

IB Revision Guide: Mao

Origins:

- 1st Oct. 1949 Mao proclaimed PRC established
- Initially several parties were tolerated
- 1949 marked the beginning of the single party state
- Weaknesses of government prior to 1949:
 - Failure to prevent increasing encroachment by foreign powers
 - Failure to address widespread poverty
 - Inability to promote effective control over the provinces

Conditions that led to the establishment:

- GMD government did make some progress before the Japanese invasion
- 1937-45 Sino-Japanese war undermined the GMD gov.
- Weaknesses worsened by the war:
 - GMD cut off from traditional power base
 - Less active in fighting Japanese than communists
 - Mismanaged the economy
 - Lost its best troops
 - Alienated peasantry
 - Corruption worsened
 - Relations with students and intellectuals worsened
- Positive achievements:
 - Industrial output grew
 - Rail network expanded
 - Financial institutions reformed
 - Educational provisions expanded
 - Research institutes set up
- Weaknesses:
 - Lost revolutionary outlook once in power
 - GMD lacked popular support
 - Failed to introduce parliamentary gov.
 - Most industrial expansion took place in foreign owned factories
 - Little social reforms
 - Failed to unite China
 - Limited effort made to end foreign domination
 - Failing to provide rigorous defence against Japan
 - Did not defeat warlordism
 - Failed to destroy CCP

Origins of CCP:

- Small movement found in 1921
- On advice from Comintern, joined with GMD
- Began to develop its own support

Strengths:

- United under Mao- cult of leadership began to develop

- Adaptation of Marxist ideology to Chinese conditions
- Broadened its support base
- Won peasant support
- Opportunity to expand the area under its control
- Red Army based in Shaanxi was much better disciplined
- CCP established stronger nationalist credentials than the GMD

Impact of the Civil War 1946-49:

- Weaknesses of GMD leading to defeat in Civil War:
 - Chinese blamed GMD for resumption of civil war
 - GMD became increasingly repressive
 - Government attempts to control inflation failed
 - Chiang miscalculated how the war in Asia would end
 - USA provided limited support to GMD
 - Chiang's key military mistake lost troops
 - GMD army morale was low
- Strengths of CCP:
 - Mao was prepared to be flexible in land policy
 - People's Liberation Army was in a better position to surrender to Japanese weapons
 - PLA did not do this however
 - CCP had support of peasants
 - Member numbers of the CCP was growing

Mao's Ideology:

- The peasants as a revolutionary class
- Two stage revolution
- The Mass Line
- Continuous Revolution and Rectification
- Worldwide Revolution

Land Reforms June 1950:

- Destruction of power and wealth of landlord class
- Before reform: 4% of landowners owned 40% of China's arable land
- Results:
 - No exact figures, but millions of landlords were said to have died
 - Land was taken away from landlords
 - Not complete until 1952
 - Gave peasants a stake in the revolution, if CCP lost so would they
 - Move towards socialisation of agriculture from early 1950s

Mass Movement and Thought Reform:

- CCP launched campaigns to reshape attitudes and habits of Chinese
- Part of their drive to establish political control over citizens
- Aimed at a socialist mindset and culture
- CCP employed same methods they used before coming to power: mass movements to mobilise population, rectification campaigns and galvanise population

- To establish tight control, CCP created structures to ensure everyone was subject to surveillance
- All citizens had to belong to work units
- Mass organisations were created for children

The Campaign against Counter Revolutionaries:

- Mao was eager to remove those who had supported GMD in CCP
- Outbreak of Korean War heightened anxiety about political enemies
- Led to bloody campaign:
 - Organised mass demonstrations against USA
 - Mobilised population to identify spies and traitors
 - Within six months, 700,000 people were executed
 - 500,000 imprisoned in 'reform through labour' camps

Three and Five 'Antis' 1951-52:

- Three anti campaign:
 - Targeted at corruption, waste and elitism
 - Against officials, GMD officials and members of CCP
 - Obligated to undergo criticism of colleagues and public
- Five anti campaign:
 - Targeted bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of government property, economic secrets
 - Directed against business community

Social Reform:

War on crime

- CCP keen to tackle problems of organised crime
- Punished and often executed major criminals
- Provided rehabilitation programmes for drug addicts and prostitutes
- CCP raided and closed down brothels and gambling dens

Education

- CCP launched drive to increase literacy
- Expanded educational provisions
- Numbers of students attending primary and secondary schools increased
- Illiteracy still remained high, 80% of pop still could not read and write by 1953
- CCP received a lot of help from USSR- Russians cooked Chinese schools and unis.

Marriage Reform

- Tried to improve position of women in society
- 1950 Marriage Law first of Mao's reforms
- Banned arranged marriages, child marriages and polygamy
- Women given right to divorce
- Changing the attitudes of men was particularly difficult
- In rural areas, women continued to be treated as inferior

First Five Year Plan, 1953-57:

- Ended National Capitalist phase
- Nationalisation of all private industries and businesses in China
- Mao decided PRC must look towards USSR for support since GMD received support from the USA
- 1st FYP followed Soviet model
- Concentrated on heavy industry
- Results:
 - Completed nationalisation of industry
 - On the eve of the FYP 20% on heavy industry and 60% of light industry under private ownership
 - Boosted urbanisation
 - Infrastructure improvement
 - FYP, heavy industry trebled
 - Overall targets were exceeded by 20%
 - Agriculture investment was low compared to industry
 - Slow agricultural growth

Collectivisation:

- Gradualist approach to introducing socialism in the countryside
- CCP leadership convinced collectivisation was essential for increasing agricultural efficiency and fulfilling ideological aims
- Peasants encouraged to pool equipment, animals and ownership of land/resources
- By 1953, 40% of peasant households belonged to 'mutual-aid teams'
- Starting 1954, Agricultural Producers Co-operatives emerged
- In larger units, land was pooled but private ownership still remained
- Peasants were rewarded in terms of contribution to co-operatives
- Rich peasants not allowed to join
- Results:
 - CCP achieved greater control of the countryside
 - 1953, state became the sole buyer and seller of grain
 - Peasants obliged to sell a fixed quota
 - Introduction of collectivisation gradually meant greater success in China than experienced in Russia
 - Resistance limited to rich peasants unhappy about sharing income
 - 5% increase in agricultural output

Staged collectivisation:

Date begun	Type of organisation	Number of households	Features
1950	Mutual aid teams	5-10	Equipment and animals pooled at harvest time but private ownership retained
1954	Lower Level Agricultural	30-50	Pooling of land but share of profits partly

	Producers' Co-operatives		based on how much land/equipment contributed
1956	Higher Level APCs	200-300	Land collectively owned; small allotment permitted
1958	Communes	5000	Land collectively owned not even small private plots/ allotments permitted

The Hundred Flowers Campaign, 1958:

- 1957, CCP lifted censorship and encouraged intellectuals to voice criticisms of how the Party worked
- After a slow start, a wave of criticism was unleashed
- Movement spread to universities
- Within six weeks CCP leadership alarmed and brought campaign to a halt
- Purge of intellectuals known as Anti-Rightist Campaign
- Many academics were dismissed and Mao became suspicious of intellectuals
- Historical interpretations:
 - Form of recertification
 - Opened criticism of CCP would prevent it from developing into privileged elite
 - Mao believed that uprisings in Hungary and Poland were result of criticism being stifled and parties becoming out of touch with the people
 - *Philip Short suggests Mao was trying to combine a "totalitarian system with democratic checks and balances"*
 - Alternatively some believe it to be a way to flush out critics

Great Leap Forward, 1958:

- Mao had reservation about Soviet style FYP
- Oct. 1957 persuaded Central Committee to cancel Second FYP
- Adopted a new radical plan: The Great Leap Forward
- Why did Mao decide to abandon Soviet model?
 - Mao wanted to simultaneously develop agriculture and heavy industry
 - Since 1956, material incentives in the form of pay for skilled and unskilled workers clashed with Marxist ideas
 - 1st FYP focused on capital-intensive projects but PRC was short of capital to invest in industry
 - Mao was keen to change the nature of China's economic planning and development because the 1st FYP came from Russia, Mao wanted China to assert its own way of thinking
 - 1957, Mao wanted to accelerate speed of economic growth: collectivisation had encouraged Mao of the power of will and mobilisation to increase industry output
 - Wanted a steel industry bigger than Britain
 - Worried that the CCP might be losing revolutionary spirit and government officials were becoming self-interested elite

- Aimed to increase influence of provincial CCP agencies and mobilise the Party and masses to create and modern socialist economy

Launching the Great Leap Forward:

- Mao took a tour of China in Jan-Apr 1958
- Encouraged by massive irrigation schemes to provide water for 20 million acres
- Achieved by combining labour of many co-operatives
- Mao decided to transform Chinese economy, focus was on labour-intensive project
- Amalgamation of co-operatives into communes
- 26,000 communes organised with 50000 households in each
- Canteens and crèches were established to free women to work
- Communes also responsible for industry, education and defence
- Mao planned to use communes as 'People's Militia'
- CCP was concerned about security because of Nationalist movement in Taiwan
- "Backyard Furnaces" policy in countryside increased steel production
- Most of the steel was not fit to use
- Communes were not established in towns, despite attempted because of the lack of space
- Mao saw GLF as a cultural and political movement as much as eco
- Communes intended to breakdown distinction between peasants and workers, town and countryside
- In order for people to put aside familial loyalties and think in terms of Party/country

Results:

- Industry:
 - Overall China's gross income increased by 8% in 1958 but fell 30% in 1960
 - 600,000 backyard furnaces were built in 1958 and steel production reached target
 - Steel produced in backyard gardens was poor quality and program was abandoned in 1959
 - In spite of failure, the GLF marked being of rural industrialisation
 - Communes had considerable success in the manufacturing of agricultural tools
- Agriculture:
 - Impact more disastrous on the countryside
 - 1958 harvest was good however the published figures were exaggerated
 - 1959 and 1960 harvests were poor
 - Catastrophic famine: death toll rose from 1.08% to 1.48% in 1959 and 2.54% in 1960

Why did it fail?

- CCP officials were unable to deal with the huge challenges posed by the GLF, took off with little planning
- Mass mobilisation and intensive use of labour could not compensate for the lack of capital investment
- 1960 Sino-Soviet split occurred and Khrushchev withdrew advisors from China
- Flawed agricultural reforms
- Grain production fell partly because peasants were heavily involved in industrial projects and land reclamation- many became exhausted and enthusiasm died

- China suffered from abnormally bad weather leading to severe drought in the North and flooding in the South with 60% of arable land affected
- Famine was a result of CCP refusal to admit failure
- Blame for this failure lay at Mao's door, who had created a climate of fear in which anyone dared criticised the CCP
- In early 1959, Mao began to accept that there was a serious problem
- Mao could not admit failure and continued with the GLF so it continued until 1960 and famine intensified

Great Leap Forward Terminated, 1961:

- By the end of 1960, China was in a state of crisis
- In some provinces ¼ of the population starved to death
- Armed rebellion by the desperate peasants broke out in four West provinces
- The GLF was quietly abandoned
- It took five years for agricultural production to recover

Leadership Divide:

- From 1962, division emerged
- Between:
 - Communists (supporters of Mao)
 - Pragmatists who supported Liu and Deng
- Mao was alarmed at Liu and Deng's economic reforms
- Until then, Mao had regarded Liu as successor
- Doubts after Liu openly supported 'household responsibility' system which Mao saw as abandoning socialism
- From 1962 Mao sought to restore confidence over CCP

Launch of the Socialist Education Movement 1962-63:

- Mao turned to mass mobilisation and rectification
- The Socialist Education Movement attempt to re-educate the masses politically and bring about fundamental change
- Bring about fundamental change in Chinese attitude
- Mao wanted CCP officials to undergo self-criticism as well as criticism from others
- Throughout 1962-63 Deng and Liu obstructed Mao's attempts to mobilise the masses
- The CCP organised "work teams" to go to schools and factories to educate the people
- Objective was to remove corruption
- Took until 1966 to get campaign going in the cultural revolution

The Cultural Revolution, 1966-67:

How did Mao develop his power-base in order to launch the Cultural Revolution?

- Mao was able to rely on loyalty of defence minister Lin Biao
- Lin encouraged cult of Mao within the PLA
- 1963, Lin published Mao's 'Little Red Book'
- Mao's wife Jiang Qing and group of radicals became known as Shanghai Forum
- Prompted idea of change to art in China
- Western cultures were rejected

- 1965-66 attacked play that subtly criticised Mao's dismissal of Marshal Peng
- June 1966 CR Committee purged Group of Four who were moderates trying to reconcile the radicals and Pragmatists

Mao's motives:

- Sought to reassert authority over the CCP ending the influence of opposition leaders
- Desperate to stop the CCP movement towards developing an elite of officials and managers
- Wanted to change the cultural values and sought to attack bourgeois western and traditional Chinese values
- Mao was 73 in 1966 and conscious of his own mortality
- Mao intended to restore the CCP's revolutionary zeal and provide the young generation with a revolutionary challenge

How did the Cultural Revolution begin?

- From May 1966, growing unrest in universities, encouraged by visiting members of the Cultural Revolution Group
- "work teams" organised pupils and gave them selected targets
- The students joined the campaign enthusiastically and organised themselves into Red Guard Units
- May 1966 Mao staged at 'Great Swim' in Yangzi River to show he was back
- August, Mao expressed support of Red Guard movement in Beijing and movements were set up all over China
- Mao called to students in a Wall Poster to "bombard the CCP headquarters" and destroy all those that were taking the capitalist road
- August 1966, first mass rally of over 1 million in Tiananmen Square
- PLA took over rail and radical Maoists and young people given free transport to Beijing
- Returned home to seek those taking the radical road

How did the CR develop?

- Originated with organised activism but proved difficult to control
- School and unis. closed down
- Once started Mao withdrew to central China
- Biao and Qing left in charge of affairs
- Clashes between Red Guard and workers/students
- 1966-67 a democratic workers' movement emerged in Shanghai
- Worry that China on the verge of Civil War
- Thousands killed in clashes between Red Guard units
- Violence did not stop, PLA sent to restore order
- 1967-68 given key role in Rev. Committees in each province
- By 1968 PLA restored order in most places
- Dec. 1968 Mao called Red Guard to leave the city and go to countryside
- 12 million died over next 4 years

Why did Mao retreat from radicalism?

- Purges and violence went further than Mao had probably intended
- Emergence of Shanghai People's Commune threatened CCP' power

- CR causing chaos and there was prospect of war with USSR
- Military commanders worried that purges might extend to PLA

Results of Cultural Revolution:

- Defeat of Liu, Deng and revisionists
- Deng was rehabilitated in 1973 and improved Chinese economy
- Cult of Mao reached its height
- 1969 new constitution guiding line of CCP
- 500,000 people died- victims intellectuals
- 1968-70 mass movement to country from city 20-30 million
- May 7th Schools to reeducate party officials
- Education was disastrously disrupted
- Art and literature became very sterile with strict controls imposed
- Red Guard destroyed a lot of ancient Chinese art and Buddhist temples
- Some disruption to industry
- No severe economic damage

Assessing Cultural Revolution:

- Mao saw it over by 1970
- Period of Maoist indoctrination and domination didn't end until his death in 1976
- Escalation of certain features in PRC since 1949- public denunciation, struggle sessions, mass mobilisation