for academic freedom and criticism have greatly threatened the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong. They like to publicly comment and express dissatisfaction with leaders and government decisions. This is what Mao Zedong can not tolerate as well. Secondly, the reason why Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution was that he possesses the trust and dependence of the people nationwide. Personal worship makes it easy for him to mobilize the public to achieve his political goals. As long as the policy Mao formulated, the people consciously support. As long as the words he said, the people regard them as truth.

3) From the perspective of Mao's psyche and personal needs, according to Stewart's view, 'If the Cultural Revolution was partly naked power struggle and partly a battle of ideas, it also sprang from Mao's complex psyche and personal needs. Mao's behaviour was filled with ludicrous contradictions.'<sup>228</sup> Personally, I think, Stewart believes that from the internal factors point of view, Mao Zedong's psychological factors and personal requirements are equally important reasons of his policies.

### 5.2.3 What made the Cultural Revolution possible?

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<sup>227</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 140.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid. P 141.

According to Stewart's analysis, 'Firstly, Mao's own prestige and power within the party. If he set his mind to it, it was difficult for the party to resist. The party's fate and its authority was bound up with those of Mao after years of his cult of personality.'<sup>229</sup> To my way of thinking, the Cultural Revolution was able to become a reality can be analyzed from two different angles. First of all, from the perspective of the revolutionary leader, Mao Zedong has an absolute leadership and prestige in the leadership team. His thoughts and policies are intolerant of objections. The attitude of governmental officials in dealing with Mao Zedong is also cautious. Secondly, from the perspective of the masses, Mao Zedong's glorious image deeply rooted in the minds of Chinese people. Mao Zedong, like God, was revered and worshiped by the people. Of course, all this is closely related to the propaganda of Mao Zedong and his followers. Personal worship makes Mao Zedong's any decision reasonable. Due to the new China's closed cultural environment and long history of slavery, the Chinese people at this time are seriously lacking self-consciousness and critical spirit.

Secondly, according to Stewart's view, 'In calling up the popular enthusiasm of the young and later that of workers, Mao was tapping into bottled-up resentments of an over-controlled society with no outlets for feelings and rebellion.'<sup>230</sup> To my way of thinking, during the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong saw the strength of young people and workers. They have two characteristics of enthusiasm and loyalty. Due to the closed cultural and educational environment and intensive patriotic propaganda, the Chinese young people of this period have several obvious psychological characteristics. First of all, they did not really experience the war years of China, so they have a strong heroism and hero worship, Mao Zedong in their hearts is a hero. The impact of personal worship on young people is enormous. Secondly, traditional Chinese Confucianism and Marxism advocate the important role and significance of the collective, so China lacks of attention and encourages about the individual's will and power for long term. This generation of young people generally lacks personal will and choice. They are educated to obey the collective and collective interests.

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<sup>229</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 141.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.* P 142.

When personal interests and collective interests are in conflict, the correct solution is to give up personal interests to protect the collective interests. Those who are too concerned about personal interests and harms the collective interests will be criticized. All these factors have determined that Chinese youth and workers will be very loyal soldiers of Mao Zedong. They will actively implement all the political instructions of Mao Zedong.

#### 5.2.4 The evaluation of the Cultural Revolution:

When evaluating the Cultural Revolution, Stewart says that ‘The results of the Cultural Revolution were almost wholly negative. The best estimates of numbers of deaths is half a million.’<sup>231</sup> I consider that, first of all, Stewart gives a very negative evaluation of the outcome of the Cultural Revolution. The campaign was a complete failure. This failure is at first reflected in the high number of deaths. This scale of death in the age of peace-building is very incredible. And then, from the perspective of various social aspects, Stewart describes that ‘Industrial output had fallen by 14 percent in 1967 and fell again in 1968. Agriculture was far less damaged, if at all. The education of millions had been adversely affected by the closure and disruption to schools and later the punishment of radical activists.’<sup>232</sup> My view is that, Stewart illustrates the consequences of the Cultural Revolution from three areas: industry, agriculture and education. Basically, industry and agriculture are seriously damaged or even retrogressive. The field of education was stalled by the destruction of the Red Guards. The Chinese society after experiencing the Cultural Revolution was chaotic.

From the perspective of the beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution, according to Stewart’s opinion, ‘Mao was more a demi-god than ever, but the other chief gainers were Lin Biao and the People’s Liberation Army. To destroy his rivals in the party, Mao had had to promote that other institution on which the new dynasty rested, the army. China was now a more militarised society than ever.’<sup>233</sup> I suppose that, the greatest beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution are Mao Zedong and Lin Biao. First

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<sup>231</sup> Geoff Stewart, *China 1900-76*, Heinemann Advanced History, England: Pearson Education, 2006. P 142.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid. P 142.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. P 142.

of all, through the spread of *the Little Red Book*, Lin Biao succeeded in shaping Mao Zedong into Chinese savior, to establish Mao's position in the minds of the Chinese people. Secondly, they achieved the goal of eliminating hostile voices by launching the Cultural Revolution and mobilizing the frenzied people and the army. Finally, in order to consolidate Mao Zedong's absolute dominance, they militarized the Chinese society through the Cultural Revolution.

### 5.3 *«A History of China»* :

#### 5.3.1 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution:

Now, let's continue to talk about the period 1966-1976 of the book *A History of China* wrote by J.A.G. Roberts. As Roberts describes, 'In schools and colleges, administrators and teachers were subjected to criticism and often publicly humiliated, and the same treatment was meted out to some Party officials.'<sup>234</sup> As I see it, in the Cultural Revolution, schools became the main places need to be re-transformed. Inevitably, the teachers become the main object need to be re-educated and criticized. The fanatical students responded to Mao Zedong's call to join the Red Guards organization and criticize their teachers and elders. This is the opposite of the traditional Chinese value of respecting teachers and emphasizing education.

According to Roberts' description, 'Lin Biao had called for the destruction of the 'four olds': old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. Red Guard groups took this as an invitation to destroy anything which might be described as representing bourgeois culture, whether it be works of art, foreign clothing, hairstyles, or even street names which made reference to the past.'<sup>235</sup> As for me, the Cultural Revolution lacks unified guidance and discipline. Any instructions and policies of the central leadership will be interpreted by the Red Guards as a radical way. Just as the removing four olds movement, the Red Guards simply understood the instructions as breaking away everything related to the old society and the bourgeoisie, which caused a large number of miscarriage of justice occurred. Coupled with the central

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<sup>234</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 280.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid. P 280.

government's indulgence of the Red Guards, the social order has been severely damaged.

Among them, the most serious and famous event is the persecution of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. As Roberts describes, 'By October it was apparent that the Cultural Revolution Group intended to challenge the Party establishment and that a fierce power struggle lay ahead. The Group accused 'persons in authority' of having taken the capitalist road, and Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were forced to make self-criticisms.'<sup>236</sup> As far as I can see, the differences and disagreements within the party have existed for a long time. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping's political status greatly threatened Mao Zedong's leadership. It is also in the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping's political career has undergone a great turning point. The Cultural Revolution lasted for ten years, like a farce. The lives of the Chinese people are seriously affected. Until the death of Mao Zedong and the gang of four arrested, this farce finally ended.

In the reflection and summary of the experience of the Cultural Revolution, Roberts says, 'Mao Zedong is reputed to have said that the Cultural Revolution consisted of 70 percent achievements and 30 percent mistakes. This estimate was based on the alleged aims of the event: reversing the trend towards revisionism, getting rid of bourgeois influences and placing 'politics in command'.<sup>237</sup> As for my part, in the summary experience stage of the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong succeeded in clarifying the revisionist tendencies and skeptical capitalist elements. At the same time, he also through the national movement to mobilize the people's power to clear the bourgeois elements. Meanwhile, he succeeded in holding political power tightly in his hand. All politics should obey his orders. According to Roberts' evaluation, in Mao's view, only a small part of the error mainly because Mao did not hold the proper intensity of implementation during this process, such as the his attitudes towards The Red Guards. The Cultural Revolution was launched in order to achieve the victory during the power struggle of the party leadership, but at the expense of a large number

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<sup>236</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 281.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid. P 283.

of ordinary people.

### 5.3.2 The discussion of choosing Mao Zedong's successor:

According to Roberts' description, 'In 1967, People's Liberation Army officers headed 21 of the 27 provincial revolutionary committees. Two years later, at the Ninth Party Congress, Lin Biao, the minister of defence, was named as Mao's successor...Some Western observers suggested that in China, as in some other Third World countries, the army was in the process of displacing the Party.'<sup>238</sup> As far as I can see, during the early days of the Cultural Revolution, as Mao Zedong's faithful followers, Lin Biao made great efforts by editing *the Little Red Book* for promoting Mao Zedong's personal worship. Coupled with Lin Biao's leadership position in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, making him to be the most hopeful successor of Mao Zedong. Thus, Lin Biao played an increasingly important role in the struggle for power within the Party. However, Mao Zedong's trust in Lin Biao did not last long. As Roberts says, 'Over the next two years Mao Zedong, motivated either by his belief that 'the Party should command the gun', or by his growing suspicion of Lin Biao, took steps to restore the authority of the Party and to undermine Lin Biao's standing. While the army continued to perform its political role, a start was made to reconstituting the Party and revising the state structure.'<sup>239</sup> As for my part, on the one hand, Lin Biao's power and status in the party is getting higher and higher, which is a serious threat to Mao Zedong's political status, making him more and more doubt Lin Biao's loyalty. On the other hand, Mao Zedong thought that when dealing with the relationship between the party and the army, the party and the army are two separated departments. And the party should always be in a leading position. So Mao thought that he should not give Lin Biao too much power to influence the party affairs. The army and leaders of military such as Lin Biao should not play too much political role, so he tried to explain the role of the army by reorganizing the inner-party structure and the state structure. In addition, Roberts says, 'In the meantime, differences had

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<sup>238</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 285.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid. P 285.

emerged between Lin and Mao on the issue of the future direction of China's foreign policy. Whereas Lin believed that in international relations China should ally with oppressed and revolutionary peoples, Mao now endorsed cautious moves towards a rapprochement with the United States.<sup>240</sup> My point of view is, the most direct outburst of the contradictions between Mao Zedong and Lin Biao is manifested in the disagreement when handling of international issues. Lin Biao believes that the beginning of the new China's diplomatic relations should unite the nationalities and countries sharing a similar oppressed historical destiny. However, Mao Zedong believes that the new China should slowly start foreign affairs with the US at first. Mao Zedong opposed Lin Biao's advice and thought that he interfered in government affairs too much, which was a threat to Mao's decision-making. In the end, 'After Lin's death the main domestic political issue was the succession to Mao.'<sup>241</sup> As Roberts describes, it is necessary for the central authorities to seek the next reliable successor after Lin Biao's death.

From my point of view, at that time, after Lin Biao's death, the voice of supporting Zhou Enlai is quite high within the party. But because of Zhou Enlai suffering from serious illness, so the central leadership had to choose another one. According to Roberts' description, 'Thereupon Mao Zedong decided to turn to Deng Xiaoping-the man who in 1967 had been described as the 'number two person in authority taking the capitalist road' - because his high reputation with the military and his political skills were much needed qualities.'<sup>242</sup> It seems to me that, Deng Xiaoping had been hit hard during the Cultural Revolution. His political career was stagnant for a long time since then. But by virtue of a high reputation within the party, after the death of Mao Zedong and the end of the Cultural Revolution, he became a new generation of Chinese leaders.

After choosing a proper successor of Mao, the international relations becomes the second major problem that China need to deal with.

Personally, I suppose that, during the Cultural Revolution, China suffered a serious

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<sup>240</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 285.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid. P 286.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid. P 287.



blow and destruction, but the only thing worth mentioning is that the progress of the new China's diplomatic. According to Roberts' description, 'From 1969 the possibility of improving relations with the United States was under discussion...From the Chinese point of view Nixon's visit was a great success, as it resulted in an agreement on peaceful co-existence between the two countries without China having to make any concessions about the 'one China' policy and the claim to Taiwan.'<sup>243</sup> As far as I am concerned, this great diplomatic progress is not only reflected in China is willing to open the national door to participate into international affairs actively, but also reflected in the US's affirmation of 'one China' and the confirmation of the legal leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. During the early days of the new China, the leadership of the Communist Party was not recognized by the international environment. The United States has always recognized the leadership of the Kuomintang to be the only one legal government in China. So, the outcome of this diplomatic event is a milestone and ice-breaking trip during the historyChina's foreign affairs.

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<sup>243</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *A History of China*, Palgrave Essential Histories, London: Macmillan Education, 1999. P 286.

## Conclusion:

After analyzing each book following the same historical periods, I come to several conclusions:

1) From the perspective of authors' attitude, I agree with Lynch's evaluation, as he says, 'the outstanding characteristic of western historians is their objectivity. Their approach has provided a valuable corrective to the one-sided interpretations that had been produced earlier by western scholars who had allowed their political bias to influence their work.'<sup>244</sup> Personally, I think that in the process of commenting on Chinese history, it is difficult to be absolutely objective no matter for western scholars or Chinese scholars. Because both the writing style and authors' opinions have a close relationship with their social and educational background. They can make the interpretation of Chinese history without regional misconduct and ideological misunderstanding. I think that the position of authors is very important in describing and discussing historical issues, especially when discussing sensitive issues across transnational, cross-racial and trans-ideologies, such as the issue of Tibet. This position is not only associated with geography, age, race, but also deeply influenced by ideology. This ideology refers to different thinking styles and background of education across the world. Objectivity is always the goal to obtain when discussing historical issues.

2) At the end of the paper, we can answer the initial hypothesis. Cultural integration or emphasis on the difference? According to my point, these three books represent three different ways of describing Chinese history in the West. Through analysis, I can conclude that the main points of these three books are very similar. But their discourse frameworks are different. So, from a macro point of view, cultural integration is the main trend and direction. However, from the microscopic point of view, each book has its own characteristics and style of writing, so the difference must exist.

3) From the perspective of terminology, the use of terminology involves the transformation of intercultural languages and distinct ways of thinking. The process of transformation can be also understood as a process of interpretation. As for me, when

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<sup>244</sup> Michael Lynch, *The People's Republic of China*, Access to History, London: Hodder Education, 2008. P 16.

discussing contemporary China's history, there are two categories of terminologies with different characteristics. One category of terminologies is often defined according to Chinese literal meaning, such as the Hundred Flower Campaign, Four olds, etc. In general, it is difficult to see the specific meaning of historical events from such terms. They are only the result of direct translation literally. The other category of terminologies is often defined according to the essence of historical events, such as the Cultural Revolution, the Great Leap Forward, etc. Such terms tend to directly reflect some prominent features of historical events. Taking the Cultural Revolution as an example, we can see that this term embodies a movement in the cultural sphere. However, this term tends to be more intense than the moderate reform.

4) From the perspective of approach, these three authors including Michael Lynch, Geoff Stewart and J.A.G. Roberts critically analyze the major historical figures and historical events. For example, when evaluating the nature of the Chinese Communist Party, Lynch critically discusses the contradiction from perspectives of practice and theory. This critical analysis can help us understand the contradiction between the democratic vision of leaders and the reality of authoritarian rule deeply.

5) From the perspective of angles, I can find several different main lines. Among them, Mao Zedong and the time line are the most common clues. In addition, the process of China's industrialization, China's political and military consolidation movements and the transformation of policies towards the intellectuals are also important main lines. Meanwhile, these main lines are intertwined and interact with each other. For example, with the development of industrialization, the government realized the importance of science and technology, which led directly to the relaxation of policies towards the intellectuals. At the same time, the relaxation of policies towards the intellectuals means the expansion of western democratic ideas in China, which will threaten the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao.

Table 3.1.1: The First Five-Year Plan 1952-56

	1952	1957
	Output targets	Output achieved
Gross industrial output (yuan, millions)	53,560	65,020
<b>Particular areas of production</b>		
Coal (millions of tonnes)	113	115
Oil (millions of tonnes)	2,012	1,458
Steel (millions of tonnes)	4.12	5.35
Electric power (billions of kilowatts)	15.9	19.34
Hydroelectric turbines (kilowatts)	79,000	74,900
Machine tools (units)	12,720	28,000
Locomotives (units)	200	167
Freight cars (units)	8500	7300
Merchant ships (tonnes)	179,000	54,000
Trucks (units)	4000	7500
Bicycles (units)	550,000	1,174,000
Manufactured chemicals (thousands of tonnes)	1580	2087

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