

CHAIRMAN MAO:  
*Education of the Proletariat*

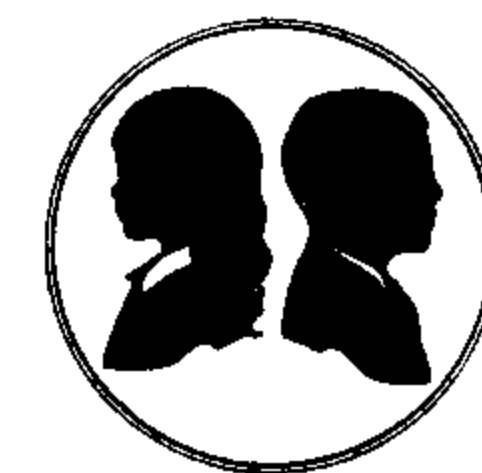
# CHAIRMAN MAO:

*Education of the Proletariat*

by

DON-CHEAN CHU

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## FOREWORD

Author Don-chean Chu, from his own life and early education in China, from long years of study of Mao's voluminous writings, and from personal contact in the 1940's with the revolutionary Mao, has written a clear, comprehensive, and admirable book about Mao Tse-tung—the man, the revolutionary, and above all the master educator.

This book comes at an appropriate time, soon after Mao's death, and is a full-scale analysis of the educational ideas which shook and shaped today's China. Although Mao's educational ideas, their origins, influences and consequences, dominate this book, the author places these in the context of the life of Mao, who bestrode the 20th century like a colossus and shook the 4,000-year-old Chinese society into modernity. The author shows all that went into making Mao, for good or ill, into a master teacher: the youth rebelling against a harsh father; the questing young scholar who against odds attended several schools; the young teacher first exposed to inquiring minds; the lowly page at Peking University Library and his conversion to Marxism; the restless organizer teaching urban and then rural adults, the army, and finally the most populous people on earth to lift themselves by their own efforts; the brash new tactician jockeying for influence among seasoned Communists in the faction-ridden Chinese Communist Party; the dialectical theoretician, rising to the challenge of civil war with Chiang Kai-shek's government and war against the invading Japanese; and the supreme helmsman who could declare on October 1, 1949, to all the world: "China has stood up!"

Professor Don-chean Chu's great contribution in this book is that, out of Mao's many-faceted life and his voluminous and sometimes contradictory writings, he has extracted and presented in sequence and in understandable fashion Mao's educational ideas and ideals.

Coverage in the book's ten chapters is complete—from the educational influence derived during Mao's early life and later career, to the educational form and purposes he found suitable to former serfs, to the courses of study appropriate for common people without property, to the learning and teaching methods alone suited to those who must live from their own labor, to the role and responsibilities of teachers and students in such a setting. In a well-organized final Summary and Conclusion chapter, the author pinpoints Mao's educational contributions, shows how Mao's educational shaping has left China today and where it might lead China in the near future.

Professor Chu has written a clear, thorough, and valuable account of Mao's struggle through mass political education to elevate China into modern status.

Franklin Parker  
*West Virginia University*

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## PREFACE

The pattern of education in the People's Republic of China, unprecedented in history, is quite unique and little understood. While Chairman Mao Tse-tung's educational ideas and indigenous innovations undeniably guided schooling in China during his lifetime, Mao's doctrines may be even more forceful since his death in 1976. To understand this schooling is to understand Mao's ideas.

This book, attempting to fill a long-existent need of people interested in China, sets forth Mao's educational ideas, innovations and implementations which are ruralizing, sinicizing, revolutionary and pragmatic. His doctrines include education under political command, combining learning and productive labor and knowledge in relation to practice. Of utmost importance are Mao's thoughts and practices on proletariat education, which will be analyzed in this volume.

The aim of this book is to provide a fresh and accurate insight into Mao's educational thought in addition to presenting and interpreting Mao's theories and practices in education. The origins, the impacts and evaluation of his ideas as well as the implementations of his ideology as expressed in Chinese education have been researched and expanded.

This volume, beginning with a general survey of Mao's life and mind, concentrates on his ideas concerning proletariat education: Who are the proletariat in China? Why must education be proletariat-centered? What are the goals of proletariat education? What and how should the proletariat

learn? How can the proletariat be taught? This volume presents a systematic and documented study of Mao's answers. A book with such contents and manner of presentation is as yet unavailable in Chinese or English.

For an accurate presentation and a penetrating interpretation of Mao's ideas, original Chinese sources have been used. I have thoroughly analyzed his writings, speeches, statements and talks as officially recorded in Chinese. The non-Chinese literature is used only as a supplementary source.

Mao's indigenous ideas on proletariat education are derived from his experience with the actual circumstances of revolution and war. He formulated educational guidelines to meet the demands of communizing the Chinese and their culture. Therefore, I will endeavor to interpret Mao's educational ideas in light of his life, his work, the historical context and social change in China. Furthermore, since my interpretations are based upon varied forms of the original documents, an effort has been made to maintain Mao's ways, his tone and his flavor of expression.

I have studied Mao's ideas since my elementary school days. In addition to studying his writings, I have listened to his speeches, met and talked with him, and observed the schools under his command in the 1940's. My personal experience and understanding of his life, work and mind have aided me enormously in writing this book. Hopefully, my knowledge of Chinese history and philosophy enables me to accurately interpret Mao's ideas, because his writings are intertwined with the tradition and problems in China and the mind and history of the Chinese.

While Mao mentioned education in the context of revolution, he never spoke or wrote systematically about education. It is, therefore, difficult even for the experienced

educator using the original sources in Chinese to accomplish a scholarly work on Mao's philosophy of education. However, I hope my experiences with Mao's educational innovations, my long-abiding interest and perseverance in studying his educational ideas and practices and my access to and proficiency in researching the original Chinese documents will make this volume more useful to the reader.

Finally, I am grateful to my colleagues in the United States and abroad who have urged me to write this book. Let me thank Mr. Charles T. Buford for his help, Mrs. Geraldine K. Zalazar and Miss Cynthia A. Barto who read the draft and made suggestions, and Mrs. Arline L. Green and Mrs. Patricia Moretti who typed the manuscript. I also express my gratitude to my wife, an author, and to my daughter, an attorney, for their scholarly assistance and compassionate support.

Don-chean Chu

August 8, 1977

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CHAIRMAN MAO:

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## CHAPTER ONE

### CHAIRMAN MAO'S LIFE, MIND AND WORK

#### Family Background

The Early Years 1893-1908

The New Youth 1909-1917

A Man Searching the Road 1918-1920

A Marxist Revolutionary 1921-1927

The Guerilla Leader and the Kiangsi Soviet  
1928-1933: the actual, the indigenous and  
innovations in education

The Long March and the Chairman in  
Yenan Caves 1934-1936: the march, the  
establishment and ideology and education

En Route to Peking 1937-1949: events and  
policies, developments and doctrines, the  
new era and strategy, the resumed war and  
the ideal, and educational policies and im-  
plementations

The Making of New China 1949-1976:  
solidification 1949-1952, transformation  
1953-1957, formulation of the socialist  
state 1958-1960, two-fold "supremacy"  
1960-1965, cultural revolution 1966-1968  
and permanent revolution and the farmward  
movement 1969-1976

This is a song, written by the Chinese Red pioneers and  
sung by millions of people in China: "Beautiful is our  
motherland. Happy is our life today. Thanks to you, dear

Chairman Mao. . . ."<sup>1</sup> General Lin Piao, the late Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of China, wrote: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-around way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage."<sup>2</sup> However, N. S. Krushchev referred to Mao Tse-tung as "a man, old but unwise, reminds one of a worn-out galosh which can only be put in a corner of a room to be admired."<sup>3</sup> Which of these comments can we accept? All? None? First, an objective analysis is needed. Mao said that what you live and do helps you think, and what you think helps you work. It is advantageous and thrilling to delve into Mao's life, mind and work.

#### I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

Mao Tse-tung was born on December 26 (November 19 by the lunar calendar), 1893. Among the events prior to his birth were China's defeats in the Opium War of 1840 and the Sino-Anglo-Franco War in 1858. Czarist Russia annexed, in 1860 and 1868 respectively, eastern Siberia and Bokhara over which the Chinese had claims to suzerainty. China suffered additional humiliation from defeat in the Sino-Franco War of 1885 in Indo-China. Furthermore, the long Taiping Rebellion, a peasant revolution, had been crushed by Sino-Manchu forces in 1864. We may wonder if time is a factor affecting an individual's place in history.

Mao's birthplace was a plain hut in Shao Shan village, Hsiang T'an county, Hunan province. Hunan is located in central China and was notorious for its heroes and brigands. At times it was known as the home of the rebellious peasants. The Hunanese were characterized as inflexible and courageous. There is an old saying: Hunanese will be amongst the last captured Chinese, should China ever be conquered.

Mao, in 1936, said: "My father was a poor peasant and while still young was obliged to join the army because of

heavy debts. He was a soldier for many years. Later on he returned to the village where I was born, . . . he managed to buy back his land. As a middle peasant then my family owned fifteen mow<sup>4</sup> (about two and a half acres) of land."<sup>5</sup> His father, Mao Jen-sheng, a peasant with two years of schooling, was a strict and formidable man. As Tse-tung has said, the older Mao was a severe task master who hated to see his son idle. The father and son oftentimes clashed. Regarding these father-son conflicts, Mao Tse-tung later said: "...the war ended, and from it I learned that when I defended my rights by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained meek and submissive he only cursed and beat me the more."<sup>6</sup> He also related: "My father's severity was the first cause of rebellious tendencies other people noticed in me before I was aware of them myself."<sup>7</sup>

Mao's mother, whose maiden name was Wen Chi-mei, was a thrifty and illiterate peasant housewife. As a Buddhist, she gave her children instructions in that religion. Mao explained: "My mother was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic and ever ready to share whatever she had. She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines."<sup>8</sup> In 1918, she drowned herself in a pond near the Mao holding, and was put away secretly.

Mao's younger brother, Mao Tse-tan, worked with him in organizing a labor union in 1925. He was criticized for reliance on Mao Tse-tung's guerilla tactics during the 1933-34 era. Tse-tan was killed in action in March, 1935 during the Long March. Mao's youngest brother, Mao Tse-min, was a comrade and a student of Mao Tse-tung. Tse-min was sent to Sinkiang to lead the underground work in 1938 and was executed in September, 1943. Upon the death of his brothers, Mao Tse-tung adopted and educated their children. In April, 1964, Mao said to his nephew, Mao Jun-shin:

You like comfort, fear bitterness and hardship....You only know thinking for yourself and considering your own problems. Your father, Comrade Mao Tse-min,

confronted the enemies resolutely, courageously, never being a bit shaken, solely due to that he was for serving the majority of the people. If you were in his condition, you would have knelt down on your two knees, begging to have your life saved. Many of our family members were killed by KMT and American imperialists. You have grown by eating "honey" and "sugar"; you have never known what suffering is. In the future, if you could become neutral, not "right," it would be better than I could expect from you. Because you have never experienced bitterness, how can you be a revolutionary "left"?<sup>9</sup>

At this time, his nephew asked: "Do I yet have a little hope to be better?" Mao said: "You have hope, good! It is better to do more than what I did, to achieve more than the standards that I established."<sup>10</sup>

Mao's only sister, Mao Tse-hung, a revolutionist, younger than he, was executed by the Hunan governor in July, 1930.

## II. THE EARLY YEARS 1893-1908

Due to the increasing impact of Western powers and the incapability of the Empire, China was in turmoil and in transition after the 1842 Opium War. One year after the birth of Mao, China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Sun Yat-sen's first insurrection to overthrow the monarchy failed in 1895. The "Reform" under Emperor Kuang-hsu lasted only one hundred days in 1898; Mao was then five, being tutored privately in reading and writing under his grandfather's sponsorship.

When Mao was six years old (1899) he started working on his father's farm. In 1900, there occurred the so-called Boxer Rebellion, the anti-foreign uprising. Subsequently, the allied forces of eight nations captured Peking. Mao was then seven and had begun going with his mother to Buddhist ceremonies and learning to sing Buddhist hymns. At this

time, he heard more war stories from his grandfather. Of some significance was the fact that in 1901, Mao, at the age of eight, was sent to the Tung-shan Primary School in his home village of Shao-shan. About his early schooling, Mao wrote:

In the early morning and at night I worked on the farm. During the day I read the Confucian Analect and the Four Classics. My Chinese teacher belonged to the stern-treatment school. He was harsh and severe, frequently beating his students. Because of that I ran away from the school when I was ten.<sup>11</sup>

Although he was compelled to read the Classics in his childhood, the books which he really liked to learn and which had a great impact upon the development of his life and mind were the old "romances." Mao said:

I knew the Classics but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of Old China, and especially stories of rebellions. I read the Yo Fei Chuan (the Yo Fei Chronicles), Shui Hu Chuan (The Water Margin), Fan Tang (Revolt Against the T'ang), Sankuo (The Three Kingdoms) and Hsi Yu Chi (Travels in the West, the story of Hsuan Tsang's seventh-century semi-legendary pilgrimage to India) while still very young, and despite the vigilance of my old teacher, who hated these outlawed books and called them wicked. I used to read them in school, covering them up with a Classic when the teacher walked past, so also did most of my schoolmates. We learned many of the stories almost by heart, and discussed and rediscussed them many times. We knew more of them than the old men of the village who also loved them and used to exchange stories with us. I believe that perhaps I was much influenced by such books, read at an impressionable age. I finally left the primary school when I was thirteen.<sup>12</sup>

With China in chaos and the world approaching a new age, Mao grew from childhood to adolescence and became politically conscious. In 1904, at the age of eleven, he did such work as digging rice paddies and collecting animal manure; which he later insisted are sacred duties for all students and intellectuals. At this time, he first heard that Huang Hsing, a young Hunanese revolutionary, with poor peasant guerillas had attacked the governor's residence in Changsha, the capital of Hunan province. In 1905, the year of the first Russian revolution, Sun Yat-sen formed the Alliance Society for revolution. The continued revolts led by Huang and the uprisings agitated by the Kelao Hui (the peasant secret society) deeply stirred the young Mao Tse-tung, and subsequently influenced his whole life. Although Mao had believed in gods and worshipped in Buddhist temples with his mother,<sup>13</sup> his belief in the monarchy and his faith in Buddhism had been deeply shaken at about the age of twelve. Therefore, he started participating in the peasant secret meetings in villages, where he first heard the slogan, "Away with the Manchus and foreigners." He read the pamphlet, opening with "Alas, China will be subjugated," which described China's loss of Taiwan, the sovereignty over Indo-China, Korea, Burma and elsewhere. Mao felt very depressed and thought of saving the country. In 1906, at the age of thirteen, Mao left the primary school and worked full-time on his father's land. The father-son clashes continued. He said, "My father's favorite accusations against me were of unfilial conduct and laziness. I quoted, in exchange, passages from the classics saying that the elder must be kind..."<sup>14</sup> Mao explained, "There were two 'parties' in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother, and sometimes even the laborer. . . . The dialectical struggle in our family was constantly developing. . . . I hated him [his father], and we created a real united front against him."<sup>15</sup> It is most interesting to note here that long before Mao knew about Marxism, he had engaged in "dialectical struggle." It is enlightening to speculate that the "United

Front," his most successfully and emphatically used political and military strategy during the 1930's and 1940's, might have had its origin in his early family life.

When he was about thirteen, after a full day of laboring, Mao always read politically-oriented books. He enjoyed reading *Sheng-shih Wei-yen* (Words of Warning) in which the author advocated parliamentary government and Western systems of transportation and communication. By this time, his reading was gradually beginning to influence him, a fact which he has often acknowledged.<sup>16</sup> Mao also spoke of a primary teacher who helped promote the growth and change of his mind:

....Another influence on me at this time was the presence in a local primary school of a "radical" teacher. He was radical because he was opposed to Buddhism and wanted to get rid of the gods. He urged people to convert their temples into schools.... I admired him and agreed with his view.<sup>17</sup>

In 1907, since Mao was physically well-developed and his parents wanted more "man" power for farming, they found him a wife. He later repudiated this marriage: "My parents had married me when I was fourteen to a girl of twenty, but I did not live with her—and subsequently never did. I did not consider her my wife and at this time gave little thought to her."<sup>18</sup>

### III. THE NEW YOUTH 1909-1917

As Mao's mind grew, he desired more, better and newer education. Due to the father-son quarrels concerning his schooling, he ran away from home again for a period of time. Reaching the age of sixteen, he enrolled in a senior primary school despite his father's opposition. This school, Tungshan, was located in Hsiang-hsiang, the home place of his mother's family, and fifteen miles from his own home.

In Tungshan Mao was despised by schoolmates because of his poverty and peasant background; disliked because he was not a local boy and his mind was progressive. He studied such subjects as science, history and geography. He learned about the old glories of China—the Middle Kingdom, the constant superiority of the Chinese in the past, and the minds and deeds of some foreign leaders. He wrote:

I was fascinated by accounts of the rulers of ancient China: Yao, Shun, Ch'in Shih Huangti, and Han Wuti, and read many books about them.... I had first heard of America in an article which told of the American Revolution and contained a sentence like this: "After eight years of difficult war, Washington won victory and built up his nation." In a book called *Great Heroes of the World*, I read also of Napoleon, Catherine of Russia, Peter the Great, Wellington, Gladstone, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Lincoln.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, it is important to note that Mao became increasingly enthusiastic toward the reform movement in China, reading more about the reforms, because of the humiliation the Chinese repeatedly suffered.

China, the democratically and technologically backward nation, suffered continued indignation. Even the entire subjugation and whole dismemberment of China were proposed by Western powers and Japan before 1910. The signs, "Dogs and Chinese not admitted," were put on the gates of the parks in the extraterritorialities in Shanghai. Thus, the Chinese inferiority complex was formulated. Aiming to overthrow the Monarch and reconstruct a new China, the continued revolutionary movements, above ground and under, became more and more furious as time marched on. After numerous unsuccessful revolts, the Republic of China was established and Sun Yat-sen became its first President in 1911.

Early that same year, Mao walked to Changsha, about sixty miles from his home, and entered the Hsiang-hsiang

middle school. Here, he first met Liu Shao-chi, his comrade for forty years; later his rival or the "revisionist," the purged reactionary. Being deeply agitated by the new social and political ferment, he wrote his first article supporting revolution which he posted on the school wall. "Wall Paper" later became the most indigenous means of propaganda and education under Mao. He began to read newspapers, which he later described as one of the most important media in education. Then he learned about the revolutionary leadership of Sun Yat-sen.

While in the middle school, the young Mao participated in the social reform movement and first demonstrated his speaking ability to agitate the crowds. He also organized and led a group of students, the Revolutionary Shock Troops, to undertake "Spartan" self-discipline. Every day, before sunrise, they ran far across the country. They often waded, swam and climbed the mountains for physical training.

After about a half year in the middle school, Mao joined the revolutionary army where he first learned about socialism, and became a private in October of 1911. He then realized that the army could be the key to political power.

In February, 1912, Mao was discharged and entered a school of commerce; a month later he transferred to the Hunan First Provincial Middle School. After only six months, due to his deep disgust with the subjects and instructional methods, he withdrew from the school and studied independently in the Hunan Provincial Library in Changsha, staying from its opening to closing daily. During this period, he first read the translated works of Charles Darwin, John S. Mill, Jean Rousseau, Adam Smith, Thomas H. Huxley and Herbert Spencer. It was here that he first saw a world map and studied world history. This period of self-education affected Mao's life and mind profoundly; he considered it to have been extremely valuable to him.<sup>20</sup> However, Mao's father refused to support him unless he formally entered school. Considering that he was best suited for teaching, Mao, in late 1912, entered the Hunan Provincial First

Normal School which charged no tuition and only a low fee for board and lodging.

In the normal school, Mao disliked both the required curriculum and static instructional methods; however, it was evident that he had a keen interest in the social sciences and his achievements in this field were excellent. As time passed, his mind grew. Mao once said that he preferred to talk with his schoolmates only about the "big topics"—the nature of man, of society, of China, the world and the universe.<sup>21</sup> Due to the influence of Yang Ch'ang-chi, a teacher at the normal school, Mao became an idealist, as he later acknowledged himself.<sup>22</sup> He studied Friedrich Paulsen's *A System of Ethics* and was inspired to write the essay "The Power of the Mind." It illustrates that he was then deeply imbued with moral idealism and far away from becoming a materialist:

I say: the concept is reality, the finite is the infinite, the temporal is the intemporal, imagination is thought. I am the Universe, life is death, death is life, the present is the past and the future, the past and the future are the present, the small is the great, the yin is the yang, the high is the low, the impure is the pure, the thick is the thin, the substance is the words, that which is multiple is one, that which is changing is eternal.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to idealism, Mao also learned about the philosophy of Wang Fu-chin, a Chinese hero-patriot and pragmatist. Beginning in 1915, Mao enthusiastically studied the bold new ideas in the *New Youth*, a national magazine. About the evolution of his thinking, he said: "...my mind was a curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism. I had somewhat vague passions about "nineteenth-century democracy," utopianism and old-fashioned liberalism and I was definitively anti-militarist and anti-imperialist."<sup>24</sup>

During his normal school years, Mao became an ardent physical culturist. He tramped through the rice fields, up and

down the mountains and across the rivers. When it rained, he removed his shirt and had "rain baths"; he took "wind baths" in the winds; "sun baths" under the hot sun. He slept in the open during frosts and swam in cold rivers in the winter. His continued physical discipline enabled him to grow with a Spartan and puritanical spirit, a severe self-control and a strong will power. Mao's article, "A Study of Physical Education," published in 1917, is filled with references to military heroism, national salvation, self-awareness and reliance, and above all, the principle "A healthy mind is based upon a healthy body."

Mao had a love for the rural and the peasants, possibly because he was raised in the country. In the summer of 1916, he set out with a friend across the province by foot. He said: "We walked through these five counties.... The peasants fed us and gave us a place to sleep; wherever we went we were kindly treated and welcomed."<sup>25</sup>

Mao was a diligent student in the normal school; he discussed the lessons with classmates and often questioned the instructors. He was fond of thinking, writing and making notes in the book while reading. He was a learner with critical views, a progressive mind and often criticized traditional education, especially the authoritarian form of class instructions. He recognized that his political ideas were beginning to take shape and he acquired experience in social action during these school years. He recalled, "The ground work of my knowledge and scholarship was laid at the First Normal School, which was good."<sup>26</sup>

In 1917, he became a student-teacher. In May 1918, he graduated from the First Normal School. Because his mother had died a few months earlier, he lost the desire to return home. He stayed in the city and taught the manual workers in the evenings.

The development of Mao's life and mind was deeply and intricately related to social events during his Normal School years (1912-1918). The chaos in China continued. Dr. Sun, the first President of the Republic, was compelled to resign by Yuan Shih-k'ai who took over the presidency in

1912. The Second Revolution, designed to overthrow the Yuan government, was defeated in 1913, and Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor in 1914. In the same year Japanese troops landed on Tsingtao in Shantung Province.

As China continued to deteriorate, Mao became more politically conscious and serious. He believed that military strength was basic for national survival and adored Bismarck and Wilhelm II. His patriotism grew stronger and he wanted to save China from being partitioned as the Western powers and Japan seemingly conspired. Gradually, Mao realized that the imperialists from abroad and the feudalists deeply rooted at home must be liquidated so that the salvation of China would be possible. Therefore, he started organizing the youth to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Mao said: "...I one day inserted an advertisement in a Changsha paper inviting young men interested in patriotic work to make contact with me... I did build up a group of students around myself, and the nucleus was formed of what later was to become a society..."<sup>27</sup> In 1914, Mao selected a small group of serious-minded, patriotic men to organize the New People's Study Society, the nucleus of the revolution and the embryo of communism in China. Mao wrote: "The ultimate aim of our studies, in either specialized subjects or in current affairs, is a benefit to our country."<sup>28</sup>

On January 18, 1915, Japan presented the "twenty-one demands" which, in effect, would reduce China to a vassal state. Yuan's weak response aroused a great upsurge of nationalism, especially among the intelligentsia and mercantile bourgeoisie. The Chinese people were hurt by Japanese demands and frustrated by the ineffective government. The young especially became more furious and resolute for the salvation of their mother land. At this time Mao emerged as a student leader.

In 1917, he was excited by the success of the Russian revolution; he was inspired by the flow of patriots to join the new revolutionary government established under the leadership of Dr. Sun in Canton. Furthermore, Peking, the beacon and the powerhouse of the new revolutions and all

social movements, attracted Mao most. On June 18, 1918, Mao left Changsha for Peking.

#### IV. A MAN SEARCHING THE ROAD 1918-1920

Upon arrival at Peking, Mao stayed for a short time in the home of Yang, his former teacher in Hunan. There he met Yang's daughter who later became his wife. In August, 1918, he tried to get a job as a classroom cleaner in Peking University where he could listen to the lectures and talk with professors and students as he carried out his simple tasks. (It was the general practice of the universities to have a person to clean the blackboards before each class.) Luckily, in September of that year, he got a clerical job in the library of Peking University. His duties included cleaning the books, putting them in order, and some other related tedious work. The monthly salary was eight dollars.<sup>29</sup>

Mao's stay at Peking University was crucial in the evolution of his life, mind and work. He was looking for the "road" suitable for the future China; he was longing for a social ideology to which he could commit himself. He joined the Society of Philosophy and Journalism. During the winter of 1918-19, he developed a special interest in Marxism, due to the influence of Li Ta-chao—a professor at the university where Mao worked. Mao studied with curiosity, then with a passionate interest, the need of the "Chinese peasant-proletarian revolution" advocated by Li. Regarding his intellectual growth at this time, he said, "My interest in politics continued to increase, and my mind turned more and more radical."<sup>30</sup>

In 1919, a number of Mao's friends went to France under the "Diligent Work, Frugal Study" Project which enabled students to work part time to pay for their education and subsistence. Because he did not know French and lacked proficiency in English and his intense desire was to know more about China, he did not go to France.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Mao was frustrated at Peking University. Once he lamented

that his position was so low that people avoided him as if he did not exist as a human being.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, in March, 1919, he returned to Changsha and became a teacher at the Hsiu-yeh Primary School.<sup>33</sup>

Mao became more conscious and active politically. The revolutionary ferment in China intensified. Shortly after he began teaching, the May Fourth, 1919 student demonstrations in Peking were triggered by the Paris Conference proposal to give slices of Shantung province to Japan. The youth spearheaded the protest shouting, "Uphold Sovereignty," "Punish the Traitors," "Down with Feudalism," and "Down with Imperialism." This historic, dramatic and patriotic movement, like a spark on the autumn prairie, spread throughout the nation and expedited the social and cultural revolution in China. Responding to the May Fourth Movement, Mao organized the Hunan Student Union and directed strikes and the boycott of Japanese goods. He agitated the movement against Chang Ching-yao, the Hunan warlord, and established the Problem Discussion Group. He became the editor of both the *Hsiang River Review* and the *New Hunan* and the Director of the Association of the Groups of Ten for National Salvation. He wrote articles including "The Great Union of the Popular Masses," gave lectures introducing Marxism to the public, and read the "Communist Manifesto" for the first time. Mao declared that science and democracy were exactly what China needed.<sup>34</sup>

Following the momentous May Fourth Movement, people generally and the intellectuals particularly, became more zealous in the salvation and reconstruction of China. A great many of the intellectuals and students joined the government in Nationalist Canton under Dr. Sun's Banner; a number of them and Mao linked with the radicals, most of these being interested in Marxism.

The crucial and drastic development of Mao's mind must be noted. Mao, in the revolutionary "tide," searched for comrades and especially for an ideological guide. In 1920, he wrote: "We must have a group of *people*, fearless of hardships and strong-willed for the creation of this new

atmosphere; what we need more is commonly accepted political philosophy."<sup>35</sup> Therefore, he studied more intensely such books as the *Communist Manifesto*, *Class Struggle* (by Kautsky), and *History of Socialismo* (by Kirkup). Mao recalled later that these three books deeply carved his mind.<sup>36</sup> Further, the Russian Communist revolution gave Mao impetus, hope, encouragement and inspiration. In Shanghai, in May 1920, he talked with Che'n Tu-hsiu, the Communist leader. Mao later stated that these talks deeply impressed him at what was probably a critical period in his life and mind.<sup>37</sup> In the summer of 1920, Mao himself said that he had become a Marxist.<sup>38</sup>

In 1920, Mao courageously took political leadership in Changsha. He was responsible for the organization of the first political group of workers, the Hunan Branch of Socialist Youth Corps (the first Communist group in that province), and of a "Study Group" in his native village, Shaoshan. He also established the Cultural Book Store for propaganda and wrote articles advocating drastic political reforms for the salvation of China. Most importantly, Mao learned from experience to believe in the power of the masses. He said: "...I became more and more convinced that only mass political power, secured through mass action, could guarantee the realization of dynamic reforms."<sup>39</sup> In the Fall of 1920, Mao became the principal of the Primary School attached to the First Normal School; he held the post for about a year. In the spring of the same year Mao married Yang Kai-hui, a daughter of his former teacher, Yang. Mrs. Mao, a university graduate, knew the "isms" and took part in political activities. This marriage was considered by Mao's comrades as the "revolutionary" romance.

#### V. A MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY 1921-1927

By 1921, Mao had a definite mind for Marxism; therefore, his political life became intensified and simplified. In May 1921, Mao participated in the First National Congress,



which was attended by twelve delegates representing the seventy Communists in all of China.<sup>40</sup> The clandestine gathering of a dozen intellectual "heretics" established the Chinese Communist Party on July 1, 1921. Mao helped his comrades to write the Constitution of the new Party. Mao, now twenty-eight, momentarily became one of the few leading personalities of the most dynamic Party and of its historical movement.

After the Shanghai Congress meetings, Mao returned to Changsha as a secretary of the Chinese Communist Party of Hunan province. He promptly merged the socialist youth corps into the Party and Party cells were installed in Anyuan mine plants. In August of 1921, he established the "Self-Study College," aimed at providing the youth and the workers an opportunity to discuss amongst themselves and with the teachers and especially to study independently. Modern ideas, particularly Marxism, were emphasized in the program. Mao also initiated the "Sinification of Marxism" which he later developed fully. This "Self-Study College" was dissolved by the government in 1923; however, the impact of this form of education remained. Many "Self-Study" institutions were established in cities, especially in Shanghai and Peking.

In 1922, Mao indefatigably organized the students and especially the workers including miners, carpenters and masons. He fearlessly agitated and directed the famous May 1 general strike of 1922 in Changsha. However, he confessed that very little of his work was done among the peasants.<sup>41</sup> About this time, Mao advocated the "United Front" with the Nationalist Party (Koumintang); he considered the "U. F." policy as the revolutionary expediency for overthrowing the warlords. The Second Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in Shanghai in the winter of 1922, discussed the "U. F." policy. Not knowing the correct secret meeting place, Mao missed the Congress. Among the other activities undertaken by Mao during that year was the "mass education movement"—teaching the workers and peasants basic characters and informing them of their role in the revolution. He also organized schools for miners in various localities.

In order to devote more time to revolutionary politics, Mao resigned from the principalship of the Primary School at the end of the year.

In May, 1923, Mao participated in the third Congress of the Communist Party held in Canton, where he was elected to the Central Committee of the Party. Concerning this congress, Mao said: ". . . the historical decision was reached to enter Kuomintang, cooperate with it, and create a united front against the northern militarists."<sup>42</sup> Next spring (1924), Mao attended the First National Congress of the Nationalist Party (KMT) which adopted the "Three Big Policies": the "Alliance with Soviet Russia," "Accepting Communists," and "Peasant/Worker Policies." Mao was then elected an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee of KMT, which he labeled as the "bourgeois nationalist." As the two parties reached the height of their political honeymoon, Mao collaborated with the KMT leaders to promote the nationwide revolution.

In the fall of 1924, Mao was accused of having a "rightist proclivity" toward the KMT and was expelled from the Politburo of his own Party. Due to this political setback, he became sick and returned to his native village, Shao Shan, Hunan, for convalescence. While at home, he organized the nucleus of the great peasant movement of that province. This work proved to be the turning point in the development of his life and mind because he then became more peasant conscious, and firmly recognized the rural as the body and the heart of China.

It was in March of 1925, while Mao was in rural Hunan, that Dr. Sun, the Nationalist Party leader he so respected, died. People were saddened, but their patriotic spirit heightened; the movement to overthrow the Peking Government under the warlords precipitated. On May 30 of that year, nationwide anti-imperialist demonstrations, strikes and boycotts, organized mainly by the Communists, first broke out in Shanghai. The people's patriotism was aroused; Mao intensified his rural work, organizing as many as twenty "peasant unions" successfully. The landlords hated him and demanded

his arrest. In November, 1925, Mao fled to Canton where the Nationalist Revolutionary Government was opposing the Peking Government. Shortly after his arrival in Canton, he was made the chief of the agit-prop department of the Nationalist Party, director of the Peasant Movement Training Institute, and editor of the *Political Weekly* (the propaganda medium of the Nationalist Party). At this time, Mao started his association with Chiang Kai-shek, the Commander of the First Army. Ever since, the "Mao-Chiang relations" generated and reflected the war and peace in China.

Due to the Communists' growth in number and their increasing impact upon the Nationalist Revolutionary Government in Canton, Chiang Kai-shek attempted his first "purgation" of the Communists in March, 1926. At this time, Mao left Canton for Shanghai, where he directed the Peasant Department of the Communist Party. From Shanghai he was sent to Hunan to work with the peasants. As the Nationalists and Communists again reconciled temporarily, the historic Northern Expedition to abolish the Peking Government started from Canton in July, 1926, under Chiang's command. A month later the expedition army reached Hunan where Mao worked. At this time nearly two million peasants had joined his rural reform.

Now Mao's mind had become peasant-centered and his writings more ideological. In one of his two famous articles, written in 1926, he clearly stated that the peasantry was the most powerful, the staunchest and numerically the largest force and ally in revolution which must be proletariat-based. This article was the first ideological springboard for the land reform and the peasant school ventured by the Communists.<sup>43</sup>

In 1927, the Nationalist Government in Nanking, of which Chiang was the leader, launched the second "purgation" of the Communists. Thousands were shot and many of their sympathizers arrested. Many of the Communist leaders left for Russia or places of safety. Mao remained in Hunan with the peasants. The All-China Peasants' Union was organized and he became its first president; the peasant army was established and he was the first commander. He led

the peasant insurrections, especially the well-known Autumn Harvest Uprising in Changsha. Then, both he and his pregnant wife were captured, beaten and put in jail by Chiang's forces. He saw that she was tied and heard her weeping. Shortly after, he managed to escape by running all night to the mountains. At this time, he was dismissed from the politburo of his own Party because the leaders thought that Mao was a radical adventurer being peasant-oriented. However, Mao's belief in peasant revolution for the salvation of China and the world was not shaken. In October, 1927, Mao and those who remained loyal to this revolution marched to the mountains to build a base which later became the famous Kiangsi Soviet.<sup>44</sup>

As 1927 was the watershed in Mao's revolutionary activities, so was it also a significant year in his ideological leadership. In his report on the peasant movement, he replied to criticisms made both inside and outside his Party against the peasant revolution and impassionately appealed for ruralism in the Communist movement. From this report, we find Mao's ideas for the peasant schools adapted to the needs of the people, and his blunt indictment of the "foreign-style schools" transplanted in China from other lands.<sup>45</sup>

#### VI. THE GUERRILLA LEADER IN THE KIANGSI SOVIET 1928-1933

1928 was the beginning of Mao's guerilla life. He reorganized and reinvigorated his Red forces in the Ching-kang Mountains, located on the border of Hunan, with Chu Teh as the commander and himself as the political commissar. Then the Government of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers was established. In May he was elected as the secretary of the Party of the Border Area. After the fall meetings of the Party, the sovietization and agrarian reforms became the major programs. Chiang's force attacked Mao's area three times in 1928. However, Chiang did not believe that Mao's peasant revolution could be a seriously urgent threat; therefore, Chiang continued the Northern Expedition in 1928 for

the unification of China, in turn strengthening the Nationalist government. This development gave Mao an opportunity to establish his guerilla bases while the expedition diverted Chiang's forces.

In 1928, Mao called for armed struggle as the main form of revolution, but not for "retreatism" or "capitulationism" as the "rightists-opportunists" intended. He insisted upon using villages to gradually surround and seize the cities, but was against the urban violation undertaken by the laborers, the strategy of the "leftists" or the "adventurists."<sup>46</sup> Specifically, he opposed the "ultraleft" policy of "turning the petty bourgeoisie into proletarians and then forcing them into the revolution."<sup>47</sup> Once he said, "Our policy called for free trade (with the White areas), generous treatment of captured enemy troops, and, in general, democratic moderation."<sup>48</sup>

1929 was a year of frustration and progress for Mao. Again he was expelled from the Party because his rural and moderate policies were unacceptable to the Communist leaders in the cities agitating the factory workers to violent and ruthless activities—"burning, killing, etc." In September, 1929, he almost died of malaria, as no drug was available in the remote, rural, mountainous battlefields. Regarding the serious basic living conditions, he recalled, "The troops had no winter uniforms and food was extremely scarce. For months we lived practically on squash."<sup>49</sup> Internally, there were serious problems of morale, discipline and conflicts of ideology. In the latter part of 1929, the southern militarists and northern warlords against Chiang were quelled; subsequently, the Nationalist forces were transferred to encircle Mao's military bases.

Under desperate conditions, Mao, a man of strong will and revolutionary zeal, continued the struggle. He was elected Chairman of the Front Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1929. The Red Army broke the "blockade" placed by Chiang's forces; the Central Soviet was established. During this difficult time, Mao assumed the ideological leadership. His military doctrines included "politics, the

leading power in the army," "fighting and producing with the masses," and the indigenous guerilla war strategy which was characterized by the "elusive and defensive offense, and elusive and offensive defense."<sup>50</sup> He denounced non-proletarian ideas such as "pure-militarism," "extreme-democraticism," "absolute-equalitarianism," "anarchism," "subjectivism," "individualism," and "adventurism." He analyzed the origins of these non-proletarian deviations and suggested methods for their correction. For example, "democratic centralism" was proposed by Mao for correcting "extreme-democraticism," "social and scientific life and mind" for "subjectivism," "works as one can, takes as one works" for "absolute equalitarianism." He fully recognized that the rectification of unsound ideas was an educational undertaking.<sup>51</sup>

As many revolutionists in history, Mao experienced much personal sorrow. In 1930, his wife, Yang K'ai-hiu, his sister Mao Tse-hung, and the wives of his two brothers were executed by the Chiang supporters in Hunan; Mao An-ying and An-ching, his sons, were missing. Later in the year, Mao married Ho Tzu-chen, a school teacher, seventeen years his junior, and a Communist organizer, who was wounded several times in the battlefields. In December of the same year, Chiang, immediately following his victory in the "Middle China War" with Feng (Yü-hsiang)—Yen (Hsi-shan), started his first Annihilation Campaign against Mao. The second and third campaigns were undertaken in February and April, 1931. The establishment of the anti-Chiang government in Canton and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (both in 1931) and the attack of Shanghai by Japan (in 1932) diverted Chiang's attention and armed forces. However, Chiang conducted a fourth Annihilation Campaign against Mao in 1933.

Mao faced many struggles during 1930 to 1933. In 1930, the Kiangsi Provincial Soviet Government in Juichin was established under his leadership. The Central Committee of the Party "underground" in Shanghai was compelled by Chiang's forces to transfer to Mao's Soviet district in the

deep hinterland. The following year, Mao was elected as the first Chairman of the All-China Soviet Government. In 1932, Mao's government declared war on Japan, because the people were deeply angered by the aggressive actions of the Japanese army in northern and northeastern China.

During the same period, Mao trained peasant militias and armies in the enlarged soviet areas. Land was distributed to the tillers; taxes were lightened; thousands of collective enterprises and soviet "cooperatives" were formed; rural schools were established. Furthermore, among the basic ideological evolvments were that Mao's "ruralism" officially superseded "urbanism" and that "Terrorism" or "Adventurism" was substituted by Mao's "moderationism" or "graduationism." From the articles he wrote during 1930-33, we find his expositions: the faith in revolution which is contagious and a prolonged strife, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in China, the criteria for determining class status in the rural areas, the policy for the simultaneous state, the private and co-operative economy, and especially the land reform doctrines, which were the point of departure for the revolution.<sup>52</sup>

During the soviet period, particularly from 1930 to 1933, Mao declared that education was a political, economic and military means to achieve revolutionary goals. He asserted that schools must serve the masses. The ruralized, decentralized, regular and irregular schools for adults and children were established. Spare time learning, down-to-earth teaching and self instruction were among Mao's innovations.<sup>53</sup>

#### VII. THE LONG MARCH AND THE CHAIRMAN IN YENAN CAVE

1934-1936

According to Chiang, the soviet described previously should not exist. In addition, while accepting the people's demand to resist Japanese invasion militarily, he believed

that "enemies" can only be defeated by the nation which is politically and militarily united. Therefore, beginning in October 1933, Chiang skillfully manipulated 900,000 troops to annihilate Mao's forces and to encircle the soviet areas. The fifth Annihilation Campaign cost a year of almost constant fighting, struggle and enormous losses on both sides. At this time, Mao put forward the policy of economic development and warmly expounded that "being with the people" was the way to victory.<sup>54</sup> Later in 1934, conditions became more unfavorable to Mao's forces. The Long March began on October 18 of that year. It was designed to join with other Communist forces for existence and continuous revolution. Mao and his wife were compelled to leave with Soviet peasants their two children, who were never found. Mao, himself, then was sick, emaciated and suffering from a fever that seemed incurable. The Long March took twelve months, sweeping across more than 20,000 li,<sup>55</sup> through eleven provinces. The Long March, as Mao commented, was the revolutionary "manifesto," "agitation corps," "seeding-machine," and above all, the first of its kind ever recorded in history.<sup>56</sup>

The 85,000 soldiers on the March were constantly under the attacks of Chiang's powerful forces everywhere and all the time. High mountains, raging rivers, extremely hot or cold days, hunger and thirst, all made the March dramatic, historic and humanly unendurable. In October, 1935, Mao's column reached Pao An, south of the Great Wall, in northwestern China. A mere twenty percent of his force was fortunate enough to survive. Mao had to sleep in a cave located in the loessland.

Time is an opportunity for one who recognizes and utilizes it. During the "marching," Mao obtained and solidified his indisputable leadership at the 1935 Tsunyi Conference of the Communist Party. In the same year, as Chiang's political and military power grew enormously, Japanese troops took more illegal and violent actions in northern China in order to defer the Nationalist Government from getting stronger. Mao then wisely faced the

development. He, as a patriot and political strategist, on August 1, 1935, called for a united Anti-Japanese Front and appealed for an end to the "Civil War," while he was still marching. It was in Mao's mind, it seems, that war against Japan could save China and that the war would give the opportunity for Communist revolution. Consequently, on December 27, 1935, Mao presented a report entitled "On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism." In this report, Mao elaborated his analysis that the Japanese invasion changed class relations. The Communist Party not only represented the peasants and workers, but also must work with various classes of the people. Even the national bourgeoisie could be an ally of the proletariat in the fight against Japan. He refuted the old, narrow "proletarian strategy" as the "infantile ill" or as "closed-doorism." Mao's famous credo was "United Front"—all Chinese united to resist Japan and save China. All intellectuals, students and teachers were urged to undertake the work for war, politics, and education.<sup>57</sup>

Initially in 1936, Mao's fragile army and the Chinese Soviet Republic were established in the base area in the northwest and later the Soviet expanded to Yen-an of Shensi province. At this time, Chiang's powerful army intensified the attack against Mao's newly reorganized force. Chiang conducted the final Annihilation Campaign and was there surprisingly arrested by his own army in Siam, near the battlefield on December 12, 1936. The captors demanded that the anti-Japan war must be carried out at the earliest, and the army encircling the Communists must be relocated. Chiang accepted the demands and was released. He modified his attitude toward tolerance of the Communists. It was believed by many Chinese that the whole "Siam Incident" might have been agitated and managed by Mao's agents. In the same year, Mao twice proposed collaboration with Chiang to fight against Japan.

As Mao proposed war against Japan, he revealed his theory and tactics of war. In mid 1936, Mao gave lectures at the Red Army University on "Problems of Strategy in

China's Revolutionary War." From these lectures we find some of Mao's ideas such as: (1) The war implementation of Marx's logic, (2) The implementation of the ancient Chinese concept of war—the art of flexibility and mobility, (3) The dynamic, developmental and integral nature of war, (4) War for the "elimination of war," (5) "Diversifications for Concentration," (6) "Defense for offense, retreat for march," (7) "Quick action for protraction," (8) Situational decision-making.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, although Mao was not an educator, he had indeed expressed his concept of schooling in his ideological or military statements. We can point out some of the concepts as follows: Revolution is an education; a "classroom" can be anywhere; learning about war is to learn from war; utilizing what one learns is the hardest.<sup>59</sup>

#### VIII. EN ROUTE TO PEKING 1937-1949

The period of 1937 to 1949 is important to the study of Mao's life and mind. Mao divorced Ho Tzu-chun and married Chiang Ching in 1937. Although he suffered embarrassment and encountered court proceedings in relation to his personal life, the same year marked progress in his revolutionary life. Since 1937, he had been the unchallenged leader of the Chinese Communist Party—its political and military strategist, its over-all field operator and commander.

*Events and policies, 1937*—On July 7, 1937, the Japanese troops attacked Lukouchiao, southwest of Peking and continued their march south. The Chinese garrison courageously resisted the enemy's advance. The war against the Japanese invasion broke out; all Chinese jointly defended their motherland. Mao, implementing his "United Front" policy, signed an agreement with the Nationalist government for the sake of war against Japan. The Chinese Soviet government was dissolved; the Red Army reorganized under Chiang's nominal command. The ten year old civil war had seemingly

ended. Mao at this time emphasized the efforts to establish military bases for guerilla warfare against Japan.

During this period of time Mao, experiencing extreme personal privation, lived in caves. His life was Spartan, puritanical and simplistic; his mind, very strong and productive. Not only was he the supreme leader of the party, but also its chief theoretician and teacher as well. He wrote more during this time, incorporating the wealth of his experience. In 1937, he published ten articles, containing approximately 60,000 words. In one of these articles, he resolutely advocated "anti-capitulationism in the war against Japan" and proletarian leadership (the Party mission).<sup>60</sup> In another article, he emphatically proposed training cadres in order to win the masses in the united struggle for peace and democracy.<sup>61</sup> In his six other articles, he denoted such ideas as "total war" and "anti-capitulationism" (class and national). While Mao combated against "liberalism" which, he believed, would be passive and irresponsible, he advocated "Democratic Centralism," which he considered most effective.<sup>62</sup> "On Practice" revealed his theory of knowledge, the interdependence of knowing and doing, and criticized the "subjectivism" which belittles practice. He disapproved empiricism which fragments experience and does not view the whole situation; he also condemned the empiricists for ignoring the value of theory in revolution.<sup>63</sup> In his militant work, "On Contradiction," he expounded his materialist dialectics, and his view on the "unity of opposites." Mao severely criticized the dogmatists who adopt an unalterable formula in revolution and arbitrarily apply it. He stressed the analysis of concrete and different situations and the application of different methods for resolving varying contradictions.<sup>64</sup>

In the following year, the Japanese army overwhelmed North China. The Nationalist government retreated to the west. Mao, as the undisputed leader of the Communist Party, organized partisans and peasants for guerilla war deep in Japanese held territory. Mao formulized the following political and military means and ends in his six articles<sup>65</sup> published in 1938: (1) The most valuable strategic means for national

salvation against Japan is guerilla war, which must be based in the wide rural areas and the vanguards of which must be the "powerful" peasants. The art of war is the use of initiative, flexibility and mobility under planning. The science of war is to conduct offensives within the defensive, to make quick decisions within protracted war, and to control the exterior-line operations within interior-line operations. Positional battle prepares for elusive retreat and vice versa.<sup>66</sup>

(2) Final victory in the protracted war against Japan is assured because of the big land and its topographic features, the persevering character of the people and their rural self-sufficient economy. (3) War is the ideological means; political mobilization is the road to triumphant war. (4) Weapons are important, but not decisive factors in war. Both the conscious, dynamic characteristics of man and the objective possibilities of the conditions are essentials. (5) The militias and the masses of peasants are the crucial force.<sup>67</sup> (6) A Communist can be a nationalist; wars of national liberation are applied to internationalism. Hence, class struggle serves the war against Japan. (7) Individuals and parties are interdependently united, but each person must have his relative independence and liberty. (8) The proletariat-conscious Party is an "intra-democracy"; members, cadres and leaders must comply with Party discipline and develop self-discipline.<sup>68</sup>

*The development and doctrines, 1939*—Because of mutual suspicion of the Nationalists and Communists and of each one's desire to be the only power in China, 1939 heralded the reoccurrence of local clashes both politically and militarily. In 1940, their practical cooperation broke down. After the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, the Nationalists relied on American aid, while the Communists vigorously expanded their guerrilla bases. During this period (1939-41), Mao continued to build up his own Party for fighting against Japan and for the Communist revolution, while carrying the "United Front" policy which he believed was the needed strategy.

It is significant to note Mao's political doctrines that

evolved from 1939 to 1941. Then, he wrote profusely and profoundly on these doctrines. In the officially published *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, we find his thirty-five articles written from May, 1939 to November, 1941.<sup>69</sup> He expounded his ideas concerning international, economic, military and intellectual affairs, the youth movement, the "United Front" policy and anti-capitulationism. Mao wrote at length on definite doctrines regarding Party mission and political system. In "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," he pointed out the character, targets, tasks, motives, forces and perspectives of the Chinese revolution. He concluded that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was the first stage and the proletarian-socialist revolution, the second; the leadership in this two-fold revolutionary task devolved on the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>70</sup>

In January, 1940, Mao wrote "On New Democracy," a widely publicized work. Based on the international changes due to the triumph of the proletarian-socialist revolution and on the character of Chinese society which is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, Mao formulated the doctrine of new democratic revolution. This new system, which embraced bourgeois-democratic revolution, is the needed bridge and preparation for proletarian-socialist revolution. Absorbing the theses of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, Mao shattered the reactionary dream of a bourgeois dictatorship in China. However, utilizing his twenty-year experience in Chinese revolution and the actual circumstances in China, Mao outlined these transitional programs: (1) China is a part of the world; revolution extends from one's own nation to the global community; "Nationalism" is prior to "Internationalism." (2) Individual and local freedom, as well as autonomy, are under central planning and coordination; it is "Democratic Centralism." (3) The transitional "coalition government," embracing the delegates of all progressive classes is under the proletariats' leadership, not under their dictatorship. (4) Economic policies include "regulating the capital," "equalizing the land-ownership," "land to the tiller," and "permitting no few capitalists or landlords to dominate the livelihood

of the people." (5) The proletarian policy actually is peasant-revolutionism; peasants represent China and revolution must center around their welfare. (6) Culture reflects the politics and economics of the respective societies. Culture and education in the "new democracy" is the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist program; it is a national scientific and mass culture, as Mao clearly stated.<sup>71</sup> Mao's "On New Democracy," the comprehensive series of theory and practice, played an immense role in mobilizing and uniting the Chinese in their struggle for "liberation" and toward the building of a new China.

*Strategy and the new era, 1941*—The December, 1941 Pearl Harbor attack, plunged America into war against Japan in the Pacific. Japanese defeat in all theatres seemed inevitable. In order to win the war against Japan and the political struggle against the Nationalists, and especially for the eventual success of the Communist revolution, Mao formulated his policies and effectively carried out the tasks. Beginning in 1942, the military training program was expanded. Mao claimed a half-million troops and trained militia in 1943, 910,000 troops and 2,200,000 militia in "liberated" or "guerilla" areas of 100 million people in 1945.<sup>72</sup> His military strategies and tactics were "expanding and solidifying the base areas," "engaging in guerrilla war," "making the army peasant-centered," and "fighting from victories in the rural areas to victories in the cities." Among the pillars of Mao's economic policies, we find "Continuation of Rent Reduction," "Enforcement of Land Reform" and an "Indigenous productive program—army production for self-sufficiency, the soldier and peasant integrated in production, etc." He also insisted upon principles which led the peasants to socialism via the road of "cooperatives" as well as collective farms and of a production plan to be developed under actual and specific conditions of the time and place.<sup>73</sup>

Most important was the conspicuous and successful rectification of ideology Mao launched in February, 1942.<sup>74</sup> The ideological rectification revealed and emphasized the real meaning of "new democracy": which was not, by any means,

intended to eclipse the essential role of the Party. Party members could not be the professional elites controlling the masses; they must be of, for, by and with the masses. The "rectification" was to strengthen the "soft-minded" who had a bourgeois background. The rectification was not only to correct the "old formalism"—theory divorced from practice, but also to purge the "foreign formalism," meaning "Marxism from other lands" unsuitable to China. It was to unify doctrinal standards so that the Party directives would be clearly understood and effectively implemented by all members of the Party. Above all, the rectification was to educate or indoctrinate Party members and cadres in Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist precepts selected and interpreted by Mao. In short, he was to purify the Party spirit with Maoism, the sinocized Marxism, or Asiatic form of Communism, for Chinese revolution.<sup>75</sup>

Politically, Mao continued to implement the "United Front" strategy, in coordination with the theories revealed in his "On New Democracy" and "On Coalition Government."<sup>76</sup> For establishing this type of government, he visited Chungking, the war-time capital of the Nationalists, in August, 1945. The civil strife between Nationalists and Communists erupted widely after Japan's capitulation in the spring of 1945. The October Cooperation Agreement did not actually put an end to the conflicts. The race for control of China began as both sides sought control of the cities, strategic areas, and rail lines formerly held by the Japanese. Between 1944 and 1946, the United States Government entered the Chinese struggle in an attempt to bridge the Nationalists and Communists.

*Resumption of civil war and the ideal, 1946*—With the collapse of American mediation efforts, the second civil war in China broke out in the summer of 1946. In 1947, Mao pointed out that that year was not only the turning point in the civil war, but also the watershed for the extinction of more than 100 years of the imperialistic rule in China. Although in this year Chiang's 250,000 troops forced the Communists to yield Yen-an, their headquarters for ten years, Mao's

massive militia, inadequately armed but superbly led, fought courageously and effectively. To insure victory in this war, Mao gave the Army and Party such instructions as "training more militia," "reducing the rent," "expediting production" and "getting closer to the masses—the peasants."<sup>77</sup> He proclaimed, among enormous ideas, that the land of the feudal class must be confiscated and turned over to the peasants in the new China and that the bureaucratic capital belonged to the people's democratic state. He also penetratingly and emphatically expounded that world capitalism and imperialism were going down to their doom, and that world socialism and people's democracy were marching to victory for the lasting peace of mankind.<sup>78</sup>

After leaving Yen-an in 1947, Mao went to the north of Shansi province. It was here that An-ying, Mao's son, worked in a commune in 1948. During that year, the Communist force, under Mao's command, defeated Chiang's well-equipped troops in Manchuria. The Red Army also won the Peking-Tientsin Campaign in the winter of 1948. The final military victory of the Communists became certain. For the total victory, Mao continuously enforced "The work of the Land Reform," "The leadership of the proletariat," "The United Front," "Strengthening discipline in the Party—eliminating all manifestations of Party indiscipline and anarchy." Above all, the revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic-capitalism was continuing, as China approached her new era.

Later in 1948, Mao's 4,500,000 party members and nearly 4,000,000 troops and militia captured other strategic cities such as Suiyan and Mukden in addition to the vast rural areas. Although Mao's peasant-oriented fighters knew little about cities—even mistaking "butter" for "soap"—they successfully organized the urban people for the war. While the Communist forces, the People's Liberation Army, occupied Peking in January, 1949, Chiang and a part of his troops were compelled to retreat to Taiwan from Nanking, the capital of the Nationalist government since 1935. China entered her new epoch.



On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed, "Now we Chinese are standing up! . . . The People's Republic of China representing all Chinese people is established,"<sup>79</sup> at the People's Broad Square, in front of a million cheering marchers, in Peking. Was this great change in Chinese history caused by the Chinese history beginning with the 1840 Opium War? Was it precipitated or expedited by the Japanese invasions, the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)? By Mao's war and political strategy? By the inefficiency or the corruption of Nationalist government? By some or all the factors? History has told and will tell: "time," "place," and "person," *together* make history.

*Educational ideas and implementations, 1937-1949*—The years 1937-1949 were the prolific, dynamic and creative period of Mao's ideological development. His educational ideas evolved from the real circumstances of revolutionary war, especially in the fire of economic and political demands. During this period, he believed that economics was for war; war was for political goals; education was for war, politics and economics. For political policies—"united front" and the "coalition government," Mao rallied all the intellectuals, teachers and students. Under the "New Democracy," education should be national, scientific, and proletarian. As "Democratic-centralism" was his political doctrine, he proclaimed the "village management and central planning" policy in education. In order to carry on "prolonged war" and "permanent revolution," he stressed training the cadres. Because "self-sufficient economy" was imperative in the war zones, he consistently insisted upon "education and productive labor combined." Above all, from the peasant-centered war, revolution and economics, he derived the Sinocized "rural system" in order to serve the real needs of the people, such as spare-time education, the "winter school" and "shore-study groups." Consequently, he rejected Russian, European and American styles of school. Specifically, he expounded "Learning by doing," "Learning from farming," "Peasants being the teachers" so that Sinocized rural education would be effective.<sup>80</sup>

## IX. THE MAKING OF NEW CHINA 1949-1976

In 1949, Mao was elected Chairman of the Party Political Bureau, the People's Republic of China, and the National Defense Council. In our own day, no one has reached power so dramatically as he. Never in history has any man possessed so much direct power over so many people.

*The solidification, 1949-1952*—The years from 1949 to 1952 were the "solidification-reconstruction" period for the People's Republic of China under Mao's leadership. Implementing his "New Democracy" ideology and the "United Front" strategy, Mao established, especially for the purpose of solidifying the new regime, a sort of "coalition" government which engaged leaders of various parties and even the "progressive" members of the Nationalists.

Though Mao faced social reality, thus tactically accommodating the actual circumstances, he did not change his basic ideas and the ideals of the new China and the new world. While ruthlessly and resolutely rejecting the Nationalist "suining" for peace, in 1949, he instructed all Party members and the army to "carry the revolution through to the end." On the political basis, Mao declared: ". . . motherland, liberate yourself from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal fate and take the road of independence, freedom, peace, unity, strength and prosperity."<sup>81</sup> He insisted upon "patriotism-internationalism" meaning from national to world revolution, and upon "One-side theory" joining all the anti-imperialist forces in the world struggle.<sup>82</sup> In February, 1950, Mao, in Moscow, successfully concluded a treaty of "Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" with the Soviet Government. In November of that year Chinese troops entered the Korean War in which his thirty-year-old son, An-ying, a division commander, was killed. This venture of the "new-born" nation surprised the world. This participation, as Mao thought, was for the sake of both international revolution and the national security of the new China.

In relation to national solidification and reconstruction, we need to note these significant developments: (1) In 1949,

Mao advocated the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class. This dictatorship is a form of carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat; it paved the way for the socialist revolution.<sup>83</sup> For solidifying the democratic dictatorship, Mao, beginning in 1950, enforced the "Depressing and Purging the Reactionaries" movement. Among his numerous interesting and powerful orders, we find: "Execute none. Let the reactionaries confess!" "Arrest not many! Let the government agencies and schools themselves punish the majority of the reactionaries." "Depress the reactionaries! Please strike safely! Catch accurately! Fight hard!"<sup>84</sup> "Our political power can be safely established only by doing well in depressing the reactionaries. This is a great struggle."<sup>85</sup> (2) On June 30, 1950, the Land Reform Act was promulgated. It implemented the idea, "the tillers own the lands," which was first advocated by ancient Chinese philosophers. Consequently, the landlords were liquidated and lands were distributed to the peasants. The nation-wide land reform movement, through passion, terror, hate and revenge, was also to build the new "minds"—the anti-feudalist minds. (3) For solidification and reconstruction, Mao introduced the "Three Anti" Campaign (anti-waste, anti-corruption, anti-bureaucratism) in 1951, then the "Five Anti" Campaign (anti-bribery, anti-tax evasion, anti-theft of state property, anti-cheating on government contracts, anti-leakage of government economic secrets) in 1952. Among Mao's instructions for these campaigns, we find "Let bygones be bygones," "Severely punish those who reject instructions," and "Tolerate those who honestly confess."<sup>86</sup> During the same period of time, Mao launched the "Thought Reform Movement" which, he believed, was "one of the important conditions for the thorough-going democratic transformation..." He advocated "thought reform through compulsory labor" and "combining punishment and surveillance with ideological reform, labor and production with political indoctrination." He also said that the imprisoned reactionaries were a big labor force which can be used productively.<sup>87</sup> In February, 1951, the "Regulations for the

Punishment of the Counterrevolutionaries" had been promulgated. The extensive "reform through labor" camps were established in most parts of China by 1952. A United Nations estimate is that Peking put 25 million men and women into the "reform through labor" camps. Mao gave the total figure killed as 800,000 during the period of "Depressing and Purging the reactionaries."<sup>88</sup> (5) For reconstruction, Mao asserted that the army was not only a military power, but also a "working" force for the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship and reconstruction of new China. The dual missions of the army, according to Mao, are "Fighting and Producing." In the "Directives" for 1950, he wrote: "The army of the People's Republic of China, during peace time, under conditions not jeopardizing the military mission, must have planned participation in the agricultural and industrial production, in order to help construct the nation," and "The production plan of the army in each region should combine and coordinate with the production plan of each administrative region and of the People's Government and each province."<sup>89</sup>

During the solidification-reconstruction period (1949-1952), education accordingly was under the "united front" strategy and the system of coalition government. Thus, Mao's educational policies were (1) keeping the original system temporarily, (2) making some adjustments, setting in order and gradually achieving unified and centralized planning and leadership, (3) praising and further developing the notorious traditions—meaning the experiences and indigenous innovations in the Kiangsi Soviet (1933-1936) and during the Yen-an period (1937-1949), (4) reforming, which included especially the ideological reform of all students, teachers and intelligentsia, (5) opening the school to the proletariat, (6) thoroughly combining theory with practice, (7) learning from the Soviet Union. Mao stated that "walking along the Russian path is the unbreakable truth which has been proven by history."<sup>90</sup>

On September 30, 1949, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, then the highest legislative body

of the new government, declared the Common Programme which was derived from Mao's "New Democracy." In the programme, we find "Cultural and Educational policy" which best epitomizes Mao's educational ideas:

The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are New Democratic, that is, national, scientific and popular. . . . love for the fatherland and the people, love of labour, love of science . . . shall be promoted . . . scientific historical viewpoint . . . shall be promoted . . . Literature and arts shall be promoted to serve the people, . . . The method of education . . . is the unity of theory and practice . . . universal education shall be carried out, . . .<sup>91</sup>

*The transformation, 1953-1958*—According to Mao, the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, marked the completion in the main of the first stage of the revolution—bourgeois-democratic revolution.<sup>92</sup> To consolidate and solidify the new Republic, under the people's democratic dictatorship 1949-1952, was to prepare for the transformation to the Socialist state. The "transformation-reconstruction" occurred in 1953-1957.

In 1953, Mao, then 60, often participated in the sport of mountain climbing. His excellent health enabled him to struggle indefatigably for this "transformation." At this time, while the Nationalist-U.S. Alliance was formed, Mao greatly improved the friendship between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and heightened the "Anti-American Imperialism" Campaign. His watchwords were "...strengthen the struggle and resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea," and "...learn from the Soviet Union."<sup>93</sup> Domestically, Mao criticized the party and government "bureaucracy," "commandism" and "non-discipline."<sup>94</sup> Consequently, he strengthened the state authority in planning and controlling all national affairs and proclaimed the First Five-Year Plan. Under this plan, the foundations for industrialization were to be laid; the rural transformation began with "mutual-aid teams" to "cooperatives" which became the basis for the

"collectives" to be established later. By 1954, with a few remaining private enterprises, there was the state partnership which served as a step forward to complete nationalization. For the fulfillment of this plan and ideological reform, the 1954 "Regulations Governing Reforms Through Compulsory Labor" were issued; thus establishing thousands of "labor camps" and engaging millions of reactionaries in labor.

In 1955, ~~as the new regime became~~ relatively solidified, it transformed gradually from a "people's democratic dictatorship" to a "proletariat dictatorship." Subsequently, China embarked upon the second stage of the revolution, the socialist revolution in which the "cooperative" system was to supersede the individual economy. Mao's report of this year accelerated agricultural collectivization, which he considered as the semi-socialist system. He feverishly denied conservative and overly-cautious methods and launched the "fast stride" for achieving collective economy. Furthermore, he said that there must be ideological rectification, so that there could be effective methods. He specifically stated that the best method to achieve socialist transformation included such characteristics as "total planning," "objective experience based upon real circumstances," "getting closer with the people," "self-group criticism," "graduation—going step by step" and "appropriateness—neither 'over' nor 'under.'"<sup>95</sup>

In the following year, Mao swam across the Yangtze River, which stands as testimony to his physical strength; his mind also remained strong. He further enhanced his Sinocized Marxism (Communism of and for China) which was praised by the the 12,720,000<sup>96</sup> Party members and most Chinese people in the Republic. He further enforced the cooperation of the state and the few remaining private enterprises in the urban area. Simultaneously, he elevated agricultural collectives to the "high grade," meaning abolishing the peasant ownership of land. He repeatedly called for the construction of the socialist state under the proletariat dictatorship by means of "democratic-centralism," although he temporarily accepted the "Hundred Flowers Bloom;

Hundred Ideas Contend," the policy of "freedom." He also stated that "victory of the world revolution and defeat of all the imperialists are to be the reality"<sup>97</sup> was his rallying cry for action.

In order to establish a socialist nation, Mao, in 1957, defined the dialectical process—"Unity-criticism-Unity"—as the best means for isolating the "enemies of socialism" and for resolving the "non-antagonistic conflicts of interest" among the state, the party, and the people. Consequently, the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist movement as occurred in 1952, was again inaugurated. This rectification made the adopted "Hundred Flowers Bloom, Hundred Ideas Contend" policy seemingly a strategy for exploring the rightists in accordance with Mao's writings.<sup>98</sup> On the international scene, in order to strengthen the people's conviction in socialism and heighten their morale, Mao condemned all the imperialists as paper tigers.<sup>99</sup> In this same year, while in Moscow, Mao encountered the political and ideological differences expressed by the hierarchy of the Russians.

During the transformation of 1953-1957, as education served political transformation-reconstruction, political education-ideological reform was continued and intensified in every school. Party leadership and central planning in education became effective. Private schools were abandoned and all learning institutions nationalized. Mao made such statements as: "Learn from the education model of the Soviet Union," and "USSR—the best teacher." However, he explained that the most important task was to Sinicize what had been learned from the Soviet school system.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, Mao believed that the education program must coordinate with the First Five-Year Plan. Consequently, more spare-time programs, worker-peasant middle schools and special-vocational schools were established. To better serve the political and economic transformation, Mao called for "labouring, disciplining, and collectivizing the process of learning." Mao's ideas regarding people's rights and the state's duty in education are found in the following article (1954 Constitution of the PRC): "Citizens . . . have the right to education. . . . the state

establishes and gradually extends the various types of schools and other cultural and educational institutions."<sup>101</sup>

*Formulation of the Socialist State, 1958-1960*—In 1958, the portly man, sixty-seven and in good health, still lived a Spartan life, dressing in a cotton uniform, taking cold baths even in winter, and swimming across the Yangtze several times. It was a significant year in Mao's political life and in the transformation of China. In this year, he resigned from the Chairmanship of the People's Republic due to internal political problems. Also, the gap between Mao's revolutionary policies and those of the Soviet widened. For example, Mao viewed the "Imperialists," as paper tigers. Khrushchev criticized Mao for being infantile in not recognizing that the "tigers" had "atomic teeth." However, Mao's prestige increased as his political power grew. During this year, Mao as Chairman of the Party which was the power above the government, launched the "permanent revolution theory" and the "Socialistic Main Line." The former meant there must be endless contradictions and struggles. The latter were programs for the establishment of the socialist state. The "Second Five-Year Plan" was announced and enforced. The "Great Leap Forward" called for faster and better production through harder work and harsh austerity. It involved the greatest and most intense mobilization of manpower that has ever occurred in Chinese history. The masses were recruited, organized and dispatched all over China. Although the "Great Leap" was designed mainly for the city industries, later every village was involved and thousands of so-called back-yard steel furnaces were built by the peasants.

Importantly, on December 10, 1958, the Party adopted the commune system which was a step beyond the collectivization of agriculture. Under communization, the remaining private possessions of the peasants were confiscated. Although the commune was originally designed for people in the countryside, later it was also implemented in the urban areas. The establishment of the commune, the most adventurous social revolution, surprised the world. Even Khrushchev said that it would not work. Mao said himself: "The

whole world is against the people's commune. The Soviet also is against it."<sup>102</sup> However, Mao uncompromisingly pursued the new system and had complete confidence in its future. He said that the Chinese were poor people who definitely needed and wanted to change; poor people's minds are like blank sheets of paper on which the newest poetries can be written. Above all, poor people would accept communes.<sup>103</sup>

In 1959, Mao was criticized for being authoritarian and inflexible in policy-making. He confessed that he was responsible for some of the problems in relation to the "Great Leap Forward" and said that everyone makes mistakes and that Lenin and Marx both did.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, from Khrushchev's September visit to Peking, Mao realized the deep conflicts of national interests and the wide differences in ideology between China and the Soviet. In addition to the political frustrations in 1959, Mao had personal sorrows. On July 23, he lamented, "One of my sons has been killed in the Korean War; another is becoming crazy."<sup>105</sup> However, a steadfast revolutionist, Mao continued the persistent struggle. Consequently, his ideological impacts became even greater. Among the praises, we find "Comrade Mao is . . . the beacon showing the path...on which we are marching...people trust to him our happiness, hope and future..."<sup>106</sup>

There were significant educational developments in the newly-established socialist state which were symbolized by communization of all the people in 1958. In the same year, the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao's guidance, set forth these basic principles: (1) Education must "foster the moral, intellectual and physical development of those who are being educated, in order that they may become socialism-conscious and cultured workers."<sup>107</sup> (2) Education must serve the proletariat. (3) Education must be under the political command—Redness prior to expertness. (4) Teaching and learning must be combined with productive labor.<sup>108</sup>

In coordination with the ~~"Great Leap Forward"~~ movement in economic construction, Mao called on the nation for

~~"More, faster, better and economical development of the Chinese culture and education."~~<sup>109</sup> He said that education could not be developed at random by individual approach; it required total planning, collectivization and the organization and mobilization of the complete sources of learning. As it has been well understood, he insisted that schools and all forms of educational organizations must be under Party leadership and control for better efficiency. He further demanded that the "total Party and all people develop education." Based upon his doctrine of "Democratic-centralism," he proclaimed, in 1958, the "walking on two legs" policy for a quicker establishment of universal education. This policy defines that the Party and the state have the centralized obligation in the development of education.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, the government, in 1958, announced that education must be developed in accordance with the "dual policy" which was first introduced by Mao in 1942. This dual policy means "expanding quantity—universalization of elementary and secondary schools—more education for more people," and "heightening the quality—specialization of higher education—selected education for the capable."<sup>111</sup>

Specifically, he ordered the schools to establish "factories" and "farms," and the farms and factories to establish "schools." The "work-study" plan, and the "spare-time" systems were quickly developed.<sup>112</sup> His "work-study" program is best exemplified by his famous dicta "The army is a great school" and "The army must be a productive team." Due to Mao's powerful calls—the "Educational Great Leap Forward" and "The Total Party, the whole Nation and All the People establish and manage education," various types of schools were established. In order to serve people's needs and adjust to their work schedules, such informal, irregular schools as the following were formulated: "Shore School," "Mountaineer School," "Travel Station Class," "Spring School," "Summer School," "Autumn School" and "Winter School."

Mao condemned both the methods transplanted in China from abroad and those inherited from the past. He emphati-

cally stated that the confrontation system and scrutinizing process of examination must be abandoned.<sup>113</sup> Most significantly, he emphasized the "Farmward" and "Factoryward" movements; students, teachers, intelligentsia and government officers were required to be with peasants and workers. For students and teachers, there was the "One—three—four—eight" system which means "One month vacation—three to four months productive labor—seven to eight months studying or teaching in school."<sup>114</sup>

*The two-fold "Supremacy," 1960*—After the periods of "solidification" (1949-1952) and "transformation" (1952-1957), and upon the establishment of a socialist state characterized by communization (1958-1960), Mao's triumphant mind was geared in two major directions: "ideological supremacy and Chinese supremacy." While insisting that Marxism is the universal truth, Mao believed that his own ideas and ways for implementing Marxist theories were supreme. Mao stated that his theory of revolution is a new development of Marxism which best suits all the colonial, semi-colonial, feudal and semi-feudal societies and countries with underdeveloped industry such as China.<sup>115</sup>

Mao denounced the United States as being the home of racism and her world policy as being malevolent, sanctimonious or stupid. He considered United States idealism, imperialistic for the cause of the American Empire, and her pragmatism, capitalistic for the rich giants. While Mao repeated that the imperialists, military, political, economic or cultural, will be defeated by the proletariat in the world, he also denounced Soviet "revisionism."<sup>116</sup> Throughout 1960, Mao publicly sneered at Khrushchev's policies such as "co-existence," "peaceful competition," and "consolidating peace." He stated that the nature of imperialism has not changed and will not change; that the wars against imperialists are inevitable; and that the modern revisionists (i.e. Khrushchev) are unduly horrified by the imperialist blackmail of nuclear war. He pointed out that a fair amount of "impure capitalism" has crept back into the Soviet society. While Khrushchev called him a dictator in China, Mao said that his dictator-

ship, if any, was based upon the right principles for the greatest majority of the Chinese.<sup>117</sup>

Aware of the setback of modern China, Mao had been patriotic throughout his life. He had great trust in Chinese virtues and character, particularly those of the peasants. Above all, he desired to build the independence and "supremacy" of China. In July, 1960, Moscow recalled all Soviet advisors from China, cancelled more than 300 contracts, and withdrew technical help. Hence, Mao called for "self-reliance." He trusted that the quality of China's great manpower could build a new nation by "new revolutionary and indigenous ways" without imported machinery. He was quite sure that China would surpass Britain's industrial output and be at a higher stage of technological evolution by 1968. While believing in the supremacy of Maoism for world revolution, he advised all the "oppressed peoples" in all "exploited territories" as well as those in the developing nations to evolve on the "Chinese model" or "Mao's way" to reconstruct their nations. Furthermore, "supremacy" in the Communist world, he believed, would come naturally and inevitably to the Chinese who have a unique character. Most intensely, he believed that China could become the leader of developing nations and the Chinese could be the spokesmen of the colored peoples, especially of the Afro-Asian bloc.<sup>118</sup> Gradually, the competition between the Soviet Union and China for ideological supremacy in the Communist world and for political leadership in the developing nations became intensified. Khrushchev called Mao the "Han Chauvinist," while Mao accused Khrushchev of being the "Social Imperialist."

Consequently, the new campaign propagandizing the supremacy and the infallibility of Mao's thoughts was initiated in 1960. Party members and government officials were exhorted to rededicate themselves to the study of Mao's thoughts. At the same time, they doubled their efforts to spread the leader's ideas among the masses. They said to the people: "The new plant needs the sunshine, the new child needs the mother's nursing. Chairman Mao's thoughts are

the sunshine and the nursing. We need Chairman Mao's thoughts."<sup>119</sup>

By July 1, 1961, the Party's fortieth anniversary, the membership zoomed to 17,000,000 as compared to 13 at the Party's birth in 1921. The members implemented and propagandized, especially the texts from the newly published *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV. They proclaimed Maoist and anti-revisionist theses "true Marxism-Leninism." At this time, the studious Mao, enforcing his "supremacy concept," published his reading notes containing the evaluation of Soviet politics and economics and the directions given to the Chinese.<sup>120</sup>

Mao's writing and speeches in 1962 were profuse, containing approximately 76,000 words.<sup>121</sup> He reaffirmed, with profound explanations, his ideas such as "Class struggle," "proletariat dictatorship," "Democratic Centralism," "anti-imperialism" and "anti-capitalism." He particularly called for "anti-revisionism" meaning "anti-rightism" and "anti-opportunism." Mao purged some high-ranking officials due to their leaning toward "revisionism" and opposing his programs—particularly the people's commune, the "Great Leap Forward," and the rigid control of the army. When Khrushchev withdrew missiles from Cuba that year, Mao ridiculed him for his "adventurism" and "capitulationism." Furthermore, as Mao was striving for both ideological supremacy and the "supremacy" of China, the Sino-Indian border incidents flared up and were climaxed by a Chinese assault in 1962. The Indians were driven from 35,000 square miles of territory. Then the Chinese troops withdrew unilaterally, created a "demilitarized zone," and called for peaceful negotiations.

Following the economic chaos and deterioration caused by the dislocations during the "Great Leap Forward" and by natural calamities, China slowly recovered from near-famine conditions, beginning in 1963. In this year, to vitalize China to be a powerful socialist state, Mao enforced the "Social Education Movement." The major purpose was to wipe out all types of corruption. He wrote: "...If we are dirty, we

have no strength; after cleaning ourselves we face the enemies together. Some cadres got and possess more, some are involved with the girls of the landlords and rich peasants. Correct these mistakes, then fight the enemies and build our great nation."<sup>122</sup> Among Mao's instructions for this movement, we find "Humility is the beneficial way of doing; this is true especially for working with the proletariat; . . . Boastfulness, derived from individualism, is the trait of the exploiting and bourgeois class."<sup>123</sup>

In the same year, as before Mao demanded an international "united front" against American "imperialism," Moscow signed a nuclear test-ban treaty with the United States. Mao also bade for the revolutionary leadership in the underdeveloped nations and for ideological hegemony over the world Communist movement. Consequently, the Sino-Soviet split became deeper; the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* compared Mao with the outrageous aggressor and villain, Genghis Khan.<sup>124</sup>

In 1964, fifteen years of Chinese achievements through revolution were epitomized by the exploding of their first "nuclear device." China became a world power. The Chinese felt elated for the first time since the Opium War (1840). Mao emerged as the Asian political leader to attract significant world attention. His prestige became higher in China. The intensive study of his books was initiated in the People's Liberation Army under Lin Piao's leadership. Mao momentarily continued his criticism of capitalist imperialism and "social-imperialism," especially of the revisionism in China and the Communist world. He made as many as twenty-four ideological speeches containing approximately 118,400 words, as officially printed in 148 pages in 1964. Among the essential ideas expressed were those relating to "class struggle," "production struggle," and "scientific experiment." Specifically, he demanded each Chinese to work selflessly without any form of corruption in order to build a great China and assume world leadership. How? Mao said, "Endless reform through productive laboring," "persuading others, not depressing them" and "learning from the people."<sup>125</sup>

What were some of the developments in 1965? China exploded her second nuclear device. Lin Piao, later designated as Mao's heir, manifested Mao's doctrine of "Rural World Revolution" which calls all rural peoples of the underdeveloped nations jointly to encircle the "cities of the world" under imperialists. In the same year, Mao enforced the third Five-Year Plan. For accomplishing this plan and all revolutionary works, he exhorted the people to follow such methods as "Being Practical—down to earth," "Recognizing and utilizing the actual circumstances," and "Pooling and using the brain and the hands of the masses—going down to the village to learn from the masses," and above all, "Doing it now intelligently and perseveringly."<sup>126</sup>

During the early 1960's, one of Mao's major educational efforts was the "Socialist education movement" which was the ideological remolding campaign. The movement aimed at reeducating the Chinese to be dedicated to the proletariat state and to struggle against the "class" enemies. He ordered the shortening of the school year and the building up of a simplified and more utilitarian curriculum in order to serve the economic construction.<sup>127</sup> Concerning methodology of learning, he said that "the whole society should be considered as a workshop"; "go to Mother Nature and among the masses of the people to learn"; "go to lower levels to work in industry, agriculture and commerce to learn."<sup>128</sup> He further stated: "Don't over-emphasize grades; concentrate your energy on nurturing and training the ability for analyzing and solving problems; the students should not blindly follow the instructors...."<sup>129</sup>

During the early 1960's some Party leaders had educational ideas different from Mao's. For example, Liu Shao-chi stated that the contents of the subjects must be strengthened, the quality of schooling should be raised overwhelmingly. Also, reportedly, Liu stated that both the students from proletariat families and those with a bourgeois background should be given equal opportunity. Liu said the "Great Leap Forward in Education" seemingly was to be a "Great Risk Forward." General Ch'en Yi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

said: "Learning well in the special subject is a 'political' mission of the student. Educating a great number of professionals and specialists is the 'political mission' of the school."<sup>130</sup>

*The Cultural Revolution, 1966-1968*—In 1966, at the age of 72, Mao enjoyed good health, swimming again and again across the Yangtze River. Motivated by his own desire for national and ideological "supremacy," he continuously led the struggle against both capitalist and socialist imperialism and tried more to rally with the "Third World." In China he sponsored the Great Cultural Revolution.

The real causes of the Great Cultural Revolution were two-fold: the personal power struggle between Mao and others and the reaffirmation of Mao's ideology. As Mao said, this movement was first promoted in May, 1966 by Chiang Ch'ing (Mrs. Mao) against the resistance of numerous top leaders of the Party.<sup>131</sup> On August 5 of this year, Mao wrote a big-character poster—"Bombard the Headquarters" which fermented the movement.

The Cultural Revolution was in coordination with the "Socialist Education Movement" known as the movement of "Four Clean-Ups" (political, ideological, organizational and economical). Among the guiding principles quoted from Mao's sayings were "Rebellion is justified," and "Holding thousands of clubs, smashing whatever is foreign and old" (old ideas, old culture, old habits). To understand the goal of the Cultural Revolution, we need to note the following official statement: "...to strike at the ultra-reactionary, the counterrevolutionaries, the bourgeois rights, and the revisionists; to criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung thought..."<sup>132</sup> In order to inspire people to sacrifice for this revolution, Mao said: "All men must die, . . . the meaning of some death is 'mountain-weight,' but that of other death is 'feather-weight!'" "Struggling, criticizing, reforming," "going to the villages."<sup>133</sup>

In order to carry on the revolution, Mao mobilized the masses, especially the young. He repeatedly appealed: "The revolutionary students and teachers must get organized to



lead the Cultural Revolution." Then schools were ordered to close for a half year. Millions of students of the middle schools and colleges, called Red Guards, were motivated.<sup>134</sup> On November 10, 1966, a stream of 600,000 Red Guards paraded in Peking. Mao stood on the gilded vermilion Gate of Heavenly Peace and watched the marching of the youth. Mao, usually considered unsentimental, appeared to be deeply moved and brushed his cheeks with a forefinger, as though he were wiping away tears.

In 1967, China exploded her first hydrogen bomb—twenty-six months after her atomic fission was achieved. At this time, Mao, aged 74, was healthy, happy and confident of his ideology. He continued his struggle against the United States, the capitalist imperialist, and Soviet Russia, the social imperialist. While intensifying the Cultural Revolution, Mao said: "Our work is to fight against those who lean toward capitalism, but our final purpose is to 'dig' and 'cut' the roots of revisionism, so that the problem about 'world-view' can be solved." He also said all types of "self-centered," bourgeois ideas and performances must be totally liquidated.<sup>135</sup> As Mao allied with Lin Piao, his designated heir and the Minister of Defense, he denounced Liu Shao-chi, the Government Chairman, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the Party General Secretary. High-pitched political and social purges then took place. Following the "three-in-one" principle (mass leaders, army representatives and party cadres), and engaging the "five-waves" techniques ("dragging" out the reactionaries), the nation-wide Cultural Revolution flourished. Millions of students, in fighting against the various types of "rightists," "revisionists," "reactionaries," etc., traveled from cities to villages, south to north, east to west. Their main activities included endless discussion, reading and writing of wall posters (or big character papers), centering around Mao's thoughts, especially those contained in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

In 1968, Mao restated that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was, in essence, a great political revolution and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat

and the bourgeoisie.<sup>136</sup> He reordered an extensive liquidation of all "class enemies," "rightist splitism" and "rightist verdict-reversing wind." By the middle of that year, numerous "class enemies" including Liu and Teng were degraded and purged; the Mao-Lin alliance won the struggle. At this time, the Cultural Revolution became extremely intensified and reached the tumultuous period with colossal political upheavals. Under the banner of the Cultural Revolution, the red guards fought amongst themselves. Mao said: "Some carrying and raising red flags fight against red flags" alluding that there was a "conspiracy." A "counterrevolutionary coup d'etat" was reported then. Students set up portraits of Mao, and recited quotations from his writings. They swept through streets, invading homes, destroying shops, attacking many things which they regarded as representing reactionary ideas. Under this chaos, Mao himself said to his comrades: "I did not predict this would happen. . . . I myself made the catastrophe. You complain. I do not blame you."<sup>137</sup> On July 28, 1968, Mao, Lin and other top officials summoned student leaders in Peking for long conversations. Mao said to them: "I and other leaders made many mistakes; you make mistakes and cannot be blamed."<sup>138</sup> He instructed the student extremists to abandon their struggle for power and finally said: ". . . those who do not listen are robbers to be arrested, . . . to be encircled, arrested or executed."<sup>139</sup> Later in the year, Lin Piao, under Mao's instructions, mobilized the army to demobilize the Red Guards.<sup>140</sup> Students were ordered to go home, and all schools were reopened.

On June 13, 1966, Mao ordered the "closing of schools for the Revolution." On October 14, 1967, he ordered the "reopening of schools for the Revolution." At this time Mao named Liu's educational proposal the "revisionist production," and re-emphasized "education for proletariat revolution." Some of the specific guidelines re-emphasized were: (1) Enforcement of proletariat leadership in education. (2) "The integration and cooperation of farms, factories and schools for better learning and production." (3) "Students, teachers and education administrators joining, working and

living together with peasants and factory workers for the integration of theory and practice." (4) Balanced learning including school subjects, productive programs, military service, political doctrine and class struggle. (5) The promotion of various patterns of schools, regular and irregular. (6) Diminishing the special "dignity" of the intelligentsia. (7) Graduates of secondary school and college going to farm-villages, mine-fields, especially to those in the border territories and frontiers, to be reeducated by the poor and the lower peasants. (8) Jobs on the lowest basic levels to be first accomplished by educated and trained youth; using the opportunity of doing manual work to serve the people and to learn.<sup>141</sup>

*The permanent revolution and the farmward movement, 1969-1976*—The violence subsided and Lin Piao was officially designated as Mao's heir in mid-1969. "Unite all the proletariat," "Be vigilant after victory," "Sum up the experience of the Cultural Revolution for future revolution," were among Mao's instructions then. Official reports disclosed that more than 740 million copies of the little red book, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, had been distributed in 1966-1969. Lin Piao wrote: "Read Chairman Mao's writings; listen to Chairman Mao's talks; follow Chairman Mao's instructions to work."<sup>142</sup>

Along with the progress of the Cultural Revolution, Mao's prestige heightened; he was honored as the prophet and the "never setting reddest sun." Subsequently, he proclaimed the fourth Five-Year Plan in which war preparation integrated with economic construction was emphasized. At this time, the Sino-Soviet border conflict touched off a series of large-scale military clashes. Mao said, "Come home! Land of China."

After the Cultural Revolution in 1969, in order to re-emphasize his proletariat education, he resolutely attacked the feudalist or the Confucianist concept in education, refuted the capitalist school which nurtured individualism, and accused revisionist education of not helping to establish the proletariat world view. Consequently, in August of that year, he again set forth a policy that the workers, peasants

and soldiers re-educate the intellectuals who might be poisoned by Liu Shao-chi's "revisionist education."

Mao's mind of "permanent revolution" had guided his life. After the Cultural Revolution, the activities were many. In 1970, although Mao continued the anti-American campaign, he emphasized anti-Social Imperialism for leadership in the Third World. In April of that year, China surprisingly launched her first man-made satellite. The "New Four Clean-Up Movement" (economic, political, organizational and ideological clean-up) was brought into effect in February, 1970. This movement was directed basically to the economic field with three objectives—against "corruption and malpractice," "extravagance and waste," and "profiteering and speculation." Most importantly, there was the renewed "Re-education Movement" which specifically means "Farmward Movement" after the Cultural Revolution. Students, teachers and academics, both Party and government officials and cadres were encouraged and some were required to stay in the villages with the peasants for a period of time, from time to time, or all the time. Among the purposes of this movement were more economic production, effective "learning" and better population distribution. The "Farmward Movement" was a milestone in Chinese revolution. Above all, it was to change the Chinese work, life and minds according to Mao's ideals.

In 1971, reportedly Lin Piao, Mao's designated heir, plotted a coup and failed to assassinate Mao. Lin fled and was killed in a plane crash near Mongolia according to a Peking announcement.

Mao first wrote, three decades ago, that the hour to give "tit-for-tat" depends on the situation, and that sometimes "going forward" is tit-for-tat and sometimes "coming backward" is. In 1971, after twenty-two years of striving for reconstruction of the new nation, Mao realized that China still was far from being the great economic and political power of his dreams. Also, as the negotiations with the Soviet for getting back some of the territories were discouraging, Mao appreciated that the United States had never occu-

pied any land of China. In a sense, China is seemingly "encircled" by the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. Mao further realized that there was not any practical need to continue the conflict with the United States under this circumstance.

It is interesting to know that Mao was a great admirer of Lincoln, Washington and Jefferson and that, from time to time, he praised American people, especially their spirit of hard work. Consequently, Mao approved the rapprochement with the United States and the commitment to detente in 1971<sup>143</sup> and negotiated with and entertained Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in 1972.

Mao reached 80 on December 26, 1973; semi-retired from administrative routine. He however, was still the ultimate boss for major policy decision.

In 1974, under Mao's dictum, "Unity, Solidarity, Vigilance for permanent revolution," and the anti-Confucius, anti-Lin Campaign was intensified, the farmward movement was continued, the fifth Five-Year Plan was under consideration, and a new "leap forward" was to be a possible venture in China. It also should be noted that some of the leaders purged by Mao were rehabilitated in 1974 for unknown reasons.

Mao was absent from the meetings of the Fourth National People's Congress (January 13-17, 1975) and those of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (January 8-10), held in Peking. Some of the top leaders Mao degraded a few years before were elected to hold higher positions by the Party Congress. Was his power waning? From the Constitution of the People's Republic of China revised by the January, 1975 Fourth National People's Congress, we find: "...our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought."

Since 1970, up to the time of this writing, Mao's expressions on education include the emphasis upon: (1) The total education system—all forms of production and all types of political struggles and all patterns of military training are together educationally. (2) The farmward movement for

implementation of education—in 1971, Mao said: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants."<sup>144</sup> (3) Education of the proletariat—peasants, workers and soldiers are to be educated, and more proletariat youth should go to college.<sup>145</sup>

According to Mao, the innovator of Sinicized Marxism, education is life; life is permanent revolution; revolution is for the proletariat. Mao's education is for, by, and of the proletariat. Above all, education must be proletariat-centered. The ideas and practices in relation to proletariat-centered education will be analyzed and evaluated in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PROLETARIAT AND EDUCATION

The Proletariat: Chinese society, classes in the society, and the proletariat class

General Views on Education: nature of education, scope, function and needs.

The Specific Guidelines for Proletariat Education: politics in command, productive labor combined, "doing-knowing-doing" system, diversified patterns and proletariat-centered

#### I. THE PROLETARIAT

*The Chinese Society*—China is one of the most ancient nations in the world. For some 4000 years she had been a self-sufficient regime with an advancement of civilization which the Chinese felt was superior to all others. The social and cultural system was static; it remained basically unchanged through successive dynasties. The society was comprised of a settled peasant mass ruled by an upper stratum of landlords and scholars—bureaucrats under the control of the emperor. In this hierarchical society, the gentry-scholar class was at the top; consequently, philosophies and literature flourished. This system, at its best, was humanitarian but failed to work out a framework of science which could lead to the exploitation of the physical world or natural resources. It produced an agglomeration of families, rather than a nation in the modern sense.

At the end of the Opium War, China was first defeated by

Great Britain. Then, the imperial, isolated and culturally conceited nation confronted the modern nations—the aggressive new capitalist powers of technology. She was defeated repeatedly in military conflicts with the West and with Japan in the 19th and 20th centuries. By the dawn of the 20th century, foreign powers had exacted increasing territorial concessions from China. Partition of China between imperialist powers was plotted; the Chinese government disintegrated. Even some of the domestic affairs were intervened or controlled by foreigners.

Mao wrote: “After the Opium War of 1840 China gradually changed into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Since the incident of September 18, 1931, when the Japanese imperialists started their armed aggression, China has changed further into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.”<sup>1</sup> He further clarified that there were six characteristics of Chinese society prior to 1949: 1) The peasantry was exploited by the landlord class, the comprador and the usurer capital. 2) Flabby national capitalism was associated with foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism. 3) First the warlord-bureaucrat rule of the landlord class and then the joint dictatorship of the landlord and the big bourgeoisie had arisen. 4) Imperialism controlled not only the economic arteries but also the political and military power. 5) Economic, political and cultural development were very uneven. 6) Under the twofold oppression of imperialism and feudalism, the Chinese people, especially the peasants, became extremely impoverished.<sup>2</sup>

Illustrating the colonial status of China, in 1923 Mao also wrote:

The “Council of Ministers” of the Chinese Government is really both accommodating and agreeable. If one of our foreign masters wants to export cotton, the Council of Ministers thereupon abolishes the prohibition of the export of cotton; if our foreign masters want to bring in cigarettes, the Council of Ministers thereupon instructs the several provinces to stop lev-

ying taxes on cigarettes. Again, I ask my 400 million brothers to ponder a little: Isn't it true that the Chinese Government is the counting-house for our foreign masters?<sup>3</sup>

*The social classes in Chinese society*—The Chinese people had for ages spoken of their society as composed of four “classes,” which included the scholars, the farmers, the artisans, and the traders or the merchants. The scholar had been the most respected, since traditional China was partially an aristocratic society. The merchants, since their motive was mercenary, had been placed at the bottom of the Chinese social scale. In accordance with the social doctrine in the past, the four groups of people with different social status were living and working together. However, Mao's view on social classes was quite different from the traditional.

According to Mao, every individual belongs to a social class. In a class society, no matter how warm or close the superficial relationship is of one man to another, it is indeed still the class relationship which plays the most basic and decisive role in all the deep realities. He wrote: “In a class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.”<sup>4</sup> Also it has been his unyielding belief that history is a record of class struggle. He wrote: “Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical mentalism.”<sup>5</sup> He also wrote: “In past history, . . . the slaveowning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous. . . . But with the lapse of time, because their opposites (the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat) struggled against them, these ruling classes changed into paper tigers. Eventually they were overthrown.”<sup>6</sup>

Mao firmly stated that the various classes must be identified and divided; their revolutionary attitude, economic conditions, characteristics and mentality must be analyzed and

recognized. Mao reasoned: "All past revolutionary struggles in China achieved very little, basically because the revolutionaries were unable to unite their real friends and attack their real enemies." He re-emphasized that in order to distinguish real friends from real enemies for the success of revolution, we must understand the various classes in Chinese society.<sup>7</sup>

What are the social classes? Mao repeatedly said that there are basically two groups of people in China and the world: the right and the good people vs. the wrong and the bad; or those who exploit others vs. those who are exploited, or the revolutionaries vs. the anti-revolutionaries. At times, he stated that there were three classes. Once he said: "The three classes of people are the proletariat, bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. Class conflict exists among the three. This conflict is the people's internal conflict."<sup>8</sup> From Mao's April 6, 1958 speech made in Hankow, we find: ". . . There are four classes in China: two are exploiting and two are bodily labouring classes. The first exploiting class includes the imperialists, the feudalists, bureaucratic capitalists, the Koumintang remnants and the 300,000 rightists; . . . the second exploiting class includes the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals, the upper petty bourgeoisie... The other two are the labouring classes which include the workers and the peasants."<sup>9</sup>

In one of his important and well-documented articles, Mao described the five classes in China: (1) The landlord and the comprador class—they depend upon imperialism for their existence and development. They always side with the warlords, bureaucrats, bureaucratic capitalists and usurers. (2) The middle class which is chiefly composed of the national bourgeoisie—its dictum, "Raise your left fist to knock down imperialism and your right fist to knock down the Communist Party," depicts the dilemma and quandary of this class. (3) The petty bourgeoisie—owner-peasants, master handicraftsmen and the petty intellectuals (students, primary and middle school teachers, lower government functionaries, office clerks, small lawyers and petty traders) all

belong to this category. They fall into three different groups: The first one consists of those who hold some surplus money and adopt a skeptical attitude toward revolution. The second group consists of those who, in the main, are economically self-supporting and remain neutral toward revolution but never oppose it. The third group consists of those whose standard of living is being reduced. They form the left wing of the petty bourgeoisie; there is more possibility for them to join the revolution. (4) The semi-proletariat class and (5) the proletariat class,<sup>10</sup> which will be described in detail under due sequence accordingly.

*The proletariat class*—Mao emphatically wrote that the Communist revolution is of the people, by the people and for the people. "The people, and the people alone, are the motivating force in the making of world history."<sup>11</sup> He said on numerous occasions that government officers are like fishes, the people are like water; the latter gives life to the former. He also said: "We Communists are like seeds, people are like the earth . . . Seeds must root deeply in the soil."<sup>12</sup> One of his famous dictums is "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive one—it is people, not things that are decisive."<sup>13</sup> Regarding the power of the people, he stated, "All reactionaries are papers tigers... it is not the reactionaries, but the people who are really powerful."<sup>14</sup> He also wrote:

Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty and no enemy can crush us, while we can crush any enemy.<sup>15</sup>

Mao believes that the Party cadres, the government workers and the intellectuals must obey, follow the people and learn from them.<sup>16</sup> Especially, the Party members must serve the people, as he emphasized: "Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment

divorce ourselves from the masses,..."<sup>17</sup> Government officers have the duty to save the people as Mao stated: "Since the Chinese people are suffering and we have the duty to save them, we must exert ourselves in struggle. Struggle necessarily entails sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence... to die for the people's sake is to die a worthy death."<sup>18</sup> He also wrote: "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every work, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected—that is what being responsible to the people means."<sup>19</sup>

People are the masters, the noble and the most significant, as described previously. Above all, who are the people? The major body of the people are the proletariat. According to Mao, "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat;..."<sup>20</sup> "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength."<sup>21</sup> He also said, "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school."<sup>22</sup>

Mao wrote that the workers and peasants "... constitute 80-90 percent of the Chinese population. These two are the main forces in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from the New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance."<sup>23</sup> While Mao deeply believed that the youth are the revolutionary pioneers, he did not consider the youth as the main force for defeating the enemy, but the proletariat is. He wrote:

What then is the main force? The workers and peasants. Our young intellectuals and students must go among the workers and peasants, who make up 90 percent of the population, and mobilize and organize them. Without this main force of workers and peasants, we cannot win the fight against imperialism and feudalism,..."<sup>24</sup>

From the 1975 Constitution of the People's Republic of China, we find "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation." And we find "All power in the People's Republic belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body."<sup>25</sup> We also know that Mao wrote: "Worker-peasant-soldiers are merely worker-peasants, because soldiers are only the workers and peasants wearing a military uniform."<sup>26</sup> Therefore, there are two groups of proletariat: the urban workers and the rural peasants.

First, we find Mao's view on the urban proletariat in the Chinese revolution. World War I had occasioned a spurt in Chinese industry; hence, there was the rise of a visible urban proletariat. We know that the May Fourth Movement was accompanied by the growth of the urban proletariat in China. We also know that in the early years, the Chinese Communist movement was sustained at times by the laborers. Regarding the urban proletariat, Mao wrote:

The industrial proletariat, though small in number is nevertheless the representative of China's new productive forces and the most progressive class in modern China, and has become the leading force in the revolutionary movement. . . . The first reason why the industrial workers can hold such a position is their concentration. No other section of the people is so concentrated. The second reason is their low economic status. They are particularly able to fight because, deprived of all means of production and left with nothing but their hands, they have despaired of ever becoming rich and are subjected to the most ruthless treatment by the imperialists, the warlords and the bourgeoisie.<sup>27</sup>

The urban semi-proletariat comprises such people as the handicraftsmen, the shop assistants and the peddlers. On the whole, they accept the revolutionary propaganda. The urban proletariat are the railway, mining, maritime, transport, tex-

tile, and shipbuilding workers, the coolies, the stevedores, the rickshawmen, the sewage carters, the "toilet men," the street cleaners, etc. They are productive, progressive, and able to fight and willing to join the revolutionary movement. Also there are various types of urban lumpen proletariat who are brave and would become a revolutionary force when properly guided.<sup>28</sup>

None in the Marxist-Leninist school had ever conceived of the peasantry as anything but an *auxiliary* to the revolutionary proletariat of the cities. Mao's doctrine differed from the Marxist dogma enjoying the hegemony of the urban proletariat. In 1927, he wrote: "To give credits where they are due, if we allot ten points to the accomplishments of the democratic revolution, then, the achievements of the urban dwellers and military units, rate only three points, while the remaining seven points should go to the peasants in their rural revolution."<sup>29</sup> Maoists complained that the urban proletariat, whatever its sympathies may have been, waited inertly and passively for the peasant army to occupy the cities. In his 1930 report on the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chou En-lai admitted that the Party had no more than two thousand urban proletarian members.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, we present Mao's views on the rural proletariat in the Chinese revolution. According to Mao, there are three groups of peasants in China: (1) The rural non-proletariat or the "rich" peasants described by Mao as follows:

The rich peasants as a rule possess land. But there are some who possess only a part of the land; they farm and rent the remainder. There are still others who possess no land at all and rent all the land they farm. The rich peasant as a rule possesses comparatively abundant means of production and liquid capital, engages in labour himself, but regularly relies upon exploitation for a part or the major part of his income. The exploitation the rich peasant practices is chiefly that of hired labour (hiring long-term labourers).<sup>31</sup>

(2) Some of the rural semi-proletariat were the "middle" peasants who worked indecisively in the revolution; such characters were the result of their economic life as described:

In some cases he possesses only a part of the land he farms and rents the remainder. In other cases he possesses no land at all and rents all the land he farms. In all cases he has adequate implements of his own. He relies wholly or mainly on his own labour as the source of his income. As a rule he does not exploit other people;...<sup>32</sup>

Some of the rural semi-proletariat, the overwhelming majority of the semi-tenant peasants, a portion of the upper "poor" peasants, and the vagrants who lost their land, are rural semi-proletariat. On the whole, these people need revolution and would be brave fighters.<sup>33</sup>

(3) The rural proletariat or the "poor" peasant constituted seventy percent of the rural population. According to Mao, less than thirty percent of the "poor" peasants were utterly impoverished. The former were "those who have neither land nor money, and who, without any means of livelihood, are forced to leave home and become mercenary soldiers, or hired labourers, or tramp about as beggars . . ." <sup>34</sup> The latter were "the partly dispossessed, i.e. those who have a little land or a little money, but consume more than they receive and live in the midst of toil and worry the year round, e.g. the handicraftsman, tenant peasant, and semi-tenant peasant. . . ." <sup>35</sup> The other group of the rural proletariat is made up of farm labourers hired by the year, month, or day. They have neither land nor farm implements, nor the least amount of funds; they have to work for a living every single day.<sup>36</sup> Such people are pressed much harder than the city proletariat; as poor peasants, they hold a very significant position in the revolution.

Mao had great faith in the rural proletariat. In 1927, he managed to assemble a patchwork army consisting mainly of peasants which was the nucleus of what was later to be-



come the famous First Army.<sup>37</sup> His unwavering proposition had been that the rural toilers are the main force of the revolution. The Party must be rural-based and represent the "poor" peasants. At numerous times, he made such tributes to "poor" peasants as: "These peasants—the source of China's industrial workers," "the mainstay of the market for China's industry," "the source of the Chinese army—The soldiers are peasants in military uniform," "the main force fighting for a democratic order in China at the present stage," "the chief concern of China's cultural movement at the present stage."<sup>38</sup> Specifically, he showed great respect for the "poor" peasants. In the famous 1927 "Report of An Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan," he wrote:

This enormous mass of poor peasants, although comprising seventy percent of the rural population, are the backbone of the peasant revolution, the vanguard in overthrowing the feudal forces, and the foremost heroes who have accomplished the great revolutionary undertaking left unaccomplished for many years. . . . Without the poor peasants there can be no revolution.<sup>39</sup>

Repeatedly, Mao had written and said that the peasants are the makers of history and the forces of revolution. Mao had never believed that people have the instinct of revolution. The revolutionaries are at least partially the outgrowth of the reactionary social system. They learn from revolution to be better revolutionaries. In brief, Mao believed that the proletariat revolution needs education and the revolution is education.

## II. THE GENERAL VIEW ON EDUCATION

*The nature of education*—What is education according to Mao? It is most interesting to find the answers: (1) Mao accepted the basic Marxist-Leninist ideology that education is simply part of the super-structure of society. According to

Mao, the educational program is the outgrowth of the economic and political system. He wrote:

A given culture (culture as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economy of a given society, . . . This is our fundamental view on the relation of culture to politics and economy. . . . Hence in the first place a given form of politics and economy determines a given form of culture, and only then does the given form of culture have any influence and effect upon the given forms of politics and economy. . . . The old politics and old economy of the Chinese nation form the basis of its old culture and its new politics and new economy will form the basis of its new culture.<sup>40</sup>

(2) Mao considered the nature of education to be instrumental. He believed that knowledge is an instrument for getting certain jobs done, especially for problem solving. Maoists tend to think of reason and logic not as philosophical abstractions but as fundamental tools or instruments. Education is a major and the basic means for spreading and indoctrinating political ideology; it is a means for the Party and the nation but not for the individual members or the citizen. In Mao's words, "the reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class... the 'new' culture serves the 'new' economics and the 'new' politics."<sup>41</sup> He wrote: "Institute education for national defense... Newspapers, books and magazines, films, plays, literature and art should all serve national defense. Traitorous propaganda must be prohibited."<sup>42</sup>

(3) Education is a process of "change." The Maoist world is an ongoing stream in flux and motion. Society is characterized by the class struggle for transformation to become socialistic. Man grows and is to be developed as socially demanded. Education is the state "highway" to change the old to the new Sinocized communist society and to develop and make the new Chinese. Specifically, the proletarianization process is most important. According to Maoism, reac-

tionary thinking and "wrong" feelings must be corrected and revolutionary thinking and "right" feelings must be developed through the educational process. Mao emphasized that education must be the process of changing the people's thinking and feelings from "one" class to another. The following, written about the change of his own "class feelings"—the educational process—is most interesting:

...I might mention the transformation of my own feelings. I began as a student and acquired at school the habits of students; in the presence of a crowd of students who could neither fetch nor carry for themselves, I used to feel it undignified to do any manual labour, such as shouldering my own luggage. At that time it seemed to me that the intellectuals were the only clean persons in the world, and the workers and peasants seemed rather dirty beside them. I could put on the clothes of other intellectuals because I thought they were clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant because I felt they were dirty. Having become a revolutionary I found myself in the same ranks as the workers, peasants and soldiers of the revolutionary army, and gradually I became familiar with them and they with me too. It was then and only then that a fundamental change occurred in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me by the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that it was those unremoulded intellectuals who were unclean as compared with the workers and peasants, while the workers and peasants are after all the cleanest persons, cleaner than both the bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, even though their hands are soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung. This is what is meant by having one's feelings transformed, changed from those of one class into those of another.<sup>43</sup>

Above all, Mao considered "Having our own thinking and feeling come to a change and conform to that of the proletariat," the most important meaning of education.<sup>44</sup>

*The scope*—Mao's concept of education is indeed very broad. He uses the terms "culture" and "education" indiscriminately and interchangeably. According to Mao, all ideological indoctrination and propaganda are educational movements. For example, the so-called "Five Anti" movement of 1952, directed against the national bourgeoisie, was carried on under the motto of "education and reform." Mao considered the economic movement as an educational affair. He wrote:

At present, it is necessary to conduct extensive socialist education in the countryside. The key points in this education are, first, the superiority of cooperatives; second, the unified purchasing and marketing of grain and other farm products; third, the relations between the workers and the peasants; and fourth, the suppression of the counterrevolutionaries and observance of the laws.<sup>45</sup>

It should be noted that the famous 1966-68 "Cultural Revolution" in China was not purely cultural; it was partly an ideological contest and partly a political power struggle. Mao called this struggle an educational movement. Regarding the significance of the Long March, the great military movement, he wrote that it was a manifesto, an agitation corps, a seeding-machine and a propaganda movement. Above all, he felt that the Long March was a great revolutionary lesson for all Chinese and other peoples in the world.<sup>46</sup> He said: "War has educated the people."<sup>47</sup>

Mao held the "concept of total" in education. He believed that the educational process is a lifelong process and that all activities and total working experiences can be educational. When he spoke of education, he meant far more than the schools which were considered only one of the many agencies of education. Furthermore, he thought of society itself as a big school. Villages, cities and each of the farms and factory plants could be an educational "lab."<sup>48</sup>

*The function*—Mao heartily recognized the significance of education. He, at the age of fifteen, left home, against his father's wish, in order to gain educational opportunity. It had been his consistent belief that education is a powerful force for revolution and war. Education is the effective means to promote the understanding of revolutionary ideology. Only through the educational process can true and brave revolutionists be nurtured. In studying Maoism, one must bear in mind that the entire Communist movement under Mao is fundamentally an educational task. The success or failure of the revolution, as Mao saw it, depended upon the degree to which the Chinese population was "educated" to accept and work for the Communist goals. Under Mao's command, education had always been an integral part of the revolution.

In 1929, the Ninth Representative Assembly of the Communist Party, in which Mao had been a leader, was held in the Fuchien-Kiangsi base. Four out of eight resolutions were entirely related to educational programs as follows: "The subject materials and the teaching methods of the army and Party education," "The Red Army's information service to the people," "The soldiers' political training," and "the special education for the young military personnel."<sup>49</sup> In Kiangsi, on November 1, 1931, the All China Representative Assembly of the Worker, Peasant and Soldier Soviet proclaimed the establishment of the Worker, Peasant and Soldier Soviet Republic of China; it then elected Mao the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Party and adopted "The Constitution of the Soviet Republic of China — An Outline." The Constitution, in which Mao's thought was the essential guide, defined the educational system and policies and it indicated that education is one of the major tasks, and that it is the right of all people to receive education and their duty to learn.

Consequently, the Ministry of Education was promptly established in the same year in the guerilla war area.<sup>50</sup> From Mao's speeches and writings of that time, we learn that he gave much care to the formation of educational programs. For example, in January, 1934, he wrote:

For the victory of the revolutionary war, the solidification and development of the political power of the masses of people adding to the great revolutionary struggle, and the creation of the new revolutionary age, the Soviet must carry out the cultural and educational reform, must liberate the people's spiritual oppressions imposed by the reactionary-ruling class, and then create the new culture of the worker-peasant Soviet.<sup>51</sup>

Mao has reiterated heartily and emphatically that the cultural and educational program which is not helpful to the war must be reformed,<sup>52</sup> and that schools and all educational programs in the liberated areas must be reopened, resumed and developed, and that getting political power demands numerous trained educational cadres.<sup>53</sup> On July 1, 1957, he told many provincial and metropolitan Party committee members and secretaries: ". . . strengthen the schools, hold the schools tightly, total cultural and education work must be strengthened and controlled."<sup>54</sup>

In order to understand Mao's view on the significance of education, we must note what he wrote in his famous "On New Democracy":

We must not merely strive to transform a politically-oppressed and economically-exploited China into a politically free and economically prosperous nation. We must also strive to transform China which has been made backward and ignorant under the domination of the old culture into an enlightened and advanced nation under the domination of the new culture.<sup>55</sup>

In 1950, Mao wrote for the inaugural issue of *People's Education*: "To rehabilitate and develop the people's education is one of the important tasks at the present time."<sup>56</sup> Since Mao saw education as the important task of the nation, the eradication of proletariat illiteracy became the significant objective. The following statement is most illustrative: "Eradication of illiteracy is a task of strategic significance. Every revolutionary should exert full effort to fulfill this task, so as to

open the way for the development of productivity and technical and cultural revolution."<sup>57</sup>

*The need*—Mao's general views on education can be further analyzed in another way: Regarding the need of education for war and revolution, Mao frequently stated that "Revolutionary work starts with education," "Establish various types of schools in war zones for war" and "We must conduct socialist education." In his plain remark on "people's democracy," he emphasized "receiving education" as one of the basic needs and rights of the people. For example, he wrote: "All people in the nation should have an opportunity to voice their opinions, should have clothes, food, employment, and all need education."<sup>58</sup>

Mao considered education a catalyst of social transformation. His view on the need for education can be analyzed in the following ways: (1) Education is needed for politics: Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere."<sup>59</sup> According to Mao, the success of revolution would be impossible without effective mobilization of the masses and their enthusiastic participation. The realization of Communism requires that the level of ideology and consciousness as well as the moral qualities of the people be greatly raised. Furthermore, he indicated that the ultimate battleground is the human "soul." Everyone must purge his own bourgeois ego, make himself a revolutionary force and at the same time regard himself as an object of revolution. Therefore, more and more political education is necessary and ideological campaigns must be put on the agenda of the Party.<sup>60</sup>

On using education as a guard against the emergence of revisionism, Mao wrote: "...There is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education."<sup>61</sup>

It had been Mao's idea that human behavior can be changed. He said: "In a class society there is only the human

nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes." The class character and/or the behavior patterns are formulated and those can be developed and changed. Consequently, Mao wrote that education is needed to reform the anti-revolutionaries to be new men, to encourage the "neutral" people and the allies, and correct the mistakes of the revolutionary comrades.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Edgar Snow wrote: "Mao in accordance with his own ideological dialectics, has frequently said bad things can gradually change to be good ones; bad persons can change to be good—through experiencing and correct education and guidance."<sup>64</sup> Above all, Mao had deep faith in that the whole people, including reactionaries and bourgeoisie, could be "educated" to accept socialism. The 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China reflects Mao's deep faith in education, which he expressed emphatically at times, especially in his 1949 speech on the "People's Democratic Dictatorship."

(2) Education is needed for economics: In accordance with the principles of Mao's thinking, Lu Tin-yi<sup>65</sup> in 1958, pointed out that knowledge is not only needed for class struggle but also needed for production struggle, and that people need education for political as well as economic tasks. Mao wrote:

The grave problem is that of educating the peasants. The peasants' economy is scattered. Judging by the experience of the Soviet Union, it requires a very long time and careful work to attain the socialization of agriculture. Without the socialization of agriculture, there will be no complete and consolidated socialism. And to carry out the socialization of agriculture, it is necessary to adjust to the development of the powerful industry which was mainly composed of the state-owned enterprises.<sup>66</sup>

(3) The peasants need education: In Mao's famous "On Coalition Government," we find his definite statement regarding the peasant's need of education: "To eliminate illiteracy among eighty percent of the population is an important

task for new China."<sup>67</sup> A study of Mao's philosophy reveals that his ideas of peasant education go beyond "educating the peasants to work with socialization of agriculture." He really believed that the real need in the countryside is a cultural and intellectual revolution involving both the assimilation of science and technology and the "liquidation" of the individualism which has always and everywhere characterized the land-hungry peasants. Such a change, an upheaval in traditional modes of mind, behavior, and life, is indeed, as Mao thought, a tremendous educational task. Furthermore, we find from the literature written by Mao that peasants have weaknesses. The peasantry does not really possess the proletarian virtue; it is indeed possible of proletarianization through the process of education. Mao wrote:

The people also have some defects. Among the proletariat there are still many who cling to petty-bourgeois ideas; many peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie entertain backward ideas. These are the burdens handicapping them in their struggles. We must unceasingly and patiently teach them and help them to get rid of those "bags" (burdens), to struggle against their own shortcomings and mistakes, so that they can take big steps forward. In this struggle, they are reformed or in the process of reforming themselves. In our art and literature, we must describe this process of their reform.<sup>68</sup>

(4) The army needs education: In 1944, Mao wrote: "In our work, first is war, next is economic production, and the next is cultural or educational work. An army without culture is an ignorant or stupid army, and a stupid army cannot defeat the enemy."<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, a soldier not only should learn how to fight in the battlefield, but he must also be educated as to how to work with and care about the people. More specifically he wrote: "...The Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; ...it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses,

organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations."<sup>70</sup>

The Maoist army model is a unique one in military history. This model is characterized by its multifunctionality, structural diffuseness, productive laboring, and especially active political participation. Political education or ideological indoctrination is needed along with military training. Moreover, under Maoism, the need for "cultural education" is even significantly greater: "...Political education, with the help of cultural education, will continuously raise the political consciousness of the officers and men. After having achieved the goal of raising the level of culture, we can then exert our efforts on all fronts to carry out military education and training."<sup>71</sup>

(5) Education is needed for the Party and permanent revolution: On November 17, 1957, Mao said to the Chinese students and trainees in Moscow: "The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. . . . China's future belongs to you."<sup>72</sup> Mao and his colleagues have said that it will take "20 to 25 years" before China has a strong economy. They no longer expect to taste the fruits of their work toward building a prosperous China. Therefore, the needed task is to educate the next generation of leaders to carry out perennial revolution.

Mao wrote:

In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution. . . . From our highest organizations down to the grassroots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.<sup>73</sup>

## III. THE SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR PROLETARIAT EDUCATION

*Politics in command*—As politics is inseparable from ideology, the two are often used interchangeably. “Put politics in command” means ideology is the soul of all the works of all Chinese. It implies that all philosophical, psychological and technological considerations, and every aspect of economic, social, governmental, military and educational affairs must be subordinate to political ideology. Mao said ideology is always the commander-in-chief of all other work; political work is the lifeblood of all economic programs, the latter serves the former. He also asserted that war is a political action; military strategy, combat and route must obey political strategy. Proletarian politics must be the basis of all educational principles; each educational implementation, such as the school system, administration, curriculum and methods of teaching and learning must be permeated with political ideology.<sup>74</sup>

Why should ideology be in command? According to Mao, it is impossible to mobilize the people in revolution without the leadership and command of the Party; it is necessary to combine the command of politics with concrete measures. He said:

If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and work will suffer.<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, it is most interesting to note a Maoist statement: “Marxism can help produce more food. This conviction may seem unreasonable or incomprehensible to the mentalists, idealists or the mechanistic materialists. But it is completely logical for one who thinks in accordance with dialectic materialism.”<sup>76</sup> Mao also wrote: “Ideological and

## SPECIFIC GUIDELINES

political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic and technical tasks and serving the economic base.... Economic and technical work are bound to go wrong if we in the least slacken our ideological and political work.”<sup>77</sup> Above all, Mao considered men, not weapons, the most decisive factor in war. Hence, the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the officers and the fighters are more emphasized in army training programs, while attention is also given to improvement of weapons and equipment.

What are the political ideologies? They are Marxism-Leninism and especially Maoism which is incarnated in the Party doctrines. They include “dialectical materialism,” “socialism and communism,” “patriotism and internationalism,” “anti-capitalism-imperialism-chauvinism-revisionism,” “proletariat dictatorship” and the theories of permanent revolution and “class struggle.” Of particular significance is “Sinocized Marxism.” Mao spoke of the adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to Chinese conditions. In 1938, he even used the term “Sinification,” which he defined as follows:

Being Marxists, Communists are internationalists, but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite national form. The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China. For the Chinese Communists who are a part of the great Chinese nation, flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably Chinese character, i.e., to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics (the Sinification of Marxism), becomes a problem which it is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve.<sup>78</sup>

In education, the outgrowth of political ideology is the fundamental principle of a new culture and education that is nationalistic, scientific and popular. These make up the educational objectives towards which the regime has been striving. Chinese people are taught to cherish their great cultural heritage, and are reminded of their moral character and of the tremendous potential for the betterment of mankind. The scientific portion of the "triad" consists of concrete educational efforts for both the elite scientist and the "broad masses of the people to receive the rudiments of science." Enormous efforts for popularizing education to reach the masses have been made. Above all, continuous ideological reform has been a vital part of all education programs.

*Productive labor combined*—Mao pointed out on numerous occasions that Chinese education has failed due to the separation of schooling and productive labor and due to the alienation of the economic reality. Maoists are, of course, entirely right to claim that the divorce between education and physical labor is a thousand years old. Confucius set education's face away from manual toil and did serious damage by discrediting physical and technical work in education. In describing and criticizing the "wrong education," Mao said:

Confucius never reclaimed land or tilled the soil. When he ran his school, he had quite a number of students, "seventy worthies and three thousand disciples"—quite a flourishing school! But he had far fewer students than there are in Yen-an, and what is more, they would have disliked production campaigns. When a student asked him how to plough the fields, Confucius answered, "I don't know, I am not as good at that as a farmer." Confucius was next asked how to grow vegetables, and he answered, "I don't know, I am not as good at that as a vegetable gardener." In ancient times the youth of China who studied under a sage neither learned revolutionary theory nor took part in

labour. Today, there is little revolutionary theory taught and there are no such things as production movements in the schools over vast regions of our country.<sup>79</sup>

In attacking the present higher education system and proposing "productive labor combined with learning," Mao said on December 21, 1965:

I am very much in doubt about our university education. It takes a total of sixteen or seventeen years for one to reach the university from primary school. During the twenty or more years (from kindergarten to graduation from college), students do not have a chance to see planting of rice, wheat, corn, to look at how the workers do their work, how peasants till their soil, how traders do business. In the meantime, one's health is also ruined. Such a school system is indeed harmful.<sup>80</sup>

It is very meaningful to further point out the reasons, as Mao indicated, for education to work closely with productive labor. Basically, Mao viewed politics, war production and education as the integral parts of a system; one serves the other, and vice versa. During the twenty-five years of war (1924-1949), the economic situation was very bleak indeed. In December 1942, Mao wrote:

For a while we were reduced almost to the state of having no clothes to wear, no oil to cook with, no paper, no vegetables, no footwear for the soldiers and in winter, no bedding for the civilian personnel.... But we managed to pull through... the tens of thousands of teachers and students and government bodies also developed similar economic activities for self-support. Such productive activities, carried out by armed units, public agencies and schools, are a special development under special conditions; they are at present perfectly reasonable and absolutely necessary.<sup>81</sup>

This guide-line, "Education combined with productive labor," is not only economically oriented, it also has ideological implications. According to Mao, participating in productive labor in farm or factory would help the students to understand better the meaning of capitalistic exploitation, and bureaucratic corruption. One who does not have the experience of productive labor would tend not to be close to the masses; it would be more possible for him to accept "revisionism." Also one's honesty and integrity would be strengthened by participating in productive labor and learning from the peasants and workers.<sup>82</sup>

The "*doing-knowing-doing*" system—Mao vigorously attacked both "dogmatism" and "empiricism" of learning in school and in the "great education movement"—the permanent revolution. He criticized those who, for a long time, refuted the experience of the Chinese revolution and reminded his comrades that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide of action." He attacked those who limit themselves to their extremely narrow experience and neglect the significance of theory in revolutionary practice. Both the "dogmatists" and "empiricists" fail to see the complete picture of revolution or education; both work painstakingly but blindly.

According to Mao, all human knowledge comes through the senses first; perceptions thus gained are worked up into rational knowledge; these two types of knowledge are an integral whole and interdependent, though seemingly diverse. "Doing-knowing-doing" or "practice-theory-practice," Mao's formula of learning, has been most famous and well-heeded in war and all patterns of learning. He wrote:

Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge which is acquired through practice must then return to practice. The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but—and this is more important—it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.<sup>83</sup>

Due to his bitter life in revolution and hard work in war, Mao believed that real knowledge comes from practice and depends upon actual experience. Truth can be discovered, must be experimented with and should be verified by repeated practices. A revolutionist redirects political ideology to social practice. Whether an educational idea is valuable, right, true, good, workable or useful is decided by doing in school and especially working with peasants.<sup>84</sup> Mao wrote:

Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practising) in its environment.... If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself... if you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.<sup>85</sup>

As he insists upon "Uniting theory and practice," "the dialectical materialist concept of learning," "Doing, then knowing, and doing," Mao opposed any type of bookish learning. He demolishes all walls of the academic fortress. No ivory-tower concept of philosophy is allowed to exist. Practical workers are intelligent thinkers. Solving practical problems in light of actual circumstances on the farms, in factories and markets is the way of teaching and learning. Various types of "Work-Study" and "Working-teaching" programs have been enforced. For example, the "2-4-2-4 system" (two months working-four months studying-two months working-four months studying) exists in Inner Mongolia in the north, Yunan in the south, Shanghai in the east and Tibet in the west of China.<sup>86</sup>

*The diversified pattern*—Basically, Mao believed that life is education, society is school, revolutionary activities are the learning programs which may be more meaningful than works in the classroom. When he urged the youth to participate in the Cultural Revolution, for a period of two years



(1966-1968), most schools in China were closed. Mao did not deny that a school can be an educational agency. He, however, accused the traditional pattern of school as being the means of feudalism, capitalism, and above all, of serving the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat. Formal schooling demands space, facility and an inflexible time schedule; hence, it does not well suit the life and work of the workers and peasants. Mao himself did not engage in formal schooling long; as a matter of fact, he never formally enrolled in an institution of higher learning. During his adolescence, he was not satisfied with classroom instructions; he therefore left school to study in the public library by himself. In brief, there must be various forms of education; the formal school is merely one of the institutionalized agencies; informal learning is important and may be more effective, according to Mao.

Mao wrote: "In our education we must have not only regular primary and secondary schools but also scattered, irregular village schools, newspaper-reading groups and literacy classes. We should not only have the new school but also utilize the old village tutor system and reconstruct it."<sup>87</sup> He believed that too much formal education may not help and might even be harmful; he noted that schooling does not necessarily make an educated man and cited such diverse figures as Confucius and Benjamin Franklin as having been commoners with little formal education. He greatly respected Abraham Lincoln—being a self-educated man. Unduly relying on institutionalized learning, in Mao's view, led to dogmatism, lack of experimentation, blindness to reality, and inability to gain real experience for serving society. On July 28, 1968, in Peking, he said to the Red Guard leaders:

...Many of the Communist leaders, except Marx and Lenin, did not complete their university education.... Engels became a bookkeeper in a factory while he had not completed his middle school program. How did Engels study natural science? He was in the London

Library for eight years. . . . Stalin did not enter the University; he only graduated from a missionary middle-school. Gorky was in an elementary school only two years and a half. . . . Chiang-ching (Mrs. Mao) was merely in elementary school for six years. . . . Learning is not dependent upon going to school.<sup>88</sup>

Above all, in accordance with Mao's ideas, going to school is merely one of the ways of learning and it may not be the most important one. As early as 1923, Mao established the "Self-study University" in Hunan. During 1928-34, in the Kiangsi Soviet, he innovated the "peasant-study-groups" and "army-literacy program." In the war zones, he promoted the indigenous system implementing such work as "cadre discussion meetings," "winter lessons for the peasants," "the Labor University," and the "Transportation station class" during 1935-1949. After the Peoples Republic was established, he ordered the "spare-time study," "Half-work and Half-study," "Factory-school," "Farm Lab" and various forms of education programs including "Village-ward Movement." Now vast China is a big school; the diverse ways of life and work become the various forms of education.

*The proletariat-centered*—Mao's total life and mind were with the proletariat revolution in China and the pivot of his educational idea is the proletariat-centered. He repeatedly said, "Our education is the people's education." Who are the people? They are the proletariat—the peasants, workers and soldiers mainly.

Since 1927, the initial year of his revolutionary career, Mao proclaimed continuously that the "old school system" is anti-people and must be abolished. He wrote:

In China, education has always been the exclusive preserve of the landlords and the peasants have had no access to it. But the landlords' culture is created by the peasants, for its sole source is the peasants' sweat and blood. In China, 90 percent of the people have had no education, and of these the overwhelming majority are peasants.<sup>89</sup>

The basic concept of old education includes that "education is for the sake of education" and "the student should play no part in either politics or productive labor." Consequently, the old education is nothing more than the feudalist, capitalist, and revisionist stuff. Those who receive such education are full of ideas of seeking individual fame and wealth; they know nothing but some useless theories and can do nothing but exploit the proletariat. Above all, according to Mao, the old education is in the hands of the reactionaries and it hurts the people.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, Mao indicated the "Anti-proletariat" schools in pointing out a number of specific matters. For example, he wrote: "The texts used in the rural primary schools were entirely about urban things and unsuited to rural needs. Besides, the attitude of the primary school teachers toward the peasants was very bad; they were far from being helpful to the peasants and even became those the peasants disliked."<sup>91</sup> He also said that the Westernized schools in China promoted social exploitation and the students returning from studying abroad became the compradors of the capitalists and the flunkies familiar with Western customs.<sup>92</sup> He even seriously criticized the Communists' failure in educating the proletariat: "Many comrades are concerned with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, . . . rather than with leading these people, together with themselves, to get closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to participate in their actual struggles, or to give expression to their life and educate them."<sup>93</sup>

Mao has taught the Chinese that the working people, who create both the material and spiritual wealth, are the real masters of mankind. He said, "In the present epoch of the development of society, the responsibility of correctly knowing and changing the world has been placed by history upon the shoulders of the proletariat."<sup>94</sup> He also stated: "In the real total, peasants are the first."<sup>95</sup> Therefore, education must serve proletariat politics to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois concepts. The proletariat revolutionary thinking on education is imperative. Only the masses have the priority to receive education. On

proletariat-centered education, Mao wrote: "Our culture is a culture of the people, hence our cultural workers must show the greatest devotion in serving the people, and must be linked with and not isolated from the masses. In order to link themselves with the masses, they should meet the latter's needs and wishes."<sup>96</sup> Above all, Mao consistently stated, since 1927, that education must be proletariat-centered; education for the proletariat, by the proletariat, and of the proletariat.

Mao, on many occasions, formally and informally further explained why education should be proletariat-centered. Basically, Mao worshipped the proletariat, each of whom is a "god" for him. Proletarianism was his "religion." He said that human rights are not given by nature or God, but by the people. The opportunity for revolutionary success and the power for war are endowed by peasants and workers. The revolutionaries are "fishes" and people are water; the ideologies are seeds, people are the soil for their growth. Since the proletariat are the main force in revolution, serving the peasants and workers is the first and the only meaning of education.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, Mao continuously praised the power and the virtue of the proletariat. Some of his remarks are: "The people, and the people alone, are the motivating force in the making of world history." "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant. . . ." "The masses have boundless creative power."<sup>98</sup> On the people's right and courage to speak, Mao once spoke to the cadres eloquently and bitinglly: "You do not allow people to speak. You think that you are tigers and that nobody will dare to touch your arse.... you will fail. People will talk anyway. You think that nobody will really dare touch the arse of a tiger like you? People damn well will."<sup>99</sup> In praising the people, he also said: "The workers and peasants are the cleanest people and, even though their hands are soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they are really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals."<sup>100</sup>

In summary, Mao's proletariat-centered education is to protect and develop all the potentials, rights, power and

virtue of all the peasants and workers. It is education for, by and of the proletariat. What are Mao's ideas regarding the purposes, curriculum and methodologies—teaching and learning processes of proletariat-centered education? Who are the students and teachers? The following chapters are designed to elaborate on these topics.

### CHAPTER THREE

## THE PURPOSES OF PROLETARIAT EDUCATION

Some General Analyses: nature and function of purposes, a chronological survey and some key ideas

The Socialist New China: construction and characteristics (1) patriotism, (2) dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) the power state, (4) super power of the party

The Socialist New China: power and the value of man, deprivation and virtues of the Chinese, the new Chinese, the new Chinese epitomized, characteristics of the new Chinese, revolutionary morality and education for transforming the Chinese

The Socialist New World: internationalism and education for internationalism

#### I. SOME GENERAL ANALYSES

*Nature and function of the purpose*—Mao used the terms “purpose,” “aims,” “ends,” and “goals,” interchangeably. Purpose is the direction toward which the activities undertaken are directed. From the Maoist viewpoint, all genuine aims are the projected ends or anticipated outcomes of the activities. Before taking any action, Mao always tried to clarify its purpose. He issued the “directives” for each military and political maneuver as well as for the educational movements. He indicated that the “means” are derived at

least partially from the "ends"; the methods adopted are for the purpose to be achieved. He also said that, however diversified the ways or the curved roads may be, the destination or the goal of the revolution remains unchanged. Whatever his tactics may have been in a given period, he never deviated from his revolutionary purpose.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with Mao's thoughts, any activity without a clear purpose would neither be effective nor meaningful; to have an aim is to act with meaning. Undertaking any task without a clear goal is like "shooting the arrow without a target." He said all Chinese must have a firm belief and a definite destiny. Furthermore, a goal is a motivating force for action. Purpose stimulates one to make more efforts and helps search for a wider, more flexible observation of effective methods. Purpose and methods are not two separate aspects. Maoists call an "end" that which indicates the present direction of the effort undertaken; meaning that which marks off the present ways of doing.<sup>2</sup>

Mao frequently lamented that China, before 1949, the year in which the People's Republic was established, was like a cork at sea without a national direction. He once said "... not only the leaders and the functionaries but all the broad masses must know our policy . . .", and that "... when the masses are aware of the truth, and cherish a common goal, they will make concerted efforts."<sup>3</sup> He also said "Go all out, aim high and achieve more, faster . . . in building socialism."<sup>4</sup> "Our present effort is toward the future great goal. Comrades not keeping the great goal are not Communists."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he said, "Learning or knowledge without the right purpose is useless."<sup>6</sup>

*A chronological survey*—Mao furiously indicted that "education is for the sake of education," and he did not allow any educator to draft the purposes of education subjectively. He believed that the purposes of education must be the outgrowth of the revolutionary real circumstances, must mirror the social and environmental conditions and must especially suit the needs of the masses—the proletariat. During his early period (1917-1927) of revolutionary life,

Mao's socially-oriented educational ideas and work were obvious. In 1917, recognizing that China was weak, Mao proposed new education for strengthening the nation. He then advocated that physical development and health must be the first purpose of education. In "A Study of Physical Education," his first article published in 1917, we find: "Physical education complements education in virtue and knowledge. Moreover, both virtue and knowledge reside in the body...knowledge is acquired indirectly through physical education."<sup>7</sup>

In 1927, while organizing the peasants for revolution in Hunan, he declared the first purpose and the real meaning of education was to serve the peasants. At that time, Mao wrote: "In China, ninety percent of the people have had no education, and of these the overwhelming majority are peasants. The moment the power of the landlords was overthrown in the rural areas, the peasant movement for education began."<sup>8</sup> The "decentralized" rural schools were established with the local initiative under "centralized" Party leadership. This school system was the first implementation of Mao's early theory of "democratic-centralism."

The needs for guerrilla war during the Kiangsi Soviet period (1928-1934) induced and compelled Mao to establish certain educational systems. He suggested that education has as its long-term goals, the task of raising the cultural level of the masses and deepening their political beliefs. Due to drastic financial difficulty, economic construction, including both agricultural and industrial production with the close support of the peasantry, became the goal of schooling. Mao wrote:

Where does the general policy of the Soviet in culture and education lie? It lies in educating the broad masses of the toiling masses with the communist spirit, making culture and education serve the revolutionary war and the class struggle, integrating education with labor, and turning the broad masses of the Chinese people into people enjoying the blessing of civilization.<sup>9</sup>

During 1935-1949, the period of the War Resisting Japanese Invasion and the Civil War, education was to serve military, political and ideological struggle and to promote economic production. In addition, education was meant to instill in students a disciplined style of work and a desire to work among the masses of people. Mao expressed his proposed ends of education as follows: "Institute education for defense," "Culture reflects the politics and economics," "The central task of education is to prepare for reconstruction of the country and for production," "Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and education."<sup>10</sup> In 1945, he wrote, "The Chinese people's culture and education should be new-democratic in aim; this is to say that China should build up her own new culture and education that are national, scientific and popular."<sup>11</sup>

From "The Common Programme" issued in 1949, we find the following articles which most significantly reflect Mao's idea regarding educational goals of the "new" nation:

The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are New Democratic, that is, national, scientific and popular. The main tasks of cultural and educational work of the people's government shall be the raising of the cultural level of the people, training of personnel for national construction work, liquidating of feudal, comprador, fascist ideology and developing of the ideology of serving the people.

Love for the motherland and the people, love of labour, love of science and the taking care of public property shall be promoted as the public spirit of all nationals of the People's Republic of China.<sup>12</sup>

Later in the 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China, we find:

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education... The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people. The People's Republic of China safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation....<sup>13</sup>

From his famous February 27, 1957 speech, we find: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist conscientiousness and culture."<sup>14</sup> In the revised 1975 Constitution, we find the following statements:

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China..., so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thoughts... Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour.<sup>15</sup>

*Some key ideas*—According to Mao, education is fundamentally the outgrowth of the respective social system. Certain culture or education has been the reflection of certain economic and political characteristics. The past feudalistic and semi-colonial China inevitably formalized the education system which helped to exploit the proletariat. He further asserted that the new education nurtured by the new socialist society must aim to serve the new politics and the new economics.<sup>16</sup>

Mao, being very practical in revolutionary strategy, stated that people first must have food, clothing and shelter; therefore, education must first serve the development of the people's economy. Among his instructions for education we find: "Attention to produce more grain is above everything," "Rent reduction and production are two important matters for the defense of the liberated areas," "We must learn to do economic work," and "The intensification of the revolutionary war makes it imperative that we mobilize the masses to extend immediately the campaign on the economic front and carry out various kinds of necessary and possible economic constructions."<sup>17</sup>

Education first must serve economics, but serving politics

is its most important mission. According to Mao's theories: (1) Economics is the product of politics—The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize the people's ideology and, as a consequence, to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work; thus, "Grasping revolution" would promote production.<sup>18</sup> Regarding the significance of social ideas, he said: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."<sup>19</sup> (2) Economics then must serve politics—"Economic construction must revolve around the central task—the revolutionary war. The revolutionary war is now the central task and economic construction work, undertaken for its sake, revolves around it, and is subordinated to it."<sup>20</sup> He also wrote: "Politics is the commander, the soul in everything, and political work is the life-blood of all economic work." Therefore, it has become the Maoist belief that the fundamental guarantee for China's socialist industrialization is persistence in putting proletarian politics in command in industrial construction.<sup>21</sup> (3) Hence, science must be political—Mao said that technological, cultural and all forms of revolution must have political meaning; that technology is the means for ideological ends. He criticized Josef Stalin's neglect of politics: "Stalin only emphasized techniques or technology; he only talked about cadres with technical missions, not those holding political missions, he only wanted cadres in form, not those for ideological struggle. He did not want politics. He did not want the masses of the people. He walked by using one leg."<sup>22</sup> (4) It was Mao's doctrine that an educated person must be "Red" and must be an "expert." The former is first and more important than the latter. He said: "Political ideology and technical work in all fields must be tied closely together. We must be Red and expert. Being Red means being ideologically dedicated. Being an expert means being professionally capable and technologically well-trained to do the assigned job. Any expert who is not Red is a White or a

reactionary expert. One who merely knows ideology, not the practical and inner factors about his job, is a "fault" in Red. He is an empty man in politics. One who is in politics must go deep into his assigned job. All those in science and technology must be 'Red'."<sup>23</sup>

Finally, regarding the political purpose of education, Mao said simply: "All work in the school is aimed at changing the thinking of the students."<sup>24</sup> It is to educate the broad toiling masses with a communist spirit and to make culture and education serve revolutionary war and class struggle.<sup>25</sup> According to Mao's thoughts, the most important phase of the purpose of education is to completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to attain the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and ultimately to achieve the realization of communism.<sup>26</sup> In brief, the important part of the purpose of education is to educate and indoctrinate all learners to think and do according to Maoism or the Sinocized Marxism which was derived from the real circumstances in China and the urgent needs of the Chinese. Based on Maoism, education is to formulate a new China of socialism, mold the new Chinese for Communism, and so eventually establish a new world.

## II. THE SOCIALIST NEW CHINA

Mao advocated international revolution. However, he believed that the first goal of the Chinese revolution is the reconstruction of a socialist new China. Furthermore, Mao believed that the total revolutionary movement, political, economic, or military, is an education movement; therefore, the goal of education is to help establish the socialist new China.

*The construction*—For more than 3,000 years, beginning with the Chou dynasty (1122 B.C.), China was a feudalistic nation. Under this system, the peasants were exploited by the ruling group comprised of the Emperor's family,

bureaucrats and the landlords. In December, 1939, Mao wrote: ". . . that for 3,000 years Chinese society remained a feudal society. But is Chinese society today still a completely feudal society? No, China has changed. Since the Opium War of 1840, China has changed step by step into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society."<sup>27</sup> The peasants and workers are exploited and drastically depressed in the semi-colonial-feudal society by such groups as landlords and compradores who were completely the vassals of the international bourgeoisie, depending upon imperialism for their existence and development, Mao asserted.<sup>28</sup> He further stated that the internal feudalistic power deprived the Chinese from any type of democratic life and that the imperialist powers grabbed Chinese territories and left China with no independence. The politics and economy of such a society are predominantly colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal and consequently its culture and education, which reflect such politics and economy, are colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal.<sup>29</sup>

Mao, the Sinocized Marxist, believed in "revolutionary destruction" meaning destruction for construction. He said, "We are not only good at destroying the old China and the old world; we are also good at building the new."<sup>30</sup> His first goal of revolution was to build a new China, as he said, ". . . lead the liberated throughout the country to build up a new China, independent and free, democratic and united, prosperous and powerful."<sup>31</sup> Mao also wrote, "We want to build up a new China. For many years we Communists have struggled not only for China's political and economic revolution but also for her cultural revolution; all this aims at building up a new society and a new state for the Chinese nation."<sup>32</sup> Regarding the needs for the construction of a socialist new China, he gave numerous specific explanations. At the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution, in December 1968, he said "Our nation has a big and good reputation but our actual strength is not enough."<sup>33</sup> "The standard of living not only of our peasants, but of our workers and intellectuals as well, is still low."<sup>34</sup>

Mao, an optimist, always had hope and confidence in the

reconstruction of a socialist new China. He not only repeatedly said that China should be a strong socialist nation, but also said that China could be strong for such reasons as the vast land, immense population, good geographical location with a long coastline, and a long and splendid historical heritage. Above all, China has great potential to be strong.<sup>35</sup> It is most interesting to note what Mao said about these potentials:

China has two good factors. One is being poor; another is being "blank" (being under-educated). The people, being poor, are more likely to engage in revolution. Looking at it one way, the people's lack of education is not good. However, the uneducated people would give us an opportunity to teach the right ideas. Their minds are like "blank papers" having more space to write on.<sup>36</sup>

In accordance with Mao Tse-tung thought, the old China must be destroyed and a new China is needed and is possible to be constructed, as previously explained. Thus, we would like to know and analyze the characteristics of the new China as follows:

*The characteristics* (1) *Patriotism*—First, it is necessary to point out here how resolute Mao had been for the independence and security of China and her territorial integrity. Also we will examine "why" Mao was patriotic. He remembered, as do many Chinese revolutionary leaders, the foreign invasions, China's defeats and the humiliations she suffered after the Opium War (1840) and prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949). As mentioned previously, emblazoned upon Mao's memory was the sign "Chinese and dogs are not allowed" which had been placed on the Shanghai International Park gate in the early 20th century.

Regarding the aggressions of the imperialist powers, in 1939 he wrote:

Having defeated China in war, the imperialist powers not only occupied many states bordering on China that were under her protection, but also seized or "leased" part of her territory. For example, Japan occupied Taiwan and the Pescadores and "leased" Port Arthur; Britain seized Hong Kong; and France "leased" Kwangchow Wan. Apart from these territorial annexations they exacted from China huge sums of indemnities.<sup>37</sup>

The "Order" Mao wrote in April, 1949, to the victorious Red Army as they crossed the Yangtze River southward for complete "liberation" of the nation is resplendent with patriotism: "Advance bravely and annihilate resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely all the Kuomintang reactionaries within China's borders who dare to resist. Liberate the people of the whole country. Safeguard China's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence."<sup>38</sup> Chinese participation in the Korean War in 1951 was purely defensive as Mao said: "The Chinese people would not have fought against the American troops had they not encroached upon our Taiwan, invaded the Democratic People's of Korea and marched toward our national border in the Northeast. We cannot help but raise the anti-aggression banner and fight against the Americans who attacked."<sup>39</sup> The 1962 war against India, according to Mao, was to restore Chinese land which was mistakenly marked by the McMahon line as the land of India.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, it is important for us to realize that the increasing antagonism between China and the Soviet Union since 1959 has been caused partially by their border disputes. Chinese communists, joining with their countrymen, accused Russia of occupying vast land bordering Chinese Northern Manchuria. Regarding Mongolia, Mao said:

Russia has occupied many places in the east. Start a hundred years ago, Russia annexed the land east of Lake Baikal and that along the Amur River.... The Yalta decision lets Outer Mongolia be independent of China; actually she has been under the control of Soviet Rus-

sia... While Krushchev and Bagramian visited Peking in 1954, we asked that Outer Mongolia be returned to China. They said "No."<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, is Mao's "nationalism" or "patriotism" consistent with his international revolutionism? What did he say on this topic? It is his interpretation that the nationalism or patriotism of the imperialist, the capitalist and the bourgeoisie is based upon and began with their narrow class concept and their economic selfishness through exploitation of other peoples in the world. Proletariat patriotism originates with the basic interests of their countrymen as well as the common interests of all the peoples in the world. Regarding the consistency of the national struggle with the class struggle, he said in 1938:

Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, be at the same time a patriot? We hold that he not only can but also ought to be one....The Chinese Communist must, therefore, combine patriotism with internationalism. We are at once patriots and internationalists, and our slogan is to fight in defense of the motherland against the aggressors....For only by fighting in defense of the motherland can we defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation. And only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and the toiling masses to achieve their own liberation. The victory of China and the defeat of the imperialists invading China will also be a help to the people of foreign countries. Thus patriotism is simply an application of internationalism in the war of national liberation. For this reason, every Communist must put forth all his activity, march valiantly and resolutely to the front of the war of national liberation, and train his gun on the Japanese aggressors.<sup>42</sup>

Proletariat patriotism is the needed means and necessary step for achieving international revolution and the former is the implementation of the latter. Mao wrote:



In a nation which is struggling against a foreign foe, the class struggle assumes the form of national struggle, a form indicating the consistency of the two. On the one hand, the economic and political demands of the classes during the historical period of national struggle should be based on the condition of not disrupting the cooperation of these classes; on the other, all the demands of the class struggle should start from the requirements of the national struggle (from the cause of resistance to Japan). Thus unity and independence within the united front, the national struggle and the class struggle, become consistent.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, Mao's ideas and work in "patriotic education" should be analyzed. Mao Tse-tung thought opposes imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, revisionism, chauvinism, the Hanism in China and super-power hegemonism in the world. He, however, advocated the development of patriotism in Chinese revolution. As education serves revolution, the mission of the school is to build up the people's patriotism. As early as the 1930's, he declared that the new culture and education of China must be national, scientific, and popular; it is imperative that national consciousness be based upon a firm foundation of patriotism. "Honoring and uniting all nationals for the defense and construction of the motherland" has been one of the basic principles of Mao since the 1930's. Regarding Chinese new culture, he wrote in 1940: "New democratic culture is national. It opposes imperialist oppression and upholds the dignity and independence of the Chinese nation. It belongs to our own nation and bears our own national characteristics."<sup>44</sup> From the 1949 Common Program, we find that the "Love for the Fatherland" is ranked first among the five elements of the "public spirit." Furthermore, the duty of the citizens is defined in the 1975 Constitution of the People's Republic of China as follows: "It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression."<sup>45</sup>

Mao recognized that, because of the foreign invasions, de-

feats and humiliations China had suffered, the Chinese people were depressed and their inferiority complex was, in various ways, evident. It is most interesting to note what Mao said in 1958: "My pictures and those of Stalin painted by our Chinese artists always show that Stalin is taller. This is our artists' mistake which is derived from our inferiority complex."<sup>46</sup> Hence, Mao asserted that education must aim at the "liberation" of the Chinese feeling of inferiority and emphasize teaching the young about the glorious cultural achievements such as those of art, literature and science in Chinese history. He called upon all Chinese to keep in mind that "China has one of the oldest civilizations in the world; . . . the Chinese nation has a glorious revolutionary tradition and a splendid historical heritage."<sup>47</sup>

*The characteristics (2) Dictatorship of the proletariat—* According to Mao, there were to be two stages of Chinese revolution. The first stage was a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its purpose was definitely not to establish a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie; it was to establish a new democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all Chinese revolutionary classes headed by the proletariat. Then, the revolution would develop into the second stage, establishing a socialist society under the proletarian dictatorship.<sup>48</sup> The real goal of Mao's revolution was to smash the bourgeois state apparatus, set up the proletarian state apparatus, and replace the "joint dictatorship" by proletarian dictatorship. As Maoists asserted, the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1956, Mao said: "Both proletarian parties and the proletarian dictatorship will vanish in the future. But they are absolutely necessary today lest we become unable to suppress counterrevolution, to resist imperialism, or to construct socialism. To fulfill these goals, the proletarian dictatorship has to be coercive to a great extent."<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, Mao believed that the proletarian dictatorship was reaffirmed and strengthened by the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) and had since been consolidated; it is to continue persistent-

ly until the highest form of communistic society in China is completely established.

In the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China," adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, we find "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." The meaning of "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is two-fold: true democracy for all the proletarian people and their dictatorship over all the reactionaries. The people of both sexes, all nationalities, engaging in all types of work, both mental or physical, living in the country or the city, all enjoy liberty and equality. However, all the reactionaries are deprived of the enjoyment of democracy. Mao wrote:

Who are the people? . . . they are the working class, . . . they enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism—the landlord class and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, as well as the representatives of those classes, the Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices—suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished. Democracy is practised within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, association, and so on. The right to vote belongs only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship.<sup>50</sup>

According to Mao's instructions, schools and all educational workers must aim at the establishment of a nation of proletarian dictatorship. Hence, there are two tasks: (1) The promotion of more, better and faster "self-education" for the revolutionary people. This requires all the people to conscientiously grasp Mao's theory of proletarian dictatorship. Also all people must study his scientific interpretation and practical explanation of the problems in the socialist

society of proletarian dictatorship. (2) The enforcement of more and faster ideological reform of the "enemies" of the people. In relation to remolding the reactionaries, Mao wrote:

As for the members of the reactionary classes and individual reactionaries, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble after their political power has been overthrown, land and work will be given to them as well in order to allow them to live and remould themselves through labour into new people. If they are not willing to work, the people's state will compel them to work. Propaganda and educational work will be done, moreover, with as much care and thoroughness as among the captured army officers in the past.<sup>51</sup>

From 1949 to 1956, education was part of the struggle to abolish the ideology and the system of private ownership of the means of production. Following the rectification campaign and struggle against the Rightists in 1957, education was involved in the struggle against the "bourgeois right with regard to the system of ownership." In 1965, Mao enforced the Socialist Education campaigns for the promotion of proletarian dictatorship. A year later, the Great Cultural Revolution was ventured to strengthen the "dictatorship of the masses" and to stop the growth of the "bourgeois concept and system." This type of educational program for consolidation of proletarian dictatorship has continued into the present. Finally, it is most important for us to recognize that, in the Constitution adopted in 1975, education for proletarian dictatorship was precisely defined: "The proletariat must exercise all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour."<sup>52</sup>

*The characteristics* (3) *The power state*—Mao earnestly

wanted to build a strong and independent China with dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, it was urgently necessary to establish a powerful socialist state, that is, the people's government. He emphatically said: "We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state."<sup>53</sup>

What are Mao's theories and practices of the Chinese new socialist state? The characteristics of the new state formulated under his leadership are analyzed as follows: (1) The state of democratic-centralism—this is Mao's theory that each region, province, county, district, commune and village is allowed, even encouraged, to have local initiative, flexibility and adjustments in economic as well as cultural work. However, the leadership of each level of the people's government, especially that of the Central People's Government must be strong and effective with a higher degree of power. Consequently, under "democratic-centralism," "total planning—the nation as one chessboard," "national control" and "balancing" have become the guidelines of state affairs. Mao said: "There must be national balance. Local independence should never obscure national balance. The latter helps stabilize the former. Without national balance, there will be great chaos in our country."<sup>54</sup> Mao's idea of democratic centralism was epitomized in the Common Program from which we find such articles as follows:

The people's congress is responsible and accountable to the people. The people's government council is responsible and accountable to the people's congress.... The people's government of the lower level shall obey the people's government of the higher level and all local people's governments throughout the country shall obey the Central People's Government.<sup>55</sup>

(2) The totally mobilized state—the people, under the leadership of the state, do not work at random by individual approach; "Total planning" or "the nation as one chessboard" was Mao's persistent policy. Furthermore, the full mobilization of all manpower is an essential part of the basic policy. Old or young, male or female, everyone, everywhere must do certain work. Prisoners, soldiers, and students work; nuns, Taoist priests, and even great-grandmothers are forced to work. Children may be assigned to pick up pieces of iron or coal in the industrial plants. Older people, male or female, have been ordered to collect manure. Mao's unchangeable belief was that the big Chinese population has been a great asset for the state; there are no problems that cannot be solved, and all natural barriers can be conquered by the people working collectively and diligently.<sup>56</sup>

(3) The highly organized state—Mao had great trust in the power of man. He insisted that all types of human energy, both mental and physical, of all Chinese, old or young, male and female, must be fully mobilized. In order to have full mobilization for establishing a strong and efficient state, China must be highly organized. Since the beginning of his revolutionary career, Mao had been a successful organizer of the masses both in war and in politics. On June 23, 1964, the Delegation of Chilean Journalists said to Mao: "All Chinese are well organized in working." He proudly reacted: "This is true. We Chinese are well disciplined and highly organized. You see, we do not have a great number of police, and only have a few conducting traffic in big cities. In the old society, there would have been more stealing and robbery, if the military police had not been sufficient. Now we do not have robbery and cases of stealing are very few.... People are organized in every village and street to criticize themselves and to keep order... Under the highly organized and orderly system, we do not even have car accidents."<sup>57</sup>

The most obvious impact of the state characterized upon education is the idea that the basic mission of education is to serve the state program. In other words, education should

strive for better development of the total-democratic-centralized-organized state. Specifically, in the democratic-centralized state, education aims at building the "dual characters" (unified and multiple) system of schooling: (1) The unified character—The basic goals, the fundamental principles, and the essential ideology of education are the same everywhere in China. The unified character means all schooling is socialistic and communistic. Numerous rules and directives issued by the Central government about many phases of schools reflect the unified character in education. Every rule affects every school in the nation. Schools in Inner Mongolia and those in Canton have to teach some common materials and to give the same ideological instruction; therefore, there is the unified character of education. (2) The multiple character—Education in China is centralized, unified, and firm in its fundamental goal and principle; at the same time, it expresses multiple character. In mode, form, method, and practice, education is diversified and decentralized with multiples lines. School administration has flexibility, adaptability, changeability, and expedient adjustment.

It is important for us to know that one of the "dual characters" is more important than the other. The unified goal is far more important than the plural means. The multiple ways are utilized for more effectively fulfilling the unified, constant, and ultimate goals, namely, building the socialistic and communistic society. The Peking government proclaimed:

Holding the unified principle means keeping the soul for educational enterprise; then the concerted efforts and the harmonious directions of the various forms of education will be reached. Should the 'multiple character' depart from the 'unified principle,' various forms of schooling would be without a unified goal; then education departs from socialistic and communistic direction; then the schools are not for the benefit of the masses; then they would not receive the support from the great masses; consequently the multiple character of education loses its strength of life; finally educational enterprise will have no way to develop.<sup>58</sup>

In developing the total-democratic-centralized-organized state, education must adhere to various principles. For example, Mao emphatically instructed that the "walking on two legs" principle must be fulfilled. The implementation of this principle is two-fold: encourage the villages, the communes and all the local people to build their own schools, making education the responsibility of the entire working people. On the other hand, the central, provincial, and local governments must also establish schools. In brief, this principle makes education the responsibility of both the people and the government. The educational revolution, which began in 1958, thoroughly implemented the principle of "walking on two legs."<sup>58</sup>

It is most important to understand what is meant by power of the "people's state." During the late 1930's, Mao established the state system first under these dual-concepts: (1) The state should have the indisputable power to eliminate the "enemies" and anyone who might side with the enemy and, (2) The state should represent the "united will" of the proletariat. In the light of impending victory, on October 1, 1949, Mao reaffirmed the "dual concepts" regarding the state power in his famous message, "On People's Democratic Dictatorship." He then plainly declared that the "People's State" has the dictatorial power for "the oppression of antagonistic classes."<sup>60</sup>

According to Mao, state power must "exist" during the social transition to "Utopia"—the real-socialist-communist society. In 1949, he said: "Do you want to abolish state power? Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country."<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Mao insisted that operational, organizational and administrative authority of the state must be strengthened. He said, "Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus—mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts—in order to consolidate national defense and protect the people's interests. Given this condition, China can develop steadily."<sup>62</sup>

Indisputable state power was rationalized by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and was expressed in its Common Program in 1949. In 1954, the National People's Congress was established and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted. Hence, the state or the people's government gained higher power for manipulating affairs under democratic-centralism or the people's democratic dictatorship. From the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in 1975, we find specifications regarding the power of the state. For example, (1) The state owns all the means of production and the material resources except the few which could be owned by the collectives. (2) The state ensures the consolidation of the socialist economy. (3) The state ensures the masses the right of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding debates and writing big-character posters." (4) The state applies such principles as "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." (5) The state suppresses and punishes all reactionaries and deprives them of their political rights.

The tremendous power of the state has made deep and various impacts upon education. Education is to serve the implementation of the powers of the state. Consequently, education aims at de-individualism or the development of "anti-individualism" in accordance with Mao Tse-tung thought.

Mao defined individualism in a broader scope. Based upon his personal experience in revolution and education, he pointed out that individualism was manifested specifically in such forms as follows: (1) Retaliation. Mao wrote: "Some comrades, after being criticized . . . , look for opportunities to retaliate . . . 'You have criticized me at this meeting, so I will find some way to pay you back at the next.' Such retaliation arises from purely personal considerations to the neglect of the interests of the class and of the party as a whole."<sup>63</sup> (2) Cliquism. Mao indicted those who considered only the interests of their own school or small group and ignore the national interest. Cliquism exemplifies the narrowest individualism and has a strong corrosive and centrif-

ugal effect. It was his doctrine that there is no party within the party, no state within the state, and no nation within the nation. (3) The "employee" mentality. "Some comrades . . . think that they are responsible merely to their individual or personal superiors but not to the nation or the revolution. This passive 'employee' mentality is also a manifestation of individualism."<sup>64</sup> (4) Pleasure-seeking. "There are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. . . . They want to go to the city not to work but to enjoy themselves. They dislike most to work in the place where life is hard."<sup>65</sup> (5) Passivity. "Some comrades become passive and stop working whenever anything goes against their wishes, mainly due to the fact that they are not educated for revolution."<sup>66</sup> (6) The desire to transfer. A number of people have asked to transfer from one work to another or from one "working place" to another. This request is motivated by individual interest, not by serving the nation.<sup>62</sup> (7) The "struggle" for personal independence. Mao pointed out that some people do not associate or cooperate with others. They want to work and live independently in their own personal ways. All those who assert independence out of personal or departmental interest are dishonest.<sup>68</sup>

Once Mao lamented: "A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel—an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain."<sup>69</sup> He also said that it is necessary to oppose the tendency towards looking after individual egoism and interest of one's own group to the exclusion of those of all others groups. It is imperative to intensify education to correct the tendency of individualism which, if allowed to develop, will become a great danger.<sup>70</sup> He wrote: "The method of correction is primarily to strengthen education so as to rectify individualism ideologically. . . . In our educational work we must explain that in its social origin individualism is a reflection within the Party of the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideas."<sup>71</sup>

How much has anti-individualism education achieved its

goal? We may find an answer after reading the following report:

Miss Chou Yu-fung, an attractive 21-year-old student from Peking, has been working as a peasant in the terraced fields of Yen-an for the last two and a half years. When asked when she would return to the University, Miss Chou replied evasively: "My main purpose here is to receive re-education. We come determined to take roots in living here. If the nation *country* needs us elsewhere we will roll up our beds and go."<sup>72</sup>

*The characteristics* (4) *The super-power of the Party*—According to Mao Tse-tung thought, the state or the people's government, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, has power over the individual. However, the function of the state is merely "operational," "managerial," "organizational," and administrative. The power of the state is purely instrumental for the implementation of the Party decision. Total state affairs are under Party leadership and control. As early as November, 1928, Mao firmly declared: "The Party's recommendations and measures must, apart from the agitation undertaken for them, be carried out through government organizations."<sup>73</sup> In short, there is the super-power of the Party.

It has been Maoist common belief that the socialist new China can be achieved by dictatorship of the proletariat and this dictatorship can be fulfilled only through the united and centralized leadership of the Communist Party. Mao said: "Workers, peasants, merchants, intellectuals, soldiers, government officers and the Party are seven different groups: the Party must assume leadership of the work of all seven."<sup>74</sup> He wrote: "Without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, no revolution can succeed in China."<sup>75</sup> Why is Party leadership imperative? Mao wrote:

For all the social strata and political groups in semi-colonial China, only the proletariat and the Communist

Party are the most open-minded and unselfish, possess the most far-sighted political outlook and the highest organizational quality, and are also the readiest to learn with an open mind from the experiences of the advanced world proletariat and its parties as well as to apply what they have learnt in their own undertakings. Hence, only the proletariat and the Communist Party can lead the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, overcome the narrow-mindedness of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the destructiveness of the unemployed masses, and the vacillation and lack of thoroughness of the bourgeoisie (provided no mistake is made in the Communist Party's policy), and thereby lead the revolution and the war to the path of victory.<sup>76</sup>

In order to have a fuller understanding about the super power of the Party, we need to know that the leadership role of the Party has been clearly defined in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China which was first adopted in 1954 and revised in 1975. From the latter, we find: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China."<sup>72</sup> "The super power of the Party is further clearly evident as follows: "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces."<sup>78</sup>

The implementation of the super power of the Party has been achieved by various means. For example, leadership is fulfilled in the following ways: (1) The various levels of Party authority give exact directives to the various levels of the power on the nature and direction of their work. (2) The Party enforces Party policies through the organs or the work departments of the state. (3) The Party exercises supervision over the activities of the state organs. (4) The Party selects, assigns and commands Party cadres in state organs to express their political leadership. (5) The Party

supervises and promotes the loyal and capable cadres for working in the organs of the state.<sup>79</sup>

According to Maoism, the Party, the proletariat pioneer and the highest form of proletariat organization, must assume leadership in education. As a matter of fact, Party has been the "super-power" in school.<sup>80</sup> The system of vesting responsibility in committees at various levels led by Party organizations must be enforced. By the method of "sticking a bamboo pole right down to the bottom," the Party organization must extend its concrete leadership down to all sections of educational agencies. The Party committee for each institution or any level of education administration must guide, supervise, and guarantee the work.<sup>81</sup> Teachers and students have expressed satisfaction about Party leadership in school. For example, "It has been proved that development of science at a high speed can be effective only under Party leadership, and that the Party is victoriously leading us to carry out the class struggle, to fight against nature, and to develop science..."<sup>82</sup>

### III. THE SOCIALIST NEW CHINESE

*The power and the value of man*—Man's ideas and habits are mainly determined by his life and environment; man is a product of his social class; Mao asserted. However, he had an almost infinite belief in man's ability to rise above those limitations imposed by society and the physical world. He said: "People, only people are the sources of power for the creation of world history."<sup>83</sup> "The people are the decisive factor. By relying on the people's unity and struggle we can definitely defeat imperialism and its lackeys and achieve lasting world peace."<sup>84</sup> He also said, "Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people."<sup>85</sup> Regarding the value of man, Mao wrote: "Of all things in the world, people are most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be made."<sup>86</sup> He also wrote that the poor who are neglec-

ted, depressed and insulted can be more intelligent and do more.<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, regarding the power and value of man, Mao expressed in several specific ways: (1) *Man and matters*—Of all matters in the world, man is the most significant; man is the first of all the productive powers; all materials must be used by man.<sup>88</sup> He also said, "Man or materials are to be emphasized; actually, more and better materials come from man's good work."<sup>89</sup> "The eventuality of all matters depend upon the effort of Man."<sup>90</sup> (2) *Man and nature*—Under Maoism, man would never be the slave of nature; he must be the courageous explorer of nature's secrets and be the able conqueror of nature. These are his words: "Forcing nature to man's will," "Yangtze Gorges submit to man," "We make the high mountains to be tamed; the floods calm."<sup>91</sup> "Heroic people change the land, Man remakes the soil."<sup>92</sup> Above all, Mao believed that man can triumph over nature. (3) *Man and science*—Science can never substitute for "man." The scientific elements and human elements must be properly balanced. The more technological invention is achieved, the more human spirit is needed to manage it. He wrote: "The nation cannot progress purely depending upon better machines. It is not possible for China to march forward without raising the spirit of awareness and reforming the people's thinking."<sup>93</sup> Technical equipment, no matter how modernized it is, has to be operated by man. Without man all technical equipment is a dead thing. Besides, in the last analysis, all kinds of technical equipment are the crystallizations of one's labor. Furthermore, the same technical equipment operated by men of different thoughts, views and zeal will yield different results. (4) *Man and weapons*—Mao clearly expressed that the richest source of power for all work lies in the masses of the people. Man is the decisive factor in war.<sup>94</sup> He said that it is man who makes, uses, and controls the weapon and struggles for it; that in history, most wars were won by men of ideas and usually they did not have weapons as powerful as what their enemies had.<sup>95</sup>

... we see not only weapons but also the power of man. Weapons are an important factor in war but not the decisive one; it is man and not material that is decisive. The contest of forces is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also one of the power and morale of man. Military and economic power must be controlled by man.<sup>96</sup>

*The deprivation and virtue of the Chinese*—In accordance with Mao's analysis, the thousands of years of feudalism, Confucianism and the bureaucratic system in China had crushed the Chinese minds. Consequently, they lost their dynamics in general and lacked ideas and activities in politics. For more than one hundred years, since the Opium War, China was under the imperialists' control; the Chinese were subjugated, and gradually they suffered from an inferiority complex." He said: "The imperialists demanded that the Chinese follow foreign cultures; then, our people were frightened. The feudalists forcefully propagandized Confucianism; eventually, the Chinese felt that their thinking and action may be worth nothing."<sup>97</sup> Mao stated, however, that under the exploitation of the Western capitalists, there were two groups of Chinese: a small minority—the flunkies of imperialism, and a great majority—the proletariat (the workers and the peasants) who are opposed to imperialism.<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, it is important to point out that Mao was very proud of Chinese virtue. He said: "We Chinese are a good people. Chinese are very fond of reasoning, very compassionate, intelligent and have been courageous."<sup>99</sup> He wrote:

The Chinese nation is known throughout the world not only for its industriousness and stamina, but also for its ardent love of freedom and its rich revolutionary traditions. The history of the Han people, for instance, demonstrates that the Chinese never submit to tyrannical rule but invariably use revolutionary means to overthrow or change it...All nationalities of China have resisted foreign oppression and have invariably resorted to rebellion to shake it off. They favor a union on the

basis of equality but are against the oppression of one nationality by another... Thus the Chinese nation has a glorious revolutionary tradition and a splendid historical heritage.<sup>100</sup>

In short, Mao had great faith in the Chinese. He said: "We Chinese have backbone. The Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future."<sup>101</sup>

*The new Chinese—some illustrations*—The United States puts a man on the moon; China aims higher: a "new man" on the earth. The "new man" has been described as the "Utopian man," the Sinocized Marxist and, above all, as Mao's child or a Maoist. The qualities of the Maoist can be traced back to the point when Mao first promulgated in 1928, in Ching kangshan, that troops should behave in order to win the support of the peasants. During the Kiangsi Soviet, Long March and Yenan period in the 1930's, he often urged military, party, political organizations and all peasant schools to raise the standards of training for the new revolutionists. For example, in 1938, the following disciplines were reemphasized: (1) Individuals obey organizations; (2) Minorities obey majorities; (3) Lower levels obey upper levels; (4) All Party members obey the Central leadership.<sup>102</sup>

After resumption of the war against the Nationalists on October 10, 1947, in the "Declaration of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," Mao ordered that all military, party and political personnel follow the "Three-Eight Rules." The Three Great Disciplines are: (1) Obey orders in all your actions; (2) Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; (3) Turn in everything captured. The Eight Points for Attention are: (1) Speak politely; (2) Pay fairly for what you buy; (3) Return everything you borrow; (4) Pay for everything you damage; (5) Don't hit or swear at people; (6) Don't damage crops; (7)



Don't take liberties with women; (8) Don't ill-treat captives.<sup>103</sup>

In 1960, Mao extensively expanded the "5-good militiamen" campaign. "5-good" deals with political thinking, productive labor, national defense, work study, and caring for weapons and public property.<sup>104</sup> Later in the same year, he called for "high tide" in the "Five-Good" campaign in the Armed Forces. "Five-Good" fighters are to be good at political ideology, at military techniques, at the "Three-Eight" style of work (Three Great Disciplines and Eight Points of Attention promulgated in 1947), at fulfilling tasks and at physical training.<sup>105</sup> In 1961, the Young Communist League launched the "Four-Good" Campaign (good in ideology, in military training, in work and in livelihood.)<sup>109</sup> In the same year, Mao issued the famous, "The Principles of Youth Education":

Educating the youth into grasping Marxism, and conquering the petty-bourgeois ideas and consciousness.

Educating the youth to have disciplinary and organizational character against any anarchism and liberalism.

Educating the youth to have the determined mind and strong will to thoroughly engage in practical work at the lowest level against any negligence toward actual experience.

Educating the youth to be closest to the workers and peasants, to be determined to serve the proletariat against any intention of looking down upon the workers and peasants.<sup>107</sup>

For the continuous improvement of the quality of the people, in 1963, the Army initiated the "Ten Lessons for Serving the People Campaign," (Ten Lessons: (1) Knowing the meaning of revolution, (2) Accepting criticism willingly, (3) Strengthening class consciousness, (4) Doing specific works, whatever is good, (5) Developing a good

attitude, (6) Formulating the high value standard, (7) Marching confidently for continued success, (8) Continuing patriotic work and spirit, (9) Hating the enemies, (10) Living with revolutionary manhood.)<sup>108</sup> In 1964, for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause, Mao named these five requirements—serving the people, being proletarian, following party leadership, being prudent, and being democratic.<sup>109</sup> In 1964, based upon his thought, Mao asserted the three fundamental qualities of a new Chinese or a good People's Liberation Army man: (1) "firm, correct politician orientation, (2) a style of plain hard work and tactics," (3) (in the form of an eighty-character couplet) "unity, keenness, seriousness and animation."<sup>110</sup>

*The new Chinese epitomized*—According to Mao, the Sinocized Communist is the model of the new Chinese. For instance, he emphatically wrote: "Communists should set an example in being practical as well as far-sighted," and "Communists should therefore set an example in study; at all times they should be pupils of the masses as well as their teachers."<sup>111</sup>

What are the criteria for admitting those to be Communists? In 1929, Mao wrote that only persons who met the following five conditions should be admitted as party candidates: "(1) They must demonstrate no incorrectness in political view points (including class consciousness), (2) They must be completely honest, (3) They must have the spirit of sacrifice and the ability to work actively, (4) They must have no desire to get rich on foreign gold, (5) They must not smoke opium or gamble."<sup>112</sup> Subsequently, he wrote and talked on numerous occasions about what the qualifications of the Chinese Communist should be. For example:

A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principles and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas

and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.<sup>113</sup>

It is most significant for us to know the following "Article" in the "Constitution of the Communist Party of China" (adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on April 14, 1969):

Article 3 Members of the Communist Party of China must:

- (1) Study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought in a living way;
- (2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world;
- (3) Be able to unite with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;
- (4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;
- (5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.<sup>114</sup>

How should the Communist, an exemplar of the new Chinese, behave and work for achieving revolutionary tasks? From Mao's numerous speeches and writings, some of his sample instructions are the following:

Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well-founded.<sup>115</sup>

We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member,... and every action must proceed from the interest of the whole Party.<sup>116</sup>

Communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them.<sup>117</sup>

Communists must listen attentively to the view of people outside the Party and let them have their say. If what they say is right, we ought to welcome it...; if it is wrong, we should let them finish what they are saying and then patiently explain things to them.<sup>118</sup>

The attitude of Communists towards any person who has made mistakes in his works should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible.<sup>119</sup>

*The characteristics of the New Chinese*—In accordance with Mao's thought, a strong body is the first condition for the whole development of a man. From his article, "A Study of Physical Education," published as early as 1917, we find "When the body is strong then one can advance speedily in knowledge and morality and reap far-reaching advantages... Physical education not only enhances knowledge, it also harmonizes the sentiments... Exercise over a long period of time can produce great results and give rise to a feeling of personal value."<sup>120</sup> It is also interesting to note that even during the pre-Marxist period of Mao's early time, his ideas were challenging and his attitude militant. For example, he wrote on the significance of a strong body as follows: "If our bodies are not strong, we will be afraid

as soon as we see enemy soldiers, and then how can we attain our goals and make ourselves respected?"<sup>121</sup>

It was Mao's belief that one must have a clear "mind" with a strong body. "We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the nice words of the imperialist, nor be intimidated by his bluster."<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, Mao warned that the revolutionist without a clear mind would not be able to resist the enemy's propaganda, and pointed out: "There may be some Communists...who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets."<sup>123</sup> Mao instructed his comrades that one must have a correct mind: "Once correct ideas, characteristics of the advanced class, are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."<sup>124</sup> What did Mao really mean by a clear and correct "mind?" This concept is well-illustrated within his teaching to the Chinese: "Without a firm and correct political orientation, it is impossible to promote a style of hard struggle."<sup>125</sup> "Political work is the life-blood of all economic works."<sup>126</sup> "Lacking a correct political standard is lacking of the 'soul.'"<sup>127</sup> Being "Red"—trustworthy ideologically—is more important than being an "expert"—able to do specific work. Hence, the new Chinese, through unceasing "study" by various means, must grasp clearly the correct ideology which is Sino-cized Marxism or Mao Tse-tung thought.

Mao wrote: "If a person really takes an attitude of equality to others, they will feel so grateful that they will give their hearts to him."<sup>128</sup> He dreamt of the development of the new Chinese who not only have strong bodies, clear minds and the correct ideology but also have pure hearts totally dedicated to the course of revolution. He said numerous times, "Serve the people whole-heartedly" and urged all the Chinese to develop "boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades."<sup>129</sup> In the recurrent campaigns to rectify China's intellectuals, he demanded pledges of "heart surrender," in which the intellectuals vowed to "surrender their whole heart" to the Communist Party.

It had been Mao's irreversible belief that man's will, rather

than weapons, is the decisive factor in combat. Early in 1928 the Nationalist troops attacked the Huangyang-chieh district on the road to Mao's mountain stronghold, but were ambushed and destroyed by his forces. At this time he wrote a poem:

The foe surrendered to us thousands strong, but we were steadfast and never moved. Our defense was strong as a wall already, now did our wills unite like a fortress.<sup>130</sup>

Among his assertions regarding the significance of human will we find: "A Communist must be full of vigor, he must have a strong revolutionary will, he must defy all difficulties and strive to overcome them with an unyielding will."<sup>131</sup> While he valued highly the power of human will in revolution and war, he warned his weak-willed comrades: "It has been proven that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks."<sup>132</sup>

Mao believed that the revolutionists or the new Chinese must have "vision": "Communists should be the most farsighted."<sup>133</sup> In May 1958, Mao made a series of lengthy talks at the meetings of the Communist delegates. He said:

Stalin talked about the need for vision. Vision is the judgment about future directions. While feeling the "small wind," one knows the "big wind" may come. It is not good, if we do not see far, while standing on the stage. Talking of visions has been relatively common. Under the circumstances of lacking farsightedness, you give the "right group - anti-revolutionary" an opportunity. If we do not watch farsightedly, the "right group" will come instantly.<sup>134</sup>

*The revolutionary morality*—First, the spirit of serving others is the highest revolutionary morality according to Mao's thought. His most famous dictum is: "Be an honest

servant and the 'willing oxen' of the people." In memory of Norman Bethune,<sup>135</sup> Mao wrote: "Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self was shown in his boundless...warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every communist must learn from him."<sup>136</sup> Mao also wrote: "Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group..."<sup>137</sup> From the article, "The Direction of the Youth Movement" written by Mao in 1939, we find the only criterion for judging who may have the virtue of serving the people: "How should we judge whether a youth is revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice."<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, he stated that to pay with lives for serving the people is most honorable: "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood."<sup>139</sup> Regarding the virtue of sacrificing for the people, his dictums are: "To die for the people is the fitting way to die," and "To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai."<sup>140</sup>

Secondly, Mao believed that each human individual has potentials which can be the root and power for the conquest of the physical environment and the revolution in society. He trusted that each Chinese has the ability to work, the power to create and the spirit to fight the enemy. Therefore, he advised each Chinese to have self-respect, confidence and above all, self-reliance. He pronounced again and again, "We stand for self-reliance," "We depend on our own efforts." However, it must be pointed out that Mao's idea of trust and confidence in self and of "self-reliance" is not for the sake of the self or an individual person. He said, "At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the

interests of the nation and of the masses."<sup>141</sup> Mao castigated his comrades who put personal ambition and interest ahead of the welfare of the people. He labelled "egoism" and "individualism" as bourgeois diseases.

According to Mao's thought, a new Chinese is one who seeks no personal fame and no ambitions beyond that of serving the people. Even a better marriage is not primarily for the benefit of the persons involved or for the "small family," but for a better contribution to the revolution. Lamenting the fact that some of his comrades were not selfless, he wrote:

There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light and shrinking the heavy, passing the burdensome tasks on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know.<sup>142</sup>

It is Mao's belief that the greatest revolutionary virtue is the spirit of selflessness. At times, he wrote with deep emotion:

We must learn the spirit of absolute selflessness. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has the spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.<sup>143</sup>

Mao further explained: "Selfishness, slackening, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect."<sup>144</sup> "At no time and under no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the

nation and of the masses."<sup>145</sup> "Not individualistic heroism, but revolutionary and proletarian heroism." "Creating proletarian heroes by combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism and revealing the inner thoughts and feelings."<sup>146</sup>

Above all, he believed "self-denial is the way to produce more for the majority of the people."

Thirdly, Mao's voluminous essays, speeches, and poems contain not only political ideology and military theories, but also his moral ideas. In addition to the general principle of revolutionary morality, selflessly serving the people, as presented previously, Mao on numerous occasions asserted specific rules of conduct: (1) *Optimism*—"Optimism is our main guiding principle. We may have worries when the rightists (reactionaries) come...but we are optimists, are aware and prepare to conquer them." (2) *Futurism*—"In time of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, we must see the bright future and stand up." (3) *Happiness*—"The fruit of labor, the victory of struggle and progress in study will bring us the highest form of happiness."<sup>147</sup> (4) *Spontaneity and initiative*—"A revolutionist does not wait for an order. A student should never wait for an assignment to study." "Remold your own thoughts, and raise your own ideological and political level."<sup>148</sup> Once he said to the labor heroes and model workers: "You have three good qualities and you play three roles. First, is the role of initiators."<sup>149</sup> (5) *Courage*—"Be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave." "You must dare to think, to do, to revolt."<sup>150</sup> "Go out to face the world and brave the storm. Stand up to face the truth because truth is in the interests of the people; . . . be ready at all times to correct mistakes."<sup>151</sup> "A Communist should be the most resolute." "Fight ruthlessly and resolutely."<sup>152</sup> "People say that the Yangtze is a very big river, but actually, bigness is nothing to be afraid of."<sup>153</sup> "Thorough-going materialists are fearless . . . fear is no setback."<sup>154</sup> "Courage in battle, no fear of fatigue—fighting without rest."<sup>155</sup> "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."<sup>156</sup>

"Fear neither hardship nor death."<sup>157</sup> "Will the Chinese cower before difficulties when they are not afraid even of death?"<sup>158</sup> "We must never be cowed by the bluster of reactionaries."<sup>159</sup> "Determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield."<sup>160</sup> "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor. This is the indomitable spirit."<sup>161</sup> (6) *Total concern for the cause*—"Looking at the total, sacrificing for the Party." "Surrendering individual interests to the over-all interests of the Party."<sup>162</sup> "Concern with affairs for the national cause." "Be proud of our highly civilized nation." "Work-study for the great motherland." "Three 'no's'—take no grain, no material and no money from the state."<sup>163</sup> "Contribute to the common good. Sacrifice for the cause of serving the people—the great industrial Chinese." "Do right then our backbone is strong."<sup>164</sup> "Seek not official posts, but revolution." "Subordinate personal interest to those of the revolution." "Subordinate the need of the part to the needs of the whole."<sup>165</sup> (7) *Dedication*—It is Mao's belief that a new Chinese must have a boundless sense of responsibility. He said: "What really counts in the world is conscientiousness, and the Communist Party is most particular about being conscientious."<sup>166</sup> "Absolute loyalty and unconditional obedience to the Party." A new Chinese, a missionary in Communist revolution." "The human dedicated soul on fire, the most powerful." "Doing one's duty for the group prior to enjoying the right of the individual."<sup>167</sup> (8) *The Spartan*—"Preserve the style of plain living for hard struggle," is Mao's basic principle. Consequently no bourgeois luxury is acceptable. The way of life must be educational, constructive, and productive. For instance, in place of the coffee break of the Western World, China has an exercise break twice a day, six or seven times a week.<sup>168</sup> Mao said that the love of pleasure or distaste for continued hard living was the beginning of failure in revolution.<sup>169</sup> (9) *The arduous struggle*—"What is work? Work is struggle... A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater." "Revolution is not a tea party, but a toil." "Be the first to bear hardship, the last to enjoy com-

forts." "Carry the heavy load."<sup>170</sup> (10) *Modesty and propriety*—In 1949, Mao talked to a big group of labor "heroes" and "model workers." The most famous and important passage of his talk is as follows:

You have good qualities and have scored great achievements, but be aware of arrogance. You deserve the respect of the public, but this is apt to foster arrogance. If arrogant and self-complacent, you cease to exert yourselves anymore and do not respect others, the cadres and the masses; then you will no longer be labor heroes and model workers.<sup>171</sup>

Some of his other remarks on "Modesty for revolution" are: "Be prudent," "Guard against rashness," "Conceit makes one lag behind, whereas modesty helps him to make progress," "Guard against impetuosity," "Humility brings progress," "Do not hesitate to take criticism," "Conscientiously practice self-criticism," and "Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them."<sup>172</sup> (11) *Care*—"Rid yourselves of aloofness," "Care about others and jobs," "Be kind to the captured," "Be in love with the people for production," "Tolerate other people and their mistakes."<sup>173</sup> (12) *Comradeship*—"Nobody should ever separate himself from others," "All people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other," and "Work with and for others."<sup>174</sup> (13) *Self-reliance*—"Rest on your own initiative, creative power, strength, ability and effort."<sup>175</sup> (14) *Austerity and diligence*—"The principles of diligence and frugality should be observed in everything." "Practice strict economy and combat waste."<sup>176</sup> (15) *Vigilance*—"We must not lose our vigilance." "Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position." "The fortress is more easily attacked from the inside."<sup>177</sup> (16) *Patience, persistence, and perseverance*—Mao frequently advised his comrades that being patient is a virtue and the intelligent way in life and work. Furthermore, he insisted

that persistence means "victory."<sup>178</sup> He wrote on the ancient fable entitled "The Foolish Man Removed the Mountains." This is a story of an old fellow who worked patiently, persistently and perseveringly to dig away the mountains. Eventually his spirit and persistence touched the heart of God, who sent down two angels to carry the mountains away. From Mao's article, we find:

Now there are also two big mountains lying like dead weight on the Chinese people: imperialism and feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party long ago made up its mind to remove them. We must work persistently, work ceaselessly, and we too may be able to touch God's heart. This God is no other than the masses of the people throughout China.<sup>179</sup>

*Education for transforming the Chinese*—For the Communist revolution and the reconstruction of the new China, education must mold and develop the new Chinese, epitomized by the Communist Party members who have a high revolutionary morality. Mao believed that man has the potential and ability to change; the wrong person can be corrected, and bad people can be improved. He said: "The great majority—more than 90%—of the people are basically honest; the wrongdoers are relatively very few. For example, among the seven thousand staff members and students of the Peking University, there are only about fifty who are reactionaries."<sup>180</sup> He also said: "We can make the wrongdoers, the minority, even the enemies and the captured to be new."<sup>181</sup> "Is material production or human reformation more important?" Mao answered, "It is the latter; the new Chinese will build a new China."<sup>182</sup> Time and again in his writings, he returned to "the purpose of education which is to develop the new Communist man."

The purpose of our education is to help all those who receive an education to have a balanced moral, intellectual, and physical growth, and to become socialist-

oriented and cultured workers. Our policy is to teach the people to build a new nation in the spirit of diligence and thriftiness.<sup>183</sup>

#### IV. THE SOCIALIST NEW WORLD

Mao grew up in an atmosphere of intense nationalism. Through his Sinocentric thinking, he consistently asserted that revolution is for reconstructing the new China and transforming the new Chinese. However, we must bear in mind that Mao also believed in international Communism while adhering to "nationalism."

*Internationalism*—Mao asserted that every nation must gain her independence and be liberated from imperialist oppression. He advocated patriotism, but he warned against the development from nationalism to chauvinism. He said: "We Chinese must liquidate the chauvinism of great power, resolutely, radically, integrally, totally."<sup>184</sup> It is important to note that under Maoism, the Communist revolution is from nation to world. Nationalism does not hinder the development of internationalism; one complements the other. According to Mao's ideas, nationalism is the "way" or means to internationalism: "Only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat of the world to achieve their emancipation."<sup>185</sup> "The victory of one nation will help other nations . . . national liberation is applied internationalism."<sup>186</sup> From the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, we find: "In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism."<sup>187</sup> Above all, the two are "united and integrated."<sup>188</sup>

What is internationalism? Maoists interpret it as follows: "The welfare of all the proletariat in the world is interrelated; all peoples in the world must be united in order to defeat the common enemies. Therefore, our struggle is not only for Chinese liberation; we must also aim at the victory of the peoples in the world."<sup>189</sup> On the meaning of internationalism, Mao wrote: "In the fight for complete liberation, the

oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance."<sup>190</sup> Earlier, he wrote:

We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, . . . before it is possible to overthrow imperialism to liberate our nation and people and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.<sup>191</sup>

Furthermore, Mao pointed out that the October Revolution (1917) in Russia changed the whole course of world history. Since then has come the new great era of proletariat world revolution. The anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer the old bourgeois revolution but has become the proletarian socialist world revolution. He specifically explained, despite that the Chinese revolution has its own characteristics, Chinese Communists regard the cause for which they strive as the integral part of world revolution.<sup>192</sup> In short, according to Mao's theory, the prototype of revolutions in different nations may vary; however, serving mankind in the whole globe is the final goal of the proletarian revolution.<sup>193</sup>

Why is proletarian "internationalism" needed? Mao answered with such explanations as: the real meaning of revolution is not only serving the majority of the Chinese but also all peoples in the world. He also said, the people in the world "are closely bound by common interest and common ideals and their welfares are inseparably connected." "The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty." Furthermore, according to Mao's doctrine, only with the complete triumph of world communism can war cease to be inevitable; only when all the imperialists, capitalists and class societies are eliminated can there really be a lasting world peace.<sup>194</sup>

Mao was a resolute man of "perseverance" and optimism. He said: "All peoples in the world stand up! We must be and can be our own masters." "The truth—Marxism, is irresistible." "The poor have more vitality than the rich."<sup>195</sup> He asserted that the communist revolution is an implacable and protracted struggle. Soon, more and more of the ninety percent of the people, the proletariat in the world, will join together for Marxism. Looking to the inevitable end of capitalism and the total triumph of communism, he believed that the truly beautiful new culture would quickly arise. He said: "The enemy routs with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." "One of the characteristics of our time is the upsurge of national independence movements in Asian and African countries. The colonialists are trying everything they can to turn the tide. But,...all schemes and provocations of the colonialists will certainly meet with the most disastrous defeat." He also said, "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However, many reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history; sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, after the victory won by the Chinese Communists in 1949, Mao believed the prospect of world revolution had become brighter and brighter.

How will proletarian internationalism be achieved? Mao interpreted history as the record of human conflicts. He wrote: "In the old world, there are three major conflicts—the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist nations, the conflict between the imperialist nations, and the one between the colonial, semi-colonial nations and the imperialist nations."<sup>197</sup> There might be temporary compromises between the contenders, but opposition always exists. Consequently, the two prototypes of war are inevitable. One is the unjust wars between the imperialist nations to scramble for colonies and those undertaken by the capitalists to suppress the colonial people at home and abroad. The other type is the just wars waged by the colonial people and the oppressed for their liberation.<sup>198</sup> The

latter is unavoidable and necessary for smashing the imperialists and all the reactionaries.<sup>199</sup>

How is the war against imperialists for the establishment of the socialist world to be won? First, Mao proposed to achieve proletarian revolution in the whole world from nation to nation, to achieve international proletarianism based upon the success of the proletariat revolution in different places. Mao's most famous revolutionary strategy is "A single spark can start a prairie fire" which was initiated in January, 1930. He believed that the spirit of proletarian revolution was contagious; it certainly has spread and would spread fast.<sup>200</sup> Secondly, Mao stressed that the peasants are the most numerous of the proletariat, the main source of manpower and the main force in revolution; they are the most reliable. According to Mao's view of the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the "cities" of the world, then Asia, Africa and Latin America can constitute "the rural areas of the world." He called on those areas "to encircle and finally capture the cities" after the "country-side" (that is, the underdeveloped world) is secured and the "cities" are isolated.<sup>201</sup> Thirdly, he proposed to unite all the revolutionary forces in the world. As the socialist camp is an integral whole, the enemy of one is the enemy of all. Mao said: "Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries."<sup>202</sup>

Mao thought that China had a great role in world revolution. In "New Democracy," Mao stated: "The correct thesis that the Chinese revolution is a part of the world revolution was propounded as early as 1924-27 during the period of China's First Great Revolution. It was propounded by the Chinese Communists . . ."<sup>203</sup> He believed that China can be the "powerhouse" of world revolution and that Communism can expand from China: "The Chinese Communist Party had led and continues to lead the stupendous, sublime, glorious and victorious revolutionary war. The war is not only the banner of China's liberation, but is pregnant with



significance for world revolution."<sup>204</sup> Furthermore, Mao's success in the Chinese revolution greatly enhanced his thinking about the role of China in the international revolution. As he said in 1967, "Our China not only is the political center of the world revolution, but also should be the military and technical center of it. Give the weapons marked 'made in China' to the peoples who need them. Make China the arsenal of world revolution. Support world revolution publicly."<sup>205</sup> Mao also stated that the Chinese revolution has attracted and inspired people in the developing nations who have suffered or are suffering from imperialist oppression. In fact, the revolutionary achievements in China have had a profound and strong influence on many Asian, African and Latin American nations which resemble old China. Consequently, he claimed: "Chinese victory leads the victory of peoples in the world."<sup>206</sup>

Finally, we note that Mao said, "We Chinese people should get rid of great power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly and completely."<sup>207</sup> However, we must bear in mind that Mao's ideal is "permanent revolution" and continuous struggle for world revolution. He wrote:

Our war is sacred and just, . . . its aim is peace. This aim is not just in one nation but throughout the world, not just temporary but perpetual peace. To achieve this aim we must wage a life and death struggle, be prepared for any sacrifice, persevere to the end and never stop short of the goal... Our faith in waging this war is based upon the new China and the new world.<sup>208</sup>

In conclusion, awakening and uniting the peoples in the world basically is an "educational" task; schools should help the Chinese to understand their role in international revolution in accordance with Mao's doctrine.

*Education for internationalism*—History has come to the age of proletariat revolution; however, the reactionaries will

not disappear until they are defeated, Mao asserted. Peoples in the world should joint struggle for the revolution.<sup>209</sup> Mao always considered education a means for revolution. He said: "It is only through repeated education by positive and negative examples and through comparisons and contrasts that revolutionary parties and revolutionary people can temper themselves, become mature and make sure of victory. Whoever belittles the role of education (teachers) by negative examples is not a thoroughgoing dialectical materialist."<sup>210</sup> "Cultural and educational revolution is absolute and timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." "We must help more people by educating them."<sup>211</sup>

Mao's reasons for international education can be summarized as follows: (1) "*Awakening*" and "*Uniting*"—"What imperialism fears most is the awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and of the peoples of all nations."<sup>212</sup> "There are still many people in the world who have not yet awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries."<sup>213</sup> Therefore, he said that it is imperative to conscientiously educate people to rise and unite in struggle. Being daring and fighting together for world revolution is the Communist quality which must be developed through educators.<sup>214</sup> (2) "*Correct ideology*"—Mao said: "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradiction within the thing." "External causes are the condition of change, and internal causes are the basis of change, and external causes become operative through internal causes."<sup>215</sup> Hence, his dictums are "Politics commands military operation" and "Ideology, the basic guide for all revolutionary programs." "Once the masses know the truth, then they have a common goal; they will work together with one heart." "Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."<sup>216</sup> It was Mao's doctrine that education must in-

doctrinate the people to believe in Marxism; to repudiate revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook in order to achieve world revolution.

For implementing this idea regarding internationalism and education, Mao asserted the four following guidelines: (1) *Building and enriching new world cultures*—He said old world cultures were poisoned with feudalism, capitalism, imperialism and mentalism. Education must build and enrich the new world culture which is for, by and of the proletariat everywhere on earth. The proletarian culture is diversified and universalized. All peoples are of a common humanity but of different groups. The characteristics of many civilizations are both proletarian divergency and convergency. People are not only continually divergent but also are becoming necessarily united into an integral whole. Both the similarities among nations and the cultural identities of each nation should be enhanced by education. International education is not only for individual nations but also for the common good of all peoples. There must be common ends and means of education for the global community; there need to be additional and flexible ends and means of education of the nations.<sup>217</sup>

(2) *Learning from others*—Every culture has merits; otherwise it would not grow and sooner or later it would be dead. Therefore, every nation must learn from other peoples and each learn from others. It is wrong to adopt a policy of excluding cultures from other lands, and the Chinese must fully absorb progressive foreign culture as an aid to the development of China's new culture in accordance with Mao.<sup>218</sup> He wrote:

To nourish her own culture China needs to assimilate a good deal of foreign progressive culture, not enough of which was done in the past. We should assimilate whatever is useful to us today not only from the present-day socialist and new-democratic cultures but also from the earlier cultures of other nations, for example, from the culture of the various capitalist countries in the Age of Enlightenment.<sup>219</sup>

He also wrote: "Our self-reliance does not mean closing the door to the outside world." "It is necessary to import some other inventions and to introduce some techniques from abroad." One of Mao's famous doctrines is "Down with the blind rejection of foreign cultures."<sup>220</sup>

(3) *The anti-international transplantation of cultures*—While recognizing the merits of other cultures, one must know that each of them may also have demerits; especially some elements of "foreign culture" may not suit one's own nation, Mao asserted. He condemned any form of total "transplantation" of any culture and advocated "selective learning." One of his famous slogans is "Down with any form of 'blind' imitations." It is wrong to import indiscriminately foreign culture into China, because the Chinese proceed from their own actual needs and assimilate cultures from abroad critically, according to Mao's doctrines.<sup>221</sup> He wrote:

We should not gulp any of this foreign material down uncritically, but must treat it as we do our food—first chewing it, then submitting it to the working of the stomach and intestines with their juices and secretions, and separating it into nutriment to be absorbed and the waste to be discarded before it can nourish us. To advocate "wholesale westernization" is wrong. China has suffered a great deal from the mechanical absorption of foreign material.<sup>222</sup>

(4) *Anti-cultural imperialism, anti-cultural chauvinism and anti-cultural prejudice*—Mao said that the imperialists impose their cultural forms and substance upon the people in order to conquer and exploit the people. The growth of various cultures will be obscured when cultural chauvinism exists. He wrote: "We Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." "Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points." It is his consistent interpretation that cultural prejudice is the outgrowth of cultural imperialism, cultural chauvinism, ignorance and narrow-mindedness; especially it

is the bourgeois mentality; it is against the proletariat spirit.

Finally, according to Maoism all forms and agencies of education must teach the young "internationalism" which means proletariat brotherhood for world-wide Communist revolution. On June 19, 1954, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China issued the "Directives" which specifically defined that all subjects and activities must aim at the development of both "patriotic" and "international" spirit.<sup>223</sup>

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CURRICULUM

The Basic Concepts: nature of knowledge, categories of knowledge, the best knowledge and sources of knowledge

The Program: criticism of the "old" and development of the new

The Fields of Subjects: the essentials, categories and priority, humanities, science, the fine arts and physical education

The Subjects in Schools: early childhood program, elementary school, secondary school and college

The Contents and the Textbooks of the Subjects: contents of the subjects and textbooks

#### I. THE BASIC CONCEPTS

Education aims at the complete development of the new Chinese for the socialist new China and new world, according to Mao Tse-tung thought. In order to achieve this aim, Mao insisted that the educational program must be a perfect blending of virtue, knowledge and physical training, to produce "socialist, cultured workers." Mao emphasized physical education ever since his Normal School age. Moral education is the cultivation of Communist affections, manners, and the spirit of collective heroism. Body and health and Communist virtue must be combined with intellectual formation—knowledge.<sup>1</sup> We will further explore the nature, categories, sources,

and especially the values and usefulness of knowledge, according to Mao's philosophy.

*The nature of knowledge*—Knowledge is the relative and ever-changing and growing means for, by and of the proletariat—workers and especially peasants.

Mao held the relative theory of knowledge. Nothing remains static or constant; time, place and individualized views determine whether a certain cognizance is true or false; ideas and facts are composed of various factors and can be analyzed in various ways. The total existence of the world is relative; there is no abiding spirit; to gain knowledge of the ultimate truth or reality is impossible and impractical. He wrote:

The Marxist recognizes that in the absolute total process of the development of the universe, the development of each concrete process is relative; hence, in the great stream of absolute truth, man's knowledge of the concrete process at each given stage of development is only relatively true. The sum total of innumerable truth is the absolute truth.<sup>2</sup>

Man's knowledge is never complete. Starting from doing, then thinking, man thus acquires some knowledge. From knowing, returning to doing, then thinking, he corrects and improves his knowledge. And this is repeated in "endless cycles." At any given stage, man's knowledge is partial or incomplete. At no time, is it final or permanent. Mao's theory of learning and knowledge is one of "an ongoing stream" which is characterized by process, progress and growth.<sup>3</sup>

Mao never thought that "knowledge is for the sake of knowledge." He was definitely a utilitarian, having no tolerance with learning that has no practical values. Comparing knowledge with arrows, he emphatically stated that one who has arrows in his hands must use them to hit the target. He said: "Our theories are not formal or abstract doctrines: all should be guides for actions." "Learning ideology is not for ornament, not because it is a mystery, but because it is a

science which will lead the proletarian revolution to victory." In short, Mao explained that knowledge is for changing the natural environment, using resources for more production, destroying the old class society, winning the class struggle, and building a new nation and a new world.<sup>4</sup>

*The categories of knowledge*—Since Mao believed that knowledge is basically the instrument for production and class struggle, he said:

From ancient times down to the present, there have only been two types of knowledge: one type of knowledge of the struggle in production; the other is knowledge of the class struggle. Knowledge of the national struggle is also included in these. What knowledge is there aside from this? There is none. Natural science and social science are nothing but the crystallization of these two types of knowledge. Philosophy is then a generalization and summary of natural science and social science. Aside from these, there is no other type of knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

Mao classified knowledge or learning into the perceptual (sensory or empirical) and the conceptual (intellectual, mental or rational). He elaborated much about these two concepts of knowledge in talking and writing, especially during the early 1940's—the "golden age" of Mao's ideological development. Regarding perceptual learning, he said: "Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs—the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, learning is perceptual."<sup>6</sup> He also said: ". . . Man at first sees only the phenomenal side, the separate aspects, the external relations of things . . . this is called the perceptual stage of cognition, namely, the stage of sense perception and impressions. . . . At this stage man cannot as yet form concepts, which are deeper, or draw logical conclusions."<sup>7</sup>

Mao pointed out that knowledge depends upon a deepen-

ing process and upon a development from the perceptual into the rational. He wrote:

...things that give rise to man's sense perceptions and impressions in the course of his practice are repeated many times; then a sudden change (leap) takes place in the brain in the process of cognition, and concepts are formed. Concepts are no longer the phenomena, the separate aspects and the external relations of things; concepts are grasping the essence, the totality and the internal relations of things.<sup>8</sup>

The concept and the sensory precept are not only different in quantity, they are also different in quality. The former is the separate aspect, the phenomena, the external relations and the concrete description of things. The latter is the wholeness, the essence, the internal relations and the abstract description of things. "Perception only solves the questions of phenomena, theory alone can solve the question of essence." "In the whole process of man's knowledge of a thing, conception, judgment and inference constitute the more important stage, the stage of rational knowledge."<sup>9</sup>

Perceptual knowledge and conceptual knowledge are mutually re-enforcing and they are dependent upon each other. Perceptual learning is the foundation and the start toward development of the conceptual. Rational or conceptual learning guides and evaluates sensory activities. Mao wrote: "Rational knowledge depends upon perceptual knowledge and perceptual knowledge remains to be developed into rational knowledge." The "Two" must be interrelated and fully united. The various knowledges obtained from sensory activities must be put together, organized and elevated into systematic and comprehensive knowledge. Also, theoretical knowledge must truly reflect and explain reality and guide practical activities.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, studying Mao's theory of learning, we can definitely conclude that neither conceptual nor perceptual knowledge is complete or enough or healthy. He said that there were two

types of incomplete knowledge: "One is the dry, pure and empty theoretical concept. . . . The other is what overly emphasizes sensory activities and what is a lack of rational or universal concepts and principles." He wrote that the relatively complete knowledge is one which contains both perceptual and conceptual learning.<sup>11</sup> Regarding his theory of "correct knowledge," we note: "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge."<sup>12</sup>

*The best knowledge*—Firstly, Mao asserted that the values of any knowledge are first dependent upon its "usefulness." In his "Talk on Philosophical Problems," he elaborated: "I was in elementary school for six years, middle school, two years, normal school, five years. . . . Society moved me to participate in revolution. . . . Nothing I learned during these thirteen years can be used for revolution."<sup>13</sup> He stated that learning was not to please the eyes and mind, knowledge does not have any mystical value and every student must avoid having the Taoist concept—"learning for meditation."<sup>14</sup> He was in favor of the usefulness of knowledge and against any form of dogmatism. He stated:

Our comrades must understand that we do not study Marxism-Leninism because it is pleasing to the eye, or because it has some mystical value, like the doctrines of the Taoist priests who ascend Mao Shan to learn how to subdue devils and evil spirits. Marxism-Leninism has no beauty, nor has it any mystical value. It is only extremely useful. It seems that right up to the present quite a few have regarded Marxism-Leninism as a ready-made panacea: once you have it, you can cure all your ills with little effort. This is a type of childish blindness and we must start a movement to enlighten these people. Those who regard Marxism-Leninism as religious dogma show this type of blind

ignorance. We must tell them openly "Your dogma is of no use," or to use an impolite phrase, "Your dogma is less useful than excrement." We see that dog excrement can fertilize the fields and man can feed the dog. And dogmas? They can't fertilize the fields, nor can they feed a dog. Of what use are they?<sup>15</sup>

What is useful knowledge? It is what fits the actual situation of life, work and revolution at the present time in a certain place, in accordance with Mao's doctrine. He believed knowing is for doing and knowing well about the actual "circumstances" is the assurance to do well. He wrote: "When you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well."<sup>16</sup> He further explained the significance of understanding actual circumstances or objective situations:

No one should go off into a wild flight of fancy, or make plans unwarranted by the objective situation, or insist on attempting the impossible. The problem today is that Rightist conservatism is still causing trouble in many fields and preventing the work in these fields from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, we need to know his "doctrine"—the best knowledge is what is applicable for revolution. "The active function of learning manifests itself . . . in the leap from knowledge to revolutionary practice."<sup>18</sup> From "Rectify the Party's Style in Work," a speech delivered at the Central Party School, we find:

The Central Committee has made a decision calling upon our comrades to learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in a serious study of Chinese history, of Chinese economics, politics, military affairs and culture, and to analyse every problem concretely on the basis of abundant data and

then draw theoretical conclusions. This task rests upon our shoulders.

Comrades in the Party School should never regard Marxist theory as lifeless dogma. You should master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you deserve praise and credit. The more things you can elucidate and the more extensively and penetratingly, the better your record. Now it should be made a rule in the Party School that a student is to be marked or graded according to how he looks at China's problem after he has studied Marxism-Leninism, according to whether he envisages them clearly or dimly, whether he can envisage them at all or not.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, he said:

Our Party School should not be content merely to read the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism but should be able first to master, and then to apply them. Application is the sole object of this mastery. Now that we use percentages to calculate grades, what grade should you be given if you read ten thousand books a thousand times each but are completely unable to make application? I would say that not even one percent should be given.<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, according to Mao Tse-tung thought, all man's knowledge is stamped with the brand of a class, hence, the best knowledge is that of the proletariat, for the proletariat and by the proletariat. The working people, instead of being devoid of knowledge, are in possession of first-hand knowledge. He said: "A great many so-called intellectuals are actually exceedingly unlearned, and the knowledge of the workers and peasants is sometimes somewhat greater than theirs."<sup>21</sup> The best knowledge must be what is best for the people. A Maoist once said to students: "Some people want to be philosophers. Have they thought of: What is the purpose of learn-

ing philosophy? What should philosophers do for the people? How can philosophy benefit and help the people?"<sup>22</sup> Also, we find what Mao said about "knowledge by the people": "Liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses."<sup>23</sup>

Thirdly, Mao asserted that the "best" learning must be "practice-centered." He incorporated this theory into his talks and writings, especially after 1937, the year his famous article "On Practice" was published. He criticized the "empiricists" who clung to fragmentary experience and failed to see the whole situation. He also pointed out that the subjectivists spoke without any objective evidence or any scientific analysis or social survey. Furthermore, in accordance with his judgment, doctrinairism has the defects of both empiricism and subjectivism; under doctrinairism, "learning from actual experience" is degraded and "knowledge for guiding action" is denied. He said:

Doctrinairism constitutes at present the greater danger in our Party.... If we can overcome doctrinairism, the cadres who have knowledge of books will voluntarily unite with those who have practical experience and take to the study of practical things . . . if we can overcome doctrinairism, then the comrades who have practical experience will have excellent teachers who can help them to raise their experiences to the theoretical plane and avoid the mistake of empiricism.<sup>24</sup>

Mao incisively pointed out: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by separation of knowledge from practice." "There is only one kind of theory in the world, the theory that is drawn from objective reality and then in turn verified by it; . . . Knowledge starts with practice, reaches the theoretical plane via practice, and then has to return to practice."<sup>25</sup> Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth."<sup>26</sup>

Above all, practice is the fundamental condition of human learning; it is the strongest tie to reality and the surest way to the best knowledge. Furthermore, it is not the critic who counts; the credit belongs to the man who is in the field of work. Practicing is the "body" and "heart" of learning. One who practices knows in accordance with Mao Tse-tung thought.<sup>27</sup>

*Sources of Knowledge*—Mao asserted that the basic reality for men is experience. The best educational result is achieved through "experiencing." While knowledge should be wrought out in action, it is and should be derived from experience; hence, experience is the essential for learning. The real task of education is to improve the quality of the "educative experience" of the people. Furthermore, he believed that there are different types of experiences and direct experience is the first source of learning. What we learn from the experience of ancient times and foreign lands is that which was directly experienced by the ancients and foreigners. He wrote: "What is indirectly experienced by one is directly experienced by others. Hence, taken as a whole, any kind of knowledge is inseparable from direct experience."<sup>28</sup>

According to Mao, there are two types of direct experience: (1) He emphasized reality in the objective world, considered physical existence the decisive factor in the formation of "consciousness," and ranked sensory experiences as the primary source of knowledge. He explained:

The source of all knowledge lies in the perception through man's physical sense organs of the objective world surrounding him; if a person denies such perception, denies direct experience, and denies personal participation in the practice of changing reality, then he is not a materialist. That is why the "wiseacres" are ridiculous. The Chinese have an old saying: "How can one obtain tiger cubs without entering the tiger's lair?" This saying is true of man's practice as well as of the theory of knowledge.<sup>29</sup>

(2) In the study of Mao's theory of the "source of knowledge," we need to discover his view on social experience or "social practice"—the term he specifically used. Mao considered that social practice is the best source for gaining real knowledge. He said: "Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; . . ." <sup>30</sup> Furthermore, he classified social practice into the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experimentation. Among the three, he believes productive activities are basic:

First of all, Marxists believe that man's productive activities in practice are the most basic activities, and they are the determinant of all his activities. Essentially, man's knowledge depends on his activities in material production, through which he gradually comes to understand the phenomena, the properties, and the laws of nature and the relations between man and nature. It is also through his activities in production that he gradually comes to understand, in varying degrees, the dependent relations among men. <sup>31</sup>

Man's social practice is not limited to productive activities alone. There are many other forms of practice, such as class struggle, political life, and scientific and art activities. In a word, the entire field of the practical life in a society is for the members of the society to take part in. For this reason, in addition to material life, man also gains knowledge, in varying degrees, about the different relations among men in political and cultural life. And, particularly, the many forms of class struggle are a profound influence on the growth of man's knowledge. <sup>32</sup>

Secondly, indirect experience is also a source of knowledge. Direct experience is the first and best source of learning, "but no one can directly experience everything," Mao explained. "As a matter of fact, most of our knowledge of ancient times and foreign lands belongs to this indirect expe-

rience category." <sup>33</sup> He stated that history magnifies and telescopes man's work. History, a flickering lamp, transcends and nourishes. Also, there is the tyranny or perversity of history. It refuses to adjust itself to the convenience of men. From time to time, history brings challenges. History has taught and is not to be ignored. Importantly, according to Mao thought, history is a long slow curve, which must be rightly reorganized as the record and hope of class struggle. The iron law of history is "no longing is completely fulfilled." There are works unfinished and challenges yet to come. Above all, all students should learn from the history of the proletariat. <sup>34</sup>

According to Mao, the experiences of people of other lands, in addition to history, are also to be used selectively and intelligently. He wrote:

China should absorb on a large scale the progressive cultures of foreign countries as an ingredient for her own culture; in the past we did not do enough work of this kind. We must absorb whatever we today find useful, not only from the present socialist or new-democratic cultures of other nations, but also from the older cultures of foreign countries, such as those of the various capitalist countries in the age of enlightenment. However, we must treat these foreign materials as we do our food, which should be chewed in the mouth, submitted to the working of the stomach and intestines, mixed with saliva, gastric juice and intestinal secretions, and then separated into essence to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded—only thus can food benefit our body; we should never swallow anything raw or absorb it uncritically. <sup>35</sup>

Finally, Mao expressed that books are the systematic records of past experiences and they are sources of knowledge and means for learning. <sup>36</sup> However, he cautioned students and teachers that books only have a limited value, that some books may not be good sources of learning, and that tragically, some of them may make the readers confused and



"stupid." He pointed out that many writers did not keep the prospective readers in mind when the language, especially the vocabularies were used. Consequently, the books are not readable for the common people. Some books are unnecessarily lengthy without sufficient or any content. Most materials in the books do not deal with the life of the people. Furthermore, Mao indicated some literature that did not suggest solutions for practical problems and that was mechanically structured:

In their articles...they first use the Chinese capitalized numerals, then the Chinese small numerals, then the characters of ten heavenly stems, then the twelve horary characters, and then A, B, C, D, a, b, c, d, the Arabic numerals, and what not.... An article bristling with such numerals and symbols neither formulates problems nor analyzes them, nor solves them; . . . the method imitated from the Chinese drug-store, with which many of our comrades are now infatuated, is the most rudimentary, infantile and philistine of all methods.<sup>37</sup>

## II. THE PROGRAM

*The criticism of the "old"*—Mao held the instrumental concept of perceptual and conceptual learning, the utilitarian theory of knowledge, and especially the practice-centered thesis of program. Therefore, he was greatly dissatisfied with the old and the existing curriculum.

According to Mao's thought, China was a semi-feudalistic society before 1949. Education was for the landlords under bureaucratic control; learning materials were useless, destructive and poisoning. Based upon his own understanding of the subject matter studied in elementary, middle and normal school, in 1917 he wrote: "Required courses are as thick as the hairs on a cow. . . . Speculating on the intentions of the 'educators,' one is led to wonder whether they did not design

such an unwieldy curriculum in order to exhaust the students, to trample on their bodies and ruin their lives."<sup>38</sup> While he became more socially and educationally conscious, in an article in 1919, Mao urged the Chinese to undertake social and educational reform. He pointed out that the students were forced to study meaningless materials, indicted the overemphasis on classical studies, and labelled Confucius' writings, the main required readings then, as "a lot of stinking, corpse-like dead materials."<sup>39</sup>

China became a semi-colonial nation by the dawn of the 20th century, as Mao asserted. Thus China responded to the political demands put upon her by the West. Western ideas played a disproportionate role in the development of post-1911 schools in China. He pointed out that the Westernized curriculum was unsuitable to Chinese life, thus the peasant disliked the style of "foreign borrowing." In March 1927, he wrote:

The "foreign-style schools" were always unpopular with the peasants. In my student days, I used to stand up for the "foreign-style schools" when, upon returning to my native place, I found the peasants objecting to them.... It was during my six months in the countryside in 1925, . . . that I realized I was mistaken and that the peasants' views were right.<sup>40</sup>

Another of Mao's indictments upon traditional curriculum was the meaningless and ridiculous transplantation of city school subject materials to the rural school. He wrote: "The subject materials in the rural elementary schools are entirely about urban things and unsuited to rural needs."<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, he pointed out that the urbanized curriculum made the peasants lose confidence in schools:

As a result, the peasants wanted old-style rather than the modern schools—and preferred the masters of the old-style school to the modern teachers in the elementary schools. Now the peasants are energetically organ-

izing evening classes, which they call peasant schools... the peasants are very enthusiastic about establishing such schools, and regard only such schools as their own.<sup>42</sup>

Based upon his concept of "knowledge" for class struggle and economic production, Mao continuously criticized the school curriculum. In 1939, he wrote in Yen-an:

In ancient times the youth of China who studied under a sage neither learned revolutionary theory nor took part in labor. Today there is little revolutionary theory taught and there are no such things as production movements in the schools over vast regions of our country. It is only here in Yen-an and in our anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy line that the young people are fundamentally different.<sup>43</sup>

As Mao held strongly to the utilitarian concept of learning and to the "doing to knowing, then to doing" theory, he, in 1941, commented on school curriculum and teachers' work under his leadership in the "liberation areas":

In the schools...teachers of philosophy do not guide students to study the logic of the Chinese revolution; teachers of economics do not guide them to study the characteristics of the Chinese economy; teachers of political science do not guide them to study the tactics of the Chinese revolution... thus a perverse mentality has been created among many students; instead of showing an interest in China's problems and taking the Party's directives seriously, they give all their hearts to the supposedly eternal and immutable dogmas learned from their teachers.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, we find, among Mao's numerous indictments upon the inefficient curriculum, this plain and most illustrative one:

Now let us look at some students, the students who have been brought up in schools completely divorced

from the practical activities of society. How about them? A young man proceeds from a primary school of that sort to a university of the same sort, takes his diploma, and is regarded as stocked with knowledge. But all that he has is knowledge of books, and he has not yet taken part in any practical activities nor applied the knowledge he has acquired in any branch of social life.<sup>45</sup>

In sum, some of the defects of the old curriculum, according to Mao's judgment, can be listed: It ran counter to his theory of knowledge and overly exalted books as the means for learning. It promoted selfish individualism and ignored political ideology and revolutionary cause. It failed to vitalize students in productive labor. It discriminated against workers and peasants. It widened the gaps between town and village and especially between physical and mental labor.

*The development of the new*—Mao's philosophy denotes that nothing is static; every phenomenon, natural or social, changes. Educators must not only correct their ideas and programs, they must also initiate new programs corresponding to the changes in the real situation. He said, "For building the new, the old must be swept clean" and "Destruction is needed for construction."<sup>46</sup> What are Mao's ideas regarding the new curriculum?

First, we need to discover Mao's basic concepts of curriculum. An analysis of the basic nature of curriculum reveals that the program should become a channel through which flow experiences; hence, curriculum is a means for developing and formulating the knowledge and skills which serve economic production and class struggle. Above all, it is a means for strengthening and heightening revolutionary morality and insight. He denied that curriculum is used for developing a transcendental self-consciousness of the individual. He insisted that materials to be learned are to help students to collectively solve the here-and-now problems.<sup>47</sup>

Mao's ideas denote that the role of curriculum is significant for the following reasons: Human thinking is mostly

the result of what human beings have studied or what they first have been impressed with. Each man is his organic system physical and mental, plus what he has learned from studying the subject matters and plus other objective elements brought upon him. A revolutionary personality is the organism incorporated with the influences through the relations between the individual and his social and natural world.<sup>48</sup>

In the exploration of Mao's view on the sources of subject matters, we must recognize that the Maoist world is the broad and inclusive context within which the people live. Maoism in education is an idea away from mentalism. The Maoist school is established in the society which is a part of the inescapable world; hence, the school program is conditioned by the inexorable quantity of external factors, and the content of it is a reflection of objective circumstances, social and natural, taken in proper sequence. Maoist subject materials consist primarily of revolutionary morality, knowledge, effective skills, and body health for dealing with society and the universe. Mao stated again and again that there was one source of subject matter only, and that source was the actual life and work here and now in all its manifestations and in all its real circumstances. In summary, objective society, the world, and especially the best data on actual revolutionary work, must be the main source of subject material.<sup>49</sup>

Secondly, we examine Mao's view on the broad scope of curriculum which may include any pattern of activity or experience. Because he held the concept that the great world and society are "schools," total life and work may all be the pattern of "curriculum." Materials in various subject fields, general or specific, academic or vocational, ideological or technical, are all subject matters. The inexorable quantity of the objective facts to date and the intangible ideas of the past and the creative ideas for the future should all be considered for learning.<sup>50</sup>

From the famous letter Mao wrote to Lin Piao on May 7, 1966, we find: "Although students must study the subjects,

they should also learn from other things. They should study not only literature, but also industry, agriculture, and military affairs, and criticize the bourgeoisie."<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that recreational activities must be an integral part of the learning program. At the February 13, 1964 "Spring Festival Meeting" in Peking, Mao said:

Students must have recreation activities, such as swimming, playing ball, free-individual after school reading. Confucius taught his students six subjects which included music, archery and charioteering, in addition to writing, arithmetic and arts-propriety. His teaching successfully brought forth four great men of virtue—Yen, Tseng, Tzu and Meng. It is not advisable for students to only read books day after day. Students need to participate in cultural and recreational activities. Running and jumping outside class are good for children.<sup>52</sup>

Thirdly, the need for new curriculum was elaborated by Mao and his disciples. Mao instructed Chinese educators: "making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China" and "weeding out the old to let the new emerge." In 1964, he said, "The quantity and the contents of the old curriculum hurt the students; . . . the reform is imperative."<sup>53</sup> One of the tasks of the Cultural Revolution (1966-68) was to transform the old educational system and the old curriculum. Maoists then pointed out: (1) The old curricular system has not rid itself of the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie who advocate "education for the sake of education" and "science for the sake of science." (2) The old curricular system in natural science is seriously influenced by the metaphysical viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. Its major characteristic involves the use of static, isolated and one-sided viewpoints to deal with scientific truth, and a disregard for the movement, development, and change of things and their internal links. (3) The old curriculum underestimates the receptive power of the students and overlooks the greater potential of the young

people in socialist society today. (4) The mobilization of human resources for industrial development demands the reformation of the old curriculum.<sup>54</sup>

Fourthly, from Maoism, we find the guiding principles of curriculum construction: (1) The combination of culture, technology and ideology—It is Mao's idea that the various forms of culture all are derived from the respective society; they reflect the history of class struggle. Technology is needed for changing the physical world and reconstructing the new China and a new world, but technology will not have any meaning if it does not serve political ideology. He stated that curriculum reformation is a serious political struggle; it is to destroy comprador philosophy and the bourgeois mentality which dominated the old curriculum. In order to build the "new," the "old" must be swept clean. He further wrote: "Both students and intellectuals should study hard. But in addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically."<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, he said, "Political work is the lifeblood of all work." "Without a correct political viewpoint, it is tantamount to having no soul." "Correct ideology boosts the morale of the laboring people and unites their efforts." He also said:

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, we have "everything": if we have no "men," we will get them; if we have no rifles, we can get them; if we do not have state power, we will be able to seize it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose what we already have.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, the ideology—Sinocized-Marxism must be the "commanding center" of curriculum, as Mao wrote: "School-work must be established under the fundamental principles of Marxism and Leninism; it must be centered around the actual tasks of the Chinese revolution."<sup>57</sup>

2) Utilitarianism—Maoist curriculum is grounded in the needs of the people's life. The effectiveness of curriculum

should be tested by such a question: "Does it help the people live successfully and adjust effectively to the demand of life?" "Life is work and work is life." "What is in the work is what the people should learn." "What we do is what must be in the contents of curriculum."<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Mao stated that life or work was full of problems to be solved, that the best program for learning is dealing with effective solutions of concrete problems derived from actual circumstances of real life and work at the places where the Chinese are in China.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, Maoism contains "presentism." Maoists pay more attention to the present and proclaim such a postulate: "Being more for today, but less concerning yesterday or tomorrow in curriculum construction."<sup>60</sup>

(3) Integration with economic production—The development of economic production pushes forward the development of cultural revolution and the development of cultural revolution in turn pushes forward the development of economic production. This is Mao's "eternal dialectical process." Hence, the best utilitarian curriculum is that which deals with economic production; the best curriculum must be integrated with industrial and agricultural production.<sup>61</sup> Mao indicted such concepts as the "Army engaging in production cannot fight well," "Political institutions involved in productive activities cannot serve the people well," "Students engaged in economic production cannot study well."<sup>62</sup> He wrote:

All...schools...should make a great effort to grow vegetables and breed pigs, collect firewood, make charcoal, develop handicrafts and raise a part of the grain they need. Apart from the development of collective production in all the big and small units, all individuals should at the same time be encouraged to devote their spare time to minor agricultural or handicraft production....In various places training courses of seven to ten days should be given on vegetable growing and pig farming....<sup>63</sup>

(4) Universalization—Mao expressed his “universality” and “particularity” theory of knowledge as follows:

When man already knows the common qualities, he uses this knowledge as a guide and goes on to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied or have not yet been thoroughly studied, so as to find out their peculiar qualities; only thus can he supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of the common qualities, and prevent such knowledge from becoming something withered and petrified.<sup>64</sup>

He also wrote:

According to the sequence in man's process of learning, there is always a gradual extension from knowledge of the individual thing to knowledge of things in general. Man can proceed to generalizations and know the qualities common to things only after he has known the qualities peculiar to each of a great number of things.<sup>65</sup>

Derived from his “universality” and “particularity” theory of knowledge, Mao asserted the diversification and universalization in curriculum construction. For more than fifty years, one of Mao's basic strategies had been “unity for revolutionary cause.” He said: “The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our course.”<sup>66</sup> But how can this unity be achieved? According to Mao's ideas, it can be achieved by teaching the basic, common, minimum necessary ideology, knowledge and skills to all Chinese everywhere in China. Subsequently, in September 1958, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the directives: “The Ministry of Education of the Central Government should hold curriculum meetings, exchange experiences, recommend better subject materials, determine what is to be taught in all the schools

in the nation, and establish minimum and maximum subjects for the various types of school.”<sup>67</sup> In addition, the other numerous directives issued by the Central Government have enforced the principle of universal curriculum and affected every school in the nation. Schools in Inner Mongolia and those in Canton have to teach some common materials and give the same ideological instructions.

(5) Diversification—Mao stated that there must be universality of curriculum. However, he also believed that it is imperative to have diversification of curriculum which adapts to the needs of different places, times, individuals and various types of productive work. First, based upon his political doctrine, democratic-centralism, and due to his concept of knowledge, knowing the general and specific, Mao proclaimed decentralized-centralization in education. Therefore, while the Central Government enforces the “universal” character of curriculum, each province, region, county and district is allowed and encouraged to develop the diversified program to meet its own needs. As an example, Mao said: “Teaching materials should have some local color; some local teaching materials should be added. Agricultural textbooks should be compiled by the respective provinces in which they are used. Some indigenous literature should be taught and this applies also to natural sciences.”<sup>68</sup> Among the directives issued by the Central Government, we find:

The subject materials in higher learning should be revised under Party leadership with the participation of the faculty and students in each institution...the secondary and elementary textbooks are to be written and edited by each province, municipality and autonomous region. The contents should be selected in accordance with local concrete conditions.<sup>69</sup>

Secondly, the curriculum varies greatly in relation to “time.” In addition to the regular school program, there must be sparetime learning. Evening classes are for both peasants and factory workers. Especially the winter-schools for farm-

ers have been well established ever since the early 1940's. Among the directives issued by the Central Government in accordance with Mao's ideas, we find: "The spare-time program for peasants must be suitable to properly utilize their spare time to learn. Learning is not to obscure their productive activities."<sup>70</sup> Thirdly, in accordance with the Maoist explanation, in the implementation of the universal curriculum, attention must be paid to the individual characteristics of the students. "We must base our work on the different capacities and conditions of the students, if we are to really develop talent in an overall manner . . . teaching according to capacity will help the realization of the policy for overall development, and the two are not contradictory."<sup>71</sup> Fourthly, the curriculum must be diversified because of the national need of specialized work. "Being Red" is prior to "being expert," according to Maoism. However, Mao, the most practical man, fully realized that better progress comes from people who can work specifically, and that specialized courses are needed. He said: "Those who know nothing specifically are merely the pseudo-Red and are armchair politicians. It is necessary to integrate politics with techniques, to carry out various experiments in the agricultural field, and to lay hold of advanced models and experiment with new techniques and the manufacture of new products in industry."<sup>72</sup> He also said: "We must contact reality gradually, . . . in order to learn something about agriculture, botany, soil, fertilizer, science, bacteriology, forestry, water conservation, etc. It is not necessary to learn too much of these subjects; a little knowledge of these will do us good."<sup>73</sup> Finally, the universal curriculum is more important than the diversified, because the plural programs and the multiple ways are used for more effectively fulfilling the unified, constant, and ultimate goals, namely building the socialistic and communistic society. The Peking government proclaimed:

Having the unified principle means having the soul for educational enterprise; then the concerted efforts and

the harmonious directions of the various forms of education will be reached. Should the "multiple character" depart from the "unified principle," various forms of schooling would be without a unified goal; then education departs from socialistic and communistic direction; then the schools are not for the benefit of the masses; then they would not receive the support from the great masses; consequently, the multiple character of education loses its strength of life; finally, educational enterprise will have no way to develop.<sup>74</sup>

(6) Simplification—Mao, a most practical man, insisted upon a "screening principle" of curriculum programs. In relation to "screening," Mao pointed out: "One must treat learning materials as he does food which should be chewed in the mouth, submitted to the working of the stomach and intestines, mixed with saliva, gastric juice and intestinal secretions, and then separated into the essence to be absorbed and waste matters to be discarded; . . ."<sup>75</sup> He enunciated that the main subject matters introduced to the young should be few and important: "Do not teach or learn too many subjects, so that you can teach or learn thoroughly."

Mao criticized the Chinese school curriculum for being "unwieldy" and wrote: "In the educational system of our country, required courses are as thick as the hairs on a cow. Even an adult with a tough, strong body could not stand it, let alone those who have not reached adulthood, or those who are weak."<sup>76</sup> He also stated that students were overly loaded by numerous unnecessary subjects:

There are too many courses of study at present. They are harmful to people and cause the students of primary and middle schools and universities to lead a strained life every day.... Half of the courses of study may be dropped. Confucius taught only six subjects (propriety, music, archery, charioteering, writing and arithmetic), but his teaching brought forth four great men of virtue (Yen, Tseng, Tzu and Meng)...One

cannot read too many books. Marxist books should be studied, but we also cannot read too many of them.... Should one read too many of them, one would proceed to the negative side and become a bookworm or a revisionist.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, Mao stated that students were overloaded not only by the materials enumerated and itemized, but also by those which are duplicated. The same materials were presented in both geography and history, in both literature and social studies, and in both courses of educational theories and those of educational methods. The same or similar materials were taught in different levels of classes. He said: "In accordance with my observation, subject materials of the upper level of elementary school are similar to those of junior high. . . . Courses in senior high duplicate those of junior high. College subjects duplicate those of senior high."<sup>78</sup> Above all, he insisted that the curriculum must be simplified and condensed in order to save students' time, to help them concentrate upon learning some essentials, and to release the pressure put upon them, so that they would learn better.<sup>79</sup>

How can simplification of the curriculum be reached? He asserted that old and irrelevant teaching materials and frills must be dropped and said: "I suggest that the total curriculum be reduced by a third. Please ask faculty and student representatives in the school to discuss this and decide how to carry it out."<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, for simplification of the curriculum, condensation of the contents and avoiding duplications, Mao instructed that some subjects can be combined. The following statement is explanatory: "For example, such subjects as History, Geography and Natural Sciences in the elementary school can be combined to be a subject entitled Common Knowledge. World Geography, Geography of China and Economic Geography in the secondary school should be combined into one subject entitled Geography."<sup>81</sup> As a matter of fact, the school curriculum in China has been greatly simplified, especially since 1968, the year of the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution.

(7) Popularization—According to Mao's doctrine, the new curriculum is national, adapting to whatever is needed for the establishment of the new China; it is scientific, promoting scientific methods in order to build a new nation. Above all, the new curriculum serves the masses, the proletariat who are the masters of the nation.<sup>82</sup> In light of Mao's idea, curriculum must be proletariat-centered. The need for the work and life of the peasants, workers and soldiers and their interests are the bases or sources of teaching materials. In other words, the curriculum serves the life and work of the people. The "coming from and going back to the people" is the fundamental guide for curriculum construction.

How can the proletariat-centered curriculum be established? Maoists indicated the old "ways":

In the past, when compiling teaching materials, one used to "hold a cup of tea in hand, a cigarette in the mouth, and put a pair of scissors and a bottle of paste on either side of the desk." One used to copy from this or that source with some modifications. But still there were the same old things.<sup>83</sup>

In contrast, Maoists reported on the new "ways" for the construction of new curriculum:

When compiling new teaching materials this time, we took heed of Chairman Mao's teaching that "man's correct ideas can only come from social practice, from the three kinds of practice—the struggle for production, class struggle, and scientific experimentation." We went to rolling stock plants, stations, sections, and work sites.... We formed three-way teaching material compilation groups composed of workers, revolutionary technicians, and teachers and arranged for and organized in a unified way the work of compiling teaching materials.<sup>84</sup>

Finally, in accordance with Mao's ideas and the experimentations undertaken by Maoists, some of the major

guides for curriculum construction can be summarized as follows: (1) Understand the workers and peasants; get acquainted with their life, work and thinking; integrate with them. (2) Learn from the peasants and workers—Submit the drafted teaching materials to the workers and/or peasants, so that they will help to find out whether the materials are related to production. Only when new teaching materials are compiled with the peasants' and workers' help will the quality of the teaching materials be improved.<sup>85</sup> (3) Work with the peasants and workers—link theory with practice; participate in productive activities of the peasants and laborers, with problems of curriculum reform in mind. Experience in actual productive activities can be the real basis for compiling new teaching materials.<sup>86</sup>

### III. THE FIELDS OF SUBJECTS

*The essentials, the categories and the priority*—Mao, a revolutionary practitioner, always placed emphasis upon efficiency. Education must serve the life and work of the people; curriculum must combine with economic production; hence, basic essential subject matter is imperative. The learning program should contain solid, rich, concrete and practical contents. From numerous educational documents, we find that he promulgated the principle of "Few but Essential Courses." The illustration he used is that a bowl of soup should not be made of much water but of more meat and proteins. The implementations of this principle are that "course contents are based upon accumulated experience," that "students should not go away with a half-baked or perfunctory understanding," and that "Courses are to be carefully selected . . . that the number of courses taught is not large, and all are extremely important."<sup>87</sup>

A number of times, Mao said and wrote that essential learning can be placed into two categories: (1) Knowledge, theory or ideas—" . . . [comrades] must study the theory. . . .

It is impossible for a party to lead a great revolutionary movement to victory if it has no knowledge of revolutionary theory, no knowledge of history and no profound understanding of the actual movement."<sup>88</sup> (2) Practice, facts and skills—"One's theory or cognition is judged to be true or untrue not by how it is subjectively felt to be, but by what objectively the result is in social practice. The criterion of truth can only be social practice."<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, Mao asserted that the essential knowledge and skills to be learned must be those dealing with nature and man. Effective knowledge and skill help to observe, understand, conquer and improve nature for the welfare of man. Also, essential ideas and facts are useful for observing and analyzing the history of the class society, for undertaking and winning class struggles, and for the establishment of a new society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.<sup>90</sup>

At times, for example, during the 1942 Rectification Movement, Mao said that essential learning should be classified under three categories: (1) the vocational, technical and professional subjects which proportionately constituted about 50% of learning, (2) the general or cultural subjects which constituted 30% of learning, (3) the political and ideological subjects which constituted 20%.<sup>91</sup> It was Mao's clear idea that general or cultural subjects were needed, in addition to practical experience, for learning political ideology. He said: "The Central Committee of our Party now emphatically requires that our cadres of the working class and those of peasant origin should obtain general and cultural education, so that they can then take up any branch of study—politics, military science or economics. Otherwise, for all their rich experience, they will never be able to study ideological theory well."<sup>92</sup> Mao also said: "The guiding principle of our education must enable each student to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a well-educated worker with socialist consciousness."<sup>93</sup> From this principle, it is clear that the essential curriculum consists of four component parts, inseparable from each other: (1) po-



litical, ideological and moral training, (2) technical (special) studies for productive work, (3) general knowledge and culture, (4) physical and military training.

What is the order of priority of the various categories of subjects in accordance with Mao thought? In 1942, during the Rectification Movement, he said that general or cultural learning was the foundation and would help learning the specifics in politics, economics and military actions. However, due to his basic view on the process of knowing—"from practice to theory, then practice" and "from facts to ideas, then facts"—technical subjects are given priority over those in humanities or pure science. Because he held the utilitarian concept of learning, therefore, it was stated that "the teaching of knowledge and skills directly necessary for war and production must take precedence over other so-called general cultural education."<sup>94</sup> Regarding culture courses and learning political ideology, Mao said: "In order to study theory, our cadres of the working-class and those of peasant origin must first acquire cultural or general education. Without it they cannot learn Marxist-Leninist theory. Having acquired it, they can study Marxism-Leninism at any time."<sup>95</sup> Finally, we note that cultural subjects are significant, but that they are merely the means for better learning of political theory. It is well-known that, in accordance with Maoism, "politics commands all work," "Economics serves the cause of revolution," and "social doctrine is the soul and origin of morals." Therefore, subject materials of revolutionary ideology are the top priority and of most significance.

*The humanities*—A knowledge of Mao's concepts and interpretations of the various fields of study is important. First, we will examine his view on some subjects in humanities:

1. History: According to Mao Tse-tung thought, Chinese history is the distinct product of the massive disorientation in people's lives marked by the breakdown of Confucian patterns, by the search for new political, intellectual and ethical reintegration, and by the impacts of Marxism. He believed

that history is made by human "sweat, toil and blood," not by minds. He pointed to the "bankruptcy" of the bourgeois idealist concept of history.<sup>96</sup> The nature and proceeding of history is a curve, as he pointed out: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one."<sup>97</sup> Despite the "curve" and "detour" of historical development, history moves on and on. No one can push history back, as he explained: "Retrogresion eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere."<sup>98</sup> He also said: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development—from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending." "Whenever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, the people want revolution. This has become the irresistible trend of history." Furthermore, Mao viewed history mainly as the record of continuous class struggle: "In any society in which classes exist, class struggle will never end. In a classless society, the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end."<sup>99</sup>

Consequently, we find Mao's specific assertions regarding the scope, value, goal and policy of teaching history: (a) Scope—History is the study of the total phenomena of people's lives, with the first priority placed upon the economic foundation of social development. It reveals all of the social super-structures which are based upon economic development, economic production, distribution, the relationship between labour production and labour process, and the people's contradictions and class struggle.<sup>100</sup>

(b) Values—Mao said, "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly."<sup>101</sup> He also said: "Today's China is an outgrowth of historic China. We are Marxist historicists; we must not mutilate history. From Confucious to Sun Yat-sen, we must sum it up critically, and we must constitute ourselves the

heirs of all that is precious in the past. Conversely, the assimilation of this heritage itself turns out to be a kind of methodology that is of great help in the guidance of the revolutionary movement."<sup>102</sup>

(c) Goals—In accordance with Mao's thoughts, history is a continuity; there is a basic thread running through history. Yesterday serves today; the past is the key to the future. Hence, history is politically instrumental for such purposes as: (1) the establishment of national consciousness and patriotism through elaboration of Chinese traditional cultural achievements and through revelation of the humiliation and indignities China suffered due to imperialist aggression; (2) the development of internationalism which is essential to fostering the brotherhood and affinity of all workers of all lands; (3) the cultivation of the new morality which centers around the love of the masses (This must begin with eradicating the feudalistic, imperialistic, capitalistic, colonial and bourgeois doctrines of virtue which are poisonous.); (4) the formulization of the collective laboring system by analyzing the historical forces which led to separation of mental and physical work and by pointing out the failures of the individual family system of farming.<sup>103</sup>

(d) The policy—Mao instructed Party members to study more about Chinese modern history. He deplored the wrong policy in the study of history: "Many Party members are completely in the dark about Chinese history of the last hundred years or that of ancient times. Many of our Marxist-Leninist scholars are always dragging ancient Greece into their discourses, but as to their own history, I am sorry to say, they have forgotten it."<sup>104</sup> He directly and emphatically stated: "As China's present new politics and new economy have developed out of her old culture, we must respect our own history and should not cut ourselves adrift from it."<sup>105</sup> Finally, Mao considered that more "weight" should be given to the research of modern history than ancient history. He said: ". . . this respect for history simply means giving history a definite place among the sciences, respecting its dia-

lectical development, but not eulogizing the ancient while disparaging the modern or praising any noxious feudal element."<sup>106</sup> Subsequently, the Maoists, in supporting this principle, stated that historical works of value were written with certain political aims and were concerned mainly with events of the contemporary generation. Historical work, under this principle only, could be of educational significance to the people. They also stated that ancient history constitutes the foothold upon which the bourgeois scholars set their stubborn resistance, that emphasizing ancient history would promote bourgeois thought at the expense of proletarian thought, and that giving more weight to ancient history would demolish the former and establish the latter.<sup>107</sup>

2. Philosophy: First, let us consider the meaning of philosophy. Mao said: "Philosophy is the epistemological study." Epistemology, a study of the principles and validity of truth, analyzes what makes knowledge possible, true and false. Hence, epistemology examines the origin, nature, methods and limits of human knowing. Philosophy is a structure of beliefs, meanings, ideas and ideals which we follow. Philosophy then is inseparable from experience; it comes from and is for life and work; it is practical, actual and functional, in accordance with Mao thoughts.<sup>108</sup> Discussing specific philosophy, he said: "By Marxism, we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words."

Secondly, Mao explained the need for studying philosophy: "Understanding must precede decision. Success comes from decisions based on thorough understanding."<sup>109</sup> According to Mao's expressions, life contains materials, thinking, ideas and ideals (ambitions); therefore, studying philosophy becomes necessary, as he wrote: "One should set one's aims in life beyond the bare necessities."<sup>110</sup> He also wrote: "Ambition must be formed through studies of philosophy and ethics. Only by such studies can one understand the truth and regard it as the precept of one's conduct. One should not stop one's pursuit of the truth until the aim is achieved

and only then can one have an ambition."<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, Mao gave a most interesting, vivid and concise explanation in the recent past:

Those who engage in philosophy believe that philosophy comes first. No, it is not so; actually the class struggle comes first. The oppressors oppress the oppressed, thus the oppressed want to fight back and seek a way out; consequently, they need to think and to look for philosophy. When this is the starting point, then there is Marxism-Leninism, and the philosophy is discovered. We have all been through this. Others wanted to cut off my head; Chiang Kai-shek wanted to kill me. Thus we engage in class struggle and undertake philosophical studies.<sup>112</sup>

Thirdly, as the study of philosophy is needed, we are led to ask "For what is it needed?" In general, Mao's consistent and insistent thought is that philosophy is the expression and guide of the work and life of the people. Specifically, he stated that philosophy serves politics as its tool or weapon and that all the reactionary philosophers supported their respective political system:

Bourgeois philosophy is serving politics. And in every nation, during each period of time, there are new philosophers who wrote new theories for serving the political regime of their time. There were such "materialists" as Bacon and Hobbes in England. During the eighteenth century there were the Encyclopedia materialists in France. In Germany and Russia...they all served their bourgeois politics.<sup>113</sup>

He further stated that philosophy must serve the proletarian revolution: "Liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses."<sup>114</sup> Finally, revolutionary philosophy must counterattack faulty theories: "The task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the

reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution."<sup>115</sup>

Fourthly, according to Mao, the source of revolutionary philosophy—the "sharpest weapon of proletariat politics"—is "not from books." "The way they go about it in the universities at present is no good, going from book to book, from concept to concept. How can philosophy come from books?"<sup>116</sup> He also said: "You people studying philosophy must write useful philosophy, so that people may read. 'Bookish philosophy' is hard to be understood. To whom is this type of philosophy writing given to read?"<sup>117</sup> If books are not the best resources of philosophy, what are? Mao's answers: "Philosophy comes from practical work, effective practice and what is actually being done in life." "In difficulties and struggles, a philosophy may develop. Hard life circumstances help, not easy ones, to develop it."<sup>118</sup> From whom may one learn philosophy the best? Mao said that university professors may not be the best persons from whom one learns philosophy, but peasants and workers are.<sup>119</sup> Finally, where may one learn philosophy the best? Mao answered: "Not in the classroom, but in the rural area, the valley, the factory or the village." Therefore, he emphatically stated:

It is a waste of time to discuss epistemology apart from practice. The comrades who study philosophy should go down to the countryside. They should go down this winter or next spring to participate in the class struggle. Those whose health is not good should go too. Going down won't kill you. All they will do is catch a cold, and if they just put on a few extra suits of clothes, it will be all right.<sup>120</sup>

Fifthly, we analyze the essential contents in philosophical study, according to Mao's expressions. Basically, the imperative essentials are those in Marxism-Leninism which contain: (1) dialectical materialism, a reversal of dialectical idealism which is the mind-centered interpretation of all phenomena,

(2) historical materialism, a materialistic conception of history or presumption of the primacy of economic determinants in history, (3) scientific socialism, meaning that the class struggle is the moving force of history.<sup>121</sup>

In addition to the basic essentials of Marxism-Leninism, according to Mao's ideas, such specific materials as the following, must be equally emphasized: (1) Sinocized Marxism which is the interpretation and application of Marxist theory in light of the characteristics of the Chinese people and the history and society in China. Mao wrote that in studying philosophy, we must analyze the history of Chinese philosophy from which we find the process of historical development.<sup>122</sup> (2) Perennialism in revolution or perennial revolution which means the continuity of struggle or "Struggle (contradiction) — peace (balance) — struggle (contradiction)." There always are contradictions in the world and society. The contradictory elements are in conflict or are struggling against each other. Subsequently, the contradictions may be less, eliminated or balanced; the struggles may not exist. Then the new contradiction or new struggle will appear. He said, "Studying philosophy is the study of contradictions."<sup>123</sup> "Dialectics has one basic rule which is the law of contradiction. The quantity and quality, the positiveness and negativeness, the appearance or phenomena and substance, the contents and forms, the certainty and liberty, the possibility and reality, etc. are all in the process of 'opposition (contradiction and struggle)—unity (balance and peace)—opposition!"<sup>124</sup> His famous articles such as "On Contradictions" written in 1937, and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" written in 1957, are important in the study of philosophy in China. (3) The new realism which entails studying actual reality, especially social practice. Mao criticized the dogmatic philosophers who reject experience, deny that "philosophy is a guide, not a dogma," and overawe people with words and phrases from theories, torn out of context. He also criticized the empirical philosophers who have restricted thinking to fragmentary

experience, without understanding the whole and without recognizing the interrelationship between theory and practice. Mao, from Marxist theory, exposed the errors of dogmatism and empiricism, especially those of the former. Furthermore, we note his simple statement: "Where do correct ideas come from? . . . Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, . . ."<sup>125</sup> "On Practice" written in 1937, and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" written in 1963, both denote the meaning of the "new realism." Both have become parts of the essential texts for the study of philosophy in China.

3. Literature: Like all social affairs, Chinese literature is in transformation, based upon Mao's concepts as follows: (1) The "part" of the "whole"—Mao asserted: "We want our literature to be an integral part of the revolutionary organism," "Proletarian literature is a part of the revolutionary organism," "Proletarian literature is a part of the whole proletarian revolutionary . . ." He borrowed Lenin's metaphor stating that literature is a cog and a wheel in the whole revolutionary machine.<sup>126</sup> (2) The instrument—Mao said, "In the world today all culture, all literature belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."<sup>127</sup> He wanted literature to unite and educate the people, to be a powerful weapon helping the people to defeat and crush the enemy. He demanded that literature have the antibiotic function of purifying ideological disease.<sup>128</sup> (3) The proletariat-centered—From the "cultural and educational policy" of the 1949 Common Programme, we find "Literature and arts should be promoted to serve the people, to enlighten the political consciousness of the people and to encourage the labour enthusiasm of the people." Certainly this policy is based upon Mao's ideas such as those he wrote in "On New Democracy": "All cultural movements and practices belong to the masses," and "The culture of new democracy is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist culture of the people under the leadership of the proletariat."<sup>129</sup> Most importantly, he proclaimed the "literature criteria" which include "what is gen-

uinely written for the masses, enjoyed and welcomed by the masses and in effect, is beneficial to the masses."<sup>130</sup>

Mao's ideas regarding poems as a kind of subject material must be presented. The English poet, Shelley, wrote that poets were "the uncrowned legislators of the world." Mao was one of the greatest poets and also the greatest "legislator" in modern China. Surely Plato would have been proud of this philosophic-poet who was also a great ruler. Mao was very modest about his verse, refusing to let it be published, and speaking disparagingly of it when it was praised. However, he has most enthusiastically exposed the nature and function of poetry and the place of poetry in the curriculum. According to Mao, poetry is the purest union of human emotion and social movement, and poetry is the best link between human desire and the lifeless world. Specifically, he said that poetry is functional "politics" for the people and a motivating force for better and more production. "So write poems," he urged. Also, he advised the literati to write in new forms more comprehensible to the masses and students rather than in the classical style: "Poetry should be developed in a new style mainly; some may also be written in the old style. However, writing in the classical style of poetry must not be advocated for students, because it restricts thoughts and is not easy to learn."<sup>131</sup> He advocated the study of folk poetry instead of that of the cities:

The future of Chinese poetry is folk songs first and the classics second. On this basis we can produce a new poetry. In form it should be in the folk-song style, while in content it should combine the two opposites, realism and romanticism. If you are too realistic you cannot write poetry. . . . In the field of collecting folk poetry, Peking University has done a lot of work. If we do this job, it is possible that we may discover millions and millions of folk poems. This will not involve much work, and they will be much easier to read than the poems of Tu Fu and Li Po.<sup>132</sup>

4. The language: Language is the tool for human beings to exchange ideas and it is a means for social progress and class struggle, in accordance with Mao's thoughts. His cultural dicta include that common or popular spoken language must be promoted and written language must be reformed. Consequently, the following three tasks have been pursued and have to be continued: (1) The popularization of the standard spoken language which has been actively promoted since the State Council issued the directive on "Common Speech" on February 6, 1956—Common speech is not intended to replace the dialects but only to provide a medium for nationwide communication and exchange. (2) The simplification of the complex ideographs and the form in which Chinese was written—The 2000 simplified characters of the 8000 in common use were approved for use in 1962. (3) The plan for the phoneticization of the Han (Chinese) language—The Committee for the plan was set up in October 1955. The government indicated that it was to replace ideographs in the immediate future; phoneticization was to be regarded as a tool to assist in learning the ideographs and in promoting standard pronunciation. "Simplification" helps prepare the way for phoneticization; standardization is a prerequisite for complete phoneticization which helps teach standard pronunciation and the characters. Above all, simplified writing, and standardized and phoneticized speaking are needed for political, economic and social integration as well as for technical production and operation.<sup>133</sup>

Basically, Mao said that language is the means of communication and cultural progress of the people. Also, in theory, he and his colleagues believe that the written languages of all the peoples in the world will gradually merge. Even spoken language will become united or one. However, he has stated that foreign languages now must be studied for understanding and learning the academic and technological progress of other nations.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, for worldwide political struggle and ideological propaganda or ex-

port, and in order for China to be a closer ally, partner or the leader of the developing nations, many foreign languages have been taught in Chinese schools.

Following Mao's ideas such as "politics commands education" and "Learning combines with productive labor," teaching materials in languages, as those in other subjects, reflect the realities of the Three Great Revolutionary Movements and the ideological outlook. Teaching materials are in conjunction with studying the realities of work and life in the plants and on the farms. Basic vocabularies are based upon the "realities." For example: "The teachers and students of the Specialty in Russian conducted and attended class at the Tung-fang-hung Printing Works. With the assistance of master workmen, they compiled a lesson called 'Our Classroom' with a greater number of words bearing on livelihood and the job of the workers."<sup>135</sup>

*The sciences*—Mao said that the new culture of the people is national and scientific. Delineating the "scientific" he wrote: "It is opposed to all feudal and superstitious ideas; it stands for objective truth and for the unity between theory and practice."<sup>136</sup> He also said that there have been basically only two kinds of knowledge ever since the existence of class society: One is that which concerns the struggle for production; the other is that which concerns class struggle. The crystallization of the latter is social science; that of the former is natural science.<sup>137</sup>

First, it is essential to analyze Mao's specific remarks on the study of natural science: "Students have to study not only liberal arts, but also engineering, agriculture—science." "All subjective ideas must be experimented in objective practices." "Hold the basic theories which have been proved." "It is necessary to study the history of science." "We should never put cold water on the work of scientists."<sup>138</sup> Above all, natural science is necessary.

For what purpose is natural science needed? We find Mao's answers as follows: (1) Nature—He stated that "The significant matter is not merely understanding the laws of

nature, so as to merely interpret nature," and that "The really important task is holding our understanding of the laws of nature to energetically reconstruct nature."<sup>139</sup> Regarding science and nature, he spoke more specifically: "Natural science is one of man's weapons in his fight for freedom. . . . For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use natural science to understand, conquer and change nature and thus attain freedom from nature."<sup>140</sup> (2) The world—Mao believes that the people and the scientists of the world should strive together resolutely for the energetic development of the peaceful use of science and that they use science as a power to oppose and prevent the intrigues aimed at war.<sup>141</sup> (3) China—Mao said that in order to engage in national construction, science was needed to fight with nature. The "poor and blank" aspects of China's economy and culture must be thoroughly transformed by means of modern science. He also said: "To master advanced science and technology is to strengthen the economy of the people, consolidate national defense and safeguard the security of the motherland."<sup>142</sup> (4) The proletariat—Mao equated the dissemination of scientific knowledge and techniques with the spread of dialectical materialism. Since workers, peasants, and soldiers constitute the bulk of the population, Mao advocated a grass-roots emphasis upon technology for the masses prior to "more attention to advanced elitist research." He also said that the masses gained some scientific knowledge and techniques, thus, they can better shoulder the task of national construction.<sup>143</sup> Finally, it is important to point out that, in 1949, the Central Government promulgated the following "policy of science education" which is in accordance with Mao's idea: "Efforts shall be made to develop the natural sciences, to place them at the service of industrial, agricultural and national defense construction. Scientific discoveries and inventions shall be encouraged and awarded, and scientific knowledge shall be popularized."<sup>144</sup>

Mao knew well that the development of science in China is behind that in the western industrialized nations and that

in the U.S.S.R. Therefore, he urged the Chinese to reach the "world average" of the achievements in science and then to exceed the "world average." He firmly and optimistically stated that it is possible to "reach," then "exceed," due to the great potential in China and the good character of the Chinese: "China is a big land in a good position with a long seacoast and many natural resources. Chinese are intelligent, diligent, devoted and courageous. China can be one of the best developed nations in science, technology, industry and culture."<sup>145</sup>

Now, we are led to investigate what Mao thought of the ways to reach the higher development of science in China. It was his idea to free science from the fetters of idealistic (mind-centered), mechanistic and metaphysical views. It was also his idea that the nature of science itself is basically classless or neutral and that the reactionaries make science serve the class society. It would be right to learn science from the "enemies," if their ways of using science were resolutely denied. Hence, he suggested that, in addition to "self-innovation," "self-initiative" and "self-reliance," it is necessary to learn science from the capitalistic nations as well as from the social-imperialist country, meaning the Soviet Union.<sup>146</sup>

Finally, as a matter of fact, science is one of the essential subjects in Chinese schools. Science in China has reached that of the space age. It has been reported that manned space ships will be launched in the near future.

Second, Mao's ideas on the study of social science will be analyzed. Mao measured the human being above material things; he said, "Man is the decisive factor in war, not weapons; it is important to study about man." He also stated that there cannot be peace on earth if there are men exploiting other men, hence, men's relations with other men must be understood and improved. Social science is the study of men and for the improvement of the relations among men. Furthermore, Mao disrespected all the rich men who, he believed, are crooked, lazy and exploiting. He respected the

poor people who are "blank-white," genuine, diligent, thrifty and open minded. "Chinese are first of all poor and secondly 'blank' . . . This is a good thing. Poor people want to do things, want revolution. A clean sheet of paper has nothing on it and so the newest and most beautiful words can be written, and the newest and most beautiful picture can be painted on it."<sup>147</sup> Above all, social science is proletariat-centered; its main objective must be to study the poor—the working masses.<sup>148</sup>

Mao asserted that the study of men or the masses must begin with an understanding of their social practices which include their experience with each other, struggle for production, and especially class struggle. The first mission of social science is to promote class struggle, the struggle between the rich and the poor. He said: "There is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx and others saw this. Utopian socialists are always trying to persuade the bourgeoisie to be charitable. This won't work, it is necessary to rely on the class struggle of the proletariat."<sup>149</sup>

Furthermore, he explained: "For the purpose of attaining freedom in society, man must use social science to understand and change society and carry out social revolution."<sup>150</sup> Discussing the significance of social science, Mao further stated: "The three basic constituents of Marxism are scientific socialism, philosophy and political economy. The foundation is social science, class struggle."<sup>151</sup> He felt that the relationship between men and men is crucial in the process of human development. He believed that every one must work with others and that it is practical, intelligent and more effective to work together or collectively. Also, he believed that the development of thinking is primarily social:

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practices: the struggle for production, the class struggle and scien-

tific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking.<sup>152</sup>

*The fine arts*—Mao believed that the subjects in fine arts are essential for the school curriculum.

1. Art: First, we must understand Mao's basic concepts of art—(1) Life is the first source of the arts. All forms and contents of the arts reflect the ways, means, desires, meaning and purpose of life of the people. He said: "In the people's life lies a mine of raw material for art and literature, namely, things in their natural state, things crude, but most lively, rich and fundamental; in this sense, they throw all art and literature into the shade and provide for them a unique and inexhaustible source."<sup>153</sup> He also said: "Artistic and literary works and books of the past are not the source but the flow; they are the products which the ancients and the foreigners created out of the artistic and literary raw materials they lit upon in the people's lives of their own times and places."<sup>154</sup> (2) Mao said, "The fundamental point of departure for art and literature is love, the love of mankind."<sup>155</sup> He interpreted love as the concept and/or behavior pattern and, above all, as the product of the objective social practice. He also said that love did not occur for "no reason." People have motives, reasons, and needs under their respective social system, and gradually, certain types of hatred or love are developed. He believed that there is individual emotion, creativeness, recreation and free expression in arts. However, he asserted that all arts are socially characterized.<sup>156</sup> (3) In light of the social concepts and the life orientation of art, he further asserted that in a class society, there only can be "class art": ". . . all art and literature belong to definite classes. . . . There is, in reality, no such thing as art for art's sake, no art which stands above classes. . . . Proletarian art and literature are part of the entire cause of the proletarian revolution, . . ."<sup>157</sup>

Second, the instrumental nature of art, as Mao believed, needs to be recognized. He asserted that art not only must fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component

part, but also must be an effective instrument: ". . . to ensure that literature and art . . . operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."<sup>158</sup> Specifically, he plainly stated that art should not only be united with politics, but that art must also be the instrument for political cause. Art programs must contain and implement the theory of Marxism-Leninism and establish the proletarian world outlook. "Art must serve politics; it must help the reconstruction of our Socialist China and safeguard peace on earth."<sup>159</sup>

Thirdly, Mao's philosophy of proletariat-centered art will be analyzed: While asserting "people's art," he said:

Bourgeois works of literature and art accepted the bourgeois world outlook and contained various degrees of negative elements, including individualism, pessimism, sentimentalism, and anarchism. These ideas are fundamentally antagonistic to communist ideas. They cannot cultivate communist ideas and sentiments among young people. In point of fact, they may even produce harmful effects on young people.<sup>160</sup>

Mao advocated that the total art curriculum and every subject must be from the basic standpoint of the masses. The life, work and, especially, the economic production of the masses are the best sources of subject materials. The real purpose of any art subject is to serve the masses. He said that, while making an object of art, we must first think "who is going to look at and appreciate it." He also said, "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and, in the first place, for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."<sup>161</sup> Therefore, he stated that art students, as those in all other fields, must not only wake up and stimulate the people, but must also "show respect to the people," "change our old attitude, feeling and thinking which neglected or looked down



upon the masses," "go to mix with peasants, workers and soldiers," and "transform totally to the side of the proletariat."<sup>162</sup>

Since art is to serve the people, Mao advocated the principles of "elevation" and "popularization" of the art work in order to serve the people better. He explained: "Since our art and literature are basically intended for the workers, peasants and soldiers, popularization means extending art and literature among these people, while elevation means raising their level of artistic and literacy appreciation."<sup>163</sup> As the meaning of popularization and elevation was clarified, Mao further explained the kind of subject materials to be popularized and elevated:

What should we popularize among them? The stuff that is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Or that which is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Or that which is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia? No, none of these will do. We must popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, the duty of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers precedes the task of educating them. This is even more true of elevation.<sup>164</sup>

What is the relation between "popularization" and "elevation" in art? Mao said:

In meeting their primary need, we are not to "add flowers to a piece of brocade" but "offer fuel to a person in snowy weather." Under the present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to despise and neglect this task.

But popularization and elevation cannot be sharply separated. Not only is it possible to popularize even now a number of works to a higher level, but the cultural level of the broad masses is also steadily rising. If popularization remains always on the level—for one,

two or three months, for one, two or three years, dealing out always the same stuff like "Little Cowherd," or the characters of "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat," then will not the educator and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What is such popularization good for? The people need popularization, but along with it they need elevation too, elevation month by month and year by year. Popularization is popularization for the people, and elevation is elevation of the people. Such elevation does not take place in midair, nor behind closed doors, but on the basis of popularization. It is at once determined by popularization and gives direction to it.<sup>165</sup>

While both "popularization" and "elevation" are necessary, and the correct course of progress is from the former to the latter, Mao specifically advised striving toward elevation of the people's art. In relation to the basis for the elevation of subject materials, he said:

There must be a basis to elevate from. When we lift up a bucket of water, for instance, aren't we lifting up something that lies on the ground and does not float in midair? What then is the basis from which the standard of our art and literature is to be raised? From the feudal basis? The bourgeois basis? The basis of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia? No. It can only be raised from the basis of the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers.<sup>166</sup>

What are the methods for elevation? Mao's answers were: "One of the principal methods of struggle in the artistic and literary sphere is art and literary criticism. . . . There are two criteria in art and literary criticism: political and artistic."<sup>167</sup> ". . . each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second."<sup>168</sup> Regarding the political criterion during the "War against Japanese Invasion," he wrote in 1942:

"According to political criterion, all works are good that facilitate unity and resistance to Japan, that encourage the masses to be of one heart and one mind and that oppose retrogression and promote progress. . . ."169

Furthermore, Mao asserted that, for the elevation of art, both political and artistic criteria are necessary and they must be united and mutually complementary:

What we demand is unity of politics and art, of content and form, and of the revolutionary political content and the highest possible degree of perfection in artistic form. Works of art, however politically progressive, are powerless if they lack artistic quality. Therefore, we are equally opposed to works with wrong political approaches and to the tendency towards so-called "poster and slogan style" which is correct only in political approach but lacks artistic power. We must carry on a two-front struggle in art and literature.<sup>170</sup>

2. Music: Music is not an abstract art, but rather it is the reflection on the outgrowth of the life and work of the people and is an expression of the feeling of the human group, according to Mao's idea. Music is mainly derived from objective reality, especially from social practices which include class struggle, economic production and scientific experimentation. All the forms and contents of music are characterized by the respective class society, proletariat or bourgeois.<sup>171</sup>

Music is the emotional expression in sound of human individuals or groups; it is their appreciation of the beauty of voice; it is their feeling of values derived from hearing, Maoist scholars in this field asserted. However, Maoists declared that music has never been and should not ever be aimless, and that "singing is not for the sake of singing." Specifically, they said that all forms of music are a means for political ends: "In their struggle for winning revolutionary victories, the people of the whole country need militant singing to keep up their spirits and stimulate their fighting will."<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, it is most interesting to note that the Maoist's watch-

words are: "What's a house without song? Where is a home without music?" "Producing and producing; singing and singing." "The more we sing, the more we produce." "Songs change into rice and all music into better manufacturing." Above all, music is to be used for economic production and political struggle.<sup>173</sup>

Based upon Maoism, both Chinese traditional music, which was feudalistic, and "Western bourgeois classical music" must be abandoned. Both types of music are filled with reactionary sentiments, blurring the "class viewpoint" and paralyzing one's revolutionary fighting will. Maoist musicians are opposed not only to the Beatles but also to Beethoven. They enforced such new songs as "The Internationale," "The East is Red," and "Singing the Song of the Motherland." Furthermore, in accordance with Mao's guiding principle, popularization of revolutionary music, there has been a "piano to village" movement. The musicians and composers have carted their pianos to the villages and experimented with their music on the peasants, aiming to reflect the real-life struggle and the deep emotional desire of the peasants in the new music.<sup>174</sup>

On August 24, 1956, Mao talked to the cadres of the National Association of Music Workers:

In studying Western music you have many important responsibilities. The ordering and the development of Chinese music must depend on you who study Western-style music, just as the ordering and development of Chinese medicine depends on Western-style doctors. The Western things which you study are useful, but you should master both Western and Chinese things, and should not completely Westernize. You should devote attention to Chinese things; do your utmost to study and develop them, with the aim of creating our own Chinese things with characteristics, national in form and style. If you grasp this basic policy, your work will have a great future.<sup>175</sup>

3. Drama and dance. Mao, in his speeches and writings, defined drama and dance as popular art forms and excellent instruments for raising general cultural standards, and especially for educating the people in a proletarian revolution. The traditional portrayers of romance and levity have been denounced as "wicked reactionaries." The new heroes assigned to the footlights, include the veteran workers educating the younger generation, the village girl safeguarding the commune property, and the college graduates working tenaciously in the border areas. The themes and styles of the revolutionary plays, operas and dances must be new, such as those exposing the crimes of the land-owning class and the reactionary group, or those evolving around the peasant's life, which is believed to be the best source of material for realistic, yet creative, dramatic works.<sup>176</sup>

Regarding dance, Mao urged using foreign styles and making them conform to the cultural pattern in China. He said: "In the Tang dynasty, there were seven kinds of dance with music. Six of those originally came from other lands; later all the six were transformed into Chinese styles, so, we should do the same."<sup>177</sup>

*Physical education*—Firstly, we find that Mao's life and work were interrelated with the development of his thoughts in physical education. At the dawn of the 20th century, while studying in elementary, secondary and then normal schools, Mao learned about the humiliations China suffered by being defeated and invaded. Mao, a man of character and zeal, became highly patriotic and was seeking ideas and programs for protecting the motherland and restoring the dignity of the Chinese. He concluded that the people's health was of utmost importance and a better physical education program must be one of the most significant. He then wrote "A Study of Physical Education" published in April, 1917, which was the first of his volumes of writings. In this article, he defined the need, the meaning and the value of physical education. He undertook physical training himself: took swims, mountaineered, walked shirtless in the wind and sleet, and even

doused daily in the courtyard with a bucket of cold well-water.

Mao continuously gave such directives for schools to improve physical education: "Promote physical culture and build up the people's health"; "Whenever feasible, physical culture and sports of all kinds should be encouraged, such as physical exercises, ball games, running, mountain climbing, swimming and traditional Chinese taichi boxing"; "Physical education should be emphasized inside as well as outside the school system." He often spoke of developing education in its three aspects—the moral, the intellectual and the physical.<sup>178</sup>

Secondly, why is physical education important? Some of the reasons Mao expressed are as follows: (1) In the old class society the national philosophy advocated that "One who works mentally, governs; those who work physically are governed." Consequently, the physical health of the people deteriorates and the national strength weakens. In 1917 Mao wrote:

Our nation is wanting in strength.... The physical condition of the population deteriorates daily. This is an extremely disturbing phenomenon . . . students hitherto have paid much attention to moral and intellectual education but have neglected physical education. The unfortunate consequence has been that they bend their backs and bow their heads; they have "white and slender hands"; when they climb a hill, they are short of breath, and when they walk in the water, they get cramps in their feet.<sup>179</sup>

(2) Mao stated definitely and specifically that physical health should be the "first" significant concern in life: "The only calamity that can befall a man is not to have a body. What else is there to worry about? If one seeks to improve one's body, other things will follow automatically."<sup>180</sup> "If our bodies are not strong, we will be afraid as soon as we see enemy soldiers, and then how can we attain our goals and

make ourselves respected?"<sup>181</sup> In brief, Mao thought that physical health is the beginning for "a strong mind and better knowledge," "a better character and higher morals," "a stronger will" and "a better sentiment." He wrote: "When the body is strong, then one can advance speedily in knowledge and morality, and reap far-reaching advantages." "In order to civilize the mind, one must first strengthen the body. If the body is made strong, then the civilized mind will follow."<sup>182</sup> ". . . There comes a day when the body (health) cannot be preserved, and then morality and wisdom along with it."<sup>183</sup> "Physical education not only enhances knowledge, it also harmonizes the sentiments. The power of sentiments is extremely great."<sup>184</sup> "Physical education not only harmonizes the emotions, it also strengthens the will . . . courage, dauntlessness, audacity, and perseverance are all matters of will."<sup>185</sup> "Exercise over a long time can produce great results and give rise to a feeling of personal value."<sup>186</sup>

Thirdly, we find Mao's remarks on the aim of physical education:

The purpose of physical education is to strengthen the muscles and the bones; as a result, knowledge is enhanced, the sentiments are harmonized, and the will is strengthened. The muscles and the bones belong to our body; knowledge, sentiments, and will belong to our heart. When both the body and the heart are at ease, one may speak of perfect harmony. Hence, physical education is nothing else but the nourishing of our lives and the gladdening of our hearts.<sup>187</sup>

Fourthly, what should the physical education programs consist of? In accordance with Mao thought, the programs fall into three categories: (1) The physical activities of production in farms or factories—using the plow, picking up animal manure, gathering the harvest, tending trees, cutting lumber, repairing and moving machines, cleaning the plant, etc. are most practical and applicable activities. The best physical exercise is what best fits the job.<sup>188</sup> Therefore,

"climbing up to the mountains," "going down to the village," and "working in the factories" movements have been promoted. (2) The military training for national defense—"marksmanship-shooting," "bayoneting," and "grenade-throwing" are units in the program.<sup>189</sup>

For implementing Mao ideas on physical education for economic production and national defense, the Central Government, in 1954, promulgated the provisional rules of "Labour-Defense Centered Physical Education" and issued related orders after that year. From these statements we find "Through experimentations in different places, the Labour-Defense Centered Physical Education System has been proven as the effective way for promoting the total physical education of the people, and especially that of the youth," and "the Labour-Defense System is the foundation of physical education in China. It aims at the promotion of the total physical education of the Chinese, nursing the people to be healthy, brave and optimistic defenders of the motherland and the constructors of socialism."<sup>190</sup> In 1958, the Central Government proclaimed the "Law of the Labour-Defense Physical Education System" which states:

The Labour-Defense System of Physical Education is established in accordance with the needs of the socialist constructions and the basic requirements for the physical training of the people. This system aims at encouraging the people to positively participate in physical training, at promoting the spread of the physical education movement, and at raising the level of the skills of the activities. It is, finally, to enable the people to have strong bodies, abundant vigor, firm will and higher aspirations, so that they can better serve the construction of socialism and defense of our motherland.<sup>191</sup>

(3) The athletic contests—These programs are to improve working style and skills by exchange of experience and are

to promote mutual understanding, friendship and unity between athletes, spectators and all personnel involved. The contests must enhance a better attitude toward play, especially the collective spirit of all persons involved. The athletes must pay special attention to implementing the policy "Friendship first, competition second" formulated, in accordance with Mao thought, by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party during the Cultural Revolution. Competitive programs are used for promoting friendship, strengthening unity and raising athletic standards. Above all, according to Mao's idea, competition stresses the development of the new sportsmanship or new morality. Courage, tenacity, fighting spirit, fair play, and cooperation are virtues. Especially, winning is not the glory of any individual but the success of collective efforts.<sup>192</sup>

Finally, in light of the goal of proletariat-centered physical education, Mao advocated the popularization of "physical exercise" integrating with the daily life and work schedule of the people everywhere in China. This idea is implemented by the "Broadcast physical exercises." Several sets of physical exercises—calisthenics mainly—with musical accompaniment are broadcast in sequence over the radio early every day for the public to participate in for about five minutes. In the schools, at recesses between classes, such exercises are broadcast for the teachers and students to exercise in formation on the athletic field or in the corridor or classroom. These types of exercises are also followed daily during the "break" or the "coffee break" as it is called in the West, outside the office building or in the factory plants. It is also practiced in communes, even in many villages.<sup>193</sup>

#### IV. THE SUBJECTS IN SCHOOLS

Mao's warning against the elitist, ivory-tower attitudes of intellectuals and his philosophy of proletariat education were heeded by the education workers in the reformation of the

curriculum. The core of the subjects at all school levels emphasizes work patterns, efficiency of production, ideological confirmation, collective virtue and moral attitude. Although many conventional subjects were retained, the subjects in all schools became fewer and the contents were simplified and concentrated upon certain essential materials, in accordance with Mao's directives.

*Early childhood program*—This level of education, which lasts two to three years, is for children of four to six or seven years of age. It is regarded as the lower beginning of primary school and the upper extension of the educational function of the home. Kindergarten classes are intended to provide children with "physical culture," "moral education," "intellectual education" and "art education." Programs may fall in these subject areas: Chinese language, arithmetic, singing and dancing, drawing and painting, physical training and productive labor. However, no strict and formal subjects are required. Reading and writing are not formally taught. The child's life in kindergarten is comprised chiefly of group games, hand-work, singing, story-telling, sight-seeing and group or collective activities. Although no literacy is taught, speech ability of the children and their understanding of what is going on about them are emphasized.<sup>194</sup>

*The elementary school*—What subjects are taught at the elementary level for children of seven to thirteen years of age? Mao stated that it is necessary to learn reading: "When I was young, . . . I was taught only such stuff as: 'The master said: How pleasant it is to learn and practice constantly what one has learned.'<sup>195</sup> Though such stuff is out-of-date as teaching material, yet it did me some good because it is from this that I learned to read."<sup>196</sup> He also wrote that it is imperative to learn elementary "writing," "reading" and such subjects as "Social Common Understanding" and "Basic Knowledge of Natural Science." All of the above were the foundations for effective work and a better comprehension of ideology. Furthermore, Mao emphatically stated that "reading" and "writing" are the beginnings of and the neces-

sary tools for learning "Social Common Understanding" and "Basic Knowledge of Natural Science."<sup>197</sup> Regarding the elementary subjects, he specifically said: ". . . such fresh subjects as the Chinese language, history, geography and the natural sciences which, once mastered, will prove useful everywhere."<sup>198</sup>

It is necessary to learn foreign languages and it is better to begin learning them in the elementary school, in accordance with Mao's ideas. It is most interesting to know what he said during the Cultural Revolution in 1968, to the Peking representatives of the Red Guard: "It is good to learn some English. I started learning foreign languages too late; suffered a lot. . . . When you are young, a good foundation must be established. Miss Tank Ho-lang, what is your major? . . . Geology. You cannot do well without knowing some foreign language. Above all, learning a foreign language must begin in elementary school."<sup>199</sup> Mao's ideas have become the common practice in most schools; regular English instruction begins in the fifth grade. It may even start earlier in some schools.<sup>200</sup>

As previously stated, Mao stressed physical education. For example, he wrote: "In the primary school, particular attention should be paid to the development of the body; progress in knowledge and moral training are of secondary importance. Nourishment and care should be primary. Teaching and discipline are complementary."<sup>201</sup>

What actually is taught in all schools in general, and in elementary schools specifically, reflects Mao's thought. The following documents are most illustrative:

Five courses are to be given in primary schools: Politics and language, arithmetic, revolutionary literature and art, military training and physical culture, and productive labour.<sup>202</sup>

Every child must learn language, arithmetic, music, art (painting) and physical education. Every child, in our schools, from third grade, starts to learn English. In some schools, French, Spanish or some other foreign

languages are taught. Beginning at fourth grade, political subjects are added. The major reading materials in ideology are selected from the works by Chairman Mao and the stories of the revolutionary struggle. Hence, children come in contact with Marxism-Leninism very early and learn to give special attention to the revolutionary tradition. In fourth grade, one more subject—"Common Knowledge" (main contents are in natural sciences) is added. At the beginning of every morning program, we have physical exercise. Every day, there are six periods (four before noon and two in the afternoon). Each period is forty-five minutes. Furthermore, in our school, beginning at third grade, students always follow the teachers to visit the factories and the peasant communes; students work with peasants and laborers. . . . When the class topic is "wheat," we must go to the farm; when it is "paper," we must visit lumber mills.<sup>203</sup>

Finally, the injection of political ideology into all subjects of elementary schools as well as all other schools has always been emphasized. For example: ". . . In the arithmetic lessons for lower grades, exercises are given for the pupils to work out concerning how many workers and . . . peasants were exploited and how much so by capitalists and landlords. Thus class education is combined with arithmetic."<sup>204</sup>

*The secondary school*—There are mainly two types of secondary schools in China: The general middle schools (both junior and senior) and the vocational and technical middle schools (both junior and senior). Political ideology is the core, and productive labour is the common practice of the curriculum of both types of schools. The general secondary schools tend to emphasize linguistics, science, mathematics, and social and political studies. In the three-year junior general middle schools, there are language and literature subjects (about one-fourth of the class hours), mathematics (two years), history (Chinese and world) and geography (three years), and several sciences including physics, chem-

istry, botany and zoology. Political studies account for one or two hours per week.<sup>205</sup> The courses taught at the three-year senior general middle schools are "Chinese language, mathematics (including trigonometry, and algebra), physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, foreign languages, athletics, physical education and politics."<sup>206</sup> In addition, productive labor is required.

The three-year junior vocational or technical middle schools are year-around, half day working and half day studying on the school's own farms or factories. Three of the major subjects are the Chinese language, mathematics and basic productive techniques; the major subject is politics; each occupies about one-fourth of the time. History and geography are not offered; sciences are seldom included. The vocational or technical senior three-year middle schools include normal (teaching training) and various specialized schools in industry, agriculture, finance, public health, fine arts, etc. The great volume of subjects is specific, practical and constantly revised in accordance with time, place, students and especially the actual circumstances of economic productivities.<sup>207</sup>

By 1969, the educational revolution progressed and the "Draft Program for Primary and Middle Schools in the countryside" was then issued under Mao's directive. From this document we find:

Five courses are to be given in the middle school: Education in Mao Tse-tung Thought (including modern Chinese history, contemporary Chinese history and the history of the struggle between the two lines within the party), basic knowledge for agriculture (including mathematics, physics, chemistry and economic geography), revolutionary literature and art (including language), military training and physical culture (including the study of Chairman Mao's concepts on the people's war, strengthening the idea of preparedness against war, and activities in military training and physical culture), and productive labour.<sup>208</sup>

Finally, one of Mao's rare statements made in Shanghai, 1957, on secondary school curriculum can be translated as follows:

There may be some reasons for the unstable situations in education. Due to a lack of experience, we have unstableness; but after a period of time, we will reach stability. Among the junior middle school subjects, we should have history, geography and other subjects in the humanities. In middle and elementary school, students learn foreign languages as they should. In general, the subjects in the junior middle school are too many; one-third of those should be cut. There must be some essential subjects or some areas that constitute the major studies. In the school program, it is inadvisable to have major subjects on an equal basis and competing with each other.<sup>209</sup>

*The college and university*—Mao pointed out that the Chinese university curriculum, introduced by the Nationalist Government, was merely the transplantation of the Western system which was too theoretical and impractical to serve the people. Adhering to Mao's philosophy of proletarian education and his guiding principles for curriculum reconstruction, the Central Government issued directives in relation to the subjects in the higher learning institutions. For example:

In the higher learning institutions, . . . the curriculum must closely coordinate with the present and future needs of the national constructions in economy, politics, defense and culture. In the systematical theoretical study, it is to carry out proper specialized studies. In accordance with the principle of "simplification of subjects," it is to establish, strengthen and concentrate on the important subjects and to curtail the duplicated or less-needed subjects.<sup>210</sup>

Curriculum in various types of higher learning institutions is different. However, there are, at large, a group of subjects required for all students to study, and numerous specialized subjects for different students. Productive laboring is not only required each semester, it is also integrated with the materials in every subject field. Because of "political commands" and "economics as the means for ideology," Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought is a basic course. The Government directives define the contents of the subjects. From one of those we find:

It is the decided rule that the "Socialism Education" subject is established for all students in all higher learning institutions in China.... The contents of this subject, as the Central Propaganda Department of the Party decided, is centering around Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." At the same time, students are to read some important classic works by Marx and Lenin and the documents of the Party.<sup>211</sup>

From 1949, the year the People's Republic of China was born, to 1966, the year in which the Cultural Revolution was initiated, Chinese college admissions depended upon a candidate's achievements in the standard college entrance examination. From year to year, the Ministry of Education of the Central Government issued the "Outlines of the Entrance Examination of Higher Learning Institutions" which contains the detailed fundamental and essential subject contents. The subjects included are politics, Chinese Language and Literature, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, Russian Language and English Language. The texts, books and other materials for each subject are also listed in the "Outlines" issued by the Ministry.<sup>212</sup> Although the Entrance Examination was discontinued during the Cultural Revolution in 1967, the general and common subjects, since then, are still similar to those listed above.

Mao held strongly for the utilitarian concept of education,

meaning that subjects must fit the actual circumstances of class struggle and economic production. Hence, there are numerous types of higher learning institutions, technologically or professionally oriented. "Universities," "colleges" and "institutes" have been established in industry, communication, transportation, agriculture, forestry, medicine, business administration, international relations, fine arts, physical education, etc. In each field, the "colleges" are further diversified. For example, in light industry, there are colleges in textiles, silk weaving, paper, chemicals, fabrics, food, etc.

Finally, in order to build an effective curriculum, college courses with generalized contents are not favored. Such courses as "The General Orientation of Chinese History," "The Study of Geography," "The Introductory Study of Philosophy," and "The Study of World History" were all abolished as early as 1950. A number of new subjects with clear and specific contents were introduced in the 1950's: For example, in geography, the subjects were "Chinese Industrial Geography," "Agricultural Geography in China," "Geography of Chinese Transportation," "Regional Planning of Economics," "Survey Methods in Economic Geography." Also, such specific courses as the following have been the main body of the curriculum for students in pre-school teacher education: History of Pre-school Education, Child Psychology, Children's Literature, Early Childhood Language, Early Childhood Science, Early Childhood Art, Early Childhood Music, Kindergarten Activities and Games, and Early Childhood Health.<sup>213</sup>

#### V. THE CONTENTS AND THE TEXTBOOKS OF THE SUBJECTS

*The contents of the subjects*—In accordance with Mao's ideas, each subject must contain rich, specific, essential contents. In philosophy, as an example, he said, "We must read books in Marxism, Revisionism, Idealism (mentalism) and those in American experimentalism and pragmatism. Other-



wise, we will not be able to make a good comparison."<sup>214</sup> He called for solid and specific substances to be studied and especially emphasized the materials to be selected under such criteria as follows: (1) Correct political ideology and its sufficient implementation, (2) Materials applying to the needs and problems of the present, (3) Emphasis on the place of China (He indicated Europe-centered world history, for example), (4) Materials centering around the needs of the masses.<sup>215</sup>

*The textbooks*—Mao recognized that textbooks could be instrumental for effective teaching and learning. He, however, indicted the "old" textbooks as being replete with feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideas and individualism. The story of little Ssu-ma Kuang who alertly picked up a rock to smash a water jar into which a playmate had fallen, is one used for generations in the "old" textbooks. But this story now is rejected as glorifying a person and promoting individualism. It is also felt that such topics as "A cat jumps; a dog barks," "Birds" and "Flowers" in the "old" textbooks, must be discarded because they are irrelevant to revolution or class struggle.<sup>216</sup>

The textbook is the guide for teaching and learning and a source of knowledge and skill. The total impact of textbooks upon students is tremendous. It is imperative to have the "new" textbook, in accordance with Mao's ideas. He indicted any book which "fills endless pages with empty talk," and severely condemned any literature which "shoots at random and disregards the audience." Therefore, he insisted that a good textbook must have such characteristics as: (1) Rich, precise, concise and correct contents, (2) clear direction in economic production and political struggle, (3) materials adaptive to local conditions, (4) materials drawn from actual problems of the life and work of the people, (5) readability of the text for students. He said: "Communists who really want to do propaganda work must consider their audience and think over the question of who is to read their articles and handwriting, or listen to their speeches and

talks. . . ." Logically, he insisted that a text must be written in the "student's" language and "people's literature."<sup>217</sup>

It is interesting for us to know the actual features of some of the new textbooks written under Mao thought. *Book One* of the primary school textbooks on language study has 32 lessons, and in each of these, Chairman Mao or his "quotations" are mentioned. It is a matter of fact that the ideology of class struggle is integrated into all textbooks. For example, an exercise in subtraction has been stated as such a question: How much grain was left for the poor peasant who toiled all year to harvest ten piculs of grain but had to pay nine piculs for rent to an oppressive landlord? A language textbook for fourth graders (40 lessons in 70 pages) contains materials falling into the following categories: (1) Chairman Mao—one of the lessons is entitled "Sing Praise to Mao Tse-tung." (2) Patriotism—one lesson is a narrative of "Gaity at the capital on the National Day's Eve." (3) Internationalism—one lesson is entitled "Lenin at School." (4) Science and production—water, soil, forest, animals, state farms, etc.

A language lesson entitled "Little Bugler" which appeared in the June 1974 *China Reconstruct*, an official journal, reads:

At the time of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, there was a child named Xiaoyong living in a mountain region of south China. He was a cowherd for the family of the landlord Mountain Wolf, who had killed both his parents. The year Xiaoyong was 14, the Red Army came to their village. He found the Army's political instructor and asked to join the army. He said he wanted to avenge all the laboring people and make revolution to the end.

Seeing his great bitterness, deep hatred and great revolutionary determination, the instructor let him stay. When the instructor asked him to learn to blow the bugle, he hurriedly said, "I'm in the army to

fight battles and kill the enemy. I won't blow a bugle, I want a rifle!"

"On the battlefield we couldn't maneuver troops without a bugle. It is also a weapon. Hearing it, the enemy trembles with fear and our fighters' morale soars." Xiaoyong was extraordinarily moved by the instructor's words. "Well, since blowing the bugle is so important, I'll do it."

Once when Xiaoyong was coming from a mission he walked up a hill and suddenly discovered Mountain Wolf leading his reactionary armed force, coming to attack. "So many of the enemy have come this time," he thought, "and we have very few men. I must think of a method to disrupt their plan and lead them over this way." He started blowing his bugle and threw several hand grenades at them. They heard his bugle call and came running his way.

Seeing the enemy's disposition disrupted, the political instructor at once ordered his troops to pursue. In the course of pursuit they not only wiped out large numbers of the enemy but also killed Mountain Wolf.

After the victorious conclusion of the battle the instructor praised Xiaoyong as "a good Red Army fighter."<sup>218</sup>

Finally, we find Mao's instructions regarding the methods of writing textbooks. One of Mao's basic doctrines is "Democratic-centralism"—"Decentralized-centralism" which means "diversity under uniformity." The implementation of this doctrine is the local, regional and provincial freedom being given by the central authority. Such a principle is applied to the performances of various state affairs as well as to textbook writing. According to the principles issued by the Central Government, each province, region and locality

is allowed to write its own textbooks in order to best serve the specific needs of students in different places.

Furthermore, we find that the principles and practices of collectivism have also been applied in textbook writing. The collective effort of "writing teams" or "compiling teams" rather than the work of educators or professionals is emphasized. Experienced revolutionary teachers, students, and workers-peasants-soldiers constitute the teams. The following official statement indicates the role of students in the compilation: "The textbooks of the school are self-compiled. First, the students discuss what they want to learn. Then the teachers, together with the representatives of the students, work out the textbooks."<sup>219</sup>

Also, we note that Mao's "experimentalism" has been applied in improving the textbook. After compilation and use in a class, the textbooks are revised from time to time.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IDEOLOGIES OF METHODS

The Imperativeness of Methods

The Methodological Ideologies Indicted: individualism, subjectivism, empiricism, doctrinairism, sectarianism, bureaucratism, commandism, liberalism, rightism and leftism

Authoritarian Pattern: who, what, how and why

Democratic Process: who, what, how and why

Scientific System: general definition, the fundamental basis and steps (1) investigations, (2) analysis, (3) experimentation

The Dialectics: general descriptions, changes, contradictions, inter-connections and dynamics

The Relative Methods: the relative and the absolute, purpose and the relative methods, circumstances and flexibility, expediencies and compromises and the "pair system"

Mao's theories move away from mere metaphysical abstractions; they are, in fact, the social-philosophical justification of methods. Maoism can be considered as a theory of logic or a system of ways of doing. Mao Tse-tung thought, derived from life, work, war and revolution, is more methodological than philosophical. His speeches, writings and talks

mostly have been reflections on, or the instructions for, problem-solving in war, political struggles, economic productions, as well as in education.

The previous chapters have presented Mao's concepts and purposes of education and his ideas regarding curriculum. Beginning with this chapter, the theories and practices of Mao's educational methods will be discussed. In this chapter, the ideologies of methods are analyzed under (1) the "imperatives," (2) the "theories" and "practices" indicted, (3) the "theories" and "practices" asserted, which are the authoritarian pattern, democratic process, scientific system, dialectics and relativeness.

#### I. THE IMPERATIVENESS OF METHODS

According to Mao, good intentions in revolutionary works are important, but if there is no method for their fulfillment, the intentions may have little meaning. He had always been very attentive to the question of "how to work." During every period of the Chinese Revolution, he laid down for the Party not only the "general lines," directives and policies, but also the methods for correct work. He asserted that ideology, without methods to carry it out, will become meaningless. Theories need to be implemented: The ends must have means to achieve them. Mao wrote:

We should not only propose tasks but also solve the problem of the methods of accomplishing them. Our task may be the crossing of a river, but we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat...Without solving the problem of methods, it is sheer blather to talk about tasks. Without paying attention to leadership in expanding the Red Army or attaching importance to expanding it, we can achieve no success in the end.<sup>1</sup>

To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies. Even with the correct general and specific

policies, trouble may arise if methods of work are neglected.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the imperative of methods, Mao explained further: "All the Communists in the world seemingly understand the ways of the existence and development of things, and know the dialectic methods; therefore, they are more capable in work than the bourgeoisie."<sup>3</sup> "Some of the struggles in rural areas, in factories and cultural fields, failed to achieve the goal, because methods to arouse the broad masses were not developed."<sup>4</sup> "The Communist Party should not be one of ideology, policy and strategy only; it must be a Party of action, especially of know-how to work effectively."<sup>5</sup>

He reminded the Chinese: "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world . . . , but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world."<sup>6</sup> In March, 1949, the crucial year of the Chinese revolution, he told the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China: "...The Central Committee now leads a vast area and shoulders very heavy responsibilities. To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work. Even with correct general and specific policies, troubles may still arise if methods of work are neglected."<sup>7</sup>

#### II. THE METHODOLOGICAL IDEOLOGIES INDICTED

As "method" is the imperative, we are led to inquire about Mao's theories of methods and their implementations. Beginning in the 1920's, Mao continuously improved the methods of revolution. From time to time, he pointed out the methodological errors exhibited by his comrades. For example, he wrote: "Defects like doctrinairism, empiricism, "tailism," sectarianism, bureaucracy, the doctrine of command, and arrogant styles of work are definitely undesirable and must be removed; and anyone who shows such apparent defects must be rectified precisely."<sup>8</sup>

From Mao's volumes of writings and speeches, and based upon numerous governmental documents, we find that Mao opposed such methodologies and implementations as the following:

*Individualism*—According to Mao's thinking, one who follows individualism will do everything in his own way for his ego-satisfaction and selfishness. He specifically pointed out that the methods of work under individualism will encounter the following dangers: (1) Vindictiveness—under individualism, one may attack others for his own gain, thus other individuals might find the opportunity to retaliate. "Such vindictiveness proceeds solely from placing personal considerations above the interests of the class and of the Party as a whole. Its target is not the enemy class but individuals in our own ranks. It is a corrosive which weakens the organization and its fighting capacity."<sup>9</sup> (2) Cliques—"To care only about the interests of one's own small group and ignore general interests. Although it is, on the surface, not concerned with personal interests, in reality, it contains a narrow individualism and has an exceedingly corrosive centrifugal effect."<sup>10</sup> (3) The mercenary view—"Not to appreciate that one is a member of the Party and the Red Army. . . . Not to appreciate that one fulfills a responsible role in the revolution but to think oneself only responsible to individuals or officers and not to the revolution." If the mercenary view is not eliminated, the number of people who are enthusiastic and active, and exert themselves unreservedly, cannot be increased.<sup>11</sup> (4) Hedonism—dislike of working in the area where life is hard. (5) Passivity and inactivity—to stop working whenever things go against one's wishes.<sup>12</sup>

Mao asserted that the rectification of individualism was chiefly to intensify ideological education so as to wipe out the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies.<sup>13</sup>

*Subjectivism*—According to Mao's interpretation, subjectivist ways of thinking and action in war, politics, and study are based upon personal wishes, feelings, enthusiasm, partial understanding and the supposition or imagination

of the individual self. The subjectivists do not give a real, rational analysis to the environment or the surroundings. They give no attention to objective or actual facts when actions are taken. Above all, he said: "Subjectivism is an incorrect approach in study, opposed to Marxism-Leninism and incompatible with the Communist Party."<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, Mao stated that, although the Party doctrine was correct, there were serious problems facing the Party: "What are the problems? It is that some comrades' ideas are not quite correct and not quite desirable. That is to say, there is still something incorrect in the approach in our study, . . . the incorrect approach in study refers to the evil of subjectivism."<sup>15</sup> "Many comrades are unwilling to make a systematic and comprehensive investigation and study the actual situations.... They issue orders and decrees on the strength of scrappy knowledge and with the assertion 'It must be so because I think so,'..."<sup>16</sup> Consequently, he gave a serious warning to the people: "Subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result either in opportunism or in adventurism. As to subjective criticism inside the Party, random talk not based on facts or mutual suspicion often ferments unprincipled conflicts and disrupts the Party's organization."<sup>17</sup> He also emphatically pointed out that the subjectivist attitude of study will be ineffective, will reach no useful purpose, and, at best, will be merely theoretical for the sake of theory.<sup>18</sup> Finally, it is noteworthy that, as early as 1929, he asserted "educate Party members to learn the Marxist-Leninist method instead of the subjective, so that they will not fall into the abyss of fantasy and blindness." In 1942, he launched a great anti-subjectivism campaign and stated: "Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism hold sway, can Party spirit become strengthened and the revolution succeed."<sup>19</sup>

*Empiricism*—Mao was against the mentalist, idealist and subjectivist beliefs that the inner power of the individual is the most important factor, if not the only one, in doing, learning and thinking. Hence, he emphasized external or

objective observation and direct or personal experience as the effective process of learning and doing. However, he rejected the "mechanical empiricist theory of method" which denotes such ideas as "practice entirely relying upon observation and experiment" and "all ideas and knowledge derived from experience, especially sense perception." Mao said: "Our experience must be growing upward and becoming a form or system of theory, so that we may not make the same mistakes as the materialistic empiricist did."<sup>20</sup> Mao did not consider sensory experience the sole source of knowledge, though he was opposed to rationalism which relies upon reason alone to give us real knowledge. He rejected the views of the materialistic empiricists who consider matter the independent source of sense experience. He acknowledged that objective material lies at the basis of experience, but he did not limit the concept of experience to a mere complex of sensations. In brief, he rejected the "narrowness" or the "one-sidedness" of empiricism.

The empiricist method of acting and thinking is "superficial," "incomplete" and incapable of attacking the core of our problem, Mao pointed out. The empiricist, clinging to his fragmentary experience, can neither understand the importance of theory for revolutionary practice, nor see the whole of the revolutionary situation, and thus works blindly though industriously. Empiricists do no more than generalize particular instances. They can neither undertake a higher degree of the total analysis of the "substance" nor make a deeper judgment about the values.<sup>21</sup>

For further understanding of Mao's criticism on empiricism, we may examine his writings: "It would be a repetition of the mistake of empiricism in history to hold that knowledge can stop at the lower stage of perception and that perceptual knowledge alone is reliable while rational knowledge is not."<sup>22</sup> He strengthened his view against empiricism by writing: "Vulgar 'practical men' respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional

success and glimpses of the truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley."<sup>23</sup> Finally, in order to avoid empiricist failure, one must systematize, comprehend and theorize isolated experiences and follow the dialectic method, as Mao asserted.<sup>24</sup>

*Doctrinairism*—"Doctrinaires" are those who take ideology blindly on faith, and try to apply doctrine with little or no consideration given to the real circumstances or the actual courses of events. Mao persistently rejected the dogmatic vulgarization of Marxism, which was undertaken by opportunists to blunt the critical edge of the theoretical weapon of the proletariat. He said: "There was a group of doctrinaires in the Chinese Communist Party who, disregarding the experience of the Chinese revolution and denying the truth that 'Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action,' bluffed people with words and phrases torn out of their context from Marxist works."<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, he said that doctrinairism constituted a great danger in the Party: "The doctrinaires can easily put on the Marxist mask to bluff, capture and enslave the proletariat cadres who can hardly see through them, and they can also bluff and capture innocent youth."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, he took resolute actions to rectify the doctrinaire style of work and explained the rationale of this rectification, which is: "To overcome the dogmatic and formalist working styles existing in the government, army and school, so that we can successfully unite officers and soldiers, the army and the people, unite with friendly troops, disintegrate enemy troops, and ensure that the tasks of training, supply and fighting are accomplished."<sup>27</sup> Finally, it is important to note his ideas about "how" to avoid the dangers of doctrinairism: "Those with knowledge of books must develop in the direction of practical work so that they will not stop dead at books or commit the mistake of doctrinairism."<sup>28</sup>

*Sectarianism*—Sectarianism is synonymous with sectionalism or factionalism; it is a parochial, provincial, or narrow concept of organization. This doctrine is for the restricted interest of a group of people or for the progress of a certain place only, in accordance with Mao's interpretation.<sup>29</sup> On

the attitude of sectarians, he wrote: "First, they assert independence. . . often adhere to the view that the individual comes first, . . ." <sup>30</sup> "... see only the interests of a part but not those of the whole; they always unduly emphasize the importance of the part of work which is in their charge and wish to subordinate the interest of the whole to those of the part." <sup>31</sup> "Disregard of the whole situation and complete indifference to other departments, other localities and other persons constitute the characteristics of group egoism." <sup>32</sup>

Mao recognized the existence of Party sectarianism. In 1942, he said: "There is no longer any sectarianism that plays a dominant role in our Party. Remnants of sectarianism, however, are still found both in relations inside the Party and in relations between the Party and the outside world." <sup>33</sup> He also said: "Many of our comrades are much given to swaggering before non-Party people, despising and belittling them, and are unwilling to show them respect or appreciate their good qualities. This is precisely a sectarian tendency." <sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he resolutely declared that sectarianism both in the Party's relations with the outside and the relations within the Party must be eliminated. He continued his efforts to eliminate the sectarian style of work, because "sectarianism inside the Party leads to a mutual exclusiveness among the members, hindering unity and solidarity within the Party," and "sectarianism in relations between the Party and the outside world leads to exclusiveness towards non-Party people, hindering the Party's work of uniting the whole of our people." <sup>35</sup> From his speech in the 1956 National Congress of the Communist Party of China, we find: "The sectarian style of work alienates us from the masses, cuts us off from reality, and harms unity, both in the Party and between outsiders and the Party. It obstructs the progress of our cause . . . and must be vigorously corrected." <sup>36</sup> In order to correct this wrong style of work, a wide scale political education movement must be intensified, as Mao asserted. This movement is to educate all Chinese to have a united mind and selfless spirit. The primary concern is to educate Party

cadres to understand the danger of this style of work and to train them for unity. <sup>37</sup>

*Bureaucratism*—Mao stated that the bureaucratic system of work is the characteristic of a class society. It contains a hierarchy of authority, ineffective and unnecessary rules and is marked by officialism, red tape and proliferation in operation. <sup>38</sup> He further stated that the bureaucratic pattern of work would inevitably result in the following: (1) the demarcation line between the government and the people or the separation of the officers from the masses, (2) a less practical and concrete program, (3) dehumanized leadership and workmanship, (4) imposition of more rules from the upper level down, (5) less self-criticism, group evaluation and social dynamics, (6) lower morale and a feeling of drudgery for the working members, hence, less efficiency of work. <sup>39</sup>

Mao made numerous indictments on the bureaucratic system, for example: "Many of our government leaders do not work themselves, depending upon the secretaries. Why not let the secretaries have the leadership position?" "Many ministers have secretaries. At least some of them must be entrenched." "The government structure is huge; many ministries should be changed into divisions or sections and combined with other ministries." <sup>40</sup> "Government offices grow bigger and bigger. There are more people than there are jobs; there is red tape; instructions proliferate." <sup>41</sup> Finally, it is most interesting to note his 1966 message entitled "On Bureaucracy":

At the highest level there is very little knowledge. They do not understand the opinion of the masses.

They are very busy from morning until evening but they do not examine people and they do not investigate matters.

Their bureaucratic manner is immense. They beat their gongs to blaze the way. They cause people to become afraid just by looking at them.

They are eight-sided and slippery as eels.<sup>42</sup>

Consequently, Mao started the Anti-Bureaucratic Campaign in 1953, four years after his total victory in China. He insisted that bureaucracy in all organs and among leading cadres at all levels must be overcome in order to carry on large-scale national construction in China.

*Commandism*—Many of Mao's writings and speeches, published or unpublished, reveal his opposition to "Commandism." He described how some leaders, cadres and teachers promote work in an authoritarian way and with a dictatorial manner. They impose directions with neither a comprehension of the nature of the work, nor an analysis of the actual situations related to the work. In particular, no attention is given to the people's understanding, interest or ability about doing the work.<sup>43</sup> In 1953, he specifically wrote:

At present quite a number of organizations and cadres at the lower levels show signs of commandism and violation of law and discipline, the emergence and growth of which are inseparably connected with bureaucracy in the leading organs and among the leading cadres. Take the organs at the Central Government level: even there, many leading cadres in many departments are quite satisfied with sitting in their offices and writing decisions and issuing directives. Attention is paid only to arranging and assigning work; no attention is given to going down among the rank and file to learn the real situation and check up on the work.<sup>44</sup>

He also said that on the surface authoritarians were not slack in their work and seemingly were diligent in working. However, authoritarian ways of work will bring about no real success. Their work might progress in a superficial form for the time being, but eventually the substance of their progress would not be rich nor would it be solidified. Hence, authoritarians will be distrusted by the people and their work

vanish. Consequently, he asserted: "What we need is energetic agitation to convince the masses and, according to specific circumstances and the real feelings of the masses, to develop . . . , promote . . . and do all kinds of work . . ." <sup>45</sup> We cannot accomplish any of our tasks, . . . if we do not discard authoritarian methods of work." Finally, he forcefully called for the complete liquidation of bureaucracy at all levels of work, so that the demise of commandism would be certain.<sup>46</sup>

*Liberalism*—The methods under liberalism are self-centered with timid and passive attitudes and a static process of work. Regarding the root of liberalism, we find what Mao wrote: "Liberalism stems from the selfishness of the petty bourgeoisie, which puts personal interest foremost and the interests of the revolution in second place, thus giving rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism."<sup>47</sup>

Mao attributed the following wrong manifestations in work to liberalism: First, the unprincipled: "Not to feel indignant at actions detrimental to the interests of the masses, not to dissuade or to stop the person responsible for them or to explain things to him, but to allow him to continue."<sup>48</sup> In addition, we find Mao's other descriptions:

Although the persons concerned are clearly known to be in the wrong, yet because they are old acquaintances, fellow townsmen, schoolmates, bosom companions, loved ones, old colleagues, or former subordinates, one would not argue with them on the basis of principle but just let things slide in order to maintain peace and friendship. Or one touches lightly upon the wrong matter without finding a thorough solution, so as to maintain harmony all around.<sup>49</sup>

Secondly, the irresponsible: "Working halfheartedly without any definite plan or direction and perfunctorily, lets things drift: 'So long as I remain a "bonze," I go on tolling the bell'."<sup>50</sup>

Thirdly, the self-centered: Mao defined self-centeredness



as follows: "To be aware of one's own mistakes yet make no attempt to rectify them, and to adopt a liberal attitude toward oneself." "To regard oneself as having performed meritorious service in the revolution and to put on the airs of a senior veteran; to be incapable of doing great things, yet to disdain minor tasks; to be careless in work and slack in study." "Things of no personal concern are put on the shelf; the less said the better about things that are clearly known to be wrong; to be cautious in order to save one's own skin, and anxious only to avoid reprimands." "To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private, without making suggestions to the organization. Not to speak to people's faces, but to gossip behind their backs; or to say nothing at a meeting, but gossip after it. Not to care about the principle of collective life but only for unrestrained self-indulgence." "To disobey orders and place personal opinions above everything."<sup>51</sup>

Fourthly, unconcern toward the group or others: "Not to make positive suggestions to the organization," "Not to care for the principle of collective life," "To demand special dispensation from the organization but to reject its discipline," "Neither engage in propaganda and agitation, nor make speeches or carry on investigations and inquiries among the masses, but leave them alone, without any concern for their weal and woe."<sup>52</sup>

Mao pointed out that all manifestations of liberalism are extremely harmful. Liberalism, a corrosive idea, disrupts unity and induces inactivity. He proclaimed that it was imperative to use the active spirit and the effective methods of Marxism to overcome liberalism and its manifestations.<sup>53</sup>

*Rightism*—According to Mao, there are rightists both outside and within the Party. The former eventually would join the reactionaries and the latter would obstruct revolutionary progress. He pointed out that both revisionists and opportunists were groups of rightists and he indicted them: "Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the rightist opportunists, pay lip service to Marx-

ism; . . . They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party..."<sup>54</sup> He also asserted that rightist opportunism was in opposition to the proletarian world outlook. The opportunists have never been Marxists and they are full of bourgeois wishes. They take the compromising road in revolution and have less spontaneity in work.

During the late 1950's, while leading the anti-rightist struggle, Mao took a clear-cut stand, insisting that the method of working "faster" and "better" be adopted. He rejected the rightists' policies such as "It is better to go slower than faster," "It is better to take small steps than to go striding forward." The rightist opportunists made the biggest mistake when they underestimated the enthusiasm of the proletariat and even attempted to suppress the development of proletarian spirit, in accordance with Mao's ideas. Mao called for a continuous struggle against, not only the rightists' ideology which is non-Marxism, but also their methodology which does not serve the cause of revolution and is truly anti-dialectic.<sup>55</sup> He indicted the rightists with being ignorant about effective methods of life and work:

We oppose the die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose ideas, failing to advance with changing objective circumstances, manifest themselves historically as rightist opportunism. These people do not see that the struggles arising from contradictions have already pushed the objective process forward, while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This characterizes the ideas of all die-hards. With their ideas divorced from social practice, they cannot serve to guide the chariot wheels of society; . . .<sup>56</sup>

*Leftism*—Mao considered those as leftists who are adventurous, immature, juvenile or naive. Furthermore, they accept little or no "compromise"; their means of action is less flexible; they rarely adopt any strategic expediency in revolution.

However, they often intend to keep their ideological purity. Consequently, he pointed out the incorrectnesses of "leftism" and the inappropriate methods of the "leftists" as follows: (1) The purely military viewpoint—"These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only means of accomplishing political tasks." "They think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White Army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." "They fail to recognize the role of political leadership in the army....They overly trust in military strength."<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, he instructed the political level in the Party to be raised by means of education and the political training of officers and soldiers to be intensified and especially the education of ex-prisoners.<sup>58</sup> (2) The ideology of roving rebel bands—"This ideology manifests itself thus: Some people...are unwilling to increase our political influence by undertaking the arduous task of building up the base area.... Some people lack the patience to carry on the arduous struggle together with the masses...." He approved of intensifying education to eradicate this ideology and improving instruction among the basic sections of the Red Army and among recently recruited captives to counter the "vagabond outlook."<sup>59</sup> (3) Putschism and adventurism—these were the twin faults suffered by the leftists, in accordance with Mao's judgment. Of the former, he stated: "Some comrades, disregarding subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but riddled with illusions, want only to do big things; this is a remnant of putschism." He also stated that the social origin of putschism is the combination of "lumpen-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology."<sup>60</sup> He indicted the adventurists for being impractical, undemocratic and ignorant of history:

We also oppose the phrase-mongering of the "Leftists."  
Their ideas are ahead of a given stage of development

of the objective process. Some of them regard their fantasies as truth; others, straining to realize at present an ideal which can only be realized in the future, divorce themselves from the practice of the majority of the people at the moment and from the realities of the day and show themselves as adventurists in their action.<sup>61</sup>

(4) Revolutionary impetuosity—Mao points out that some leftists were overly anxious about revolutionary work, and usually they did not have proper emotional control, although their ideology was correct. Hence, at times, they undertook violent actions unnecessarily. He said, "Rules, and especially political education, are needed for correcting these behaviors."<sup>62</sup>

### III. AUTHORITARIAN PATTERN

*Who*—Mao insisted on using authoritarian methods in revolution and destruction ever since the 1920's. First, we will point out on whom the authoritarian methods are to be used.

Mao once said: "Except in a desert, there is always a left, a middle and a right." He categorized the Chinese into three groups: the comrades, the enemies, and the neutral people, who sooner or later would be either the enemies or the friends in revolution. In 1929, he wrote:

Who are our enemies and who are our friends?  
This is . . . of primary importance in the revolution.

All those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the compradors, the big landlords and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia dependent on them—are our enemies. The industrial proletariat is the leading force in our revolution. All sections of the semi-proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie are our closest friends. As to the vacillating

middle class, its right wing may become our enemy and its left wing may become our friend.<sup>63</sup>

Among the types of enemies, he also said: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly." "We have such enemies as those who hold sugar-coated bullets."<sup>64</sup>

Furthermore, he asserted that, in addition to knowing who the enemies are, it is necessary to understand their characteristics. Mao stated: "All enemies are wrong at all times in all places," and "they are selfish and vicious." "Enemies are not going to change; they are tenacious and stubborn in keeping their privilege." He also wrote, "The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither will the Chinese step down from the stage of history of their own accord."<sup>65</sup> It is imperative to fight against the enemies continuously, but how?

Mao asserted that there must be different ways in dealing with different groups of people. Through a broad and specific analysis of Mao's writings, speeches, and the actual actions he took, we understand that authoritarian methods must be used in dealing with enemies and democratic methods are for working with friends and persuading "neutral" people to be revolutionary comrades.<sup>66</sup>

*What*—Mao used authoritarianism, totalitarianism and dictatorianism interchangeably or indiscriminately. His persistent assertion was that in all types of class society, there is always dictatorship. In a feudal society, feudal-lords or landlords are the dictatorship; in a capitalist society, "money" dictates. He wrote: "The foreign reactionaries who accuse us of practicing dictatorship or totalitarianism are the very persons who practice it. They practice dictatorship or totalitarianism of one class, the bourgeoisie, over the proletariat and the rest of the people." "Revolutionary dictatorship and counterrevolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter." "Deal with the man as he deals with you: This is just what we do; we deal

with the imperialists . . . reactionaries, as they deal with us."<sup>67</sup> In a speech on June 30, 1949, Mao squarely accepted that Chinese Communists were "dictatorial" and he defined the meaning of "the people's democratic dictatorship":

You are dictatorial. My dear sirs, what you say is correct. That is just what we are. All the experience of the Chinese people, accumulated in the course of successive decades, tells us to carry out a people's democratic dictatorship. This means that the reactionaries must be deprived of their right to voice their opinions; only the people have the right. Who are the "people"? . . . the working class, the peasantry.<sup>68</sup>

In 1955, as the new Communist regime became sufficiently consolidated, Mao's ideology of "People's democratic dictatorship" gradually became transformed into a "proletarian dictatorship." Article 1 of "The Constitution of the People's Republic of China" reads: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."<sup>69</sup>

*How*—Mao asserted various methods, based upon the dictatorship of the proletariat, for dealing with reactionaries or enemies. He criticized the "policy of benevolence" advocated by the Confucianists and practiced in the past. He said, "We definitely have no benevolent policies toward reactionaries or counterrevolutionary activities of the reactionary class. Our benevolent policy does not apply to such deeds or such persons, who are outside the rank of the people; it applies only to the people."<sup>70</sup> Moreover, he insisted that the reactionaries have neither "equal right" nor "freedom" socially, politically, or economically. For example, he said, "The voting privilege is given to the people only, not to the reactionaries." "The people have freedom of speech, meeting, participation in social organization, but not the reactionaries."<sup>71</sup> In short, there is no love, peace, equality and liberty for the reactionaries.

For a better understanding of Mao's specific methods, we should note his concept of, and attitude toward, enemies: "Enemies are always wrong. And we learn from their mistakes." "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."<sup>72</sup> Hence, he taught, "It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue since it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but have also achieved a great deal in our work."<sup>73</sup> Mao also advocated a militant policy toward enemies: "Basically and strategically, we should despise all our enemies, they are to be defeated." He called them "paper tigers" and stated, "Tactically we should take all enemies seriously; we must hate them, use force to fight against and destroy them." He continued, "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a desperate struggle. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction."<sup>74</sup> "And in dealing with the enemy of revolution, we must rely on struggle. If you do not struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you do not hit him, he will hit you."<sup>75</sup>

Mao emphatically employed specific methods for "dealing with enemies": (1) One method is to remodel the reactionaries who are not yet absolutely hopeless. They are made to confess, repent, and conform to the mandated ideology; and immediately join with the burning force of revolution. This reform is compulsory and is enforced by the state force, eventually.<sup>76</sup> What is the basic and most common method for the reform? Mao advised, "Compel them to do physical labor"; "Achieve reform through labor"; and "Ten to twenty per cent of those reactionaries who were sentenced to death can be executed. The sentence to the rest, eighty to ninety per cent of them, should be postponed. They must engage in physical labor and be observed regarding whether they may sincerely confess and change."<sup>77</sup> (2) The reactionaries are forced to obey the Party leadership. Mao asserted: "Toward the enemy, we use the method of dictator-

ship, we do not let them take part in political activities and we compel them to obey the law of the People's Government."<sup>78</sup> (3) The method of suppression that must be used regarding the treatment of reactionaries and their accomplices is: "Suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished."<sup>79</sup> (4) After "reforming" through manual labor, follows "compelling them to obey" and then "suppression." If reactionaries are not in compliance with the Party leadership, they must be arrested and jailed. According to Mao, it is more effective not to have "mass arrests" by the security agencies, but to let the organizations involved handle the majority of the cases. However, "arrest" and "sentence" are necessary.<sup>80</sup> Maoists stated, for example, "It is absolutely necessary for a public security organization, under emergency conditions, to . . . arrest a person without a warrant . . . If any people consider this an infringement of personal freedom and of the democratic rights of the people, then their views are both wrong and dangerous."<sup>81</sup> (5) For pragmatic reasons, Mao instructed Party leaders not to execute many of the reactionaries. "The rarity of the execution may lead the enemy to confess and supply more information which may help the revolution," he calculated.<sup>82</sup> However, he insisted that "execution" must be the last resort in punishing enemies. Mao's famous "Three-Words Method" means: "Doing it accurately; not making a mistake in executing a wrong person." "Doing it severely; to resolutely execute all reactionaries who should be sentenced to death." "Doing it safely; to give sufficient consideration before the action is taken."<sup>83</sup>

*Why*—Mao gave justifications for using authoritarian methods: The practice of dictatorship is the only way to deal with these reactionary classes and other counterrevolutionaries. It is an imperative means to maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people.<sup>84</sup> In 1949, he emphatically answered the question "Why is there dictatorship over reactionaries?" in this manner: "If things were not done this way, the revolution would fail, the people

would suffer, the country would be conquered."<sup>85</sup> He continuously defended dictatorial methods. For example, in 1951 he said: "Suppressing reactionaries is a great scale of struggle. Our political power can be solidified only by our success in the suppression task. We must suppress the enemy ruthlessly."<sup>86</sup>

#### IV. DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Mao repeatedly crystalized his "polarized method": "The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship... Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion, but of democracy."<sup>87</sup> "Democracy must be practiced among the people" is his dictum.<sup>88</sup>

*Who*—In accordance with Mao's description, the people who have the privilege of enjoying democracy are the revolutionists and the potential revolutionists. The former are known as the proletariat (workers, peasants and soldiers) and the Party members. The latter (potential revolutionists) are "our enemy's enemies," "our friends' friends" and "the neutral people" who may be persuaded to be revolutionary "allies." Regarding the latter group, in 1962, Mao said: "With whom should we unite?... We must unite with petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic national bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.... These people, under our people's democratic dictatorship, all belong to the camp of the people. Among the people, we must practice democracy."<sup>89</sup>

*What*—As the people who have the privilege of enjoying democracy are identified, we are led to discover what Mao meant by democracy as follows: (1) He condemned the concept of "ultra-freedom" which he felt had led to a "non-organizational viewpoint," "insubordination of the minority to the majority," and "individualism," etc. Moreover, he denied the concept of "absolute equality" and wrote: "Even in the days of socialism, material things will be distributed on the principle of 'from each according to his ability and

to each according to his work,' and on that of 'the needs of his work;' there is definitely no such thing as absolute equality."<sup>90</sup>

Mao asserted that differences among the people must be recognized. They have varied potentials, which result in different performances and achievements. It is, therefore, impossible to equalize one's desires, needs and accomplishments in a socialist society.<sup>91</sup> Maoists accordingly criticize "equalitarianism" by stating: "They want all components of society to get the same wages, wear the same clothes, eat the same foods, live in the same houses, and use the same articles without distinction. . . . Certainly this is not socialism, nor communism but merely an air castle in the imagination of the petty-bourgeoisie."<sup>92</sup> Regarding equality with diversity, Mao wrote: "Each and all have equal rights and obligations. Each has ten fingers, but these fingers are not equal; some are longer and some are shorter. One father may have several sons; some are taller and bigger and some may be smaller and thinner; some are smarter than their brothers. . . . Different communities have various resources, social traditions, and unique revolutionary progress. All the factors cannot be mechanically equalized."<sup>93</sup> Finally, it is most interesting to note his indictment on "extreme democratization," allowing ultra-free<sup>c</sup> and "absolute equality," which is as follows:

First of all, it should be pointed out that the danger of extreme democratization lies in the tendency to damage and even completely destroy the Party organization, to weaken and even completely destroy the Party's fighting capacity, and to incapacitate the Party from shouldering its fighting tasks, thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of extreme democratization lies in the nature of the petty bourgeoisie, which is easy-going and adverse to discipline. Such a nature, having found its way into the Party, manifests itself politically and organizationally as the ideas of

extreme democratization. This idea is basically incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.<sup>94</sup>

(2) Mao's concept of democracy included democratic-centralism, which may be defined as decentralized centralization, or proletariat-centralism. Mao explained, "Centralized authority is based upon the wishes of the people." "The people must have the opportunity and the right to contribute, influence and change the government; such is the meaning of the democratic system. On the other hand, centralized administrative authority is for the government to execute policies; such is the meaning of centralism."<sup>95</sup> According to Mao's idea, then, democratic-centralism is not merely a better system, but is the best method of implementing the people's democracy. He conveyed this idea in the following words: "What is the better method? It is the method of democratic-centralism; a method of the mass line. Being democratic is first, then centralized; it is from the masses to the leader and goes back to the masses; it is the great combination of leader and the masses of the people."<sup>96</sup> Interestingly enough, he recognized the significance of the "mass majority"—the people—and also accepted the role of the "minority"—the leaders. He wrote, "The truth usually is first held by the minority. For example, Marxism was mainly Marx's idea. We must listen to the majority and to the minority as well."<sup>97</sup> The implementation of "democratic centralism" is simply that the government, the Party, and the leaders are closely linked with the people. The former accept and listen to the latter and vice versa. Mutual trust, dependence, respect and love will grow; thus, their work becomes better, as Mao explained.<sup>98</sup>

(3) Another of Mao's convictions was that of freedom and the "open-door." All people have potential. The capability of each person should be developed to the greatest extent possible by the system, granting individuals the freedom necessary to do so.<sup>99</sup> Concerning freedom for all and the various participations, he wrote:

Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion.<sup>100</sup>

Since Mao was in favor of free participation, he advocated the "open-door" policy: "Marxism-Leninism...approves of a united front and not of closed-door sectarianism." He stated further, "Marxism-Leninism is opposed to the infantile disorder found among the revolutionary ranks. Those who insist upon the tactic of closed-door sectarianism are merely spreading a series of such infantile disorders."<sup>101</sup> He also said, "Communist Party members must never consider themselves infallible, behave pompously toward others, think that they themselves are good in every respect while others are good in no respect. They must never shut themselves in small rooms, blow their own trumpets, and call themselves kings and rulers."<sup>102</sup>

Finally, we must understand that the freedom and "open-door" system is only for the proletariat or the revolutionists, not the reactionaries, as Mao precisely and repeatedly asserted.<sup>103</sup>

(4) Equality is stressed in Mao's definition of democracy. In accordance with his thinking, true equality does not exist in class society. All men and women are created equal, but inequality of women exists in the feudal society. He emphasized that, in the bourgeois society, urbanists had more privileges than ruralists; mental workers had prestige

but manual workers were looked down upon; and the industrial employee had greater advantages than the peasant. He also observed that true equality means "fairness, justice and equal rights to all," which exists only in a classless society. Importantly, the heart of equality in Mao's view is that each and all equally utilize the means of production, equally freeing themselves from exploitation and enjoying an equal right to distribution according to labor performed in the socialist society.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, Mao insisted that complete equality included both "equal rights" and "equal obligations." Each and all, while holding equal rights, definitely have equal obligations of doing their best for others.<sup>105</sup>

*How*—Expounding upon the methods of implementing his ideas of democracy in working with the people, Mao said, "Towards the enemy, we use the methods of dictatorship... Toward the people, on the contrary, we use methods not of compulsion but of democracy." "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is the democratic method."<sup>106</sup> He further said, "With the exception of the reactionary die-hards, everybody is entitled to freedom of speech, and it doesn't matter even if what he says is wrong. . . . Communists are duty bound to cooperate in a democratic spirit with non-Party people."<sup>107</sup> He preferred using democratic methods to work with and educate the people. What are these democratic methods? First, there is comradeship:

(1) The relationship is one of trust. "Trust our comrades, because they really serve socialist work," Mao advised. "Love in class society is false; only our comrade love is genuine, we continuously develop it." "The leaders and the led, the leading cadres and the masses are always together." "Communists must have a democratic style of work, and not a patriarchal style of work. When matters arise, consult with comrades."<sup>108</sup> (2) Mao was aware that comrades are human. "Comrades make mistakes. Comrades must help each other to correct mistakes," he noted. "We must accept corrections, so that we will improve our work and study." "Comrades must give more attention to corrections from

the lower rank and must accept their corrections more happily." He continued, "While making mistakes, comrades must confess. A father must learn to confess to his son; older brother to young sister; the high officer in the army to the low private."<sup>109</sup> (3) Mao preached tolerance: "Learn to work with those who have different opinions from those we have. We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same view as we, but also with those who hold different views." He said, "There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced against them but should be ready to work with them." "We must . . . be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed us and have since been proved wrong in practice." "Criticize comrades seriously, work with them with broad minds and kind hearts. We never give our comrades a fatal blow, we always help them to keep some possibility." "People should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to atone for their misdeeds." "The Party must, on the one hand, wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking, and on the other, give the comrades who have committed errors ample opportunity to wake up."<sup>110</sup>

Secondly, according to Mao, a communication system is very important for implementing democracy. He described the channels (speaking, writing, listening, and discussion) as follows; "When matters come out, consult with comrades, have full discussions, listen to different views and allow even those who have dissenting views to speak out."<sup>111</sup> With regard to individual and group expression (oral and written) Mao pointed out: "Many times our comrades are very quiet, especially when there is an issue, people do not speak because they worry about irritating others, losing friends or making enemies. Each of us must speak out on what we really believe. . . . It is not good to speak only one-third of what is in our minds."<sup>112</sup> His key instruction is speaking and writing freely, sincerely, courageously, with humility. This is illustrated in the following words: "We should never threaten

any comrade. One who speaks genuinely and thoroughly is speaking freely. Place problems on the table. This should be done not only by the squad leader but by committee members too. Don't talk behind people's backs."<sup>113</sup> He went on to say: "We must avoid suspicions. Give your hearts to other comrades. Speaking vaguely, the old way, is not accepted. Speak clearly, truthfully, but in particular, speak honestly."<sup>114</sup> "We do not blame any comrade who makes a sharp statement; nobody, except the reactionary, is wrong in making a courageous challenge."<sup>115</sup> "Saying nobody can correct or debate what the Chairman [Mao] said, is wrong. If you do not agree with me, comrade, courageously challenge me."<sup>116</sup> Finally, Mao believed that, while speaking freely and courageously, it is necessary to speak cautiously and cordially with deep humility, because another's opinion may also be right.<sup>117</sup>

An effective communicator is not only a free, open, courageous and humble speaker, he must also be a good listener. Mao asserted, "Our mouth is for eating and speaking, our ears are for listening. All comrades and their leaders at all levels have the duty to listen to others." Furthermore, he said that each comrade has practical reasons for listening: "One of our principles to be observed is that while one speaks without reserve, the other is to listen and understand what others say, as advice or warning. Many people may not be able to read well, but all can listen in order to learn from others." Many times he spoke more specifically. For example, he once stated: "Listen to different views and even listen to those dissenting views. We listen to good comments as well as to bad ones."<sup>118</sup>

Lastly, it is interesting to note what he said on November 21, 1941, to the Assembly of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region:

Communists must listen open-mindedly to the opinions of people outside the Party and must give them an opportunity to have their say. If what they say is right we ought to welcome it and learn from it and,

even if it is wrong, we should let them say their say and then patiently explain the matter to them. A Communist should never regard himself as infallible and arrogantly bully others, or think that he is good in everything and others good for nothing; he must never shut himself up in a tiny compartment and brag and boast as if he lorded it over all.<sup>119</sup>

Mao asserted that the heart of good and useful communication in the democratic process is the exchange of information and ideas. "Exchange" helps people to do better and to enjoy doing better. Especially, the exchange of information is the beginning of the formulation of common action and ideas. Mao wrote, for example: "Exchange information—this means that members of a Party committee should keep each other informed and exchange views on matters that have come to their attention. This is of great importance in achieving a common language."<sup>120</sup>

Mao instructed that there must be meetings and discussion. In 1929, during the early revolutionary war, he described the meaning of meetings in this manner:

The first important meaning of meetings is to solve problems in our struggles which have political significance....One who is positive in our struggle comes to the meetings willingly and speaks enthusiastically. Second, it is to educate our comrades. In the process of problem solving, we must observe the actual circumstances relating to the problems and we must study the guidelines from the higher ranks; thus our comrade's thinking abilities and talents are motivated and utilized. The functions of meetings are political and practical as well.<sup>121</sup>

Mao gave numerous instructions as to how to conduct and attend meetings: "Any meeting, without sufficient and patient exchanges of opinions, conducted merely under such procedures as making reports, introducing motions and voting, can



never produce any results." He cautioned: "Don't say 'yes' at a meeting and go back on your word and say 'no' after it." "At a meeting, all people should be made to voice their opinions fully. The right and wrong sides over a controversial issue should be clearly established without compromise or equivocation. Anything that cannot be settled at one meeting may be discussed at another (provided no work is affected) in order to reach a clear-cut conclusion."<sup>122</sup>

Thirdly, Mao emphasized persuasion. He forbade any form of compulsion, any forceful or "injective" methods, and employed the art of persuasion in working with comrades or the people. He described persuasion as the process of a "gentle breeze and fine drizzle," a movement of good will; its purpose is to faithfully present the whole facts and reason together, finding out what is right and best.<sup>123</sup> He repeatedly emphasized that persuasion is an imperative method for progress in revolution and education. As he said, "The attitude of Communists toward any person who has made mistakes in his work should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible." "The attitude of Communist Party members toward the backward is not to despise them or condemn them, but to familiarize with them, unite with them, persuade them, and urge them forward."<sup>124</sup> "We must criticize and struggle...In such criticism and struggle we should persuade the masses to adopt correct methods and forms and to refrain from rough actions."<sup>125</sup>

Furthermore, he specifically pointed out that persuasion must be the method for solving internal problems among the people: "Toward reactionaries, we force them to obey and to do physical labour. Toward the people, we sincerely and patiently carry on persuasion or the educational process. This process is the internal matter among the people; it is a self-education." He also specifically and tenaciously insisted on winning the "neutral" by persuasion: "It is the duty of progressives—the Communists . . . to unite with the intermediate strata, middle-of-the-roaders and backward elements of various strata, with all those in People's China who are

still wavering and hesitating, . . . give them sincere help, criticize their wavering character, educate them, persuade and win them over to the side of the masses...."<sup>126</sup> Maoists adhered to Mao's method—"persuade and win the people over to revolution"—especially during the crucial years, 1937-47. In 1942, the author, while working in the Honan war zone, was informed:

If you do not join the Communist army, the Party cadres will say: "Think about this matter again and we may discuss it more..." If you did not contribute rice to them, they would not take it forcefully. They would say, "The Red Army is fighting against Japanese invasion, and the soldiers need to eat rice. Please figure out, after your family needs, how much the surplus may be." If you do not accept Maoism, the cadres will explain why their ideology is better and ask you to compare the Nationalist ideology with theirs.<sup>127</sup>

Explaining the need for persuasion, Mao stated: "We must appeal to reasoning," He also clarified: "Human nature is neither good nor bad. The great majority of the people can be changed and most of them can learn to be better. The crucial point is how to change human behavior? Persuasion? Coercion?"<sup>128</sup> He answered, "If we do not give up the methods of commandism and do not adopt patient persuasion, we will not fulfill our mission." Finally, Mao's words should be noted: "An ideological struggle is different from other struggles in that violent and coercive methods cannot be adopted, but methods of patient persuasion should be adopted. Using compelling methods to solve ideological or moral problems is not only ineffective but also very harmful. No oppression, threat, forcefulness or retaliation may have any reason to be used in working with the people."<sup>129</sup> Among Mao's statements supporting the use of persuasion, we find: "Persuasion, opening honest facts and holding genuine reasons, will help to get better results sooner. Patience is a great virtue;

reasoning is power. Persuasion is also strengthened by using actual and objective evidence."<sup>130</sup>

After analyzing the meaning of, and the reasons for, persuasion, we are led to ask, "What are the methods for achieving successful persuasion?" Mao's basic method involved external factors or objective facts, and internal power or subjective reasoning, as mentioned previously. Specifically, he considered patience the virtue and strength for achieving persuasion. He said, "When the masses of the people have not reached the right decision, we continue our persuasion and patiently wait. . . . The saying, 'haste brings no success' does not mean that we should not make haste, but that we should not take reckless action."<sup>131</sup> He also specifically explained that there were oral and written forms of persuasion; the oral is more effective. The oral persuasion technique may be undertaken at meetings, discussions, conferences, debates, group criticism, and self-criticism. If persuasion will not achieve the desired results, authority or discipline may be supplemented; persuasion and authority are mutually enforcing and supporting.<sup>132</sup>

*Why*—Mao's general and theoretical reasons for democratic methods include: (1) Marxism is for the interest or the happiness of the great majority of the people, and that war or peace, construction or destruction, are all for serving the masses.<sup>133</sup> (2) In order to serve the great majority of the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat is imperative. Mao felt that this dictatorship can be solidified by means of inner-Party democracy and democracy for the proletariat. He said:

Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a comeback.<sup>134</sup>

(3) One of Mao's political doctrines, as mentioned, is "democratic-centralism," under which the Party and the government both have final authority, in spite of the fact that the people have the right and power democratically. He said: "Our centralism system is established upon the democratic foundation. Proletariat-centralized authority is vitalized by broad democratic participation." "In our country, if people's democracy and inner-Party democracy are not fully developed and the proletariat-democratic system is not sufficiently practiced, it would be impossible for us to have a real proletariat centralism system." In short, while centralized authority is for the fulfillment of people's democracy, people's democracy is for the solidification and revitalization of proletariat "centralized authority."<sup>135</sup>

Mao's practical reasons for democratic methods include: (1) The revolutionary goal is clear and definite. The best effective methods are necessary in order to reach the goal. He stated, "We must have process and method, and democracy is the best." Specifically, he accused those who do not possess the democratic spirit for work: "Don't think you are always right, as if you alone possess all the truth. Don't think that you alone can do everything while others can do nothing, as if the earth would stop turning without you." He believed, above all, that everyone has ability and quality for work; the democratic method insures more participation and can promote it.<sup>136</sup> (2) Democracy is the correct method for problem solving. He wrote:

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity." To elaborate, it means starting a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people.<sup>137</sup>

(3) In accordance with Mao's beliefs, one who has the desire, interest, enthusiasm and initiative to work can eventually sacrifice for the task. Democratic process and method

are best for developing the initiative of the people and for maintaining their morale at a constantly high level.<sup>138</sup> From his famous article, "The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains" written in 1928, we find: "The reason the Red Army can sustain itself . . . is its practice of democracy . . . officers and men receive equal treatment; soldiers enjoy freedom of assembly and speech; . . . the fact that the same soldier who was not brave in the enemy army yesterday becomes very brave in the Red Army today shows precisely the impact of democracy."<sup>139</sup> Moreover, at the March 2, 1957 Supreme National Council meeting, he stated, "Soldiers criticize generals, democracy strengthens the army! Why not in the school and in the factory?"<sup>140</sup>

In summarizing Mao's opinions, we can safely state that the democratic process is the most effective method. In his words: "Both in the army and in local organizations, inner-Party democracy is meant to strengthen discipline and increase combat effectiveness."<sup>141</sup>

#### V. SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM

In accordance with Mao's thought, life's goal is seeking truth; work is the process, and revolution has always been the means for seeking truth. Mao, the pragmatist, said that there must be scientific method; otherwise, seeking truth will remain empty talk.

*General definition*—First, what is scientific method? Mao said that it involves dealing with matter in their original phenomena, whatever they are. "The scientific attitude consists of seeking truth from actual facts;" the presumptuous approach of "assuming one's own infallibility and posing as master of all can never be of any help in solving problems."<sup>142</sup> He explained, "'Actual facts' refers to all things existing objectively; the truth consists in the internal relationship of objective things, *i.e.* their laws . . ."<sup>143</sup> He also said, "Scientific method is a system of deliberate planning, factual analysis, objective observation and orderly procedure. . . . Pre-

ciseness, conciseness and simplicity characterize scientific methods."<sup>144</sup>

*Fundamental basis*—Secondly, we will examine the fundamental basis of the scientific method in accordance with Mao's view.

Work begins with reality. Understanding present, concrete and specific facts is the basis of the goal and the key for problem solving. Mao asserted: "...in doing a thing, if one does not understand its circumstances, its characteristics and its relation to other things, then one cannot know its laws, cannot know how to do it, and cannot do it well."<sup>145</sup> Consequently, as early as the dawn of the 1940's, the Maoists campaigned against reliance on "formalism and pedantry" which they pointed out as the most malicious enemy of unity of theory and practice in education.

Mao recognized the role of subjective factors which were considered as a part of the total realities. He advised his comrades: Know others and the social and physical circumstances as well as knowing yourselves. "External factors change; knowing the changes and utilizing and adjusting to these changes for better success depends upon subjective power and efforts."<sup>146</sup> Consequently, the following became the Maoist guideline: "The integration of objective possibility with the subjective activity of the people in China provides the great motor power which nothing can obstruct for China to make rapid progress in the building of socialism."<sup>147</sup>

However, in the final analysis of Mao's theory and practice of methods, we find that he placed much more stress upon objective realities. Work starts from objective and actual conditions, not subjective wishes; the program proceeds from objective actualities and derives from them laws which will guide our actions. Therefore, the program must suit and adjust to objectivities. Concepts are the reflections of the subjective world; the meaningfulness of an idea can only be fulfilled in the real world. He wrote, "In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by objective conditions." He also wrote, "No

one should think at random without some factual support; plans of action should be limited by the objective possibilities."<sup>148</sup> His most forceful defense of objective realities is the following: "There is but one truth, and the criterion for determining the question who has discovered the truth is after all not subjective boastfulness but objective practice. Only the objective revolutionary practice of millions of people is the yardstick for measuring truth."<sup>149</sup>

Furthermore, it is important for us to note that objective realities or facts, fall into two categories: social phenomena and physical factors, as Mao explained. Regarding the significance of understanding the former, he said, "We must study the different social classes; . . . study their relations and the unique conditions of each class and not only study their outlook or appearance but also the inner desires of the people of the different classes."<sup>150</sup> As to the physical or material world, he explained, in the sense of history, that there are laws of objectivity which we must confront. It is necessary to study, recognize, adjust and control objective facts and utilize the laws of objectivity, so that we may have human freedom.<sup>151</sup> He called for the revolutionists to study both the social and physical factors in China, as well as those in the world, in accordance with scientific methods.

*The steps*—Thirdly, Mao's ideas regarding the steps of the scientific process can be analyzed as follows: Step one is investigation, the starting point of scientific work, and the prerequisite for solving problems. Mao said, "Investigation may be likened to the long months of pregnancy, and solving a problem to the day of birth. To investigate a problem is, indeed, to solve it."<sup>152</sup> A systematic and thorough investigation includes observation, exploration, examination and study of the external factors and the inner substance of the matter. Investigation is a survey of both nature and society. The latter, to which he gave more emphasis, is investigating the actual conditions of the life and work of the different classes of the people. He instructed his comrades to investigate the misery and bitterness of the exploited, especially those in the villages in the class society. He also instructed:

"The aim of social and economic investigation is to arrive at a correct appraisal of class forces and then to formulate correct tactics for the struggle."<sup>155</sup>

Why is investigation needed? He replied: "The fundamental task of the leading organs of the Communist Party lies in investigating the circumstances and carrying out the policy. The former is to know the world and the latter is to transform the world," and "Victory in China's revolutionary struggle will depend on the Chinese comrades' understanding of Chinese conditions."<sup>154</sup> Reminding his disciples to do well in investigation, Mao spoke often about the significance of investigation. As early as 1930, the first period of his revolutionary leadership, he wrote: "Only a block-head cudgels his brain on his own, or together with a group, to 'find a solution' or 'evolve an idea' without making any investigation. It must be stressed that this cannot possibly lead to any effective solution or any good idea. In other words, he is bound to arrive at a wrong solution and a wrong idea," and "Without investigating the actual situation, there is bound to be an idealist appraisal of class forces and an idealist guidance in work, resulting either in opportunism or in putschism."<sup>155</sup> It was his insistence that effective action comes after a suitable "solution" has been adopted; solution comes after clear absorption of actual circumstances; this absorption comes from thorough and detailed investigation. Consequently, he proclaimed in 1930: "Unless you have investigated a problem, you will be deprived of the right to speak on it. Is that too harsh? Not in the least."<sup>156</sup>

Eleven years after the previous statement, he wrote on the same topic:

Although my assertion, "No investigation, no right to speak," has been ridiculed as "narrow empiricism," to this day I do not regret having made it; far from regretting it, I still insist that without investigation there cannot possibly be any right to speak. There are many people who "the moment they alight from the official carriage" make a hullabaloo, spout

opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle.<sup>157</sup>

In 1961, he said with much determination: "During the past several years, we have not had enough investigation, we have worked in accordance with our estimation or imagination. I ask comrades to resolutely revive the investigation movement."<sup>158</sup>

Mao explained the methods of investigation as follows: An investigation, regardless of whether or not it is about social class or natural resources, must have a specific purpose to be achieved. A detailed plan of work and an outline of the procedure must be worked out in advance, and a record of progress must be kept. He instructed his disciples: "Work meticulously. Meticulous care is necessary; to be careless will not do, for that often leads to errors."<sup>159</sup> He also said that the way of conducting investigations is to be specific and thorough:

Anyone new to investigation work should make one or two thorough investigations in order to gain full knowledge of a particular place (say, a village or a town) or a particular problem (say the problem of grain or currency). Deep probing into a particular place or problem will make future investigation of other places or problems easier.<sup>160</sup>

Mao, an ideologist and a revolutionary practitioner, emphasized "how to do the job well," in order to obtain valid results from any investigation. He insisted upon "how to do well" ever since the 1930's, the early years of his leadership in the Communist revolution in China. He also insisted upon the methods of "personal participation," "direct experience," and "actual observation." He instructed the Party leaders: "Formality should be least," and "Doing it yourselves is most important." It was his belief, especially, that anyone

performing social investigation must go down to the villages to be with the "lowest" level of the people and to get actual facts from the proletariat. One of his famous instructions issued in 1941 was: "One certainly cannot make an investigation, or do it well, without zeal, without a determination to direct one's eyes downward and a thirst for knowledge, and without shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil of the people."<sup>151</sup> In 1961, he said to Party leaders and officers: "We must go down to the rural areas and factories to do the investigation; use our own eyes to see, ears to listen, hands to touch, mouths to talk."<sup>162</sup> In addition to "personal and direct participation in rural investigation," Mao proposed the "experience pool," or the "collective approach." One of the methods, hence, was holding "investigation meetings" and discussions. He said, "Holding investigation meetings is the simplest, most practical and most reliable method, from which I have derived much benefit; it is a better school than any university."<sup>163</sup> The experienced cadres of middle and lower ranks, and especially the ordinary people or the peasants, must be the participants for rural survey. Concerning some basic matters, he instructed Party leaders: "...meetings need not be large, from three to five or seven or eight people are enough. Ample time must be allowed, and an outline for the investigation must be prepared; furthermore, one must personally ask questions, take notes and have discussions with those at the meeting."<sup>164</sup>

The second step in the scientific process is to analyze what has been observed and explored. What is to be analyzed is not merely the "concrete," the "quantitative," or the "superficial," in accordance with Mao's thinking. He instructed, "When we look at something, we must see its essence and regard its appearance as only an usher at the threshold; once we cross the threshold we must grasp the essence. This is the only reliable scientific method of analysis."<sup>165</sup> He also said, "Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders or directives the moment they arrive on the scene, . . . without

getting to the essence of things (their nature and the internal relationship between one thing and another)."<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, Mao thought that the true causes behind the development of things must be analyzed and he said, "The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analyzing the contradictions in things."<sup>167</sup>

Mao reminded Party leaders to thoroughly analyze the physical surroundings. However, because his ideas are socially oriented for the most part, we find that he made more remarks in relation to social analysis than those regarding natural environment.

One who believes in the wrong metaphysics denies the possibility and necessity of "scientific analysis," Mao stated. He indicted some of his comrades for drawing "conclusions to problem solving" superficially and carelessly, due to their lack of analytical spirit. Many times, his disciples asked, "Why cannot the solution for a problem be reached?" His well-known reply is: "This is because the inner connections of things have not yet been brought to light and have not yet gone through such a process of systematic and close analysis. Consequently, the real nature of the problem is not discernible, synthesis is not yet possible, and the problem cannot be well solved."<sup>168</sup> He not only insisted that "analysis" is the basic way of problem solving, but also specifically emphasized analysis of the social class for Chinese revolution. It is interesting to observe that his first famous ideological article, written in 1926, is "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society." In brief, it had been Mao's doctrine that through analyzing the social classes—their interrelationship, external appearances, unique conditions and inner desires—there can be an effective leadership in Chinese revolution.<sup>169</sup>

Since the definition of analysis and the reasons for it have been discussed, the method of analysis, according to Mao's ideas, will now be explained. Mao always said that the various factors (negative or positive) and the different aspects (internal and external) of any condition must be thoroughly analyzed. He denied any type of one-sided analysis, and accepted what Sun Wu Tzu, an ancient Chinese military

strategist, said: "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat." He praised what Wei Cheng, a military commander of the Tang Dynasty, said: "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened, heed only one side and you will be benighted." In order to illustrate his view on analysis, we should note what he described as a military commander's task:

...ponders on the information gathered about the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, he takes the conditions on his own side into account and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming his judgments, making up his mind and working out his plans.<sup>170</sup>

In the process of analysis, Mao stressed the discovery of the unique feature of each situation and the similarities among the various situations. Consequently, comparison and differentiation of the "characteristics" are emphasized, then the elements are classified into two categories: the "acceptable" and the "unacceptable."<sup>171</sup>

The last step in the scientific process is experimentation. The words "experiment," "test" and "practice" were used by Mao interchangeably. Experiment is the application of theory to certain circumstances, developing and verifying the theory by doing; it is the means of gathering more knowledge about the characteristics of a social condition or physical object. Experimentation is a continuation of the whole process in search of knowledge. One type of experimentation is that which is undertaken in the scientific laboratory. Another kind is the programs tested in society, in the factory or in the village, Mao explained.<sup>172</sup>

Deep understanding, wise judgment and sound proposals are strengthened by objective evidence. One never can reject or accept a program merely by the individual subjective wish.

No knowledge is complete until it is in practice; truth is half-baked before it is put into action. Among Mao's directives most frequently quoted by his disciples are: "All finished products must come from practice"; "Put everything to the test"; "Scientific theories as well as social ideology must go through the process of experimentation." His famous appeal is "The revolutionary experiment of millions of people is the only measurement of real truth."<sup>173</sup>

Discussing the methods of experimentation, Mao said that "the method of doing is doing; the method of trial is trying"; and that "to know a pear is to taste it; to learn swimming is getting into the water and moving." Furthermore, he said, "Many times, we must repeatedly experiment and experiment"; and he pointed out that "Copernicus' theory of the solar system and Darwin's theory of evolution were once dismissed as erroneous and had to win over bitter opposition and many severe failures."<sup>174</sup> Above all, he insisted that revolutionists must have the spirit of perseverance in continuous experimentation.

## VI. THE DIALECTICS

*General Description*—Mao advised his disciples and comrades that Communists must expose the fallacies of reactionaries and metaphysicians by continuously propagating the dialectics inherent in things. In 1957, he stated: "We want to disseminate dialectics gradually and to ask everyone gradually to learn the use of the scientific dialectical method." He then said: "Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought whenever they crop up. However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but efforts should be made to apply the dialectical method."<sup>175</sup>

As Mao thoroughly applied dialectic method to work, we should understand what his interpretation of dialectical method is. Adhering to the concept of dialectics expounded by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Mao viewed the

dialectical method as a basic scientific law of the evolution of nature and human progress. He viewed the dialectical method as the highest form, the most effective way of analyzing the phenomena in nature and the relationship of human beings, and eventually for discovering tactics, for problem solving and decision-making. Therefore, he denied the deductive method by saying, "Starting from theories or principles is not the way in accordance with the dialectical methods of Marxism"; he considered dialectical methods, beginning from practice, as the proper way of problem solving. Consequently, he criticized the metaphysical as the anti-dialectical method: The so-called metaphysical world outlook, or the world outlook of vulgar evolutionism, consists in looking at the world from a static viewpoint; the metaphysicians neglected the changes and the development in society and in the world. He also wrote: "People must adapt their thinking to changed conditions... the problem today, however, is that Rightist conservative thinking is still causing mischief in many spheres and preventing the work in these spheres from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation."<sup>176</sup>

Especially, Mao indicted those who disregarded the conflicts within each man and society and those among men and societies, as well as those who neglected contradictions in the world of nature.<sup>177</sup>

Mao's theory of dialectical method can be simply entitled as "organicism" or "continuationism." His theory of continuity contains the concept of change, contradiction, interconnectedness and dynamics.

*The changes*—First, we will analyze Mao's theory of change, which is the basic essential among his ideas. His theory of dialectical method is most vividly exemplified by his explanations of changes in society and the physical world. He said that the possibilities of continuous change in the world of objective reality are never ending and so is man's cognition of truth through practice. Truth develops through the continuous struggle against falsehood. Doing, then knowing, are always in the continuous developing process—from not

knowing to knowing, and from knowing less to knowing more through doing.<sup>178</sup> The ceaseless "struggle-criticism-transformation" is the only process of work. Accordingly, he asserted that history is the continuity of change of the world and of men; that revolution is a continuation of class struggle. In the process of struggle, wrong work and bad people always emerge; therefore, a constant or periodical movement is needed. Hence, there is Mao's doctrine of permanent revolution.<sup>179</sup>

Mao, as other dialectical materialists, believed that there are, from one stage to another, various types or forms of continuous changes. He was fond of the method of "Dividing or differentiating matters into two categories." Therefore, he often put the forms of change in such categories as: (1) the visible and the invisible—sometimes changes do not take place on the surface; the "pause" of the visible movement may be a type of progress or a form of change. (2) Positive or desirable change and negative or undesirable change—the success of the revolution is the former, revolutionary failure the latter. (3) The change of quantity and that of quality—quantity change, which is more related to the form and the appearance of any phenomena, may occur first. Quality change, which is more involved with substances, meaning and values, would occur later. The two are one; quantity promotes quality and vice versa. (4) Regular or normal gradual change and irregular or abnormal sudden change—"Both birth and death are sudden changes. Regular changes occur in the process and between sudden changes such as 'birth' and 'death'."<sup>180</sup>

Furthermore, Mao asserted that the ways of change vary. We may generalize these ways into the following four categories in accordance with Mao's thinking: (1) The "straight"—The rate of change or progress is constantly the same or increasing. (2) The "wave"—Sometimes there are more changes—reaching high "tide"; sometimes less—reaching low "ebb." (3) The "circle"—At times changes are good or forward; at times, there might be backward or undesirable

changes, then good changes. (4) The "curve" or the "detour"—Changes may meet obstacles, then the course of action may be taken in a different way, or some other road may be taken.<sup>181</sup>

In brief, dialectics come to signify the study of basic changes—the types or the forms and the ways. The different forms and ways of change and the different parts within and among the other situations of change are interconnected and interacting. One change often has impact upon other changes.

*The contradictions*—In the previous sections, the need for dialectical method as Mao saw fit, and his concept of change—the core of dialectics—have been presented. In this section, Mao's view on contradiction, as the cause of change, will be analyzed.

According to Mao's theory, there are constant contradictions in the world and society. The evolution of nature is a result of the conflict of opposites taking place in all things. The proletariat revolution is the evidence of the contradictions of the classes of a society. Contradiction is not only unavoidable, but it is necessary for progress. Hence, he proposed to build contradictions, at the proper time, in the process of work and for the sake of revolution.

There are various forms of contradictions: "the positive vs. the negative," "phenomena vs. substance," "form vs. content," and "certainty vs. uncertainty." In the physical world are: day vs. night, black vs. white, life vs. death, old vs. new, quantity vs. quality, and so on. The types of human contradictions, as Mao views them, are as follows: Contradictions among enemies, between the people and their enemies, and those among the people. He said: "The imperialists and the revisionists are pleasing each other; but at the same time, there are contradictions among themselves. For example, France and England are not united most of the time."<sup>182</sup> He also wrote that the contradictions between people and their enemies and those among the people are different in nature. The former are antagonistic contradictions while



the latter are non-antagonistic contradictions, which continue in ideological struggle even after the success of socialist revolution.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, he considered the inner contradiction to be most important. That is the real cause of change and development: "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. This internal contradiction exists in every single thing; hence, the motion and development of the thing will occur."<sup>184</sup>

In order to use dialectical methods correctly, Mao insisted that the dual characteristics of contradictions must be recognized: the universality and particularity of contradiction. According to his viewpoint of dialectical materialism, contradiction exists in all processes of objective things and subjective thought and runs through all processes from beginning to end; this is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction.<sup>185</sup> His writings explain further: "The universality or absoluteness of contradiction has a two-fold meaning. One is that contradiction exists in the process of the development of all things . . . and the other is that, in the process of the development of each thing, a movement of opposites also exists from beginning to end."<sup>186</sup> Also, he believed that each form of each kind of contradiction has its unique features. Regarding the particularity of the contradiction, he wrote, "Each contradiction and each of its aspects has its respective characteristics; this is the particularity and relativity of contradiction."<sup>187</sup>

Finally, we find what Mao considered to be the laws of contradiction: (1) Opposition and unity—He said, "the old process ends and the new one begins," and, "the ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions is the dialectical law of the development of things."<sup>188</sup> In the process of changing and progressing in the midst of contradictions, there are differences which eventually become "oppositions"—one is against the other. In the process of development, the existence of each of the two aspects of a contradiction of a thing presupposes the existence of the other aspect; the ex-

istence of one depends upon that of the other. Therefore, he explained that if there were no reactionaries, there would not be any need for the existence of the revolutionists. He stated further that under the dialectical method, not only are differences or arguments advocated, but also that one should listen to opposites. At times it is even necessary to establish opposition for the sake of progress.<sup>189</sup>

Furthermore, he stated that oppositions are for opposite directions; one contrasts with the other. For example, life is the opposite of death; war is the opposite of peace. However, opposites are not absolutely apart; actually, in some ways, and at times, they are connected. Eventually, they may unite. "Oppositions, unity, then new oppositions is the endless process of all ideas and things." He wrote: "The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. . . . Between opposites, in a contradiction, there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change."<sup>190</sup> He also wrote: "The law of the contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of nature and society and therefore it is also the basic law of thought. It is the opposite of the metaphysical world outlook. It means a great revolution in the history of human knowledge."<sup>191</sup>

In the process of "unity of opposites," there are changes, developments, and improvements. In Mao's words, there are transformations: "In given conditions, each of the contradictory aspects within a thing transforms itself into its opposite, changes its position to that of its opposite."<sup>192</sup> One of the illustrations he gave in relation to transformation is: "You see, by means of revolution the proletariat, which at one time ruled, is transformed into the ruler; while the bourgeoisie, the erstwhile ruler, is transformed into the ruled and changes its position to that originally occupied by its opposite."<sup>193</sup>

(2) "The negative vs. the positive" is also a law of contradiction. Among his numerous explanations about this, we find: "Mistakes (the negative) help develop the correct meth-

od," "unjust (the negative) produces justice," and "Chinese poverty (the negative) is a favorable factor for economic progress in China."<sup>194</sup> From one of his last talks on "philosophical problems," we find: "There is a chain of development . . . affirmation-negation-new affirmation-new negation. The establishment of the slave society was an affirmation which negated the primitive society; the affirmation of the feudal system negated the slave society; the negation of the feudal society was the capitalist society which has been and will continue to be negated by the affirmation of the socialist system."<sup>195</sup>

(3) Another law of contradiction or form of the unity of opposites was illustrated by Mao in explaining the changes of quantity and quality: quality gradually produces quantity; new quality may suddenly be emerging and old qualities destroyed, through quantitative changes. Every revolutionary transformation in society gives a clear example of a leap from one qualitative condition to another.<sup>196</sup>

*The interconnections*—As Mao's concepts of change and contradiction have been analyzed previously, his theory of interconnectionism, a guideline of the dialectic method, will be presented in this section.

Mao indicted traditional metaphysicians for being "isolationists" who do not give attention to the interrelations between things and ideas. He said that there are various forms of relations between physical objects and non-physical, things and things, ideas and ideas, things and ideas, theory and practice, quantity and quality, form and substance, the objective and the subjective, this place and other places, past, present and future. "Little good deeds" and "great success" are related; the latter is the continuity or the outgrowth of the former, according to Mao's theory. He asserted that there is uniformity or commonness among the many elements; however, the commonness is related to the uniqueness of specific individual factors. Also, he emphatically stated that superficial observation can never be sufficient, because the elements on the surface usually have deep

and dimensional involvements.<sup>197</sup> He especially recognized that influences exist among people—not only among comrades but also between comrades and their enemies. Furthermore, he stated that there are relationships between physical and non-physical life and between the past and present work of any individual. Regarding the significance of "interrelationship," he said that "the interrelations and interactions of one thing with other things are the causes of changes." He also wrote: "Everyone knows that, in doing a thing, if one does not understand its circumstances, its characteristics and its relations to other things, then one cannot know its laws, cannot know how to do it, and cannot do it well."<sup>198</sup>

Among his numerous remarks on "interconnectionism," we should examine what he asserted about "part-whole." Mao said that sometimes certain parts suffer destruction or defeat, yet the whole situation is not vitally affected, because those parts are not decisive for the whole situation. The whole, however, can never detach from its parts and become independent of them; the whole is made up of all its parts. Working effectively is the first step necessary in grasping a part of the situation directly related to the work. Small steps can be the beginning of a long journey, to paraphrase an oft-cited saying of Mao.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, "Knowing parts" is not enough in the dialectical process and "knowing parts" would lead to the "one-sidedness" of problem solving. Mao warned: "One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative. . . . One-sidedness is a violation of dialectics."<sup>200</sup> Because things are complicated and are decided by many factors, problems should be viewed from different aspects. Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders without viewing things in their totality. His illustrations regarding the need to know the whole are as follows: "We must know all the four sides of the square,"

"The frog in the well does not really know the sky," and "Know all your ten fingers in order to play the piano."<sup>201</sup>

While Mao insisted, "The whole is made up of the parts," "Parts belong to the whole" and "Both the parts and the whole are important;" he emphasized recognizing and finding the interrelations between parts and the whole. He indicted: "Metaphysicians wrongly look at social events in isolation and piecemeal; they never consider that different things and various parts of the world are more or less inter-related."<sup>202</sup> He advocated dialectical views: "Contrary to the metaphysical world outlook, the materialistic, dialectical world outlook advocates the study of the development of things from the relationship of one thing to other things, . . . that things should be regarded as interconnected and interacting upon each other."<sup>203</sup> He also said, "Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial will approach problems without getting to the relationship between issues," that "Many people have good intentions but they use wrong methods which do not help find the interrelations between parts and whole,"<sup>204</sup> and that "Armed struggle will not succeed unless it is coordinated with other forms of struggle."<sup>205</sup>

Mao asserted that general ideas or principles may be the origin or the guide for specific programs or actions: "We cannot mobilize the broad masses for a particular task unless we publicize those general directives which are applicable to all."<sup>206</sup> "In any task, if no general and widespread call is issued, the broad masses cannot be mobilized for action."<sup>207</sup> He also insisted: "Seize particular matters and act on specific tasks," and "No one in a leading position is competent to give general guidance to all units unless he derives concrete experience from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units."<sup>208</sup> While Mao thought that both the "general" and the "specific" were important, he emphatically pointed out the interconnections between the two. He wrote: "The two methods which we Communists should employ in carrying out any task are, first, the linking of the general with the specific and second, the linking of the leader-

ship with the masses."<sup>209</sup> There is the danger of the general principles being nothing, unless specific actions are taken accordingly; specific actions would be meaningless without thorough and logical support. Specific programs verify the correctness of "general principles" which, in turn justify the programs.<sup>210</sup>

Furthermore, he said: "We must have a national standard as well as the provincial program which will help develop local initiative to serve the special needs of the people. The provincial and the local efforts, however, are for the collective general welfare, and specific work is what is good for strengthening national unity and serving the needs of all."<sup>211</sup> Finally, what is wrong or bad is related to what is correct or good; the former may lead to the establishment of the latter. From Mao's "The Examples for Dialectical Methods" we find:

Truth opposes falsehood; in the struggle against falsehood, truth is established. Beauty opposes ugliness; in the struggle against the latter, the former grows. If there were no bad men, there would not be good men; the existence of the former helps the development of more of the latter . . . . Poisonous weeds are related to fragrant flowers. Tomatoes were poisonous weeds a hundred years ago in Europe; now they have become edible vegetables.<sup>212</sup>

*The dynamics*—Explaining "dynamics" in the dialectic method, Mao, along with other Marxists, stated, "Dialectical method is the art of gaining the truth, signifying the study of the continuous change in the universe and human societies; it is the science of studying and revealing the contradictions, especially those within the very essence of things; it is a means for understanding the interrelations between things and the interreactions among beings."<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, Mao's interpretation of dialectical method is closely related to the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, especially in connection with some of the Chinese historical and philosophical

concepts. Accordingly, he advocated the dynamics for action as follows: There is continuity of various changes and contradictions in the physical world and human societies. Also, there is a continuity of relations in the physical world and of both interrelations and interactions among men. Consequently, "unbalanced conditions" or problems are to be faced by all men. Some problems include what man must deal with in his environment; some are those between men and men.

The first step Mao advocated for solving problems or "unbalanced conditions" which result from contradictions is the spirit to act upon, work on, or struggle against the problem. At the beginning of the process, the real nature of the problem must be explored; then, the situation is to be observed directly, and the relevant factors involved will be analyzed. He taught his disciples: "The dialectical world outlook teaches us primarily how to observe and analyze the movement of opposites in different things, and, on the basis of such analysis, to indicate the methods for resolving contradictions."<sup>214</sup> Also, it should be noted that observing and analyzing objective, quantitative, concrete and specific matters are prior to the observation and examination of the subjective, qualitative, abstract and general. Mao said to his comrades: "In studying the particularity of any kind of contradiction . . . we must not be subjective and arbitrary but must analyze it concretely. Without concrete analysis, there can be no knowledge of the particularity of any contradiction."<sup>215</sup>

Secondly, in Mao's opinion, selecting and attacking the "target" is important for handling contradictions. He pointed out that the dialectical method is for the study of various states of "unevenness" or problems in different matters. In other words, this method enables the study of both principal and non-principal contradictions, the substance and phenomena of the contradiction, the general and specific elements, and the principal and the non-principal aspects of the contradictions. However, the dialectical method is used to

firmly grip the core of the specific elements of the principal aspects involved in major contradictions. It is especially helpful to find and grasp the real substance of the issue, not the superficial elements. He wrote: "Marxism told us that to look at problems is to examine the substance of the principal problems." He acknowledged that some of the mistakes in the Chinese revolution were: "Not grasping the real substance of the major problem; at times, taking secondary issues as the principal ones and missing the essential substance of issues."<sup>216</sup> In brief, the dialectical method deals with the core of the specific substance of the principal aspects of the major contradictions; as Mao said, it is to catch the center or the heart of the problem. Consequently, one must learn to distinguish the "inner substance" from the "outer appearance," the general from the specific, the major contradictions from the minor, and the principal aspects of the major contradictions from the non-principal.

Finally, some of the "ideas" for action Mao considered as parts of dialectical methods are as follows: (1) The formula "unity, criticism, and unity"—This formula means "starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis."<sup>217</sup> (2) The permanent struggle—"Dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly; our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our party work may also collect 'dust,' and also need sweeping and washing."<sup>218</sup> (3) Simplicity—"Dividing elements or matters into two categories is a dialectical method," Mao asserted. In other statements, on the principle of simplicity, he has revealed such pairs of opposites as: "good vs. bad," "hot vs. cold," "young vs. old," and "comrade vs. enemy." He had a simple view of pairs consistent with the traditional Chinese view of the "harmony" of the *yin* and the *yang* as well as with the "unity of opposites" theory from Marxism. Advising his disciples to learn the way of simplicity, he said: "The sky and the earth are the simple unity of opposites. Voluminous words are not required for ex-

pressing great ideas. Lao-tzu (the great teacher) wrote only a little over 5,000 words in his lifetime."<sup>219</sup> Furthermore, there must be various alternatives in order to compare and select the best way to handle contradictions, according to Mao's thinking. However, he insisted that the alternatives finally must be narrowed down to two, so that the better one can be easily and safely found. (4) Mistakes—Making mistakes is unavoidable and it is a part of the natural process toward developing new action and reaching the right course of action. However, it is possible to lessen mistakes; especially, it is imperative to learn from mistakes. Mao said, "Do not think you are always right, everyone may be wrong. Criticize yourself. Make improvement."<sup>220</sup> (5) Differences—Quantitative or physical and qualitative or non-physical differences always exist. Mao said, "Letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend, and long-term coexistence and mutual supervision are dialectical methods."<sup>221</sup> (6) Generalizations and conclusions—Making generalizations and conclusions is necessary for new development, but all conclusions are only tentative and temporary. New changes and contradictions may make any previous conclusions invalid.<sup>222</sup> (7) Enemies—Because changes, oppositions and contradictions continue, therefore, "enemies" exist. "Oppositions are challenges; observe them, listen to them, and learn from them." Mao stated that dialectical materialists are optimists who fear nothing and may make enemies for the cause of revolution.<sup>223</sup> (8) Leadership and authority—Leadership can never be established by authority, it is developed in the process of work with others. Generals comes from the work of soldiers. (9) Representations—No part can represent the whole, because each part has its particularity, uniqueness or independence. The dialectical method is that which absorbs more parts in order to secure a better sample for the whole. It means to grip more "particularity for a better general presentation."<sup>224</sup> (10) The individual and the group—The independence, freedom and initiative of the individual are to be recognized, but the group is more important than any

individual. "The fish is in the pond, the individual is in the group."<sup>225</sup> (11) The dynamic circle—Mao considers "opposites-unity-opposites," "positive-negative-positive," and "quantity-quality-quantity," as the dynamic circles. He also gave a number of plain explanations of the dynamic circles. For example, he said, in the process of dynamic method, first, much attention must be given to the specific elements which are what can be seen, heard, touched, and tasted. After the specific empirical process comes conceptual understanding. Then, the concept must relate or reach the new specific elements, especially those which are physical.<sup>226</sup>

#### VII. THE RELATIVE METHODS

In his explanation of relative factors as the basis of absolute truth, Mao said: "The sum total of innumerable relative truths is the absolute truth." Accepting the Leninist theory of knowledge, he wrote: "In the absolute, total process of the development of the universe, the development of each concrete process is relative; hence, in the great stream of absolute truth, man's knowledge of the concrete process at each given stage of development is only relatively true."<sup>227</sup> He also wrote: "Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions."<sup>228</sup>

Methods are the regulations, forms and ways of action for reaching the goal. The purpose of proletariat revolution is definite, but revolutionary methods should be flexible and tions within interior-line operations."<sup>232</sup> He worked out subtle tactics to suit changing circumstances, especially situations where enemy strength was greater. They consisted of the following points: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."<sup>233</sup>

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of guerilla war. He wrote: "The method is to familiarize ourselves with all aspects of the enemy's situation and our own, to discover the laws governing the actions of both sides and to make use of these laws in our own operations."<sup>230</sup> "To reach the front, we may need to use the back or the side doors; in order to get to the short and main road, it may be necessary to take detours," he asserted.<sup>231</sup> Mao tells how to conduct guerilla warfare according to the circumstances: "Flexibility in dispersion, in concentration and in shifting is the concrete manifestation of the initiative in guerilla warfare." His strategies in guerilla warfare against Japan included "the use of initiative, flexibility and planning in conducting the offensive within the defensive, battles of quick decision within the protracted war, and exterior-line operations within interior-line operations."<sup>232</sup> He worked out subtle tactics to suit changing circumstances, especially situations where enemy strength was greater. They consisted of the following points: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."<sup>233</sup>

As "circumstances" must be considered, there are expedient ways of doing. Mao insisted consistently upon the ideological goal of revolution. However, the methods for achieving the goal may be flexible, as he wrote: "Materialism must take the place of metaphysics. Socialist society replaces that of the capitalist. . . . The tactics are flexible. At the various periods of revolution, we must be skillful in fighting and must make intelligent compromise." "It is right to fight; it is smart to compromise."<sup>234</sup> He mentioned the "necessary compromise" made by the Bolshevik leadership in 1918 when it signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with imperial Germany in order to get Russia out of the war.<sup>235</sup> He warned, in his "The Strategic Problems of China's Revolution War," against the desperation of advance without retreat. Based upon the real circumstances of war against the Nationalists, he innovated the famous strategy: "TA TA, TAN TAN" which means "fight and fight in the battlefield and talk and talk

at the negotiation table." Furthermore, in war, he took a number of strategical as well as tactical expedencies. For example, in 1947, because of the great pressure of the powerful Nationalist army, Mao's troops suddenly retreated from Yen-an, where his political and military headquarters had been located since 1936. In political struggles as in war, he made compromises expediently. For example: In August, 1945, Mao went to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking for the establishment of a coalition government.

Mao's theory of relative methods can be illustrated by his "pair system" or "dual patterns" or "walking on two legs"—the phrase he first used. Some of the "pairs" are: (1) The united and divided: "While all are collectively united, each has relative independence"; "While there is united management and leadership, divisions of labor are needed"; "Unite with any who is not our enemy; be divided from all who are counterrevolutionary"; "Unite the people . . . so as to isolate and divide enemies to the maximum and attack them."<sup>236</sup> He taught the people to attain "unity in thinking, policy, plan, common action" and to develop diversified ways of working; he also urged the people to find the general synthesis by using specific analysis.<sup>237</sup>

(2) Forwardness and backwardness: When real opportunity comes, we advance; when real difficulty exists, we retreat. Defense is for offense; going backward is for going forward; and vice versa. Without the advance, there would be no backward, and the reverse is true.<sup>238</sup>

(3) "Softening" and "hardening": Both the principles of resoluteness and of tentativeness are to be used, depending upon the circumstances and the factors encountered. Likewise, the process of toleration and that of inhibition, softening ways and hardening ways and the rough or gentle manner; one is complementary to the other.<sup>239</sup>

(4) Enthusiasm and apathy: Being enthusiastic or excited and being silent or relaxed—both are needed for work.<sup>240</sup>

(5) Promptness and protraction: Mao often said, "Go fast, hit hard while the iron is hot." Among his most significant

instructions, we find, "Going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." However, he asserted that revolution involves long-term, patient and painstaking work, and urged the Chinese to be cautious and go slow. Importantly, he believed that "quick decisions are needed within a protracted war," "Go slowly for getting ready to take quick actions," and "Be appropriately prompt or protractive in light of the circumstances."

(6) Some of the other pairs Mao mentioned are, "Contending and cooperating," "Individual and group," "Human power and mechanical force," "External and internal dimension," "Objectivity and subjectivity," "Love and hatred."

In summary, the "two" in each pair are complementary facets of the total. There is interplay between the two. Sometimes, one is better than the other. In principle, each one of the two in the pair will be used, depending upon the circumstances encountered.

Furthermore, each element of the "pair" is not only complementary with the other, one may transform into the other. Mao said that "truth and falsehood," "good and bad," "beauty and ugliness," "right and wrong," "fragrance and poison," "external dimension and internal," "victory and defeat," "failure and success," "the oppressed and the oppressor," "destruction and construction," are pairs in which each element may be transformable to the other:

Recognize that everyone may be wrong or make mistakes....Mistakes can be corrected or avoided, just like flu can be cured....You cannot deny all the rights of the person who is wrong. He may become better....Being right may come from mistakes. Wrong makes right; right makes wrong.<sup>241</sup>

The so-called good or bad is not absolute, only temporary. One may transform to the other when the time comes.<sup>242</sup>

The so-called poisonous weeds and fragrant flowers are relative. For thousands of years the Chinese have used some of the weeds as medicines. Christ, Marx, Sun Yat-sen...all were considered as social "weeds," but they are great fragrant "flowers" in different cultures.<sup>243</sup>

External causes are the conditions of change, and internal causes are the basis of change, and . . . external causes become operative through internal causes.<sup>244</sup>

Failure may be the beginning of success; a defeat may transform to a victory. The oppressed become oppressors and vice versa.

Destruction is for preservation and construction. Destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself.<sup>245</sup>

There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction.<sup>246</sup>



## CHAPTER SIX

### METHODS IN EDUCATION

Diversity: universal ends and diversified means, various circumstances and factors

Freedom and Discipline: freedom and the complement, reasons and meaning of discipline, labor discipline, army discipline, party discipline, political discipline and discipline in schools

Interest, Effort and Will Power

Individual, Environment and Group: individual difference, individuals, social products and the means, environmental forces, the competitive process, the cooperation system and collectivizations

Criticism: retrospect, meaning, forms and purpose, reasons for criticism, the criticizer and the criticized, methods and some of the implementations

Mao's theories of methods which were presented in the previous chapter have had great impact upon military operations, political struggles, and economic construction, as well as upon the development of education in China. From our understanding of Mao's theories of method—both his indictments and his assertions—we are able to discern his basic ideas which guide educational methods, especially in learning and teaching. In this chapter, some of the cardinal

methods Mao advocated are analyzed. The methods of learning and teaching are to be presented later.

### I. DIVERSITY

*Universality and diversity*—Mao asserted that the fundamental principles and the essential ideology of education must be the same everywhere in China. Unified character means all schooling is socialistic and proletarian. Hence, education is centralized, unified and firm in its basic program; especially, the educational purpose must be thoroughly universal in all parts of China. However, the means for reaching the ends must be diversified. The modes, the forms, and all methods must have flexibility, adaptability, changeability and expedient adjustment. In short, the methods must be multiple. He said that the school system and the curriculum programs must be different, especially learning and teaching methods which should move in multiple lines. He wrote: "The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe."<sup>1</sup>

Why must methods be diversified? In accordance with Mao's ideas, methods are the key to "victory"; effective methods help reach the goal faster and achieve more. He said that no method or "instrument" may be effective always. Scissors are an effective instrument for sewing, a knife for cutting through meat, a saw for use with lumber. Especially the methods of using the scissors, knife and saw must be different.

*Various circumstances*—In order to better understand Mao's theory of diversified methods in education, we should recall his view on the war strategy of flexibility. He used "diversity" and "flexibility" interchangeably. He instructed his comrades to conduct offensive war flexibly within the defensive, the battles of quick decision within protracted war, and the exterior-line operations within interior-line op-

eration. He wrote: "What is flexibility? It is the concrete realization of the initiative in actions; it is diversified employment of the forces."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he emphatically pointed out that flexible or diversified methods in education, as they are in war, must be devised in accordance with actual "situations" or "conditions" or "circumstances": Dispersing, concentrating, shifting or transferring flexibly in various ways according to circumstances is the principal method in guerilla warfare. One proves himself wise not just by recognizing the importance of doing flexibly but by doing in sufficient time according to specific circumstances. Furthermore, prudent consideration of actual circumstances is essential to prevent flexible and diversified actions from turning into impulsive ones.<sup>3</sup>

Educational methods, as war strategy and tactics, must be derived from real and different circumstances. A good method is what suits well the total situation in which education is undertaken. Whenever a change in the situation occurs, a different method is to be used in curriculum, administration, teaching and learning.<sup>4</sup>

*Factors*—In addition to the "diversified methods determined by and for diversified circumstances," we find Mao's ideas indicating that the various educational methods are also related to these five factors: (1) The purpose and diversified methods—According to Mao's thinking, both methods and purposes are basically derived from the same origin: the actual situations of life and work; the two are interrelated. He said that in order to find an effective method, it is necessary to have a "determination to work," "an understanding of the conditions of work," and, especially, to have a clear "purpose" of work. The ends enhance the development of the means. The effects of learning methods have often been promoted by a clear purpose. Learning is superlatively stimulated and fruitful when the learner recognizes the purposes of learning. Purpose permits a higher standard of efficiency and a greater degree of effort. Above all, methods serve the purpose; "diversified methods are the outgrowth of chang-

ing purpose," Mao asserted.<sup>5</sup> Basically, the purpose of working-class politics decides the method to be used in proletarian education. Mao specifically said that "popularization" (quantity) and "elevation" (quality) of education is for the proletariat. Therefore, the methods for "popularization" and "elevation" are to be based upon the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers. Regarding the sequence, we note his famous dictum: "Based upon popularization, elevation is pursued"; this means that "Quantity is prior to quality."<sup>6</sup>

(2) The subject matter and diversified methods—"Methods" and subject material are intertwining; the former in part means the arrangement of the latter; never are learning and teaching methods in any way outside of materials. Mao stated that, in studying politics and economics, more social practices, especially rural investigations, must be the essential method; that in studying natural science, more experimentations and field experiences are necessary.<sup>7</sup>

(3) "Time" and diversified method—Mao always considered "time" the important factor in the formation of the effective method in war and politics as well as in education. He said: "Attack when the enemy is weak," and "Don't miss an opportunity which will never come again." Mao, retaining a deep sense of history and longing for the future, gave more attention to the present. The most effective methods are those which suit the circumstances of the present day; therefore, old methods must be evaluated. He specifically pointed out that the methods of learning in "spare" time must be different from those of learning in regular school time; methods in summer different from those in winter.<sup>8</sup>

(4) "Places" and diversified methods—The circumstances and needs of different places are different; therefore, no method can be equally effective for work in different places. Mao said: "The educational methods introduced from foreign countries must be reformed to suit China." He also asserted that the methods used in city or village, farm or factory, south or north, must be different. His famous slogan is "Work in the village, follow the village condition." Hence, he urged

education workers, educators, students and teachers to innovate more indigenous methods.<sup>9</sup>

(5) Students and diversified methods—According to Mao's theory, there are three kinds of people: enemies, allies and comrades. He said that there must be different ways of dealing with the three groups:

With regard to our enemies, . . . the task . . . is to expose their cruelty and chicanery, point out the tendency of their inevitable defeat, . . . and fight them with one heart and one mind and overthrow them resolutely. In our attitude towards our various allies in the united front, we ought to promote unity as well as criticism, . . . As to the masses of the people, . . . we should, of course, praise them. The people also have their shortcomings. . . . We should spend a long time and be patient in educating them and helping them to remove the burdens from their backs and to fight against their own shortcomings and errors so that they can take big strides forward.<sup>10</sup>

## II. FREEDOM AND DISCIPLINE

*Freedom and the complement*—Mao said that to be oppressing or compelling all the time is not feasible; administrative decrees can neither eliminate people's wrong thinking nor can decrees force them to abandon reactionism.<sup>11</sup> He also said: "We must be open-minded; have no fear about opening." "In making plans, it is essential to mobilize the masses and see to it that there is enough leeway."<sup>12</sup> "We may have a meeting. Let people talk freely about why Chiang Kai-shek is good and what good Chiang did for the people. You also may let people be free to talk about why Chiang is not good."<sup>13</sup> Importantly, in the final analysis, freedom, under Mao's concept, is a means to an end—the cause of "revolution"—and it is limited. The usefulness and correctness of freedom must be judged against the criterion of what is good for the building of Chinese socialism.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, it has been Mao's clear call that freedom alone can never be enough, and that both "freedom" and "discipline" are necessary in the army, the Party, politics, factory and farm as well as in school. From his doctrine of "democratic-centralism," Mao stated: "Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline," and "Create the kind of vigorous and lively situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom."<sup>15</sup>

*Reasons and meaning of discipline*—Why is discipline needed? Mao asserted that human beings are not flowers in a greenhouse: they face storms in life and work. Men are not good at birth; the development and the implementation of their rational, moral and will power for success is always a disciplinary process.<sup>16</sup> A strong man is one who persistently and energetically strives to achieve, execute or carry out his task and goal. The fruit of discipline is the development of the power of continuous attention. The greater the demand for an effort to reach the goal, the more appeal to the will; then, more discipline is required to achieve the desired end. In his words: "Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of the line [ideal]." "While the sense of discipline grows stronger, the revolution will be ever victorious."<sup>17</sup> Because of being deeply convinced of the need and values of Party, army, political and school "disciplines," he indicted the "undisciplined" on several occasions. In 1929, he reported to the Party Congress that in the Fourth Army the minority failed to obey the majority and irresponsible criticisms were made without regard to organizational discipline.<sup>18</sup> In 1948, he wrote: "It is necessary to overcome resolutely certain manifestations of indiscipline or anarchy existing in many places. There are people . . . who go against the united will and discipline . . . there are also people who . . . adopt the wrong attitude of neither asking for instructions before taking action nor submitting a report afterwards."<sup>19</sup> In May, 1949, when the Communist army smashed the Nationalist troops, Mao warned: "With victory, certain moods may grow within

the Party—arrogance, the air of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living."<sup>20</sup> Anarchism, departmentalism and "cliquish mentality" are all destructive to proletarian revolutionary discipline. Mao pointed out that petty-bourgeois, ultra-democracy and unrestrained liberalism, which undercut discipline, must be opposed.

Furthermore, it had been his continuous effort to exhort his disciples to maintain discipline. In the September, 1955 Central Committee of the Party meeting he earnestly said: "We must be aware of our spirit and conduct. The rules of correct conduct and the regulations for prohibiting the wrong are necessary."<sup>21</sup> Lastly, we must recognize that Mao breathed his own puritanical fervor and formed his own Spartan ways of life. Accepting the old Chinese saying, "One who has not tasted the bitterest of the bitter does not know the sweetest of the sweet," Mao made clarion calls to his comrades: "There is no happiness without hardship," "The greatest happiness is what has been won in return for one's brave struggle," "Endure the hardship of physical labor and mental work," and "Discipline is strength."<sup>22</sup>

Having analyzed the "why" for discipline, we will now consider "what" discipline means according to Mao. Discipline is the command or mastery of physical and mental "forces" to carry on a task, so as to work strenuously, promptly and effectively. Discipline is working at the appropriate time by using the right method in accordance with demand for the success of work; it does not mean to work according to individual wishes. Therefore, discipline is related to the method of work; it is instrumental and indeed positive. All revolutionary comrades and revolutionary mass organizations should firmly get rid of "self-interest," firmly eliminate individualism, sacrifice self, obey the collective decision of the Party, the State, and, above all, should serve the people. In other words, discipline should foster devotion to the public interest and should formulate volitional qualities of character

for the sake of socialism and communism. He insisted, for example, that "A Communist Party member should be straightforward, loyal and positive." "No matter where or when, uphold correct principles of struggle untiringly against all incorrect thoughts and actions."<sup>23</sup>

*Labor discipline*—Mao's ideas on the need and meaning of discipline have been explained previously. The specific criteria or the rules of discipline in labor, the army, the Party, government and school, which Mao issued, are to be examined. Mao insisted that the new Chinese must be "Red," ideologically correct, and "Green," economically productive. In order to produce efficiently, workers in factories and farms should develop discipline. The various levels of government in the People's Republic of China proclaimed various rules in relation to "Labor Discipline." From one of those issued in 1956, we find such regulations as follows:

Members of every Agricultural Production Cooperative should obey "labor discipline." This discipline includes: (1) Allow no absence without justification; (2) Obey the order while working; (3) Assure the quality of production; (4) Protect and take care of public property....One who violates these rules will receive punishment.<sup>24</sup>

*Army discipline*—In order to seek the people's support and to fulfill his revolutionary "idealism," Mao gave much attention to army discipline. In the spring of 1928, the year of the beginning of the guerilla war under Mao's command in the Chingkang Mountains, he issued the "Three Main Rules": (1) Obey orders in all your actions; (2) Don't take anything from the workers and peasants; (3) Turn in all things taken from local bullies.<sup>25</sup> In the summer of the same year, to the "Three" were added the "Six Injunctions": (1) Put back the doors you have taken down for bed-boards [The wooden doors of Chinese houses are easily detachable and are occasionally taken down at night, set on blocks, and used as beds.]; (2) Put back the straw you have used for

bedding; (3) Speak politely to the people; (4) Return everything you borrow; (5) Pay fairly for what you buy; (6) Pay for anything you damage.<sup>26</sup> After 1929 he changed Rule 2, above, to: "Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses." Rule 3, above, was changed to: "Turn in all money raised"; and later to: "Turn in everything captured." To the "Six Injunctions" he added two more: (7) "Don't bathe within sight of women" and (8) "Don't search the pockets of captives." The "Six" and the "Two" became the famous "Eight Points for Attention" which, with the "Three Rules," have been remembered by all Red soldiers, as well as being frequently sung as a Red Army song.

Mao frequently urged the troops to be aware of discipline. For example, in 1936 he wrote: "We must recognize the limit of democratic life and the authority of military discipline." In 1945, he reordered the army to strictly carry out the "Three Rules and the Eight Points." On October 10, 1947, he instructed:

1. Our Army's Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention have been practiced for many years, but their contents vary slightly in army units in different areas. They have now been unified and are hereby reissued. It is expected that this version will be taken as the standard one for thorough education in the army and strict enforcement....

2. The Three Main Rules of Discipline . . . [same as what is previously presented in this section above].

3. The Eight Points for Attention are as follows: (a) Speak politely, (b) ..., (c) ..., (d) ... [same, respectively, as 5, 4, 6 previously presented in this section], (e) Do not hit or swear at people, (f) Do not damage crops, (g) Do not take liberties with women, (h) Do not ill-treat captives.<sup>27</sup>

Mao never lost his intense attention for army discipline. In April, 1948, the dawn of total military victory, he tele-

grammed the field commanders: "It is strictly forbidden to destroy any means of production, whether publicly or privately owned, and to waste consumer goods. Extravagant eating and drinking are forbidden, and attention should be paid to thrift and economy."<sup>28</sup> Finally, we note his satisfaction in the work of army discipline. Discipline helps to strengthen the relationship between the army and the people, which has a closeness similar to that of a fish and water; thus, the army was able to win the support of the people in all periods, triumphantly complete the Long March and win the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the War of Liberation (1946-49). He wrote: "This army is powerful because all its members exert conscious discipline; they have come together and they fight not for the private interest of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation."<sup>29</sup>

Mao believed that "political power comes from the gun"; hence, he devoted much to army discipline. In 1948, the dawn of the revolutionary victory, he cautiously directed the democratic movement which was substantiated by the "Three Check-Ups" referring to "class origin, performance of duty and the will to fight" and the "Three improvements" which meant "organizational consolidation, ideological education, and rectification of work style." In 1960, he launched the campaign of "Five-good Soldiers"—good in politics and ideology, military techniques, three-eight style, doing one's duties, and steeling oneself. In 1961, he conducted the "Four-good Company" campaign, meaning good in politics and ideology, three-eight style, military training, and management of living. From time to time Mao emphatically stated that the army was a "great school" and army discipline was the most significant work in education.

*Party discipline*—Mao insisted that Party members must have "discipline" which is imperative for the Communist revolution. He said: "Discipline helps to carry out Party doctrine safely, to unite the Party, to overcome new difficulties and to seek new victory." He wrote: "Education on discipline must

be strengthened in the whole Party, because unified discipline is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution."<sup>30</sup>

What does Mao mean by "Party discipline?" First, each Party member must have the following qualifications: (1) Willingness and action for Communist struggle all his life; (2) The belief that the benefit for Communist revolution is superior and prior to everything else; (3) Obedience to Party rules and strictly keeping Party "secrecy" secret; (4) Faithful fulfillment of Party decisions; (5) Being a "model" of the people; (6) Making efforts to learn and learn.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, each Party member should perform these duties: (1) Devotedly learn Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought; criticize revisionism and "capitalist roaders"; (2) Struggle for the benefit of the great majority of the people in China and throughout the world; (3) Unite the majority of the people to safeguard Party leadership and the nation so that they are constantly under the control of Marxist revolutionaries; (4) Discuss problems with the people when they occur; (5) Courageously criticize others and oneself.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, from Mao's talks and writings and the 1973 Party Constitution, we find other duties of members in addition to the "Five" quoted above. The additional duties include: (1) Listen to the people in the Party and those outside the Party; (2) Accept supervision and supervise others; (3) Repress no criticism whatsoever; (4) Allow no retaliation whatsoever; (5) Attack any "two-faced" people who cooperate with both the Party and reactionaries.<sup>33</sup>

Thirdly, it is important to understand the heart of Party discipline: the system of obedience. In accordance with Mao thought, obedience has the meaning of cooperation, and obedience for the sake of revolution is a virtue. This system of obedience has been carried on in the Party ever since its birth in 1921. Mao, in 1938, stated the central substance of the system as follows:

We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely: (1) The individual is subordinate to the

organization; (2) The minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) The lower level is subordinate to the higher level; (4) The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, Mao set forth his practices of Party discipline. He said that discipline must be carried on in a positive way. Discipline should improve and develop, as well as correct and control. Therefore, he called for spontaneous self-discipline and urged the avoidance of oppression and "commandism." He exhorted Party members to see discipline as both "duty" and "self-desire" and to exert discipline in daily life and work. However, he believed that patterns of human behavior can be formulated or molded as well as developed; hence, that "punishment" for "discipline" is to be adopted. One of the documents regarding Party punishment to members is: "The various levels of Party organization, under the limit of its authority, in accordance with each actual circumstance, give the member a warning; then give serious warning; then take away his Party role; then keep him only temporarily in the Party for observation and supervision; then finally expel him from the Party."<sup>35</sup>

*Political discipline*—Mao insisted that there must be political discipline. He was not only in favor of ideological "purity," but also advocated cleanliness in the performance of government officials. He said that we wash our faces every morning, clean house every day, and also we must check governmental work every year. He earnestly urged that anarchy, bureaucracy, corruption, idleness, the unorganized as well as the "revisionists" must be wiped out from the "governmental complex." Therefore, he led "campaigns" which were promotions for political discipline and the great education movement. For instance, the Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries Campaign began in earnest in February, 1951; the Three-Anti's (anti-corruption, waste, and bureau-

cratism) in September of the same year among cadres and government workers; the Five-Anti's (anti-bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of state assets, and leakage of state economic secrets) in October, 1951. Even the Cultural Revolution in 1966-68 was for the sake of political discipline in Mac's mind.

*Discipline in schools*—Mao repeatedly instructed the Party and the government that discipline in schools must be established. For example, in March, 1957, at the Supreme National Council, he said: "We must proceed with our educational program, so that school discipline for young people will be strengthened."<sup>36</sup> In accordance with Mao's idea, educational discipline includes: (1) Moral and ideological discipline, which means the spirit of dedication to Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought; (2) Spartan discipline, which means tough physical discipline such as that which Mao himself practiced when he was young. Also, all students must be able to live the life of the poor peasant and worker; (3) Puritanical discipline which means that the individual's material desires must be less and less and the desire to serve the people and the cause of revolution must be definite and ever-growing; (4) The discipline of work and study, which means all students should not only make an effort to learn but also do the "dirty" and heavy physical work for agricultural and factory production. Mao said that students are not guests coming to a tea party; they have obligations. He also said of students who work with cows, "Even though their hands are soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they are really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals."<sup>37</sup> Consequently, there is the "revolutionary school rule" in China, which is illustrated by the following statement:

When the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Taipingling brigade set up their own agricultural middle school, the old poor peasants said: "In our school we must never let our children develop the bourgeois idea of looking down on labour and so

lose the labouring people's natural style of hard work and plain living. We should educate them from childhood to love labour." The idea was adopted by the school which drew up a revolutionary rule: Every student must carry a basket and collect manure on the way to and from school each day.<sup>38</sup>

Mao's ideology of discipline has been carried on in Chinese schools in diversified ways ever since the time the Kiangsi Soviet was established in 1927. For example, from the "School Regulations of Resist Japan Military and Political University" issued in 1938, we find:

I. General Principles—1. In addition to theoretical studies, students at the school must receive training in strict discipline. 2. ... 3. ... 4. ..

II. Responsibilities of Weekly Duty—1. The post will be guarded on a rotation basis by large-squad chiefs. 2. ... 3. ... 4. Every Saturday afternoon the officers shall organize a team to inspect the "domestic affairs" of each student and the cleaning of the whole school. 5. ...

III. General Rules of Residence—1. Assembly of the whole squad for roll call or other purposes shall be completed within two minutes after the sounding of the whistle. 2. ... 3. ... 4. ... 5. ... 6. ... When assembling outside and en route to and from (assembly grounds), one is not permitted to smoke, put hands in the pockets of one's trousers or clothing, slump one's back, walk arm on shoulder, talk when in rank, etc. 7. ... 8. ... 9. ...

IV. Classroom Rules—1. When students have the signal to go to class, they should immediately report to the assembly area and stand in rank.... 2. ... 3. When in class, students should sit upright and are not permitted to laugh, look to the side, smoke, etc.... 4. ... 5. ... 6. ... 7. ... 8. ...

V. Rules of the Drill Grounds and on Bivouacking—1. ... 2. ... Students should not joke, look to the side, smoke, etc.; but should quietly listen as the instructor explains questions. 3. ... 4. ... 5. When a student has a question he should stand at attention and state the question, then wait for permission to sit down. 6. ...

VI. Rules of Sleeping Quarters—1. ... 2. When it is time to sleep, students should not continue to talk or sing... 3. ... 4. ... 5. ... 6. ... 7. ... 8. ... 9. After getting up, and before going to bed, students should not sleep at will.

VII. Regulations on Leaving the Campus—1. ... 2. ... 3. When off the campus, one must maintain proper manners. 4. ... 5. Students must not sing loudly or laugh noisily while on the streets. 6. Students must return to the campus on time and should not exceed their leave.<sup>39</sup>

During the Yen-an period, 1935-1949, every school in the Communist region had a curriculum in Productive Labor, Social Program, Academic Studies and Ideological Education as well as "Discipline Education." Even in the elementary school, there was a program of "Discipline of Collective Actions," "Self-discipline Regulations," and physical exercises were partially used as a means for purposes of discipline. Furthermore, such specific principles as the following were used in elementary schools in order to raise the standards and the achievements of discipline: (1) Integrate the total school program with discipline education; (2) Use real life and school circumstances; (3) Strengthen ideological study, especially class struggle; (4) Establish a clear and fair system of reward and punishment; (5) Encourage students to confess their mistakes in discipline rules; (6) Cooperate with parents and community; (7) Thoroughly analyze the different problems in discipline and find clear and effective solutions.<sup>40</sup>



Since 1949, the Ministry of Education of the Central Government and the provincial and local governments have promulgated various rules and regulations in relation to discipline in accordance with Mao's ideas. Some of those are: "Rules of Conduct for Primary School Students" and "Rules of Conduct for Middle School Students" issued by the Ministry of Education in February and May, 1955, respectively. The rules, the basic disciplinary principles of study and daily conduct, were for training and educating the youth in "Communist morality," "political consciousness," "spirit of collectivism" and "good character and habits," as officially explained.<sup>41</sup> In 1956, the government promulgated "Regulations for Normal Schools" in which the training of "socialist consciousness, strict time-control for study and work, obedience, cooperation and courtesy, love of productive labor, care of public property" were emphasized as part of the objectives of discipline.<sup>42</sup>

### III. INTEREST, EFFORT AND WILL POWER

*Interest*—"Enthusiasm and emotion" were used by Mao more often in his talks and writings than "interest" was. Notably, he used "enthusiasm" and "interest" interchangeably. According to Mao's idea, enthusiasm or interest is the force or motive of all activities, the symptom of growing power and personal emotional inclination. Enthusiasm or interest, based upon the establishment of mental and emotional momentum, can be the best beginning, the driving power of learning and working. Interest promotes motivation and initiative; it helps the person to enjoy the work. Consequently, learning and working may be more fruitful.

Mao always encouraged the Chinese, especially Party cadres, to do the job well. How? Among many of his plain talks, we find: "If you do not have deep enthusiasm in the work you do, you can never do well. Outside pressure will not really help." He conducted political propaganda; agi-

tated and inspired emotions of the soldier to fight; encouraged peasants and workers to produce; insisted on enlightening students' minds, especially stimulating their desire to study and work. Wang Chieh, one of the celebrated Maoists, said: "Once the people are roused, they can move mountains, fill in seas, and change the whole world."<sup>43</sup> How can the people be stirred into action? According to Mao's doctrine, three of the methods are: (1) explaining the goal and need for action, (2) utilizing the activist as the "catalyst" to germinate others, (3) using "group dynamics" so that members may stimulate each other.<sup>44</sup>

*Effort*—Since Maoists place so much emphasis upon revolutionary zeal or enthusiasm or interest, we, in education, are led to inquire what Mao's concept of and attitude toward effort is. According to Mao, the process of life, work and revolution includes both effort and interest. The two are not opposed to each other but are complementary: The stronger and deeper the enthusiasm one holds, the greater and longer the effort he will put forth. Interest is the beginning and the inner phase of activity; effort is the outer attempt to fulfill what the interest or the enthusiasm is about. Effort motivated or strengthened by interest is devising and using certain means in the pursuit of a desired end. More and deeper interest can be developed or enhanced by effort. More and greater effort would help achieve more and give satisfaction which in turn generates more enthusiasm to do more. Learning could be a pleasant activity in harmony with interest; it could also be a strenuous effort propelled. Effort could be more or at least equally valuable as interest.

In his talks and writings, Mao used "working," "struggling" and "fighting" synonymously with "effort."<sup>45</sup> Mao believed that life is work and work is life. He worked hard himself and criticized whoever was "sitting idle." Also, he pointed out that good intentions and revolutionary zeal might not mean much until action is taken.<sup>46</sup> According to Maoism, work is the fundamental condition of human existence. Work is man's strongest tie to reality. Furthermore, it is not the

critic who counts; the credit belongs to the honest man who is actually in the arena. Briefly, work is the body and heart of history; one who does honest work makes history. The iron law of history is "no longing is completely fulfilled." There are works unfinished and challenges ahead. Hence, he advocated "permanent revolution."

History, a long slow curve, is a record of hope. It magnifies and telescopes man's work. History, a flickering lamp, transcends and nourishes. Also, there is the tyranny or perversity of history. It refuses to adjust itself to the convenience of men. From time to time, history brings challenges. No success comes without going through the treacherous road. In revolution, Mao went painstakingly into the art of struggle, opposing any adventurism or any inclination to take the enemy lightly, and took into account the difficulties. He warned that it is inconceivable that the reactionaries will, of their own accord, fall to their knees. He said, "Our cadres must clear their minds of all ideas of winning an easy victory through lucky accidents without waging a hard and sustained struggle and paying the price in blood and sweat."<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, regarding trust in making an effort, Mao gave various explanations: "Tomorrow is quite hopeful, and it is up to us to make an effort." "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and means regeneration through one's own efforts." "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate ideal into reality requires hard work." "No one can learn anything really well unless he makes real efforts."<sup>48</sup> Above all, human needs lead to the setting up of an aim; consequently, people put forth effort to attain the goal. The outcome of things is always determined by human efforts. He taught his disciples: Effort insures victory. Go where the difficulties are; make greater efforts to conquer. Give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting.<sup>49</sup>

How do we make efforts? Mao's general and simple advice

was that the way to make efforts is by *making* efforts. We also find his specific instructions such as: (1) Keep faith in human efforts—"Progress depends upon human efforts"; "Nothing is hard for those who are willing to try, try and try to do it"; "Whenever effort is made, there will be some advancement"; and "Only those rightists or conservatives lose faith in making efforts." (2) Rely on one's own efforts—"Let us arm ourselves with our own hands"; "Rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts."<sup>50</sup> (3) Face hardship—"The first to bear hardship, the last to enjoy comforts"; "Carry the heavy load."<sup>51</sup> (4) Persevere—"Make protracted efforts"; "Persevere in doing everything until the victory." In his famous "How Yu Kung Removed the Mountains," he indicated that persevering efforts could achieve boundless results.<sup>52</sup> (5) Do it now—"Seize the day; seize the hour." (6) Concentrate—"Grasp the principal contradiction"; "Get a firm grip on the important task."<sup>53</sup>

Consequently, there have been selections of "model workers" who make great efforts and achieve more on farms and in factories and schools. For encouraging the people to make greater efforts to work harder and achieve more, there have been various "Emulation Campaigns," nation-wide, province-wide and locally, to urge people to be equal to "model workers."<sup>54</sup>

*Will power*—Mao's view on "will power" will be analyzed in this sequence. In addition to enthusiasm or interest, a phase of emotion, strenuous efforts are indispensable for accomplishing more. Sustaining efforts, both the stimulating force from interest and will power, which finally derives from rational judgment, moral conviction and a deep sense of dedication, are important, Mao asserted.

Mao, a man of strong will himself, presented this analogy: A strong man without strong will is like a paper tiger; a man of strong body but weak will is a straw man. He said: "Emotion, a human characteristic, is a force which eventually might get soft and may not last long." "The three principles which guide military and political operations and aid in their

success are: thorough understanding of the real circumstances; a clarified, definite and specific purpose or direction; firm determination under will power." "Having the will to struggle continuously; all will be accomplished."<sup>55</sup>

Examination and comparison of Mao's ideas of will power in relation to "effort" and "discipline" is possible: (1) The will is a deep antecedent of a man's career and a deepened source of the power of work. "Effort" and "will" are different stages of the same process of working or learning. A purposeful activity implies the process of an earlier incomplete phase and a later complete phase of affairs. In order to achieve this complete phase, there first must be efforts in the transition. Furthermore, there should necessarily be continuity of attention and endurance; will power, then, is needed to enforce the effort. The greater the demand for an effort to reach the goal, the more appeal to the will. (2) "Discipline" and "will" are closely intertwined. Mao believed that discipline is an approach to growth and will is the constructive power for achievement. "Will" can be defined as an attitude or intention toward the future production of possible consequence. "Will" is an attitude involving not only effort but also discipline to foresee clearly and comprehend the probable result of doing. "Will," representing an active identification with anticipated consequences, sustains discipline to continue. When more discipline is required, will power becomes more important. A strong-willed man is one who persistently and energetically strives to achieve, execute or carry out his aims. The fruit of discipline is the development of stronger will power of continuous attention. The more appeal to the will, then the more discipline that is required to strengthen the will. Mao stated that the quality of a true revolutionist is his willingness to make himself moral, rational and intelligent for the cause of revolution; hence, his endeavors are to demand both discipline and will power."<sup>56</sup>

How does "will power" develop? Mao believed that effort and discipline enhance the will. He also said that physical strength was fundamental; a strong mind and will in a strong

body. Therefore, physical training is the beginning for strengthening will power. As has been presented in Chapter One of this volume, in his adolescence Mao undertook tough exercises: tramping through the fields in snow, climbing up and down mountains, rain-bathing in winter, sleeping in the open during frosty weather. He instructed that physical education must be an important part of the school program. He encouraged every Chinese to learn to swim: "The Yangtze with its deep waters and swift current helps to build up physical strength and will power, . . . Swimming in the Yangtze is an exercise in struggling with the forces of nature and you should toughen yourselves in big rivers and seas."<sup>57</sup> Also, we note that Mao recognized "will" as the inner power which is as abstract as moral character. Therefore, he reminded teachers to be patient while training the young to have will power. "There is no point in getting impatient, because impatience will not help. . . . One must have a strong will in fighting . . . but one must not get impatient."<sup>576</sup>

In addition, regarding the development of will power, we list some of the effective methods Mao advocated: (1) Endure hard work and establish the habit of studying diligently—"Fear no hardship"; "Work more and study less or study more and work less, but never give them up altogether." (2) Be deliberate and serious in life—"Unceasingly enhance consciousness in work and study"; "Revolution is not a dinner party." (3) Be frugal—"Build ourselves through frugality"; "Poor people always have a stronger will to struggle." (4) Be vigilant—"We must heighten our revolutionary vigilance"; "Remind ourselves of our work every year, every month and every day." (5) Be "moral"—"To be moral is to be strong"; "Moral courage takes will power"; "Cultivate Communist morality and collective virtue through labor."<sup>59</sup>

#### IV. INDIVIDUAL, ENVIRONMENT AND GROUP

*Individual differences*—Mao stated that individualism is a bourgeois and reactionary concept, the root of human con-

flict, and that eventually it promotes the growth of the selfishness of man. He conducted rectification campaigns against bourgeois individualism. However, Mao accepted the role of individuals: The "public" (group) refers to the existence of the "private" (individual). "Public" and "private" are the opposites of a unity. It is impossible to have one without the other, and both are to be accepted. Furthermore, he spoke clearly about individual differences: "Brothers are different from sisters; brothers are not the same persons, and so the sisters are not the same." His famous analogy is "We have ten fingers; some are longer than the others."<sup>60</sup> Consequently, Maoists often make such statements concerning educational methods as: "It must be acknowledged that differences in intelligence, in study level and in physical conditions are in objective existence among individual students. We . . . should not simply draw a straight line and then artificially eliminate the differences. We should help each to make progress on his own basis and at his own pace."<sup>61</sup>

*Individuals, social products and the means*—Knowing Mao's recognition of the individual and individual differences in general, we will pursue specifically his concept and interpretation of individuality. Mao ridiculed metaphysicians as being unable to understand the real nature of individuality. He indicted bourgeois psychologists for overlooking social forces in the formation of individuality and especially for ignoring the impacts of "social class" upon the characteristics of individuals. Mao insisted that historical materialists never viewed any individuality in isolation from social practices, and that all personalities were products of the total impact of the "social class" to which they belonged. Wang Tien, a Maoist, wrote:

Everyone lives within a certain social life, participates in social activities, and engages in various forms of class struggle in a class society. . . . "Individuality" does not exist and develop without social relations and especially cannot be isolated from the social class, despite what bourgeois psychologists say to the

contrary. Certainly, "individuality," regardless of what its different characteristics may be, closely accords with and reflects social relations. Especially in a class society, all "individualities" bear the imprint of a certain class.<sup>52</sup>

Mao acknowledge that the individual is produced by society. Also, it has been Mao's doctrine that the development of the individual can never be misinterpreted as developing individuality to oppose the group: "An individual is a part of the group; when the latter is better, the former automatically benefits more." For promoting the work of national construction, Mao conducted "emulation" campaigns to encourage individuals to work harder, and he instructed the selection of "Model Peasants" and "Labor Heroes." However, fundamentally, he was against any form of "individualistic heroism." From his "Work Methods for Party Committees" written in 1949, we find: "Using Party leaders' names as the names of cities, streets or business agencies is strictly prohibited. Keep the spirit of strenuous work. Prevent praising individuals. Stop any tendency of the 'worship' of any type of individualistic hero."<sup>63</sup> Above all, the individual is a means for the group or the state which has power and value for all individuals. Therefore, personal plans are negligible in the face of the call of the state. The individual should work and sacrifice, when it is necessary to serve the state. Mao called upon peasants and workers to do their jobs well and upon students to study and work hard for the Party and the state which exist for every individual. No one should work for personal fame; no student should study for individual gain. Ever since the Kiansi Soviet era (1929), methods have been used to reinforce the student to serve the state:

Kindergarten children are all outside doing physical exercises, but Shao-ming doesn't want to join them. The group eyes him and asks, "Hey, why isn't he participating today?" Shao-ming answers, "Well, it's very cold, and I don't see any reason why I should

have to do PE." The children descend on him. In unison, they recite: "You really should participate, because Chairman Mao says that we need to build up our physical health in order to better serve the country." He listens and finally agrees.<sup>64</sup>

*Environmental forces*—As Mao considered the individual a means for the group, the society, the Party, the state, above all for serving the people, we are led to inquire as to the method he suggested for the development of the individual for serving the people. His answers include using environmental forces.

Firstly, Mao thought that individuals are always conditioned by their environment, although they have their inner potential to react upon external forces. Therefore, every man must squarely recognize objective reality, accommodate or adjust temporarily whenever necessary; improve it according to revolutionary doctrine; control it for the cause of the revolution. Above all, environmental forces must be utilized in developing the individual for whatever the purpose may be, for serving the state or the Party, Mao asserted. Mao's famous analogies are: "Fish are in the pond; make good ponds to have good fish"; "A poisoned forest kills the birds; save the birds, burn the trees." Therefore, the two tasks for better development of the individual are to struggle against the physical barriers of man and explore and use natural resources, and also to destroy the bourgeois society and then, to construct the socialist society.

Secondly, regarding man and nature, Mao insisted that man is not separate from nature; he is an integral part of nature; he is continuous with nature. Maoists, believing in the theory of evolution and revolution, do not consider man to be a new kind of creature emerging in the world. They believe that man is born in nature and is affected by it. Furthermore, Mao considered that although man can be an active force in the world and is not necessarily to be captured by physical force, the development of man is always under the impact of nature.

Concerning the nature of the physical world, Maoists assert that the world is neither friendly nor unfriendly to the interests of man; it is indeterminate or neutral in regard to the development of man. The Maoistic world is not merciful and it is not harmful; therefore, Maoists are not pessimistic regarding nature. In light of the indeterminacy of physical force, man becomes important in his development and he should determine his own future. Consequently, man needs to face the world as it is and to adjust to it, direct it and eventually try to change and control it realistically, diligently, intelligently, courageously, experimentally and efficiently or successfully for the development of himself.

Thirdly, Mao stated that the important task for better development of individuals is to destroy the bourgeois social system and then to construct the socialist society. Mao wrote in 1940: "The individual development of our Chinese people has been cruelly depressed by the feudal system and imperialist powers in China." "The mission of our proposed New Democracy system is to release the depression, stop all the destruction and to safeguard the people in order for them to be able to develop freely their individualities in their commonly shared free life."<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, education is to encourage soldiers, workers, peasants and students to engage in revolution; after victory, the school is to teach the people to work and study for the reconstruction of China so that everyone will enjoy the full development of his individuality.

Mao believed both the physical "surroundings" and social environment are important, and he pointed out that the former is more decisive in material or economic production and the latter has more of an impact upon human development. The individual is produced and his development is enhanced by the group or the society. Consequently, Mao spoke and wrote in numerous ways advocating social revolution for the sake of the people. He asserted that in a socialist society socialization or humanization must be broadened and deepened among men. He instructed that army officers and soldiers, Party cadres and people, government leaders and clerks, especially team leaders and tillers on farms, factory

managers and workers, school administrators, teachers and students, parents and children, must have close personal relationships. Communication among them must be close and genuine. Furthermore, he often spoke of "doing and thinking together," "sympathy and empathy," "sharing each other's feelings heartily." He particularly urged the "deepening" of comradeship. For example: "Our army has always had two policies. First, we must be ruthless and annihilate them [our enemies]. Secondly, we must be kind to our own, to the people, to our comrades and to our superiors and subordinates and unite with them."<sup>66</sup> "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."<sup>67</sup> Above all, he stressed the "psychological encirclement" among the people for individual development in order to better serve the state or the Party.

*The competitive process*—In addition to "environmental factors," we find Mao's ideas regarding "competition as a process" of the development of individuals for the group. There have been many types of competition in China under these categories: (1) A group competes with other groups—the factory, farm, commune, institution, army unit, school, etc.; (2) An individual competes with other individuals—the peasant, worker, soldier, researcher, teacher, student, etc. For example, in school, among students, there is the so-called "Three Diligence Competition" which means "Competition of diligence in study, productive labor and work." The different levels of government have promulgated various rules in order to encourage competition. One of these rules is "The Methods of the Socialist Competition Awards in the Productive Business Units" issued by the Department of Electric Industry in March, 1956. All the rules and regulations are in accordance with Mao's ideas of competition which are analyzed as follows.

Competition, with the meaning of opposition, is a means for achieving and doing better, more quickly and economically. "Revolutionary competition" in a socialist society is

not the same as the "bourgeois competition" of individualism, championism and heroics; it is of a generalized, egalitarian nature, a source of motivation and a force for promoting the work of individuals as a whole.

In education, competition is used as a motivating technique to spur individuals or groups of students, and to appeal to their interests, initiative, self-reliance, and self-expression toward greater effort. The notion that winning and losing are important as an expression of personal success or failure is meaningless to Maoists. Unknown or unnamed heroes are the best. Feelings of personal worth have no meaning for the success of an individual, but rather for the success of the society of which he finds himself an organic and inseparable part.<sup>68</sup> In athletics, the promotion of the friendship of competitors is first; winning the game is second; good contests may not have winners or losers. Any type of self-exultation is out of bounds. Common practices are that no medals must be awarded and "point scores" may not be kept. At the end of each contest, members of both sides share the experience gained about how one can play better. Hence, "deeper understanding" and "better techniques" become the common wealth of all.

Furthermore, in accordance with Mao's concept of "revolutionary competition," Maoists indicted the capitalist competition as inhuman and immoral. Because of misinterpreting and misusing the competition of "capitalist roaders," as Mao and his disciples asserted, the "capitalist roaders" face a number of problems: (1) Basically, the competitive system is unstable, and the individuals under it feel insecure; (2) The overly-emphasized, misinterpreted and misused competitive system minimizes cooperative efforts through which individuals may gain deeper insight and richer meaning about life and work; (3) Students may be less interested in what they learn since they are more interested in the grades they receive; (4) The competitive pressure may boomerang, resulting in a frustrated condition or an actual paralysis of effort of the young. Extreme competition may cause children to become nervous and high-strung; (5) Mismanaged

competition merely encourages the ablest. Competition may stimulate the strong students, oppress the weaker and glorify the few at the expense of many. Consequently, the less capable may develop a debilitating sense of inferiority; (6) Some individuals and groups strive for personal victory-at-any-price; even dishonest methods are engaged."<sup>69</sup>

*The cooperation system*—In addition to competition, Mao stated that cooperation is a better process of developing the individual for serving the public. In this section, "What cooperation is," "Why cooperation is needed," "Who cooperates with whom," "How cooperation can be achieved," and "Some of the implementations" are to be discussed, in accordance with Mao's doctrines.

According to Mao's doctrine, old bourgeois psychologists believed human beings were instinctively more competitive and less cooperative. Capitalists advocate that cooperation is more difficult for the individual to learn than competition is, and that the latter is more important. Mao advocated that both competition and cooperation are learned, one is not more difficult to learn than the other; and cooperation is more important than competition. Moreover, Mao defined cooperation as: "Helping each other and working together under the leadership of a centralized authority." It is to unite individual minds to be one mind or collective minds; then, to make concerted efforts for the common cause of revolution. He also described cooperation along with the meaning of human compassion: "All people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, and must love and help each other."<sup>70</sup>

Mao said that selfish bourgeoisie and stupid individuals emphasize competition and neglect cooperation. Revolutionists, for the betterment of the people and the cause of socialism, always are eager to cooperate with others. Furthermore, he said that technology and machines help produce more materials and improve human welfare more quickly; however, without the cooperative efforts of men in using technology and machines, all the scientific instruments may not have any real value. Above all, every individual must

learn to cooperate with others: "We are not members of a small sect thinking ourselves infallible. We must learn how to open the door to cooperate in a democratic spirit with non-Party people and learn good attitudes and nice manners to discuss problems with others."<sup>71</sup> Mao further explained: Each person being cooperative with others is a step forward to unity. Being united is the way to consolidate the power of the state, so that the Party will be able to defeat the imperialists and capitalists. He usually spoke of the old Chinese proverb—"The minds of three mediocre leathermen are better than that of Chu Gu-lien [the wisest man who was most respected in Chinese history]." He also repeatedly said: "When we play a piano, our ten fingers work in coordination. Making fingers cooperate is the way to produce good music."<sup>72</sup>

Every individual cooperates with every one except the "enemies"—the reactionaries, the anti-revolutionaries, the revisionists and the capitalists. The whole nation must be closely tied as a big cooperative body, Mao asserted. The government must seek cooperation from and cooperate with the great masses; otherwise, the government has no purpose and will not be able to exist. He said that soldiers and officers not only should cooperate together, but also must cooperate with peasants and workers. In 1942, Mao wrote:

...the Communists would still form only one per cent of the whole population, while 99 per cent of our countrymen would not be Communists. On what grounds, then, can we refuse to cooperate with non-Party people? As to all those who are willing to, or in all probability can, cooperate with us, we have not only the duty to cooperate with them but absolutely no right to exclude them. But, failing to realize this, some of our members despise or even exclude those who are willing to cooperate with us. There is no ground whatsoever for doing so.<sup>73</sup>

Regarding cooperation in school, we find that Mao not only emphasized cooperation between students, teachers,

administrators, custodians, parents and community leaders, but he especially called for cooperation between the school and all social institutions. In particular, he insistently instructed that school, factory and farm, must be united and must cooperate. His famous dictums are: "The school is a factory; the factory is a school"; "The school is a farm; the farm is a school"; "The school is a society; society is a great school."<sup>73</sup>

Suggesting methods for achieving better results of cooperation, Mao first said that cooperation, a democratic system indeed, is a moral undertaking. The common beliefs and basic goals of all individuals involved must be established. "Love, care, help and trust each other" is the basis. The individual's sympathy and empathy toward others will heighten the morale of the group for better cooperation. He also said that the cooperation process entails "sharing weal and woe" among members. Above all, greatest cooperation is achieved by a high quality of "comradeship."<sup>74</sup> Second, cooperation is best achieved by coordinatin. Mao's essential ideas regarding coordinating tactics include: voluntary support of each other; harmonious execution; timely help among members; concerted, joint, common and smooth actions. Thirdly, cooperation is achieved by the timely, honest and effective exchange of information and ideas. Fourthly, Mao stated that to "feel happy to consult with those who are in the lower ranks" is the effective method to achieve the greatest cooperation. He said:

Ask the people of the lower ranks what you do not understand well about them; do not carelessly agree or disagree with them... Whenever we are not clear about a problem, we ask the opinion of the people of lower rank. We must not pretend to know what we actually do not know. We must not feel ashamed to ask the people of lower rank to help. We must have a courteous manner and a sincere heart in listening to them. . . . In short, first getting ideas from the lower rank, then, issuing the order.<sup>75</sup>

The implementations of Mao's instructions on cooperation have been broad. During the war, before 1949, there were three types of cooperation between guerillas and ordinary troops: strategical, tactical and battle. Under the direction of the Party, the cadres must sincerely seek the cooperation of the people, and the cadres have the mission to promote cooperation among the masses. Peasants were taught to cooperate. The Agricultural Cooperative system became nationwide and 650,000 cooperatives were well established by 1954.<sup>76</sup> Mao said: "With conditions as they are in our country, cooperation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalistic way)."<sup>77</sup>

The ideological advance and the actual work of the "Great Cooperation" in education have been evident. Since 1950, a number of regulations were promulgated. For example, in 1956, the Academia Sinica and Ministry of Higher Education jointly issued "The Methods of Cooperation of the Higher Learning Institutions and Scientific Research Institutes." There were such movements as the "Cooperation of Factory, Farm and School for the Reformation of Productive Techniques," in 1960, and the "Combination of Teaching, Laboring, Production and Scientific Research," in 1961. The extensive cooperation between universities and social, political and economic agencies has been numerous at all times. Especially students, teachers and administrators became one big cooperation team in every school. The cooperative attitude and the spirit of the students have been obvious. In order to deeply ingrain the spirit of cooperation, the substance of the Chinese curriculum reinforces the idea that children must cooperate with others. Therefore, in the classroom, students are taught to recite: "Chairman Mao says people in the revolutionary ranks should help each other, care for each other and love each other."<sup>78</sup>

*Collectivization*—The last stage of individual development for the group is the collectivization which follows the process of cooperation. Mao pointed out in "Get Organized!", in 1943:



Among the peasant masses a system of individual economy has prevailed for thousands of years, with each family or household forming a productive unit. This scattered, individual form of production is the economic foundation of feudal rule and keeps the peasants in perpetual poverty. The only way to change it is gradual collectivization, and the only way to bring about collectivization, according to Lenin, is through cooperatives.<sup>79</sup>

In 1954, land reform (redistribution) was completed and the establishment of Agricultural Cooperatives was expedited, so that the basis for collectivization was laid. Mao ordered the collectivization of farms and people's communes in 1955 and 1958, respectively.

What is collectivization? It means that the total individual grows, lives and works in the collective process, by collective means and for the group or the collective. Individual development in theory and practice is for the sake of better serving the group. In the process of competition, individual identity is obvious; in cooperation, the individual still exists; in the collective, each individual is "melted" in the "pot" and loses his identity. Above all, Mao was sternly against any form of "subjectivism" or "individualism." He was for the "collective"—"every one or all ones," but not any specific one. Specifically, Mao's doctrine of collectivization is characterized as follows: (1) The centralized authority of the collective leadership; (2) The decentralized division of labor or responsibility; (3) The well-structured and highly organized mechanism of the operation; (4) The close and smooth cooperation of all involved in the group.<sup>80</sup>

The collective, although it seems abstract, is the highest form of cooperation and most effective group mechanism. The achievement of the collective whole is always more than that of the separate individuals added together; the influence among individuals in the collective is always high. When the whole is better, the integral part is better. The analogy is "When the tide is up, the boat automatically is raised."<sup>81</sup>

Above all, the individualized method must be replaced by the collective system which is dependent upon pooling the ability of each member and working together by total cooperation for reaching the purpose of the group most effectively.<sup>82</sup>

#### V. CRITICISM

*Retrospect*—Mao's educational doctrines and practices were derived from his revolutionary ideology and the actual circumstances he encountered. Criticism, the famous scheme for the educational and ideological movement, was developed in light of the demands of revolution and war. In August, 1928, Mao's guerilla and militant forces were defeated by the Nationalists in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area. At that time, he first took steps of "criticism"—analyzing the causes of "failure," discovering the mistakes made and reconstructing the course of action for the future. Ever since 1928, the method of criticism has been widely used in the army, government, Party and school.

Mao's theory of "criticism and struggle for new unity and progress" was fully implemented in Party rectification movements, especially those during the spring of 1942 and the summer of 1945. Beginning in 1949, while the Communist Party became the only political power, the entire population in China was enlisted to study the new ideology and to criticize the old. In particular, intellectuals were required to undergo the most severe criticism. Individual intellectuals were subjected to criticism and to self-criticism in which they confessed their failings due to their bourgeois class origin or the "bourgeois idealism" they had assimilated in their education. The policy of criticism was also exemplified in the "100 Flowers" episode of 1956-57. Furthermore, the socialist education movement (1962-66) deserves to be mentioned; it was the first organized effort to combat the ascending liberalism of the period; it was an effort to rectify the mistakes of cadres indulging in corrupt practices. The socialist education movement was also known as the "Four Clean-

ups" (Ssu Ching) movement, which ordered the clean-up of undesirable practices in politics, ideology, organization and economy.<sup>83</sup>

As Mao insisted on the concept of continued revolution, he always stressed the spirit of criticism. In 1964 he listed: "Being full of the spirit of self-criticism; Being willing to correct the defects and mistakes in his work" as two of the required qualifications for becoming the succeeding leaders in revolutions.<sup>84</sup> The scheme of "criticism" was thoroughly and widely implemented during the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-68). Mao, in 1968, issued the "Directive" on working class leadership for the enforcement of educational revolution. Hence, Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Teams were sent to schools. The teams, under the Directive, were to "fulfill the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools." The major mission of the teams was to organize discussion groups to criticize revisionism, bourgeois ideology and educational ideas incompatible with the Party line, and to expatiate on the failings of intellectual elites.<sup>85</sup> The teams are continuously functioning in schools at the time of writing this section.

*Meaning, forms and purpose*—Criticism is dynamic and dialectic in nature; it should be a process of open discussion and genuine persuasion, according to Mao's theory. He also said: "There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."<sup>86</sup> In addition, we find: "Criticism is the best method to solve problems among the people"; and "Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity."<sup>87</sup> Above all, genuine criticism is a constructive process and is instrumental for revolution.

It is interesting to note that Mao interpreted the meaning of criticism in another way: "Thorough-going materialists are fearless;... fearing no setbacks or gibes—nor hesitating to criticize, ... this is the indomitable spirit..." "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out

and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings."<sup>88</sup> Especially he stated: "The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists; the truth is on our side; and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side." "Since Marxism is accepted as the guiding ideology by the majority of the people in our country, can it be criticized? Certainly, it can. Marxism is scientific truth and fears no criticism. If it did, and if it could be overthrown by criticism, it would be worthless."<sup>89</sup> While any action or idea, through objective criticism, may be proved wrong, whoever is involved must accept the criticism and correct the mistake. One who listens to criticism, and those who have the courage to criticize, are both to be respected, because they have a deep sense of responsibility and conscientiousness in revolution. Above all, it is Mao's idea that criticism is not only a useful means for problem solving, it is also an effective and "moral" system for progress in revolutionary work. Only small people are not willing to accept or dare to give criticism. Revolutionary criticism has an ideological meaning to find out who is right, and a moral meaning to discover who has the virtue to give and take criticism.<sup>90</sup>

As Mao's interpretation of the meaning of the system of criticism is presented, then we come to study his views on the various forms of criticism. For simplicity, we categorize those forms into two kinds: criticism involving person(s) and that mainly regarding work or ideas. The first category may include: (1) Criticism of "friends," enemies and neutral people; (2) Inner-Party criticism, criticism of the Party from Non-Party people and vice versa; (3) Self-criticism and criticism of others and from others; (4) Private or closed criticism, and open or public criticism—individuals or groups face public criticism before mass rallies; (5) Individualized and socialized or group criticism; (6) Mutual criticism and the "non-interchangeable." The second category of criticism is impersonal or regards work or ideas such as criticizing some events or ideologies without mentioning any person(s).<sup>91</sup> Both criticisms involving person(s)

and those mainly regarding work or ideas may be superficial or in depth and could be dishonest or honest. Mao indicted the former as being ineffective and advocated the latter.

Finally, we present Mao's statements on the purpose of criticism. On September 8, 1944, he wrote: "Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening Party organization... the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle...."<sup>92</sup> Most importantly, Mao insisted that any form of criticism must be based upon the motive for progress by means of united minds and concerted efforts. The participants ostensibly started from this genuine desire, then, by using the methods of honest, open and kind criticism, found the solutions for the contradictions or problems. Eventually they reached consensus or the desired unity for new courses of action. On February 27, 1957, Mao wrote: "This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula 'unity, criticism, unity.' To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis."<sup>93</sup> From his talk dated June 16, 1964, we find: "We must make less wrong talk, introduce no bad ideas.... Don't be too critical toward comrades unnecessarily. Our purpose in criticizing others is to help them to correct their mistakes."<sup>94</sup> In short, the purpose of criticism is "struggle-unity-transformation-progress."

*Reasons for criticism*—Mao's ideas on the methods of criticism will be explored further. As his interpretations of "meaning, forms and purpose" are presented, we are led to analyze his assertions regarding the reasons for undertaking these methods.

Beginning in 1928, when Mao suffered a military setback, and ending early in 1976, the time when he became seriously ill, he spoke and wrote numerous times in various ways about such reasons for using "criticism": (1) Criticism,

the character of the Chinese Communist Party—Mao believed that no political party could hold political power long without constantly examining its policy, testing programs and especially, criticizing the performance of its members. He said, "Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties."<sup>95</sup>

(2) The better method—Mao asserted that the compulsory method or "administrative commanding" could never be effective in any type of work, especially in the process of education. In his words, "Compelling or commanding will hurt the development of thinking." He wrote specifically: "We cannot abolish religion by an administrative decree or by forcing people not to believe in it; we cannot compel people to give up idealism any more than we can force them to believe in Marxism." On the other hand, he advocated that the educational process, namely the method of criticism, must be used: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or a controversial issue among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression."<sup>96</sup> Consequently, he resolutely denied the "ruthless" methods of the "Left" and again exhorted his comrades to practice the "criticism system":

The "Left" dogmatists had resorted to the method of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in inner-Party struggle. This method was incorrect. In criticizing "Left" dogmatism, we discarded this old method and adopted a new one, that is, one of starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis.<sup>97</sup>

(3) The way to correct mistakes—Mao believed that we could not be "positive" at all times in all things; that no one could be right always. He said: "We all make mistakes; I did"; "Actually, mistakes are unavoidable." Mistakes must

be found and corrected by the process of "criticism." He wrote, for example: "The mistakes of the past must be exposed, without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyze and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done better."<sup>98</sup>

(4) The process of "purification"—It is a natural process that everything might get "dirty" and that revolutionary ideas might become "rusty." One of his most folkish expressions is:

We have said that a room must regularly be cleaned . . . the same is true of our comrades' minds and our Party's work. . . . To check up on our work regularly . . . to fear no criticism or self-criticism, to put into practice such good maxims of the Chinese people as "Say all that you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not him who speaks, but heed what you hear" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them though you have not"—all these are the only effective methods for us to prevent various kinds of political dust and microbes from producing harmful effects on the minds of our comrades and the physique of our Party.<sup>99</sup>

(5) The way to advancement—Mao always said that "The way to create defense is to create offense"; "The way to keep the present status is by going forward"; and "Above all, the task is basically one of education and of raising the level of work." For the advancement of socialism, the proletariat have to resort to the method of criticism. Progress depends on both mutual encouragement and criticism of each other. The institution of criticism has the effect of solicitation for better ideas. Thus, a condition of progress is provided.<sup>100</sup> (6) Unity—People have always had different ideas and various methods of work, Mao explained. It is important not to permit a difference to develop into opposing divisions. Honest analysis and genuine criticism must be employed so that the common goal and spirit of unity can be sustained.<sup>101</sup>

(7) Safety—According to Maoism, any idea which cannot afford criticism is perilous; any person who cannot go through criticism is in danger. "Revolutionary ideas are not what is in the ivory tower." "Revolutionists are not plants in a greenhouse." Ideas and revolutionists must be tested by the "storm"—criticism.<sup>102</sup> He also said, some comrades, especially those in higher ranks, cannot listen to criticism; eventually people dare not criticize them. Party cadres must daringly develop everyone's courage to criticize—"Have the guts to touch the tail of the tiger—the high officer." When there is constant open criticism, there is less danger of a stalemate or sterility.<sup>103</sup>

(8) Serving the people—Mao reminded his disciples that revolution is to serve the proletariat. Serving people is not a playful or leisure activity; it is the hard work of genuine desire. Therefore, he said: "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people."<sup>104</sup> (9) The right, the good and the power—Mao stated that, in the Party, there were faulty ideas, such as "liberalism" and "revisionism," which give "rise to a decadent, Philistine attitude, bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and revolutionary organizations." In order to nail down the wrong and uplift the right, there must be an ideological struggle which is the process of criticism. He added that it is only through the process of honest, conscientious and responsible criticism and self-criticism that one "can gradually understand what the correct point of view is and have a firm grasp of it."<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, he pointed out that right ideas without good performance are not enough. As early as 1948, the year before his victory in the revolution, he pointed out that there were types of bad performance in the Army, Party and government, one of which was the bureaucratic pattern of work. However, in 1949, he said: "We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of bad style and keep the good."<sup>106</sup> Above all, the system of criticism is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of "political dust." Finally, it is important to note that Mao warned that right ideas and good per-

formance may not safeguard the power of the revolutionary Party. The real security of the power comes from the continuous improvement of ideas and performance through the process of criticism. He wrote: "The proverb, 'Running water is never stale and the door-hinge is never worm-eaten,' means that constant motion prevents the invasion of germs and other organisms."<sup>107</sup> Mao meant that continuous criticism prevents the Party from deterioration and safeguards its "power" for revolution. (10) Some of the other justifications—(a) The process of criticism helps solve contradictions in peace; otherwise, problems may need to be solved by violent means; (b) Criticism among the leaders and the led would promote the morale of the individuals involved; (c) Students criticize what they have learned so that they will learn better. The process of criticism and self-criticism helps students or workers become more socialized.<sup>108</sup>

*The criticizer and the criticized*—Who are the criticizers? Everyone is, except the reactionaries. The masses or proletariat are the best critics, especially those who are poorer or lower in rank, according to Mao's doctrine. In school, students and custodians may have more weight in making criticism than administrators.

Who is to be criticized? Everyone is, because everyone may be wrong. Among Mao's messages asking his comrades to correct their mistakes we find: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we, the living, think of them—can there be any personal interest then, that we would not sacrifice or any error made that we would not discard?"<sup>109</sup> Among his appeals to his disciples to be open for criticism, we note:

Marxism-Leninism must come out to meet criticism head-on because only in this way can it be strengthened and become a really great power and not a new religion or taboo....The opinions against the policy of "Hundred Flowers" are the result of fear

of criticism, fear of losing the monopolistic position. Marx never said that he should not be criticized. To those who do not follow the teaching of Marx, I would address an old saying: "He who does not allow himself to be criticized during his life will be criticized after his death."<sup>110</sup>

Regarding who is to be criticized, it is interesting to note the following findings: On July 8, 1957, Mao met with a group of people in Shanghai, and stated: "Men are not perfect sages—who does not make mistakes? All of us have some shortcomings. I also have those."<sup>111</sup> While Mao talked at the Lu-Shang Conference on July 23, 1959, he encouraged the participants to be open to criticism and said: "If you disagree with others, you argue, you criticize! Especially, if you say you cannot argue against or criticize me, the Chairman, I think you are wrong."<sup>112</sup>

All the people or the proletariat masses have the right and freedom to criticize any affair and any one and to counter-criticize; they are encouraged to do so, in accordance with Mao's philosophy and practice. However, the right and the freedom of all reactionaries to criticize and counter-criticize are deprived, because Mao held the "dual theory" of method and conducted the "dual pattern" of practice. One theory applies to the revolutionaries or the people; the other applies to the counterrevolutionaries or the enemies as indicated in Chapter Five of this volume. Furthermore, Mao conducted campaigns to liquidate "class enemies." He did not give any procedure, criteria or manner of "criticism" to the reactionaries; he plainly attacked them and called for the quick liquidation of all of them. He said: "We should sweep backward ideas from the minds of Chinese people, just as we sweep our rooms. Dust never vanishes of itself without sweeping." He also said: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; under no circumstances should they be allowed to spread unchecked."<sup>113</sup>

Mao and his disciples criticized and accused imperialists,

capitalists, chauvinists, revisionists, leftists, rightists, adventurers, opportunists, individualists, metaphysicists, the bourgeoisie and all their ideas, as indicated in various chapters in this book. This section contains some specific and different documents. Mao constantly reiterated: "One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." Chiang Ming, the Maoist, wrote in criticizing individual meritism: "We oppose the ideology of seeking fame and profit principally because we oppose fame and profit as personal objectives as the end of one's efforts."<sup>114</sup> In attacking individual heroism and advocating socialist heroism Chiang also wrote:

We oppose the marked prominence of an individual, oppose individual heroism, principally because we oppose the exaggeration of the role of the individual in work, the non-reliance on the masses, the refusal to study humbly from the masses, and the self assumption that one is the greatest figure in the whole world, and thus given to arbitrary action. When some achievement is made in one's work, one becomes proud and arrogant, assumes that all merits belong to oneself, places oneself above all others, is afraid that other people do not see one's achievement, and goes all out to show oneself off. It may even be carried to greater lengths when to make oneself prominent, one does not hesitate to hit other people without principle. These are manifestations of individual heroism.<sup>115</sup>

Mao critically commented on intellectuals and their backgrounds: "Most of our present intellectuals come from the old society and from families of non-working people. Even those who come from workers or peasant families are still bourgeois intellectuals because the education they received before liberation was bourgeois education and their world outlook was fundamentally bourgeois."<sup>116</sup> He also criticized the schooling cycle and curriculum content:

It takes a total of sixteen, seventeen or twenty years for one to reach the university from primary school, and in this period one never has a chance to look at the five kinds of cereals, to look at how the workers do their work, how peasants till their fields, and how traders do business. In the meantime, one's health is also ruined. Such an educational system is very harmful indeed.<sup>117</sup>

Mao criticized the mentality and the attitude of intellectuals, including teachers: "We all know there are many intellectuals who fancy themselves very learned and assume airs of erudition without realizing that such airs are bad and harmful and hinder their own progress. They ought to be aware of the truth that actually many so-called intellectuals are, relatively speaking, ignorant, and workers and peasants sometimes know more than they do."<sup>118</sup> Finally, from Mao's famous speech, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," we find his criticism on students of the "old" school:

Now let us take a look at certain students, those brought up in schools that are completely cut off from the practical activities of society. What about them? A person goes from a primary school of this kind all the way through to a university of the same kind, graduates and is reckoned to have a stock of learning. But all he has is book-learning; he has not yet taken part in any practical activities or applied what he has learned to any field of life. Can such a person be regarded as a completely developed intellectual? Hardly so, in my opinion, because his knowledge is still incomplete.<sup>119</sup>

*Methods*—Mao pointed out that "struggle-criticism-transformation" consisted of these stages: "Establish a three-in-one revolutionary committee, hold mass criticism and repudiation meetings, purify class ranks, rectify party organizations, simplify organizational structure, change unreasonable rules and regulations, and send office workers to lower

level units."<sup>120</sup> In addition to the general procedure mentioned above, he asserted numerous specific methods.

1. Beginning with right intentions: "Our Party is a party to serve the people and, apart from the interests of the broadest section of the people, our party has not and should not have any private interests." "Basically, any criticism is to do right and good with others." Therefore, nobody should intentionally make any vicious statement or advocate any wrong idea to hurt others for personal gain. When one speaks with good intentions, he does not worry about repercussions. Mao also said that for the development of correct actions, purified ideology, and especially for high morality, for the cause of revolution, criticism must be based upon good intentions.<sup>121</sup>

2. Maintaining democratic procedure: Mao said, "If we do not have a full democratic life and do not have a system of real democratic-centralism, we can never practice the methods of 'criticism' or 'self-criticism'." He also said: "Some communes and schools are seriously bureaucratic; workers' and students' strikes are caused by the lack of democratic criticism."<sup>122</sup> Among the democratic methods of performing criticism, Mao advocated: "We must learn to work with those who disagree with us and criticize our work. To do this, we must have abundant tolerance, big hearts and open minds." Regarding "big hearts," he instructed his comrades: "So long as a person who does not hide his shortcomings for fear of being criticized or who does not persist in his mistakes too long to be criticized and cured, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and wishes to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his 'sickness' so that he can become a good comrade."<sup>123</sup> Regarding the "open mind" method, he urged: "Don't oppress others; let them talk, let them criticize." "We must enjoy listening to criticism, even from our enemies." "We must discipline ourselves to listen to bitter criticism. After listening, analyze what they have criticized, then respond—accept the criticism which is right, reject the criticism which is wrong, and raise counter-criticism."<sup>124</sup> Finally, it must be pointed out that Mao's democ-

rary of criticism is limited: First under his theory, "democratic-centralism," the Central Government and the Party have the final authority to make indisputable judgments whether the criticisms are right or wrong. Second, according to Mao's concept of "New Democracy," "reactionaries" cannot have "equal right and freedom" to criticize the proletariat or revolutionaries. Reactionaries are to be criticized. Thirdly, Mao insisted that "class struggle" has been, and will continue to be, the mainstream of the development of human history. Even in the socialist society, there would be new forms and meanings of "class struggle." This ideology does not need to be criticized, according to Maoism.

3. Discussing the issue, not attacking the person: Mao wrote, "The main purpose of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal defects, unless they are related to political and organizational errors, one need not be so censorious as to place the comrades concerned in a quandry."<sup>125</sup> Any personal attack which "is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism" must be avoided. On advocating criticism on major issues, he pointed out that "Some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism"; and he further pointed out the danger in so doing: "Once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's major political tasks."<sup>126</sup> Finally, in order to produce effective criticism on major issues, he emphasized the presentation of objective facts: "One must guard against subjectivism; statements should be based on facts."<sup>127</sup>

4. Time, place and persons: "As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event, . . . criticize at the place where the meeting is held." Furthermore, he said that everyone should be the criticizer and the criticized; regardless of who is involved, the same criteria must be used in the criticism. Specifically, he urged that the person of highest rank should be under criticism

first. The poor and low rank people should have a more decisive voice.<sup>128</sup>

5. Types: Both casual and planned criticism are accepted, according to Mao's instructions. However, the latter is more important. As he said: "If you do not have conscientiousness and preparation for giving criticism, you should not have enough courage or confidence to do it."<sup>129</sup>

6. Constructiveness: Mao said, "Both positive and negative criticism are useful. Correct criticism helps us to make-up our shortcomings; incorrect criticisms give warnings." He thought the best method of criticism was to encourage, and the real purpose of criticism was to help others and to win them over to join with "us." Therefore, the best criticisms were constructive ones with concrete suggestions which would help to solve practical problems.<sup>130</sup>

7. The "dual" approach: (a) Patience and insistence—the best method that can be used to change others' behavior, minds and hearts is persuasion, which is a patient process. Mao said: "You should never force people to change their minds: you cannot expect people to change too quickly." He also said, "One must never be rough and rash, but must adopt the approach of 'curing the sickness to save the patient' which is the only correct and effective method of criticism."<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, while being patient in the process of criticism, one must insist upon what he believes is the truth; hence, the criticized may raise counter-criticism for the sake of truth, Mao asserted.<sup>132</sup> (b) "Sweetness" and "bitterness"—Straightforwardness and honest aid in saying what one has in mind without sparing the sensibilities of the criticized. But, the manner in which one states his criticism must be sweet, Mao urged.<sup>133</sup> (c) Humility and confidence—Being humble is not to be considered a weakness. Humility is a virtue and a road to successful criticism. However, all must have confidence in what they are doing.<sup>134</sup> (d) Criticism and kindness—"Courageously criticize what is wrong, but do not punish the wrongdoer severely," Mao said. (e) Warmness and coldness—Debate enthusiastically; meanwhile, keep peace in mind. (f) Public and private forms—Criti-

cism may be undertaken by mass meeting, public debate, and Big Wall Posters. It may also be done by private conversation.<sup>135</sup>

8. Self-criticism: Mao greatly emphasized self-criticism. In numerous ways he stated that revolutionists feared no criticism, especially self-criticism, which was the distinguished feature of the Chinese Communist Party and the effective "weapon" of the Marxists. Why is self-criticism so important? Mao said: "Everyone, including himself, might at times be wrong"; and "The 'sick' man is one who thinks that others are all wrong, and only he himself makes no mistakes." Consequently, he insisted on self-criticism: "It is wrong and unwise to only criticize others and hide our own mistakes...we must encourage self-criticism, face wrong tendencies squarely and rectify them in earnest." "Those who hold a revolutionary heart and virtue earnestly seek self-criticism." Furthermore, he stated that: "The person who knows himself best can criticize himself best"; "Self-criticism is the only correct method for revolutionary people. In the people's country, it is most important to educate and remold themselves."<sup>136</sup> How to practice "self-criticism?" Among the numerous suggestions Mao made, we list: (a) Being sincere and serious, (b) Criticizing one mistake at a time, then going on to another one, (c) Pointing out the simple and specific matter first, (d) Maintaining a strong will to carry it out, (e) Leaders epitomizing and exemplifying "self-criticisms."<sup>137</sup> It is important to realize that Mao's doctrine of "self-criticism" is finally concerned with "moral" discipline, and that it is a moral undertaking. One who cannot enforce self-discipline is not only wrong and weak, but also becomes bad.<sup>138</sup>

9. Criticism by the proletariat: According to Mao, every criticism must ultimately rely on the masses of the people. He said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed."<sup>139</sup> Among Mao's reasons for emphasizing criticism made by the proletariat are: (a) Proletarians are most trust-



worthy; hence, their wisdom and judgment are most dependable. (b) He accepted what Mecius, a disciple of Confucius, said: "The people are the most important element (in a nation); the spirit of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the least important." Therefore, he insisted that proletarians are the "masters" and they have the right and authority to criticize everything and everybody. (c) The masses not only represent the actuality of history and revolution but also know best about the "actuality." (d) The people are the sources of new leaders. The best leader must come from the ranks of the proletariat. (e) Revolution in general, and education specifically, must be people-centered, Mao urged. Education is from proletariat to proletariat. Any method or criticism is of the people, by the people, and above all, it is to better serve the people that criticism is undertaken. Consequently, Mao instructed his disciples to go into the factory and the village and join especially with lower ranking people in order to learn "what should be criticized," and in particular, how to criticize.<sup>140</sup>

10. Some of the other specifics: (a) Build a positive "atmosphere" and facilitate suitable circumstances, so that everyone involved will have the courage and the feeling of freedom to criticize. (b) Mao reminded his disciples that effective criticism was a precise and concise persuasion. He said: "No nagging, no talking too much." "Give reasons briefly; get into the problem in the simplest way."<sup>141</sup> (c) The criticizer gives his "heart" to the criticized; thus his criticism can be accepted heartily by the criticized. About "how to criticize," Mao's dictum was: "Give heart; get heart." Hence, criticism is not only an effective means for technical and ideological rectification, according to Mao, but also a human and moral undertaking for the cause of revolution.<sup>142</sup>

*Some of the implementations*—Mao asserted that if one had a sincere motive for reaching the highest goal of proletariat revolution, he would be willing to learn. Criticism is dynamic and dialectic in nature; above all, it is an effective process in revolution and is imperative for group improve-

ment and self-improvement. Mao enforced the system of criticism in the army, government, Party, and school ever since his first military defeat in the guerilla war in the late 1920's. He carried on the system of criticism even during 1930-35, in the Long March. The criticism movement continued in the process of the establishment of a wartime government in Yen-an in the late 1930's. Mao spoke and wrote more emphatically on "Rectification" in the 1940's. Upon achieving the total victory of revolution in 1949, he immediately promoted the "Social Education Movement," in which the process of "criticism and self-criticism" was implemented. In the 1950's the "Intellectual Reform Movement" and the so-called "Brain-Wash" were also partial illustrations of the system of "criticism."

There is no doubt that "criticism" was carried out perseveringly in the 1960's. Teachers and students of secondary schools and colleges, or those left after thousands were sent to lifetime assignments as workers and peasants, were going through a daily "struggle-criticism-transformation" during period. In 1968, to implement "criticism and self-criticism" under the proletariat leadership, Mao sent workers and peasants to join hands with army officers and soldiers under the command of Party cadres for the enforcement of the educational revolution. On August 30, 1968, he issued the "Directive on Working Class Leadership" which has been the postulate of this movement. Accordingly, Mao Tse-tung thought propaganda teams were organized and stationed in schools. The "Directive" mentioned above charged the teams with the duty of "fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools." Among the major missions of the teams have been: First, the organization of classes, debate teams, discussion groups, etc. to criticize revisionism and bourgeois ideology of Party members and all others; Second, the repudiation of educational ideas and practices which are not compatible with the Maoist line; Third, expatiation on the failings of intellectuals, in general, and on those of students, teachers and school administrators, in particular.<sup>143</sup>

Mao emphasized "criticism" in the Army, especially in the training process. He said: "Privates criticize army officers who always may feel embarrassed. However, after the commanders of battalions, divisions and/or "army groups" are criticized by low ranking soldiers, then the work of the commanders becomes easier. Democratic criticism is thoroughly implemented in the army successfully. Why do we not carry it on in every school, factory and commune?"<sup>144</sup> Regarding criticism in schools, he said: "Teachers are older, have been learning longer and know more than students; teachers have more specialized knowledge and training. However, this does not mean students cannot criticize teachers. Students should pay respect to teachers, but students are encouraged to criticize teachers, provided student criticism is not unreasonable and does not interfere with the teaching process."<sup>145</sup>

Following Mao's guiding principles, schools in China have trained students to develop the virtue and habit of "criticism" and "self-criticism." Some of the actual and concrete methods for this training are: (1) The teaching of all subjects play a role in training "criticism and self-criticism"; (2) all forms of extra-curricular activities play a role in this training, and "training through practicing" is emphasized; (3) this is a gradual process; (4) the collective form is emphasized; (5) utilization of the influence of the majority to transform the minority is stressed; (6) individual characteristics and differences are to be observed; (7) positive approaches, such as emulation of those who have done better and encouragement and reward, are prior to punishment; (8) parents' coordinating efforts are to be sought.<sup>146</sup>

Finally, according to Mao's ideology of "permanent revolution," there are continuous contradictions, then struggles, then criticism, which is to be continued. Above all, the system of criticism remains in every walk of life as well as in schools everywhere in China, from Canton—the South, Mongolia—the North, Shanghai—the East, and Tibet—the West. For example, among the latest reports on the criticism

movement, we find "Criticism by the Emancipated Serf" from which we quote:

Since the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, great enthusiasm has spread over the Tibetan plateau along China's southwest border...In group criticism meetings on the spot, visitors debunk Lin Piao's preaching about Confucius' hypocritical "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness," "Loyalty and forbearance," and the Dalai's harping on "great mercy" as sheer lies to fool the people...At present, the flames of revolutionary mass criticism blaze ever brighter in both cities and countryside, from frontier outposts to government organizations and schools throughout the Tibet plateau.<sup>147</sup>

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### LEARNING

The Basic Concepts: the nature of learning and the imperative

The General Principles: specific-general-specific, part-whole-part, imitation and creation, self learning, learning with others and from each other, graduation and continuation, integration and the cycle, selection, deliberation and purpose and motive

Cardinal Guides: sources of methods, places and times

Methods: experiencing, doing, thinking, problem solving and some other methods

Mao consistently urged his disciples to fight against the enemy of ignorance for the glory of the proletariat revolution. Therefore, his clarion call was "Learning, Learning and Learning." He considered learning in theory and practice as both an art and a science; learning is mainly a human effort; scientific aids are supplements for better results of learning. Mao's system of learning, a part of his political ideologies and tactics, is consistent and well-integrated with his concepts and purposes of education and the curriculum, indicated in the earlier chapters of this volume. The methodological ideologies Mao indicted and those he asserted directly or indirectly have a bearing on his educational methodology in general and on his system of learning specifically. Furthermore, the educational methods analyzed in the last chapter

are the basis of learning according to Mao. This chapter is designed to examine the concepts, principles, guides and methods of learning.

#### I. THE BASIC CONCEPTS

*The nature of learning*—Firstly, we note Mao's human concept of learning. He said: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is the people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is...a contest of human power and morale."<sup>1</sup> He further insisted that human beings have the potential to be "powerful," that human "morale" can always reach higher levels and that the crucial factor involved is the system of their learning.

Specifically, he commented on the mind in the learning process: "Be self-reliant, work hard, do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind." He also urged his followers to emancipate the hands, ears, eyes, taste and heart, in addition to the mind, in order to attain greater achievement in learning. He called for a total emancipation of human potentials.

It is also interesting to note that Mao, although the arduous Marxist, stressed humanization in the process of learning. Technological equipment is used by human beings for human learning. Man uses computers for freeing human creative minds from drudgery. In the educational process, the first concern is not the equipment but human elements. Not mechanical aids, nor automated programs, but human activities are the prime essence in the process of learning, in accordance with his thinking.

Students are not things and should never be made into standardized digits; they must be recognized as organic human beings with intangible potentials and possibilities. The undefinable effects of human influence can never be produced by an electronic tube. The intercommunication between teachers, students and administrators, and especially interactions among students are essential in the process of learning. Above

all, humanized methods promote desirable consequences and the real value of learning.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, Mao held tenaciously to the life concept of learning. The gap between traditional Chinese education and practical life had a bearing upon the development of Mao's life concept of learning. Through his struggle in war, politics and economics, he gained personal experience and a thorough understanding regarding what is desirable learning. This experience and understanding helped him formalize his life concept of learning which contains two phases: (1) Learning for life—This life-serving method of learning is achieved by the actual living process. "What kind of life you have would help determine what you should learn and especially how you should learn." "Life is the best process of learning." (2) Learning in life—Mao offered the Chinese the "Long March to Knowledge and Skill." He urged all Chinese to study for a lifetime at home, in schools and in the factories, fields and the army; all people were to live and work under the banner of education from birth to death. In fact, the idea of spending one's life learning is a traditional one in China. Confucius himself said, "When his coffin is closed, then the wise man stops learning." Mao accepted and implemented this concept nationwide.<sup>3</sup>

Thirdly, Mao's theory of learning is one of "organicism": (1) It contains the idea of growth, change or reformalizing experiences. Every kind and/or step of learning is in the process, in progress and in the making. Learning is a process of unending changes and transformation; it is not really complete at any moment. Also, learning now leads to the next step of learning. (2) This concept contains the idea of continuity. Learning about the past, the present and the future is an uninterrupted process. There is continuity of learning regarding nature, society and man, which are related. (3) Organicism is a theory of interconnection: Learning about materials and non-materials, individuals and groups, mind and body, fact and principle, events and meaning, means and ends, and that about intelligence, ethics and esthetics, is not separated but interconnected.

Thought is intrinsically connected with action. Morality, ideas and ideals would be empty and sterile if they were isolated from the means necessary to achieve them.

Fourthly, Mao also held that there are variations of learning: "Different people have different conditions; some may be more able to read, less able to write; those who are less able to read or write may be better able to listen." "One should learn in whatever way is suitable to him."<sup>4</sup>

Fifthly, learning must be viewed in the way of wholeness. Both extrinsic and intrinsic growth, the sociopsychic and the biopsychic process of learning, must be considered. He wrote, "Whenever there is a war, there is a war situation as a whole... The task of military science is to study the laws for directing a war and governing a war situation as a whole."<sup>5</sup> In each kind of learning, as in the learning of war, the whole situation and all the factors involved are under consideration, in accordance with Mao's idea.

Sixthly, learning must provide an integrated balanced development. Mao denied Chinese traditional "dualism" or the doctrine called "psychophysical parallelism" in which the human mind and body parallel each other's processes without one affecting the other. He indicted Chinese "mentalism" which indicates that one's mind does appear to control, in part at least, the movement of the body. He resolutely challenged the intelligentsia who inherited the Confucian tradition of the abhorrence of physical work. He attacked the idea which splits the course of activity into two separate kinds, often named respectively, the inner and the outer, or the spiritual and the physical. An integrated and balanced development of body and mind, of skills and ideas, of working and thinking, was highly stressed by Mao: Creation cannot be achieved by either the imagination, or the physical program alone. Mental work will not grow until it is closely related to activity. If there is reconciliation and mutual enforcement of both mental and physical work, all progress and inventions will be hopeful.<sup>6</sup>

Seventhly, Mao held a broad concept of learning: All kinds of "struggles," against natural obstacles and bourgeois and

capitalist society, are learning processes. He insisted on many-sidedness and warned against one-sided learning. He said: "Every one must do different things and contact various people in order to learn"; "Naturally, one can learn something in school, and I do not mean to close down the schools. What I mean is that it is not absolutely necessary to go to school." On September 28, 1968, at a meeting with Red representatives, Mao issued his famous statement: "Knowledge is not merely learned from schools or books. Society is the greatest university! Lenin studied only a year and one half in a university. Engels did not complete his high school... Gorky only studied for two years in elementary school. I have never studied in the university."<sup>7</sup>

Eighthly, Mao advocated instrumentalism in learning. He said, "Studying books is a process of learning; using what you learned is also a process of learning and using the knowledge gained is a more important process of learning." Education is a major and basic means of spreading revolutionary ideas, and he considered learning a means of social, moral and political uplift to society as well as an aid to professional progress. Above all, learning can never be simply for the sake of learning; it is for better serving the people.<sup>8</sup>

Ninthly, the possibility of learning always exists: Mao thought that "Animals can learn and all human beings have the potential to learn." He especially pointed out that the poor and those of the lower ranks have a greater possibility and stronger potential to learn. Furthermore, regarding the learning of the young or the ignorant, he stated: "On the blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted."<sup>9</sup>

*The imperative*—On July 10, 1964, while entertaining a group of Japanese visitors, Mao said: "I am seventy-one years old, but there are many things I do not understand. I must learn every day. Without learning, nobody can make a correct policy."<sup>10</sup> He tried at all times to exhort his comrades to learn in war, politics and economics. For example, in "Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War," written

in December 1936, he stated: "The important problem is to be good at learning... Learning is no easy matter, but to apply what one has learned is even more difficult."<sup>11</sup>

One of Mao's dictums for guiding war, politics and economic production is "Learning, Learning and Learning again." Why is learning the imperative? He wrote and spoke on this question a great number of times. Some of the reasons asserted are as follows: (1) The beginning—"Be a pupil before you become a teacher." One who wants to be a leader or a teacher must learn to be it. (2) Improvement—One of Mao's testimonies in relation to "Improving by Learning" is interesting:

I participated in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1911. Then I did not know anything about Marx or Lenin...I had wrongly believed in idealism, Confucianism and Kantism...From 1921, when the Party was established, to 1927, the year of the North Expedition, I had the strong desire for revolution but did not know revolutionary theories and tactics, which later I knew from learning...My life history was one from unawakening to awakening, from believing in idealism to materialism, and theism to atheism, by the process of learning. It is correct to say that I learned, then I became a Marxist. I cannot pretendingly say I understand everything. I must learn, then I can understand more.<sup>12</sup>

(3) Correcting mistakes—Mao explained to his comrades, "Everyone may have some shortcomings and mistakes. Confucius made mistakes. I looked at Lenin's manuscripts in which he made mistakes and corrected them" and "We must learn to correct our mistakes."<sup>13</sup>

(4) Inadequate experience—In accordance with Mao's doctrine, no nation can ever have real adequacy of experience in the process of reconstruction. He said: "As we are aiming to transform our backward agricultural nation to become an advanced industrialized country, this task is difficult and our experience is indeed inadequate. Therefore, we must be

sincere in learning from the advanced Soviet Russia, the peoples' democratic nations, the brotherly parties in the world and the proletariat of all the nations."<sup>14</sup> (5) "What" and "how" to be learned—It is imperative to know "what" and "how" in revolution. Mao said: "What are the major problems in China? How must we reconstruct China? The 'whats' and 'how' are to be learned."<sup>15</sup> (6) Changing conditions and the need for learning—"Conditions are changing all the time; to adapt one's thinking to new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, to absorb what is new and study new problems."<sup>16</sup>

Mao, recognizing the imperative of learning for revolution, was humbly and honestly zealous in pursuing learning. In 1959, while he was the "indisputable" leader in China at the age of 66, Mao spoke at the Party Central Military Conference:

There are many things I have not yet learned. I am a person with many shortcomings; not a "perfect" person; many times I am not satisfied with myself. I have not learned well about the various parts of the knowledge in Marxism. And, for example, I have not learned proficiently foreign languages either. I have just begun to learn about economic work. But, comrades, I decided to learn perseveringly until death; when I die, then, it will be the end of learning. Above all, as long as I am living a single day, I will study a day. Let us jointly create an environment and the atmosphere of learning. I think I must also learn a little bit more; otherwise, when I see Marx, I will feel bad. If he raises some questions, then, I will be unable to answer. What will I do?...Furthermore, I am not knowledgeable in either natural science or technology. Now, there are many things to be learned.<sup>17</sup>

## II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Among the general principles of learning that Mao advocated, are: (1) "Specific-general-specific"—Mao stated learning should begin with specific materials which might be mostly physical, concrete or practical. Then, the broad scope of materials may be examined or a general view or some conceptualization may be formalized. The general concept might contain richer and deeper related elements. The third step, according to Mao, is examining new, specific materials, based upon the general concept.<sup>18</sup>

(2) "Part-whole-part"—Mao urged that learning should start from the relevant part of the whole body of learning. However, he said, "One can never learn one part isolated from the other parts," "Understanding the parts is not sufficient; partial understanding would not help us to have a clear view." Therefore, he proposed the famous "Broadening and Deepening" principle. "Broadening" means to learn the whole; "deepening" means to penetrate certain parts. His sequence of learning is "part, the whole, then part again."<sup>19</sup>

(3) Imitation and creation—Mao said that it is wise and economical to follow what is good in other nations or to learn the things of other people; but "imitation" should never be total or mechanical. It must be selective. He also said that creation is most important: One must think of something new or of what is not in books, and one must dare to say what has not been said.<sup>20</sup>

(4) Self learning—Mao left school for self-study in 1917; he founded the "Self-Study University" in 1923. As his belief was that "No one can impose learning on others," beginning in 1927, he inaugurated the "self-study movement" in guerilla bases.

He advised Party cadres, "Let the masses educate themselves," "Socialist education is self-education among the people." In 1968, he declared that the Great Cultural Revo-

lution "is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things not for their own liberation must not be used." In June 1964, he told Wang Hui-yien, his niece: "Cadres cannot depend upon parents or elders for learning something; they must completely depend upon themselves." "Let the youth revolt by themselves; let them educate themselves in revolutionary movements; we must let them find the answers for solving problems themselves."<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Mao, in order to promote the principle of "self learning," spoke and wrote numerous times on topics that he entitled "self-activities," "self-awakening," "self-creativity," "self-discipline," "self-examination," "self-education," "self-effort," "self-instruction," "self-practice," "self-restraint," "self-reliance," "self-reform," "self-struggle," "self-study," "self-transformation," "self-willingness," etc. Especially, he emphasized "self-criticism for better self learning."<sup>22</sup>

Most importantly, he proclaimed the simplest catchwords for self learning: "Spontaneity and initiative which are the best performance of the real value of human liberty."<sup>23</sup>

Finally, it should be noted that Mao's doctrines of learning were always implemented in schools. For example, among the guiding principles of learning in schools in Yen-an during 1936-49, we find: "Our discipline is a spontaneous one. Children, themselves, must all recognize what discipline is; what the reasons for discipline are; how they can follow these reasons. It is learning with self-appreciation, by self-willingness and spontaneity. There can be no way of blind or slavery process."<sup>24</sup>

In March, 1955, the Ministry of Higher Education issued a directive which includes "self-study" regulations of students. The regulations, as expected, are implementations or applications of Mao's ideas.<sup>25</sup>

(5) Learn with others and from each other—In accordance with Mao's idea, an individual can never be isolated; there is an interrelationship among individuals. The "self" should always be socialized or collectivized. "Mutual aid," "mutual criticism," "exchange of experience," "coordination

and cooperation" and "social consensus" are needed in the process of learning.

Various forms of "group study" and "collective study" were advocated by Mao and those have been the patterns of learning in schools, the army, the farms and factories. One of Mao's dictums is: "Learn from each other, help each other; take others' goodness in order to lessen one's shortcomings; above all, make progress together." Regarding the principles of learning, he advocated the "Four ways of togetherness—eat together, live together, labor together and take counsel together with the masses."<sup>26</sup>

(6) Graduation and continuation—Mao stated that learning is a process from a lower level to a higher level and from knowing "one side" to knowing "many sides." Learning experiences must be viewed as a process of gradual change. The change does not often come suddenly or abruptly. The progress of learning at times is faster; sometimes it becomes slower. Hence, he advised students to be patient in learning and to learn continuously: "Don't be in a hurry. If today you cannot achieve the result of learning, try tomorrow. If tomorrow you do not achieve the goal, try again the day after tomorrow." One of Mao's analogies of learning is: "The learning process is like a breeze or a drizzling rain; it can never be in any way a storm or a rainfall."

Referring to gradual and continuous learning, he usually said to his comrades: "We always eat one bit, then another; no one can swallow at once the whole dish of meat." "Learning or eating is a process of chewing, absorbing and digesting." Above all, learning proceeds from one step of work to another, one period of time to another, one kind of material to another. This is what Mao called the "graduation and continuation" principle of learning.<sup>27</sup>

(7) Integration of theory and practice and the cycle—From Mao's comments on learning we find such terms as "doing," "practicing," "struggle," "work," and "fight." He used these terms interchangeably. "Thinking," "knowing," "reasoning," "theory," "cognition," etc. were also used with similar meaning in his discussion of learning.

He specifically said that learning must go through both the perceptual stage and the rational stage. His most popular dictum in learning was: "Catch revolutionary theory; follow practical work and life."<sup>28</sup> Therefore, he denied the traditional Chinese "separationism" which denotes that the human mind and body function separately, that the process of one does not affect that of the other. He also criticized the traditional concept of "oneness" meaning that the mind is the sole master of a person. Furthermore, he indicted the Confucianist tradition of the abhorrence of physical work, that of neglecting physical activities in the process of learning.<sup>29</sup>

A balanced development of body and mind, of skills and ideas, of working and thinking, was emphatically stressed by Mao. He thoroughly recognized the interdependence of body and mind and asserted that no creation can be achieved by physical efforts alone. Mental work will not be useful until closely related to experience. If there is reconciliation of mental and physical work, all progress and invention could be hopeful. Consequently, Mao pointed out that dogmatists refute practical experience and that they deny Marxism as a guide for action. He also criticized empiricists, who limit themselves to their extreme narrow experience, not realizing the significance of theory or reasoning, and who fail to see the complete process of learning. He wrote:

Those with book learning must develop in the direction of practice; it is only in this way that they will stop being content with books and avoid committing dogmatist errors. Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors. Dogmatism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each originating from an opposite pole.<sup>30</sup>



In the final analysis, we must examine Mao's "cycle system" in the process of learning. In explaining this cycle, he adopted and used different terms as follows: "struggle-criticism-transformation-new struggle," "opposition or contradiction-unity-new opposition-new unity," "Doing-thinking-doing," and "Senses-perceiving-perception-conception-practice-new senses-new perceiving-new perception-new conception-new practices." Mao said that no learning can be complete or dependable until it comes through the "cycle" which is a process of development and verification of what can be learned. He further specified that conceptual learning is the development of perceptual learning in a higher stage.

Reasoning can never be considered as the end of a learning process and reasoning always promotes new action, mental work is based upon physical activity and doing is the beginning of knowing. Mao's well-known analogy is: "Actions are parents; knowledge is the son; creation is the grandchild." Hence, he wrote and talked a number of times on such topics as "Direct Experience, the Origin of Cognition," "The Study from Physical Quantity to Abstract Quality," and "Marxist Methods—Starting not from Principles."<sup>31</sup>

The following message, which Mao wrote in 1963, has been the one most commonly studied by Maoists:

In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggles and gain rich experience...Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs—the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i. e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas...Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the practice to ascertain whether the theories,

policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success...Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice.

This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition, i. e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth...<sup>32</sup>

In sum, Mao's "cycle" system of learning contains these steps: (a) Reception by the sense organs of stimulations from the environment, either social or natural; (b) Formulation of sense perceptions; (c) The conceptual stage—After perceptual accumulation in the brain, there is a cognitive leap; then, concepts are formed, thus bringing knowledge to a qualitatively different and higher level; (d) Application or doing—the knowledge gained in step (c) is applied to practical conditions; (e) Development of new thinking or knowledge—the unforeseen circumstance and the experience gained in step (d) help develop new or better ideas or concepts; (f) Undertaking new practices according to new ideas gained in step (e). The last step is the adaptation to new conditions or new ways of doing.<sup>33</sup>

(8) Selection of essentials—Learning must be an intelligent enterprise or an effective effort in life and work, according to Mao. Therefore, he gave the following advice to his disciples to make learning an effective process: (a) The selection of simplified, clarified and few essentials—"Take some and reject some of the materials; effective learning is not a blind process." "Make the issue clarified; complexity simplified." "Vague materials will not help much." "Start from fewer important materials; a large volume of quantity may be unnecessary." "Catch the main points; learn the essentials."<sup>34</sup> (b) Applicable essentials—The selected, simplified and clarified; few essentials must be applicable. Mao wrote: "Studying is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases...it is not just a matter of understanding general

laws..." He also wrote: "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and to apply it; master it for the sole purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you should be commended and credited with some achievement."<sup>35</sup>

(c) Methods for selection—Based upon Mao's various statements, we find his criteria for method; (i) Be objective; engage in an objective attitude to face objective facts which formulate thinking, feeling and actions. (ii) Comply with present day, actual circumstances, which means learning what is relevant to the life and work of Chinese peasants and workers. (iii) Observe practical conditions in order to discover effective materials; social and physical observations are always the best.<sup>36</sup>

(9) Deliberation—Mao held a broad concept of learning and consistently gave attention to informal learning which can be achieved in various forms and different ways. However, he stated that the spirit of deliberation is important for either formal or informal learning. Mao said that learning is not the same as participating in a tea party; we do expect to have difficulties in the process of learning which might even be a "torturous pass." Inferring that learning is a conscientious process of struggle, he wrote: "The successors of the proletariat revolution are developed in the mass class struggle; youth grow in the revolutionary storm."<sup>37</sup>

As Mao considered that learning was not an easy or simple matter, he urged his comrades to plan for learning and gave such reasons as: "Learning cannot be compulsive or casual all the time." "Good judgment comes from deliberate efforts; thinking and planning help in making judgments," "Initiative alone, without planning, cannot work well." Furthermore, in relation to deliberation of learning, he commented on the need for preparation by using the following analogies: "Fight no battle unprepared...make every effort to be well-prepared for each battle." "When materials are not ready, soldiers are not well-trained, do not fight."<sup>38</sup>

Because it was his belief that effective learning must be a well-planned effort with sufficient preparation, he specif-

ically listed the elements necessary in the deliberating process: (1) Desire—"One would learn carefully when he desires to learn." (2) Honesty—"Never pretend to know what you do not know." "Knowledge is a matter of science, and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitely the reverse—honesty..."<sup>39</sup> (3) Modesty—"The enemy of learning is self-complacency." "Modesty helps one to go forward, . . . This is a truth we must always bear in mind." "A Communist should never regard himself as infallible and arrogantly bully others with a bureaucratic air, or think that he is good in everything and others good for nothing; he must never shut himself up in a tiny compartment and brag and boast as if he lorded it over all."<sup>40</sup> (4) Perseverance—Continuously using will-power to make conscientious efforts. Once he wrote: "Learn respectfully and conscientiously . . . if we dig into a subject . . . we shall eventually master it."<sup>41</sup>

(10) Purpose and Motive—Mao stated that any learning must be purposeful. Students of the bourgeois class and in a capitalist society are learning to obtain good grades which means money or individual success. In a socialist society, the purpose of learning is for the proletariat revolution. First, learn correct political ideology—the theory of class struggle. Furthermore, Mao believed that one who genuinely and thoroughly absorbs the ideology and steadfastly holds the political goal will have the motive and zeal to learn.<sup>42</sup>

### III. CARDINAL GUIDES

*Sources of methods*—What are the sources of effective methods of learning? Methods do not come from the innateness of the mind; the two sources are social and natural reality, and human experience, according to Mao's idea.

First, in order to verify the methods of learning, one must know the actual social circumstances of the present and those of the past. "Not only today, but also yesterday teaches." He further explained that the actual social events in

one's own place or nation, and those of other places or nations, are the foundations for developing viable methods. Specially, the social realities "here" and "now" have more impact on the development of methods than those that were in the past or will be in the future or those of others places.<sup>43</sup>

Second, the source of methods is the actual physical environment. It is Mao's belief that if a man wants to succeed in his learning and work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his work "into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world." One of Mao's simple illustrations is that one who learns to do productive work in farming must scientifically understand the soil, the climate, etc.<sup>44</sup>

Third, Mao believed that the methods of life, work or learning are the outgrowth of the life-work experience of the individual himself. He insisted that whatever the life method is, the learning method is also. For example, he said: "A variety of characters of revolutionary literature and art should be created out of real life..."; "Learn from working"; "Use your own experience to verify the principles and theories which guide operations."<sup>45</sup>

Fourth, one must find methods of learning by selectively using the experience of other people. Mao asserted: In the learning process, eventually, there should be some creative work; however, among the effective ways of learning it is permissible "to borrow experience from others." Succession to a legacy can never substitute for creation, but creation does not mean to deny a succession to legacy. Therefore, he insisted on broad contact with other people, especially the mass of the proletariat. He urged students to learn from producers, workers, and poor and lower-middle class peasants.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, he taught his disciples to learn not only from friends but also from enemies. He said: "The revolutionary dictatorship was learned from the counter-revolutionary dictatorship"; "We learn war from Chiang Kai-shek; his failures teach us how to fight."<sup>47</sup>

Also, Mao's method of learning from others is the "selective method":

Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things which suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, Mao's views on learning from books will be discussed. He clearly stated: "Education is not reading books"; "Doing practical work is a better way to learn than reading books"; "We should not read too many books. We should read Marxist books, but not too many of them either...if we read too many we can...become bookworms, dogmatists and/or revisionists."<sup>49</sup>

Although books are records of others' experiences, everyone needs to read some useful books. What are useful books? Mao denounced literary-centered textbooks and demanded lively, dynamic, and functional books. In regard to what constitutes a good book, he asserted such criteria as: "Does it induce readers to act, to think and to create?"

The better way of learning can never be book-centered; bookish knowledge is useless. One's intelligence may deteriorate, if he follows books blindly. The real solution of a problem never comes from books. The kind of life and work one has determines the kinds of books one should study and utilize. Above all, according to Mao, reading materials must be combined with life; otherwise, the result will be a bookish education.<sup>50</sup>

As early as 1930, he wrote: "The bookish method of studying social science is most dangerous, and may even lead to the road of counterrevolution. . . . We need books, but we must correct the error of bookism, the reliance on books without reference to practical conditions. How is bookism corrected? Only by investigating practical conditions."<sup>51</sup>

*The places of learning*—Mao asserted that “the great natural world is a big school” and “the whole society is a school and a laboratory.” The places for learning are wherever the different peoples and their various forms of life exist. One can learn in the streets, on the road in which he travels, and in numerous other places. For example, Mao said: “We learned military philosophy and technique in the valleys where we fought the guerilla wars.”<sup>52</sup>

People can learn from schools, libraries and homes, but these might not be the best places for learning. The best place for learning is the actual “field” or the real “spot.” Problem solving should be learned in the place where the problem exists. His simplest analogy is: “The place to learn swimming is the swimming pool.”<sup>53</sup>

He instructed his disciples to go where the people are in order to learn how to better serve the people, not to stay in the office. For example, the “two-five” system has been widely used since the late 1950’s in the administrative units, especially in the rural areas, up to and including the counties. The leaders of the county and its people’s communes are in their offices, on the average, only two days a week. During the other five days, they are out in the villages, laboring with the people, leading production on the spot. He ordered the commerce student to work and learn in stores, not to stay in the classroom too much.<sup>54</sup> He insisted that “Schools are factories, factories are schools” and “The place to learn manufacturing is in the factory.” Therefore, a number of technical training institutes are located in factories. For example, the “hull-building speciality” of the Takien Engineering Institute’s shipbuilding department was moved to the hull shop of the Hungchi Shipyard in Northeast China’s Liaoning Province.<sup>55</sup>

Regarding “the best place for learning,” Mao particularly emphasized that all students, teachers and intellectuals, as well as Party leaders and government officers, must go to the countryside to learn. Consequently, he proclaimed the farmward movement in the mid-1950’s and continuously enforced it. “Down to the villages” and “Up to the moun-

tains” to learn in the country from the peasants had become the well-established system and was fully implemented in China by the 1960’s. From the official report we find: “Twelve million school graduates have gone to live (work and study) in the countryside since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. This is a fruit of the Cultural Revolution and a victory for the Chinese youth movement in upholding Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.”<sup>56</sup>

The specific report from Mr. Fox Butterfield, *The New York Times* correspondent in Hong Kong, is self-explanatory:

Take Li Mai, for example, a 20-year old university student who is spending a month on a commune near Canton doing what the Chinese call “open-door schooling,” or part-time manual labor outside the classroom. Before starting at the university, Miss Li had spent two years as a peasant on Hainan Island south of here (Canton), as part of Chairman Mao’s program of resettling urban youth in the countryside. So far, a total of 12 million high school graduates have been rusticated.<sup>57</sup>

Why should students, teachers, all intellectuals, as well as government officials and Party leaders, learn in the countryside from peasants? Some of the reasons Mao presented are:

- (1) The foundation of the nation—Mao pointed out many times that rural people still constitute 80-85% of the whole Chinese population, and that agriculture is the foundation of industrialization.
- (2) The purpose of revolution—The question of “revolution for whom?” is fundamental. He answered: “Revolution is by, of, and above all, for the proletariat-peasants and workers.” In order to serve the peasants, the revolutionists must understand the needs of the people. Students must gain first-hand experience through working on the farms and with the peasants. From his December 21, 1965, talk at Hangchow Conference, we find:

I am very suspicious about our present day university education. From primary to university education, a period of 16, 17, or 20 years, the students do not have much chance to see the rice, peas, wheat, cereals and millet. They do not see how workers work, how peasants plough, and how buying and selling are done. Their health is ruined; schooling is really harmful and "murdering" the young people. I have told my children: "Go to the countryside and tell the poor and lower-middle peasants that I, your father, said; 'After studying for several years, the more we learn in school, the more stupid we become. Uncles, brothers, and sisters, we have come to learn from you'."<sup>58</sup>

(3) The virtue of the peasants—Mao believed that the peasants, especially the poorest, have great virtue; they are pure, honest, diligent, frugal, humble and above all, they are hard workers.

In December, 1968, during the Cultural Revolution, he issued the call: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants."<sup>59</sup>

On May 2, 1942, he said at the Yen-an Art and Literature Forum:

After I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants...I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals.<sup>60</sup>

(4) The virtue of the rural—Mao stated that rural environment is clean, quiet, peaceful and beautiful, and that rural air, the sun and landscape are good for physical health and indeed have the function of psychotherapy.<sup>61</sup> Regarding

"Learning downward" or "Learning in factories and farms," we present what Mao said, in January, 1959, to the Party secretaries of the provinces and the municipalities:

Real knowledge comes from factories, stores, cooperative farms...For problem solving, we must definitely go downward. Peking is not a good place to gain more real knowledge...The Minister of Industry must go and stay in the factories; the Minister of Agriculture must stay in villages. Every Central Committee member of the Party and provincial Party secretary must spend a large amount of time, each year, in the countryside in order to learn well about real problems and to solve them satisfactorily.<sup>62</sup>

*Times for learning*—According to Mao's idea, learning is a process from birth to death. He said: "I have decided to learn until death; live one day and learn one day." "If you have the determination to learn, you can learn something regardless of how old you are. For example, I learned swimming in 1954 (at age 61)."<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, he considered that at any time when one is engaging in any form of activity, he is in the learning process. Not only is the time spent in formal study in school the time for learning, but also the time spent in various forms of work, avocational as well as vocational.

Mao also asserted that peasants, workers, soldiers, and all people must use their spare time to study. "When the days are cold and the ground is frozen, it is time to study," is a north Shensi proverb which describes the peasants' winter study program. Spare-time study was initiated in 1927, broadly implemented in the 1940's, and was formally established in the early 1950's by the Central Government. The features of the new school system adopted in 1951 indicate that spare-time learning became an integral part of the system.

Mao instructed his disciples to learn constantly, not only at the time of success, but also while frustrated. During the 1934-35 Long March, life was horrible and unbearable,

but ideological study was enforced in the army and in the Party. He urged "learning now" by saying: "Seize the day, seize the hour." Furthermore, he insisted that everyone must deliberately try to find time for study, day after day: "If you cannot find much, try to find a little."<sup>64</sup>

How can people find time? He suggested: "Squeeze out a little time from daily life and 'make time.'" Mao adopted such familiar Chinese views as: "Time is like the water in a sponge; all you have to do is be willing to squeeze it, and there will always be water"; "Use the intermission between works"; "Use the piecemeal—this little bit and that little bit"; "Get up a little earlier"; "Study in a train or on a boat while going somewhere for a mission"; and, "Make vacation a study vacation."<sup>65</sup>

After finding or squeezing in a certain amount of time for study, there must be intelligent ways to use it, Mao advised. The arrangement for using time must be various. Some schedules of learning may be regular, some irregular. The amount of time utilized for learning must be flexible: "Sometimes use more amounts of time to study, sometimes less"; "Less time is devoted to study when there is more productive or political work."<sup>66</sup>

#### IV. METHODS

*Experiencing*—No one can live and work well without experience which teaches and, indeed, merits attention. Although it is difficult and costly to gain experience, everyone must conscientiously accumulate experience, Mao asserted. Why is experience important? From what Mao said on this topic, we find: "Experience is a better teacher even than Marx"; "From the successful and unsuccessful war experience beginning in 1927, we gradually formulated guerilla strategy: When the enemy advances we retreat; when the enemy camps, we harass; when they tire, we attack; when they retreat, we pursue."<sup>67</sup>

In August, 1949, while the final revolutionary victory

approached, he wrote: "Experiences from hundreds of times in the military, political, economic and cultural struggle, both bloody and bloodless experiences, have enabled us to have fundamental success."<sup>68</sup>

Regarding the process of learning, he stated that conceptualization, comprehension, reasoning and analysis all originate in experience.<sup>69</sup> Mao credited indirect experience, such as the experience of advanced people in the past and during the present, as well as what is written in books. However, he believed that indirect experience may not be of the better or the best values. What is better experience? It is practical and actual experience. He said: "The wisest and the ablest are those fighters who have practical experience"; and wrote: "A Communist Party's correct and unswerving tactic of struggle can under no circumstances be created by a few people sitting in an office; tactics emerge in the course of mass struggle, that is, through actual experience."<sup>70</sup>

What is the better actual and practical experience? It is direct experience, which means that which is learned from personal involvement. He said: "All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience"; "You must try to have a personal experience about a thing before rejecting or accepting it." He once set an analogy in the most folksy and popular Chinese expression: "If you have not eaten dog's meat, you cannot say it tastes bad."

Furthermore, he clearly asserted that direct experience initially must be sensory: "Use your own eyes to see (not those of others), one's own ears to listen, hands to touch and voice to express"; and he said: "In order to know the taste of a pear, you must eat it yourselves."<sup>71</sup> Mao explained his emphasis upon direct experience or actual participation in this passage:

The saying, "A scholar does not step outside his gate, yet knows all the happenings under the sun," was merely empty talk in technologically undeveloped old times;...yet people with real first-hand knowledge are those engaged in practice....If a man wants to

know certain things or certain kinds of things directly, it is only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality, to change those things or those kinds of things, that he can come into contact with the phenomena of those things or those kinds of things; and it is only during the practical struggle to change reality, in which he personally participates, that he can disclose the essence of those things or those kinds of things and understand them. This is the path to knowledge along which everyone actually travels; only some people, distorting things deliberately, argue to the contrary. The most ridiculous person in the world is the "wiseacre" who, having gained some half-baked knowledge by hearsay, proclaims himself "the world's No. 1"; this merely shows that he has not taken a proper measure of himself.<sup>72</sup>

*Doing*—As is explained in the previous section, personal, direct, practical and actual experience is most valuable in accordance with Mao's view. How can one gain this experience? Mao answered in one word: "Doing." He used such terms as "working," "practicing," "struggling," "laboring," interchangeably with "doing" in his speeches and conversations and writings. First, we find his explanations about "the sources of experience." In 1969, he said: "I first engaged in democratic revolution in 1921. At the beginning I did not know the revolutionary method or how to struggle. Gradually, from doing, I gained some experience of revolution."<sup>73</sup> In 1955, he reported to the Party conference: "In the past I had only some bourgeois experience in revolution and did not have any experience of socialist revolution. How could I gain the experience of socialist revolution? Did I get it by sitting at home? No! I learned from participating in socialist revolution."<sup>74</sup> In short, experience comes from doing, he asserted.

Secondly, doing is a process of training and discipline. Above all, it is the method of learning. According to Mao's theory, after a period of doing, one knows about better

methods of doing; the process is not first learning, then doing; but it is first doing, then learning. He said: "In 1921, when the Party was organized, I only had the zeal of revolution, but not the method. Later, from the actual political struggle, I learned how to struggle." "In 1921, I, being an intellectual and an elementary school teacher, did not know how to operate a war"; "The battlefield was a school. I learned warfare through warfare."<sup>75</sup>

In regard to learning warfare through warfare, he further wrote: "No true, able commander of high rank can be made out of one who is a mere beginner in warfare or one who knows warfare only on paper, and to become such a commander one must learn through warfare."<sup>76</sup> He also said, "I always oppose learning by reading documents only"; "No general should check the military book while he conducts war."<sup>77</sup> In March, 1965, Mao told the delegation of the Palestinian Liberation Army: "Many foreign people come to China to study military affairs. I advise them not to study in China long. Several months may be enough. Classroom work does not have too much value. Going home to participate in actual war is most important."<sup>78</sup>

Thirdly, the meaning, process and substance of doing will be analyzed: Doing is learning which is achieved from doing. Applying what has been learned to life and work is also a form of doing. Using or implementing skill or knowledge will enhance new learning, Mao explained.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, in accordance with Mao's idea, doing or learning may not progress or develop spontaneously and tranquilly; it is a sequence of efforts and struggle: "Learn, learn and learn again until success; struggle, failure; struggling again, failing again, struggling again and again until eventually there is victory."<sup>80</sup>

Explaining what is to be done and which enemies are to be struggled against, Mao stated that the proletariat have two difficult jobs to do: face, adjust, change, improve and control both the physical world and the social world. Specifically, the most concrete tasks, among others confronting revolutionary men, are the struggle for economic production

and the class struggle in politics. Regarding productive activity, Mao wrote:

The Marxist regards man's production activity as the most fundamental practical activity, as the determinant of all other activities. In his cognition, man, depending mainly upon activity in material production, gradually understands nature's phenomena, nature's characteristics, nature's laws, and the relations between himself and nature; and through productive activity he also gradually acquires knowledge in varying degrees about certain human interrelations. None of such knowledge can be obtained apart from productive activity.

In a class society every person, as a member of society, joins in an effort with the other members, enters into certain relations of production with them, and engages in productive activity to solve the problem of material life.<sup>81</sup>

Based upon his belief in the significance of productive activity, he explained: "Productive work is a learning process and learning is for production." He advocated: "Mental work must be based on physical activities," and he promoted "work-study systems" in all schools. In 1958, Mao asserted: "Schools establish factories, factories establish schools; students and teachers manage farms; peasants manage schools; students undertake 'Work and study, half-work and half-study.'" "Learning and laboring go together."<sup>82</sup> "Education must be combined with productive labor." Mao's doctrine has been thoroughly implemented. Schools enter into contracts with nearby factories or farms. Students undertake productive activities such as agricultural projects on the school ground and part-time work in mines, in industrial plants and on farms.

Children may be assigned to pick up pieces of iron or coal in industrial plants. It has been common for children to carry baskets to collect manure for farming on the way to school and on the way back home. Women's life and

work are not confined to productive activity; there are many other forms of activity, such as scientific, artistic, political, etc. in accordance with Mao's thoughts.

He believed that political spheres of life are important to the man who is class-oriented: "In a class society everyone lives within the status of a particular class and every mode of thought is invariably stamped with the brand of that class." Therefore, he asserted further, that the various forms of class struggle exert a particularly profound influence upon the development of man's history. In sum, it is the basic task of everyone to learn class struggle. Schools should teach class struggle.<sup>83</sup>

Fourthly, we find Mao's rationale for his emphasis upon doing. Mao, a doer or a practitioner, was active all his life. He called upon theoreticians to follow in the clear, penetrating and illuminating light of practice. Among his reasons for practice are: (1) The science of Marxism—"Learning is a matter of science, and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitively the reverse—honesty and modesty. If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality."<sup>84</sup> Mao incisively stated his opposition to the separation of learning and practice: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies."<sup>85</sup> Consequently, he pleaded: "If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution";<sup>86</sup> "In social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggles and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures."<sup>87</sup>

In addition, we find his statements condemning book learning divorced from practice: "Those with book learning must develop in the direction of practice. It is only in this way that they will stop being content with books and avoid committing dogmatist errors";<sup>88</sup> "Book learners must learn



from practice in order to attain good results";<sup>89</sup> "One who takes actions in war in accordance with experience received from previous action, does not first find in books what action should be taken."<sup>90</sup>

(2) Common sense from reality—Everyone has an experience in relation to the fact. "Learning by doing"; "Learning from doing"; and "Doing, then, learning" were terms he used to describe this idea. He said that doing is always the beginning, then policy and principle develop and eventually knowledge might be formalized.<sup>91</sup> (3) The verification of truth—"Find out what is wrong and eliminate mistakes by doing"; "There can be no development without differentiation and struggle. Truth develops through its struggle against falsehood." He also said: "Do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind"; "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth."<sup>92</sup> (4) The promotion of morale and confidence—Mao, the activist and the optimist, believed in action as a stimulus to the proper working of the mind and body. He once said: "I suffer from constipation. This is why I prefer a military life. My bowels never worked better than during the battle for Chang Sha." It is correct to say that action was the "spring" or the "fountain" of his life. At the Supreme State Council in October, 1957, Mao expressed strongly that: "Rightists have no conscience! Why? Because they are sitting at home most of the time and do not stand up and do something for the revolution."<sup>93</sup> Mao was a man imbued with confidence from the action he himself had taken.

Fifthly, some of the methods Mao proposed for successful doing include: (1) Doing for learning to do or learning to do by doing—"If you do not know how to do it, just start doing it." (2) Doing experimentally—"One must dare to try"; "Learn from mistakes"; "Do not fear much about making mistakes; try to correct mistakes and try to find the right ways of doing"; "The bourgeoisie do not like to try."<sup>94</sup> (3) Doing continuously—"If you have the heart to do it again and again, difficulties will be conquered"; "Doing

many things is similar to learning swimming; do it every day continuously and you will get it."<sup>95</sup> (4) Timely doing—"Hit the iron hard, when it is hot"; "Don't miss the opportunity; do it while in the mood, or while you have the interest, desire, and/or energy,..."<sup>96</sup> (5) Doing in the right place—Mao insisted on "going to the factory to learn about industry; the village to learn farming; the battlefield to learn war."<sup>97</sup> (6) "Adventurism" denied—As early as 1929, Mao first criticized adventurists who worked "blindly" and "impulsively." He insisted that, before doing, there must be a clear analysis and careful investigation of the related "circumstances."<sup>98</sup>

*Thinking*—For a clear and systematic understanding of Mao's ideas on thinking, the following topics will be discussed: "What thinking is," "What the needs for thinking are," and "What the methods of thinking are."

First, what is thinking? Among Mao's descriptions, we note: (1) Thinking is the second stage of the development of human functions. The first step is sensory contacts with the external world; this is the stage of perception. Thinking is a synthesis of the data perception, making a rearrangement of a reconstruction; it is a process of conceptualization, comparison, judgment, and inference.<sup>99</sup>

(2) There is always a process of transformation. Some of the essence of the perceptions may be transformed into new forms which are essential for conceptions. Conceptions, in turn, enforce perception. Perception and conception are not to be mechanically separated.

(3) Continuity or integration of "perception and conception," or "practice and theory," or "doing and thinking." According to Mao's ideas, neither doing nor thinking alone can be considered as complete learning; the complete process is from doing to thinking, then developing new ways of doing, then formulating new ideas. Therefore, there must be an integration of manual labor and mental work. He asserted that the function of the mind is an extension of the function of the body; thinking is an extension of doing. On the impact of doing upon thinking, he wrote: "Where does

man's correct thought come from? Does it come down from the sky? No. Does it come from one's own head? No. Man's correct ideas only come from the three social practices—productive struggle, class struggle, and scientific experimentation."<sup>100</sup> He wrote, however, on the impact of thinking upon doing: "While we recognize that in the general development of history material elements determine mental and social being and social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of the mental process on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."<sup>101</sup> He also wrote: "Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory."<sup>102</sup>

(4) Mao asserted that, in revolution, there must be criticism on destruction and repudiation of wrong things; that the revolutionary process involves reasoning things out and finding better alternatives according to effective thinking. Hence, he believed that thinking is a constructive effort.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, he not only expressed that thinking or ideas may change society and the world, he also said that thinking may be "productive" and "ideas may turn into a material force."<sup>104</sup>

Secondly, while believing that thinking was a higher human function for the constructive transformation of "practice-theory-new practice-new theory," Mao explained why thinking is necessary.

He indicted the overemphasis, in the past, on the function of the mind in life and work; but he never neglected the significance of thinking. He advocated practice prior to theory and that thinking originates in doing; however, he asserted that thinking enforces and promotes effective work. Concrete actions and creative thinking are equally important in accordance with Mao's ideas. Among Mao's reasons for "learning to think," are: (1) Life necessity—He wrote: "Understanding by thorough thinking must precede decision. Success comes from decisions based on thorough under-

standing."<sup>105</sup> Life is the continuation of actions and a better life is composed of meaningful actions based upon reasoning. (2) Effective work—Only a few occasions of work would not involve thinking. Careful work is always in the process of deliberation. Effective work is guided by principles in general as well as specifically. It is necessary to specify what one is doing and to clarify what the purpose is by thinking.<sup>106</sup> (3) The need for revolution—Revolution, basically, is ideological warfare; one who accepts the ideology blindly or impulsively would not be a dependable "comrade"; therefore, the real success of ideological struggle is finally achieved by means of reasoning, understanding and judgment. Thus, he said that it is not easy to perform ideological work and wrote: "We must do it properly." In others words, "We must use persuasive reasoning. If our persuasive reasoning is appropriate and to the point, it will be effective." Proper reasoning and appropriate persuasion demand talent in thinking, Mao explained.<sup>107</sup> (4) Military disposition—Mao instructed his Army commanders that no military operation was merely a physical movement. For example, he wrote:

The commander's correct dispositions ensue from correct decisions; his correct decisions ensue from correct judgments; and his correct judgments ensue from a comprehensive and indispensable reconnaissance as well as a systematic deliberation on the various data gathered through such reconnaissance. Employing all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, a commander subjects various data, thus gathered about the enemy's situation, to such deliberation as discards the crude and selects the refined; eliminates the false and retains the true; proceeds from one point to another; goes through the outside into the inside; then, in addition, he takes into account the conditions on his own side, and studies the differences and similarities between the two sides, thereby forming his judgment, making up his mind and mapping out his plans—this is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military man

goes through before he formulates the plan of strategy of a campaign or of a battle.<sup>108</sup>

(5) The “generalization” or “summing up”—The experiences of life, of work and those in revolution need to be re-examined. Using the methods of Marxism to summarize, hence, to find a general guide for new actions, is always a way of doing and learning, according to Mao’s thoughts. Many times he urged his disciples to “sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing.” This “summing up” is a process of thinking.<sup>109</sup> (6) Deepened efforts—Mao emphasized the formulization of concept and a system of theory in learning. Once he commented that Marx was an excellent intellectual with great wisdom, because Marx developed theory from practice. Regarding deepened effort or thinking, he wrote on war, for example:

...between fixed and unfixed fronts, between civil and national wars, between one historical stage and another, etc.—none of these can we see with our eyes, yet, if we think hard, we can comprehend, grasp and master them all. This means that we can raise all important problems of a war of operations to a higher level of principle and solve them.<sup>110</sup>

In 1937, he wrote in relation to thinking and deepened learning:

It would be a repetition of the mistake of “empiricism” in history to hold that knowledge can stop at the lower stage of perception and that perceptual knowledge alone is reliable, while rational knowledge is not. This theory errs in failing to recognize that, although the data of perception reflect certain real things of the objective world...yet they are merely fragmentary and superficial, reflecting things incompletely instead of representing their essence. To reflect a thing fully in its totality, to reflect its essence and its inherent laws, it is necessary, through thinking, to

build up a system of concepts and theories by subjecting the abundant perceptual data to a process of remodeling and reconstructing—discarding the crude and selecting the refined, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from one point to another, and going through the outside into the inside; it is necessary to leap from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Knowledge which is such a reconstruction does not become emptier or less reliable; on the contrary, whatever has been scientifically reconstructed on the basis of practice in the process of knowledge is something which, as Lenin said, reflects objective things more deeply, more truly, more fully.<sup>111</sup>

Thirdly, Mao’s advice regarding the method of thinking is to be analyzed. He valued thinking highly. As he said: “Much thinking yields wisdom,” and “Ideas may turn into a material force.”<sup>112</sup> Especially, he stressed the method of thinking: “Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talking about the task is useless.”<sup>113</sup> What are the methods of thinking? Among Mao’s answers we might list these: (1) The inductive—He suggested that in addition to the dialectic method, both an inductive method and a deductive method are to be used. However, the “inductive,” which leads or progresses from facts to principle, should be used prior to the “deductive,” which is from a general principle to specific facts. (2) The sequential—Thinking, a part of biological, physiological and psychological functions, may be incidental or free expression, but effective thinking must be undertaken in some sequence, step by step, or in the scientific process, as Mao asserted.<sup>114</sup> (3) The independent and the inter-dependent—Mao spoke against the blind acceptance of the ideas of others and asserted that individuals must exercise independent, innovative and creative thinking themselves. However, socialized thinking, or thinking collectively, aids and complements the individual mind.<sup>115</sup> (4) Differentiation, classification, comparison and judg-

ment—The thinking process commences with differentiating the various elements, recognizing “which” is similar or dissimilar to “which”; then, putting similar elements into one group and those dissimilar into another. The next step is to compare the characteristics of the different “groups.” The final step is to judge which of those compared is right, good or “useful.”<sup>116</sup> (6) The supplements—Mao thought thinking was not an isolated matter, but an intellectual activity related to other activities. Hence, we find that he considered writing, speaking and listening supportive to thinking, and considered them as different forms and ways of thinking.<sup>117</sup> (6) Thinking problematically—Mao advised an effective way of thinking problematically. Problem solving is both a means and an end in life and work. He said: “The man with a real hope of success is one who thinks of problems and their solutions.”<sup>118</sup>

*Problem solving*—Mao believed that there are always problems among people, and among people and their enemies; problem solving is a continuous and permanent task for man. His basic approach to problem solving was to act as intelligently and as quickly as possible. He said, “Waiting leads to great loss”; and wrote: “Don’t wait until problems pile up and cause a lot of trouble before trying to solve them. A leader must march ahead of the movement, not lag behind it.”<sup>119</sup>

Sequentially listed are Mao’s devices for intelligent and prompt problem solving, they include: (1) Facing and recognizing problems—He said that weak and pitiful people try stupidly to avoid problems which occur. He used old Chinese sayings to illustrate: “Trying not to hear the bell ring by blocking the ears while one steals the bell”; “One who fears illness will not let the doctor know his physical problem.” (2) Ordering problems and selecting one—Mao advised taking into account the history of “struggle” and arranging different problems in their proper order in light of the degrees of their present day significance; then selecting the principal problem which we are most capable of handling at the moment. The nature of the problem must be clearly

identified and sufficiently clarified. “We must devote every effort to finding the principal problem. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved.”<sup>120</sup> On reasons for selecting a problem for solution, he said: “Make a breakthrough at some single point, gain experience and use this experience for guiding other units.”<sup>121</sup> (3) Investigating the many and different total aspects of the problem selected—On the reasons for investigation, he said: “You cannot solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it.”<sup>122</sup> He also stated: “Our comrades often look at problems one-sidedly, and so they often run into snags.” He went on to say: “In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one”; and “In approaching a problem a Marxist should see the whole as well as the parts. A frog in a well says: ‘The sky is no bigger than the mouth of the well.’ That is untrue, for the sky is not just the size of the mouth of the well.”<sup>123</sup> (4) Observing the objective facts of the actual condition—Mao indicted: “Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because people can talk as much nonsense as they like without basing it on objective reality or having it tested against reality.” He insisted: “In studying a problem, we must shun subjectivity.” And he advocated: “We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an observation of these facts.”<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that the objective facts must be drawn from actual conditions: “When you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, . . . you will not know . . . how to do it . . .” “When we study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation . . .”<sup>125</sup> (5) Analyzing the inner, specific, principal aspects of the problem—Why is analysis needed? Mao answered: “The ana-

lytical method is dialectical"; "Lacking an analytical approach, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, . . . but like to draw simple conclusions . . ."; and "In order to get rid of the blindness which exists, to a serious extent, in our Party, we must encourage our comrades to think, to learn the methods of analysis..."<sup>126</sup> Mao further listed the things to be analyzed in order to attain intelligent problem solving: (a) "The essence of the problem must be examined, not its appearance which is merely an usher at the threshold. The way some comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones." (b) Do not analyze the external causes of the problem but its internal ones which lie within the contradictions. Mao was against superficial analysis: "To be superficial means to consider neither the characteristics of a contradiction in its totality nor the characteristics of each of its aspects." (c) Analyze the central or the principal aspect of the inner essence of the problem, not the secondary. In Mao's words: "The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction." (d) Analyze the specific, individual elements of the essence of the problem; otherwise, no solutions can be derived for effective problem solving.<sup>127</sup> (6) Set various, objective possibilities for problem solving—The suppositions may be written down or discussed with comrades for improvement, as Mao explained. (7) Compare suppositions—A comparative chart may be made for making the final selection. (8) Make judgments or select methods for solving the problem—The solution must be adapted to actual circumstances, as he wrote: "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world."<sup>128</sup> (9) Put the solution into action—Clarifying the method of experimentation, he asserted: "What we need is an enthusiastic but calm mind and intense but orderly work."<sup>129</sup>

*Some other methods*—Finally, we may list Mao's additional advice: (1) Inquiry—"Asking questions is individual

active involvement or participation." "When I taught class, I only lectured one-half or two-thirds of the period, the rest of the time was for students to ask questions."<sup>130</sup> (2) Anti-memorization—Rote-learning is not meaningful; "real understanding" or comprehension makes learning functional.<sup>131</sup> (3) Old-new—"Using what one has experienced to learn new materials." (4) Capturing—Discriminate learning materials and locate the main and central portion, then concentrate on learning it.<sup>132</sup> (5) One by one—In order to learn effectively, learning one aspect is followed by learning another; one major topic is learned at a time.<sup>133</sup> (6) Materials to be organized scientifically—Good organization of learning materials helps one to learn.<sup>134</sup> (7) Communication—Discussion consists of listening, expressing and learning together; each one will enlighten the other. The more vigorously the debate is undertaken, the clearer the idea will become.<sup>135</sup> (8) The whole physical, mental and intuitional mobilization—Learning by using all the senses, intellect and feeling separately and jointly; always use the hand, mind, imagination, etc. to learn.<sup>136</sup> (9) Repetition or continuation of activities—"Often correct knowledge can be arrived at only after continued repetition of the process leading from matter to consciousness and back to matter." "Practice continuously without a break." Also, "Formalize the habit" of learning.<sup>137</sup> (10) Apprenticeship and tutorship are adopted in farms and factories as well as in schools.<sup>138</sup>

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### TEACHING

Denial and Demand: traditional system, imported systems and the demands and revolutionization

Fundamental Concepts: the oneness of teaching and learning, human enterprise and the revolutionary mission and instrumental art and science

Major Guides: student-centered, the "three-in-one," the "dual" principle, the humanization process, punishment and reward, variance or flexibility, exemplification, togetherness and some other guides

Specific Methods: the "Big Ten," how to correct mistakes, how to speak, time and place and innovations

Testing and Grading

#### I. DENIAL AND DEMAND

*Traditional system*—Mao, as early as his elementary school age, disliked traditional ways of teaching, which were mainly the implementation of the Confucian theory of pedagogy. The growth of his Communist ideology and the experience he acquired in war, politics and mobilization of the people for revolution, all enhanced his conviction in teaching and criticism of traditional pedagogy. Among his indictments on the old system of teaching, are: (1) The old

pedagogy was basically the reflection of the way of life in the class society. Teachers and students belonged to two classes: the superior and the inferior. Methods of teaching were always instructive or directive. (2) The authoritarian system of teaching in China was a matter of fact. Teachers and parents were always right and had the power to undo what the students had done. Mao rejected this system; therefore, he clashed with his father at home and rebelled against his teachers in school. (3) Teachers and parents taught in the ways they liked, felt were right, or in whatever ways appealed to them. Students' interests, abilities, needs and judgment were not considered in the selection of teaching methods. (4) Book-centered methods of teaching were indicted by Mao. Teaching consisted of books or instructing students to read and recite what was printed. No activity, neither social nor materially productive, was involved in the process of teaching. He condemned this type of teaching as meaningless and destructive. (5) According to the Chinese traditional system: "One who engages in mental work governs; those who engage in physical work are the governed." Consequently, the first task of the teacher was to teach students to learn mentally. Mao considered this concept and practice deceptive. (6) Mao denounced the old Chinese saying: "the old is the good." He pointed out that the old system of teaching depended too much upon past experience; thus, the mental and physical potential of students was overlooked. Hence, teaching did not contribute to the growth of human civilization. (7) Mao also said: "The old method was instilling subject matter in the students' minds the same as feeding the ducks"; "Methods of teaching are by injection instead of through the imagination"; "Teaching is giving." Eventually, "Students had to memorize what had been received."<sup>1</sup>

Following Mao's indictments on teaching methods, Maoists pointed out undesirable performances in classes. Among many such remarks concerning teaching in college, the following is illustrative:

The teaching attitude, method,...are not satisfactory. ...For example, in Logic, for the past year, it has consisted of the teacher reading his lecture notes and students taking them down like recording machines.

The phenomenon of excessive concern with teaching a large quantity of materials and overlooking quality is very serious also. Some teachers concentrate on lecturing and never notice the worried look of the students. Sometimes the fingers ache and the eyes swim in note-taking, and yet the teacher will never let up in his speed and will accelerate even more during the few minutes before the end of the class.<sup>2</sup>

*Imported systems*—Mao resisted outside influences upon Chinese affairs, in general, and denied foreign impact on Chinese schools, in particular. The American pedagogical system affected teaching methods in China, especially after World War I. Mao labeled American schools "capitalistic." The American pedagogical system, the means for materialistic individualism, was not considered genuinely democratic by Mao. According to his pedagogy, the competition in American classrooms is philosophically unsound and practically harmful to the growth of the children. Furthermore, it is interesting to note what Mao thought of Russian pedagogy. After 1949, there was the so-called "Sovietization" tendency of teaching in China. However, this tendency ended in the late 1950's, due to Mao's opposition. He said that Soviet Russian pedagogy had much "journalism" and "discipline," but little humanization. In 1949, he instructed the Ministry of Education to use the Soviet Russian system of teaching merely as one of the three references for better teaching. (The other two were the experience of old liberated areas and that of old-time education.) In 1951, he warned school administrators and teachers not to overly-emphasize the utilization of the Russian system. In his March 6, 1957 talk to the education administrators of seven provinces and municipalities, Mao sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi for blind adoption of the Soviet system: "You are in

charge of the Ministry of Education; is this a Soviet Ministry of Education or a Chinese one? Why don't you then use the things of the old liberated areas as the blueprint for teaching materials?"<sup>3</sup> In March, 1958, Mao warned: "We have adopted the one principal system, the five consecutive-year system, the five-point system, and even in journalism have borrowed the system of Pravda... In emulating the experience of the Soviet Union, we must choose what is good and disregard what is bad."<sup>4</sup>

*The demands and revolutionization*—As Mao indicted the old and the imported pedagogy, he always tried to formulate a Sinocized system to teach the Chinese. His teaching reform was to abolish the old teaching system founded on idealism and mechanical materialism and to institute a new teaching system under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. It was intended to innovate the Sinocized method in order to serve Chinese children. A chronology of his efforts and remarks for the improvement of teaching may be helpful:

Rehabilitation and growth, 1949-1952—

The People's government should systematically reform the old educational system, educational contents, and pedagogical methods. [1949]

The idea of procrastination and reluctance to reform is not right; nor is the idea of trying to launch reform by crude methods because of impatience. [1950]

To consummate teaching forms the central phase of school work. It behooves all...to cater to the demands of pedagogy, and to endeavor to satisfactorily fulfill the pedagogical plan. [1951]

In the following year teachers of all levels of schools launched, under Mao's call, the ideological transformation movement to criticize bourgeois pedagogy for the development of individualists.

Affirmation of socialist pedagogy, 1953-1957—

During this period, Mao emphatically advocated and enforced:

Teaching must combine with productive labor; local color or rural circumstances must be the major concern; . . . Teaching is to be under political or ideological command; hence; class struggle must be taught;....Teaching and learning must be reconciliated; teaching is to teach how to learn.

Development of the educational revolution, 1958-1960—

Among the pedagogical doctrines which Mao proclaimed were:

(1) Half-work and half-study; (2) Being Red prior to being expert, which means teaching students to be ideologically devoted before teaching them to be vocationally or technically proficient; (3) Take our own road, which means to think independently about which way is good teaching in light of the socialist Chinese need, and to shatter the shackles of all foreign dogmas; (4) The abolishment of the bourgeois pedagogical line which encourages students to be interested only in personal fame and individual gain; (5) Criticism against bourgeois reactionary academic authority, which means the abolishment of the rules and systems which shackled students and teachers; (6) The establishment of a "democratic" system of pedagogical affairs which means that Party cadres, students and teachers, collectively, decide all matters concerning teaching.

Fluctuations of educational revolution, 1961-1963—

From 1961 to 1963, there were internal arguments against Mao's pedagogical doctrines presented in previous sections. However, Mao redeclared:



Study must combine with productive struggle. [1961]  
 One must never forget class struggle. [1962]

In 1963 he re-emphasized proletariat-centered pedagogy, which means teaching should implement proletariat dictatorship.

Struggle between two lines, 1964-1965—

During these years, Mao repeatedly asserted that Chinese education, in general, and teaching methods, specifically must be thoroughly reformed.

In 1964 and 1965, he ordered education personnel to carry out such directives as:

(a) Teaching should be politicized, which means teaching ideological warfare in which class struggle is the main issue. (b) Teaching abstract knowledge should start from social and productive practice; hence, the work-study program must be expanded. (c) Class teaching must be changed. Specifically, lectures must be shortened at least to one-third of the time usually spent. (d) Examinations must be abolished or the methods of testing should be humane, reasonable or informal. (e) The study burden upon students must be lighter. (f) Students must have a role to play in the process of class work and they should be allowed to speak out against teachers. [Most of the items mentioned were asserted by Mao. Reportedly, many of his comrades had different views regarding the implementation of Mao's advocations. It has already been stated that Liu Shao-chi, Mao's comrade for fifty years, was the leading opponent.]

The Cultural Revolution, 1966-1968—

In 1966, Mao stated that students for whom study was foremost should also do other things, such as engage in ideological debates and class struggle. In 1967, he said:

Reforming the old educational system and reforming the old teaching policies and methods is an extremely important task of the present Great Cultural Revolution.<sup>5</sup>

The demand for a teaching reformation was always part of the political movement in China. Mao's calls for teaching reform accompanied his claims for continuous revolution. Therefore, the teacher reform movement was extensively unfolded, especially during the 1960's.

## II. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

*The oneness of teaching and learning*—In ancient times, some three thousand years ago, Chinese scholars had developed the pedagogical principles that "Teaching and learning develop together" and "Teaching and studying are each half."<sup>6</sup> Mao accepted the ancient theory. Because of his basic ideas that "learning by practicing" and "teaching is the work that a teacher does," he asserted that teaching, itself, is a lesson for the teacher. One learns for himself "how" and "what" to teach others. One learns while he teaches. One who does not learn from teaching cannot and should not continue his teaching, because the methods of teaching must be developed in accordance with the methods and process of learning. Teaching procedures and techniques must be closely related to the learning situation. His doctrine was: "Teaching-learning, then knowing, then new teaching." He also asserted the togetherness of "teaching, learning, production and living," because he believed that teaching and learning are forms of doing, and productive labor is an essential part of life. He said that teaching is for the sake of students' learning; teachers learn for the sake of teaching. In the final analysis, teaching is the means; learning is the end, the goal of the total enterprise. Because every educational institute must be learning-centered and teaching is an integral part of learning, the teaching becomes secondary to learning. Teaching serves

learning; hence, the school administration must serve teaching, and the administration should never be a power superior to teaching.<sup>7</sup>

*The human enterprise and the revolutionary mission*—According to Mao, teaching is a social process and a human enterprise, and it differs from other forms of professional work. Physicians mainly take care of the human body; attorneys deal mainly with the “consequences” of human behavior; teaching is an effort with broader, even deeper involvement. Teaching should direct, supervise, guide, help, advise, stimulate and inspire human beings.<sup>8</sup> Teaching is a revolutionary mission; it should serve and respect people with loving care. Rural areas constitute nearly ninety percent of the total land in China; eighty percent of the total population still resides in villages. Hence, in the final analysis, the real meaning of teaching is to give loving care to the peasants, so that the real revolutionary mission will be fulfilled, according to Mao’s belief.<sup>9</sup> One of the ways to love and care for the people is to help them to develop revolutionary ideas. Teaching is the seeding of ideology and the nurturing of political “sprouts.”

*Instrumental art and science*—Teaching is the art of communication. When a Party cadre or a “teacher” motivates or persuades the people, he must exercise the art of communication. When the process of “socialization” and “collectivization” is undertaken in class or in the villages, the operation or management can never be mechanical, according to Mao. Teaching is not only an art, but also a science, he explained. To teach successfully, teachers must scientifically understand both the students’ characteristics and the actual circumstances of the society and the physical environment. Furthermore, as no art or science is solely for the sake of art or science, the art and science of teaching are instrumental for the sake of ideology first and for economic production second.

### III. MAJOR GUIDES

*Student-centered*—Mao pointed out that traditional teaching methods marked the dependence of one mind on another. Instead of emphasizing learning by students, teachers gave conclusions reached by themselves. Consequently, the dominant form of teaching was lecturing, and the educational process was mechanically “giving” and “receiving.” Many teachers merely explained the subject materials or taught about the book, but did not help students to think and to act. Mao advocated the following guides: (1) Teaching the total individual—Each student’s hands, mind, intuition and all his potential must be mobilized; in others words, the total physical, intellectual and moral development of each student must be emphasized. (2) The “common” and the “special”—The common interest, need, ability and background of each student must be accorded; each individual’s different or unique characteristics also need to be considered in teaching.<sup>10</sup> (3) The role of the student—According to Mao’s ideas, teachers should avoid letting students passively learn materials which have been selected to meet their needs. A teacher may not know what students like or need to know; only the students, themselves, know. Even if a teacher is a great scholar, his knowledge cannot be imposed upon students. Therefore, Mao said that a teacher must help students to learn by themselves. Especially, he should assist students in finding a way by which workable methods of problem solving can be found. For example, he said: “Develop the students’ wishes and abilities”; “Don’t always let students follow steps”; and “Let students be independent.” Once, he told Mao Yuan-shin, his nephew: “The teacher may know only half or part of the answer. He should not pretend to be a great scholar; he should work with students and consult them.”<sup>11</sup> (4) The “Open door” system—Mao was against any form of dogmatic pedagogy which compels students to follow a “blind alley.” He advocated “democratic pedagogy,” which endeavors to develop the spontaneity, self-study and self-activity of students. He said: “Stu-

dents' hands and minds must be liberated"; "Learning from imitation to creation"; "Let a hundred flowers blossom, weed through the old to bring forth the new."<sup>12</sup> He proposed "guidance for initiative." "Give them [students] a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility and, at the same time, give them timely instructions so that, guided by the Party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative."<sup>13</sup>

*The "Three-in-One" system*—Mao asserted that "teaching, scientific research and production" must be combined. Research aids teaching reform, but both together are for productive work in factories and on farms. Furthermore, the experiences and ideas of factory and farm workers are vital for improving teaching and research. Above all, the "Three-in-One" system will eventually serve proletarian politics more effectively.<sup>14</sup>

*The "dual" principle*—Mao perceived that teaching might be undertaken by one teacher or a team of teachers. He termed the latter "collective teaching." Under some circumstances, it might be more effective for one to teach. However, collective teaching is more desirable for socialist pedagogy. One of the practices he urged was collective preparation in order to make teaching well-planned and the teaching of essentials without deviation. Collective preparation has been undertaken in China in two ways. One is that teachers of different subjects discuss the general rules in their "study groups." The process includes collectively analyzing subject materials, writing and revising lectures and rehearsal of the lecture presented by one teacher, then another, with the collective members listening and criticizing afterward.<sup>15</sup> The following report is explanatory:

In former days, it would have been considered preposterous for one teacher to offer advice to another, especially a senior one. Now all accept collective preparation for lecturing as a reliable method of eliminating mistakes and of ensuring comprehension by the students. Collective preparation for lectures is also

a great blessing to younger men and women, who formerly were not able to conduct courses on their own.<sup>16</sup>

*The humanization process*—Mao, a Marxist, believed in the power of conditioning and remolding by external environment. However, he pointed out that the mechanization process or physical elements alone are not sufficient for inducing changes in people's minds or behavior. In revolution there must be personal and constructive contact among the people. In school, teacher-student contact must be established. He said: "Personalization, persuasion and heart-to-heart talks are very good methods to use." Revolution is a human affair. Revolutionization is a process of humanization. Teaching, especially, must be humanized. Furthermore, humanization enhances the quality of learning in morality as well as in intellectuality. Humanization derives from intellectual inspiration and moral contagion. Also, in the process, reciprocal or interactive actions between teachers and students and those among students are important. Through personal contact, the teacher should explore more fully individual interests, abilities, and needs. He will be able to suggest flexible and individualized programs to be undertaken by students. He wrote: "The duty of every Communist is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance and to work well with non-Party cadres, give them sincere help, have a warm, comradely attitude towards them and enlist their initiative."<sup>17</sup>

Regarding humanization, Mao believed in human sympathy and empathy in revolution as well as in teaching: "We must be kind to our own, to the people, to our comrades and to our superiors and subordinates,..." He also wrote: "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it is Mao's advice that better teaching requires human and genuine sympathy, as well as deep empathy, which is an insight into

students' feeling and thinking. An understanding of "how newly presented subject matter appears to growing and fumbling learners" enhances teaching greatly. Finally, in relation to humanization, he asserted that the best teaching is not only a cooperative process, but also that trust and compassion among all people involved are necessary.

*Punishment and reward*—In 1960, while Edgar Snow paid his third visit to China, he was told by an elementary school teacher: "Our educational methods are in accordance with the principles which Chairman Mao established. We certainly love and care for the students as their parents do. We respect the children, treat them as independent persons and teach them patiently; but giving them our compassion and carrying out strict discipline are both needed; each supplements the other."<sup>19</sup> Mao advocated that the reactionaries must be punished, as well as some of the comrades. However, he emphatically stated: "The method of struggle (punishment) should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and continue to reject guidance."<sup>20</sup> Preferring encouragement, he always advised: "Being warm with students, not putting 'cold water' on them," and "Help them, not hurt their feelings." From his "1964 Spring Festival Talk," we find: "Recognize the achievements, establish a model; while criticizing their mistakes, praise them also; praise is the main method, criticism the supplement."<sup>21</sup> Consequently, nationwide emulation drives were set off in factories and farms for better production; praise movements of political achievements and ideological reforms were also launched from time to time. Furthermore, various forms of emulation campaigns have been launched in order to generate the virtues of teaching and learning. Specific goals are subjected for such patterns of behavior as the "Three Good for Students," "the Five Good for Youth," and so on. School children are led to strive to become "good pupils of new China"; girls and women are encouraged to become "good daughters of Chairman Mao."<sup>22</sup>

*Variance or flexibility*—Mao, an "anti-dogmatist," always said that no method of teaching should be universally adopted.

According to his ideas, whether a certain method was better or not depends upon the "physical and social condition"; "the time factor—spring, winter, etc."; "the place—north or south"; "the need, interest and ability of students"; "the political demand"; and "the reality of economic production."<sup>23</sup>

*Exemplification*—Mao accepted the Confucianist instruction theory: "When teaching by merely talking to students, they may argue; by exemplifying, they will follow." From the "Educational Guidelines of K'angta, (the University for the Resistance to Japanese Invasion)" we find: "First of all, teaching personnel should make examples of themselves.... They teach students not only by explaining problems in the classroom and on the training grounds but also by everywhere making an example of themselves—giving the students an educational model in actual life, through the style of bitter struggle."<sup>24</sup>

*Togetherness*—Mao emphatically instructed: "Military officers, be with the soldiers; political cadres, be with the proletariat." Especially, in order to teach, the teacher must understand the students and get close to them; hence, being with the students is necessary. Mao instructed teachers: "Share life with the students; live, work, dine and, above all, learn together with the students."<sup>25</sup>

*Some other guides*—(1) The idea—Basically, teaching must raise the revolutionary ideas, ideals and zest of the students. Mao said: "When students grasp the highest ideas and the greatest spirit of the proletariat revolution, then, they are better qualified and motivated to arrange by themselves better ways of learning and doing appropriately and effectively."<sup>26</sup> (2) The logical system—Teaching should be a precise, concise and systematic procedure. It is explaining, demonstrating, introducing and informing the students of the world of facts and the series of ideas. Instruction must be imparted accurately, surely, clearly and thoroughly. Hence, teaching logically and scientifically and avoiding vagueness and hurriedness becomes necessary. (3) The association principle—Maoists interpreted this principle as

follows: "Relating general principles with actual behavior, current problems with past and future problems, this course with that course; linking theory learned in school with actual experience at the front lines, one's individual thought and consciousness with theories one studies, daily life with education, important courses with supplemental education."<sup>27</sup>

(4) Receptivity—The methods of gaining skills and knowledge include all kinds of objective, natural experimentations and observations, and any type of physical and social laboratory effort. Teacher's activities are to help students experience direct sensory contact with society and the objective world through "experimenting," "practicing," "formulating habits," "organizing" and "reorganizing," "data-sorting"; through "mastering," "inquiring," and "investigating." Above all, such activities should help students to perceive, classify, reorganize and relate the materials learned; to utilize direct experience or sensory organs first to contact objective reality.<sup>28</sup> (5) Workability—Teaching is to help students to grasp skills or ideas from reality and to apply or use those skills and knowledge for actual work in life. Teaching is always in accordance with students' work.<sup>29</sup> (6) Prevention and follow-up—Mao asserted that it would be too late to take any measure "when serious mistakes are made"; teachers should look ahead and prevent mistakes that students may make. Regarding "follow-up," he stated: "Check up on their work, and help them sum up their experience; carry forward their achievements and correct their mistakes."<sup>30</sup> (7) Utilizing group members to motivate others—Some capable and enthusiastic students always have an impact on raising the morale of others. Allow the active members to lead and motivate the others.<sup>31</sup> He also said: "We must have the help of active members, so that the truth may be discovered and the movement can be developed."<sup>32</sup>

## IV. SPECIFIC METHODS

*The "Big Ten"*—Although Mao believed that self-study is very important, he considered effective teaching to be necessary. From a Party conference document he wrote in December 1929, we find the following ten methods of teaching: (1) A stimulating style (abolish the "pouring-in style"); (2) From the near to the distant; (3) From the shallow to the deep; (4) Speak in a colloquial style (new terms should be explained simply); (5) Speech should be understandable; (6) Lectures or conversation (speaking) should be interesting; (7) Use gestures to aid speaking; (8) Later sessions should repeat concepts from earlier sessions; (9) Prepare outlines; (10) Cadre classes should use the discussion method.<sup>33</sup>

*How to correct mistakes*—Mao optimistically stated that "most of the people who have made mistakes can be corrected; only a very few will persist in repeating them. Having suffered from typhoid, one becomes immune to it. Likewise, having made a mistake, one learns from it, becomes cautious, and may not repeat it." Furthermore, he said that the correct attitude toward those who have made mistakes is to let them continue their activities; the "quit doing" policy is not advised: "In dealing with people who have made mistakes, we must first watch and then help them. We must give them work, opportunity and help." "Some say that we must watch people, rectify their mistakes. This is correct, but it is only half correct. The other half is to work on those people, to help them rectify their mistakes, to give them an opportunity to correct." Some of the specific methods for correcting mistakes that Mao advocated include: (1) "Forgive," "forget" and "sympathize"—"Sympathy with those who have made mistakes can help win their hearts. One criterion to tell whether a man has a good or bad heart is his hostility or helpfulness towards those who have made mistakes." (2) Prevention and help—"Be aware of whatever mistakes have been committed in the past so as to prevent them from recurring"; "Cure the disease so as to

save the patient is the attitude towards others people's mistakes that we must adopt. We must help them correct their mistakes." (3) Criticism—"Under given circumstances, apply an adequate dose of practical criticism, even a bit of struggle, help people correct the mistakes of oneself and of others." (4) Avoidance of harshness—"We must be aware that excessive harshness applied to those who have made mistakes often rebounds on the applier. [It is like] picking up a rock and dropping it on one's own feet. One would fall and never be able to get up again."<sup>34</sup> (5) Experience—"A teacher should make his experience that of the students and help them to gain their own real experience, so that students will be more capable and then make less mistakes."<sup>35</sup>

*How to speak*—(1) "Speak honestly. Say only what you can and what you really know." (2) "A teacher should not give a long lecture. Allow time for the student to talk." "Students refuse to listen to you when you just make a lot of noise (talk)."<sup>36</sup> (3) Speak conversationally: Conversation touches the minds, hearts, feelings and intuitions of students. "Before a conversation, one must investigate the psychology and circumstances of the person with whom he is to speak. When conversing, one must put himself in his comrade's position, and adopt a sincere attitude in speaking with him. After talking, one must record the main points and the effects of the conversation."<sup>37</sup> (4) Explain precisely and concisely the "what" and "why" regarding the topic. (5) Never forget the person to whom you are speaking.<sup>38</sup>

*Time and Place*—Mao believed that teaching is for the sake of learning which integrates with life and work all the time. Whenever teaching takes place, learning should occur. The teacher teaches during school hours; one may also teach another while working together. He said: "The proletariat, the masses, the workers and peasants teach Party members all the time." "The Ten Thousand Mile Long March was a military and propaganda movement. We taught the nation, the people and ourselves while we undertook the great en-

deavor." He demanded: "Give revolutionary teaching to the people; take revolutionary teaching from the people every hour of every day."<sup>39</sup>

Where are the places for teaching? There are numerous or various places; actually it could be any place. Teaching must not be confined to schools; it should be scattered wherever the people's lives and work are. "If students cannot come to a certain place; go to their places to teach." "Stay in their homes, go to their front doors, or meet on the roadsides to help them learn." "Army officers give lessons to soldiers in their dining areas as well as in the barracks." The 1975 report indicates how Mao's teaching system was implemented: "Education directly serves revolution and construction. In coordination with political movements, school teachers and students have run over 2,000 short-term classes for workers, peasants and soldiers, and gone to factories, villages, army units, stores and residential areas to lecture and give guidance to the masses in their political studies."<sup>40</sup>

Mao said: "If a university takes five years, three of these should be spent outside. Instructors should also go out to work and teach. Can philosophy, literature and history be taught outside? Can they be taught only in those Western style buildings?"<sup>41</sup> His famous slogan is: "Teaching goes to the first line." Where is the "first line?" Teaching for learning and work should take place in the field of work: Teach war or the battlefield; teach politics on the street corner where there is ideological debate; teach agriculture on the farm; mechanics in the factory; commerce in the store. He also advocated the "spot" or the "fixed point" system, which means that suitable and specific places should be selected in the "field" for effective teaching; a "network" of a number of "spots" should be established so that teachers may be better organized and able to cooperate and coordinate in their teaching. Furthermore, because education and economic production must be combined, Mao ordered: "A text goes with the student and teacher; teachers go with the students; especially, the classroom must be established near the place of economic production." As Chinese economic pro-

duction is still mainly rural, he urged the "farmward movement" of teaching.<sup>42</sup>

*Innovations*—Mao advocated specific methods of teaching and urged his disciples to innovate techniques for teaching the proletariat in light of the actual circumstances in China. The techniques listed below were indigenously developed and some might be seemingly novel to peoples in highly industrialized nations. Due to the shortage of teaching staff in rural districts, one teacher often has to teach in more than one village. He might teach in one village for one, two, three or four days, leaving the intermediate teaching work to the so-called "little teachers." Also, mobile tutorial teams have been effective in teaching the scattered rural population.<sup>43</sup> For accomodating the people's work and increasing production, there have been various patterns of practices: (1) The "Inn Schools" are interestingly arranged in appropriate places and "reading stations" and "study teams" are established at points along the way for those out on long-distance transport work. (2) The "paddy-field discussion group" and "corn-farm reading circle" are forms of teaching and learning. Small blackboards can often be seen hanging beneath trees or on stands at the ends of fields and in the corners of farms.<sup>44</sup> (3) "Production notice-boards" have been used. Production results and experiences, together with typical successes and defects of workers, are shown on the notice board. This will induce workers to read the notice board and thus exercise the words they have learned. In the meantime, they can also exchange their production experiences and criticize each other's defects. (4) There have been arrangements for cooperative labor groups to learn characters during rest periods and before and after meal times.<sup>45</sup> (5) Teachers send lessons to students' homes. As the winter in North China is bitterly cold, and as the peasants may not have enough warm clothes to wear, it is difficult for them to withstand the cold in unheated school houses. To solve this problem, peasants' households are divided into groups according to their locations, and the teacher, carrying a small blackboard, goes to teach in the group leader's house

where the women and children can huddle on the heated "Kang" (heated area for sleep and rest).<sup>46</sup>

Mao and his disciples innovated some other techniques, which merit mention: (1) The cultural post—A small blackboard is hung at the gate or by the path of a factory or farm, or at any place through which workers or peasants must pass. On the blackboard, the words or sentences which have been taught in the past few days are written. A worker who knows all the words, and is more respected by others, stands in front of the board; he will ask any worker passing by to read the words and the sentences. This is devised to supervise and urge workers to review what has been learned. (2) The literary billboard—It is hung, with some characters on it, at all crossroads, entrances to villages and gates of factories. People who pass by are required to stop and learn the characters from a leader, a "little teacher" or an experienced teacher. Furthermore, this kind of billboard is also put at the exits to villages or communes. One who wishes to leave is required to successfully learn the characters on the billboard before his departure for other places.<sup>47</sup> (3) The reading and dictating system—One student reads and another students dictates. After a while, the two exchange their reading and dictating; thus enabling both to correct their own mistakes and remember how to write the characters. This method may be started as a reading and dictating practice between two individuals and later be developed into a dictating contest between two groups. (4) The exchange of questions and answers—The study group of one worker union raises some questions and demands that the study group of another worker union answers. Later, the group asking questions will be required to answer questions raised by the other group. Both the answers and questions are posted on the notice boards of the two study groups. (5) The scale of progress shown in cartoon form—On a big piece of wooden board, cartoons of an airplane, a locomotive, an automobile, an ox-cart, and a rice container are painted. Students who have the best study records are "riding" in the airplane, which means that their name cards are hung

in the column of the airplane cartoon. The name cards of the poorest learners are hung in the rice container column; this indicates that such people are brainless but have big stomachs which contain rice. (6) The honor seats—This reserves certain seats for students who have the best study records. If such students cannot maintain their excellent achievements, then, they will lose their seats of honor.<sup>48</sup> (7) The big-character poster—Mao started writing this kind of poster in the 1910's while he was a secondary school student. Ever since that time, teachers have taught students to write posters for various purposes of teaching and learning. He said: "The big-character poster is a very useful new weapon, which can be used in cities and in rural areas, in factories, in cooperatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units and streets—in short, wherever the masses are to be found."<sup>49</sup> (8) Self-comparison—Students are taught to compare their present achievement with their past achievements. This is a scheme of "self-competition" for more progress. (9) The village class and the factory class—All the people of the village or the factory are gathered in one house or hall and then they are taught together. The teaching is based on time, not on grades, and is divided into whole day classes, half day classes, and evening classes. It is so organized that teaching does not interfere with production work.<sup>50</sup>

#### V. TESTING AND GRADING

*Testing*—Mao indicted the traditional examination system profusely. First, the old system, which was the product of bourgeois culture, polarized students and teachers. The former became the ruled and the latter the rulers. In many ways, they were seemingly in opposite camps. Specifically, some teachers did not treat students as "people" but as "enemies." Above all, the old system was based on reactionary philosophy or "class" mentality. Classrooms became a "class society" in which examinations were given and taken. Sec-

ond, Mao pointed out that, in the past, examinations were given on the basis of erroneous rationale such as... "Students do not study hard; they do not learn as much as they should; teachers need to give them tests." Consequently, examinations became a means of punishment.<sup>51</sup> Thirdly, examinations were given with a wrong attitude, as Mao considered. Some teachers at times gave tests suddenly; no prior notice was given to students in order for them to prepare. This "Pearl Harbor" technique was indeed an anti-education measure. Fourthly, examinations were given in a "wrong form" which was extremely formalistic: Students were asked to write an essay which usually was the new "eight-legged" or stereotyped writing. Not only was the form of writing uninteresting, but also the contents in the essay usually had nothing to do with the important and practical elements of work and life. Fifthly, students were forced to memorize "dead facts" and "dried ideas." The test could never help students to improve their thinking and ability for problem solving.<sup>52</sup> Sixthly, Mao pointed out that the questions asked on the test were not valid or reliable instruments to measure students' learning. "The test items may not cover more than ten percent of the whole volume of learning. What was asked might not be the important part of learning." "The tests were full of catch questions and obscure questions. It was nothing but a test of official stereotyped writing."<sup>53</sup>

Mao called for complete reformation of the examination system. Why? In addition to the reasons previously listed, we find a number of his assertions related to tests. For example, he stated that the old examination system was not healthy, but it is necessary to recognize the meaning or the function of those examinations. The right system of testing helps to discern the student's abilities and needs; to stimulate the student's interest to learn; to measure progress and to diagnose problems in both learning and teaching. Above all, it could be a means for better learning and teaching.<sup>54</sup> He urged the use of specific methods: (1) The questions must be provocative, so that students will be led to think practically, scientifically and creatively; (2) The flexible forms



of examinations, both formal and informal, written and oral, individual and group, must be engaged; (3) The questions are to be announced in advance publicly, so that each student will have an opportunity to make an effort to answer; (4) The open-book examination is to be adopted; students are allowed to use any reference and consult anyone when answering the questions; (5) The time of examination must be appropriate; especially when students are motivated to make additional efforts to learn, tests may be given; (6) The classroom is not the only place or the best place for students to take examinations. Tests may be brought home or to dormitories. Especially, it is advisable to have a "spot quiz"; or to give a test at the places where students learn and practice what they learn. For example: a test in agriculture is given in the field; mechanical testing is given in the shops or the factories; (7) Students are allowed and even encouraged to discuss the answers together; (8) Students are allowed to use others' answers after studying them; "copying others' work" is a process of learning; (9) Self-examination is the best. Students may make out the questions themselves.<sup>55</sup>

*Grading*—Mao advised that teachers, first of all, should help students achieve some real meaningful learning and should not attach great importance to the grades to be given. Students should earnestly learn ideas, skills, problem solving, and especially, serving the people; they should not primarily struggle for a grade. Once he told Mao Jun-shin, his nephew: "Under the present system, students are publicly called to strive for a '5 point (A)' grade. Striving for a grade only would endanger your real growth and learning. Your sister was hurt by 'struggling' for higher grades."<sup>56</sup> Mao questioned: "Students mechanically memorize the outline and only know what it is without knowing why it is so"; but quite frequently such students received "five points (A)." "Does the grade truly represent the actual quality of real learning?" "Does an excellent grade mean excellent learning?" There was a great lack of commonality in the practice of examinations. Some teachers wanted the answers to be

more comprehensive, others detailed. Students had to rack their minds to cater to the wishes and the tastes of teachers. Hence, the same grades given by different teachers would not have the same meaning; the validity and dependability of grades became doubtful, Mao stated.<sup>57</sup> For improvement of the evaluation system, Mao suggested the democratization of grading: the individual may grade his own examination or daily work; one group may grade the work of another group. Especially, grading can be done by the three-in-one combination of the Party leadership, the teacher, and the pupil. Finally, he asserted that specific consideration must be given to the unique, innovative and, especially, to the creative performance of the student.<sup>58</sup>

## CHAPTER NINE

### TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Teachers: pride and the role, the concept, types, good teachers, better teachers and the best teachers

Students: concept of students, reactionary students, good students and the best students

#### I. TEACHERS

*The pride and the role*—Mao entered the First Normal School, Changsha, Hunan, in late 1912, when he was nineteen. In 1917, he became a student teacher and in May, 1918, he graduated from the First Normal School. He remained in the city and taught manual workers in the evenings. In March, 1919, he became a teacher at the Hsui-yeh Primary School in Changsha. Shortly afterward, in the fall of 1920, Mao became the principal of the primary school attached to the First Normal School; he held the post for about a year. His reminiscences of his early teaching had always been passionate: "After studying Confucius' book for nine years, attending schools for seven years, I proudly became an elementary school teacher." On the 29th of August, 1964, Mao nostalgically said to a delegation of teachers from Nepal: "I taught also for a few years in school; I was an elementary school teacher. Because of my participation in the revolution, I could not possibly continue my teaching."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Mao felt deeply proud of being a teacher and expressed

great pride in the work of teachers. Although the Chinese sang: "Chairman Mao, the light from the east, . . . the savior of the people," he liked to be remembered as a teacher. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution in 1967, the following four titles were given to him: "Great Teacher," "Great Leader," "Great Supreme Commander," and "Great Helmsman." What was Mao's feeling about these titles? On the 10th of December, in 1970, he told Edgar Snow: "The so-called four Greats are disgusting. One day all should be dropped, and only 'The Teacher' should remain."<sup>2</sup>

Mao acknowledged that his early growth and change in thinking were influenced by his primary school teachers, especially Mr. Yuan Li-chin who was then labeled as a "radical." He also acknowledged that his Normal School instructors, especially Mr. Yang Chang-chi, stimulated and promoted his thinking in ethics. Above all, his early learning experience led him to emphasize the role of teachers in educational and revolution, as well as in national construction. He pointed out the inextricable relationship between upgrading Chinese society and culture, and the upgrading of Chinese teachers. He felt teachers should be respected and honored. He said: "For a military school, the most important matter is the selection of a director and instructors, and the adoption of an educational policy." He further stated: "In the problem of transforming education, it is the teachers who are the main concern."<sup>3</sup> In illuminating Mao's concept of teachers, in 1957, Chou En-lai said: "Teachers are the engineers who nurture the souls of the next generation"; and "The proletariat depends upon the help of teachers to fulfill their national leadership."<sup>4</sup>

Because Mao respected teachers and the teaching profession, Maoists have conducted an "Honor the Teacher Campaign" since the early 1950's. Many teachers have been elected models by the people they serve. Numerous reports on this movement are available. The following is an example:

The departments of culture and education of the municipal unions of educational workers, all of Chinchow

and Lu-shun-Dairen, jointly issued a notification calling for the launching of an "Honor the Teacher campaign" in the two cities.

In the "Honor the Teacher campaign," Chinchow plays the part of teaching the students to honor the teachers. . . . After having carried out the "Honor the Teachers Campaign" for more than a month, students can be seen saluting and giving their seats to their teachers in public places and on the streets. In the schools, relations between teachers and students have become more healthy everyday.

During the Spring Festivals, the students send New Year greetings to their teachers. Some even make New Year calls to the homes of their teachers, and there are some students who offered to help their teachers with work. As a result, the teachers have a greater affection for their students.

Amidst the masses, "the arduous and fine work of the teachers," "the extraordinary work of the teachers" and "the important role of the teachers in national life and their contributions to the nation" have become more broadly understood, and the phenomenon to belittle the teachers is subject to criticism.

The Democratic Women's Federation calls on its organizations at all levels to link the "Honor the Teachers campaign" with the "five good" campaign and to teach the children to honor their teachers.

The *Port Arthur-Dairen Jih Pao* and the Port Arthur-Dairen Broadcasting Station also devote some of their space and time to publicizing the significance of the "Honor the Teacher Campaign."<sup>5</sup>

*The concept*—First, we find that Mao's concept of the teacher contrasts with the traditional one. The graduates of normal schools, and teachers colleges, the scientists, artists, and technologists are not the only potential teachers, he

asserted. Those who teach in a classroom by a certain schedule are teachers; those who help others to learn anywhere outside the classroom without a definite schedule are also teachers. Helping others to study books is teaching, as well as helping others to work. A teacher is not necessarily one who teaches things for a certain period of time. One who teaches others a big or small matter just once is also a teacher. In summation, he denied the traditional concept of teachers which he considered as formal, narrow, and bourgeois; thus, he advocated the informal, broad, and proletariat concept of teachers.

Secondly, we find that the essential elements of his broad concept of teachers are: (1) Basically, everyone can teach something to a certain extent in some way. Anyone who can teach one "thing" or more is a teacher. No one knows everything. Everyone may know something. Some of his directives are: "One who can, teaches"; "Even if there is only one person who has learned, he can teach the whole group"; "Find a teacher among ourselves"; and "People teach people."<sup>6</sup> As his doctrine was "whoever can, teaches, regardless of how much," there were "Ten character teachers" and "Hundred character teachers" who knew only "ten" or "a hundred" characters. He wrote: "We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously."<sup>7</sup> (2) One who can is obligated to teach. Teaching is helping others and a service to the people. One would be considered as disloyal and anti-revolutionary, if he did not teach others what he can. Knowledge and skills are not private property in a socialist society. Only the bourgeoisie do not share learning with others. Mao's dictum is: "One who knows must teach."<sup>8</sup>

*The types*—Following the analysis of Mao's concept of teachers, we now point out the categories of teachers he advocated. First, human teachers—Every human being can and should teach others in a certain way, at a certain place and time, about some matter he knows: (1) In the armed forces, soldiers teach other soldiers, officers, and themselves;

the officers teach soldiers, other officers, and themselves. "The fighters have a lot of practical combat experience, the officers should learn from the fighters. . . ."<sup>9</sup> (2) On the farms and in the factories, each farmer and worker teaches his co-workers, himself, and managerial personnel, who in turn teach him. (3) The different levels of government and Party organizations are educational institutes. All the leaders, officers and rank and file working personnel are teachers of each other. Especially, they are all teachers of the people, who are their teachers at the same time.<sup>10</sup> (4) At home, grandparents, children and grandchildren must learn together and teach each other. It is to be recognized that what grandchildren can do, the grandparents might not be able to do. (5) Students, teachers, administrators, non-instruction personnel and custodians are all equal, each should teach himself and others. Students not only learn, but also teach other students, and even teach some teachers. "Sometimes, the teachers' experience, knowledge, wisdom and intuition are behind those of the students." "At certain times, students become teachers and teachers become students."<sup>11</sup>

Secondly, spare time teachers—Mao advocated that some teachers might do full-time teaching and some people might teach occasionally or teach in their spare time. People doing other jobs are encouraged to teach concurrently. The principle is "Whoever is able should teach." Experienced workers, peasants, administrators, engineers and others with special knowledge, skills or experience have given lessons. The spare time teacher system became a reality in the 1950's. The following report is illustrative:

In the village of Haitzuwan in Shansi province, not one peasant before liberation was able to write.... In 1952 when they decided to set up a literacy class, they came up against the difficulty that they could not find a teacher. A 20-year-old lad, a member of the youth corps, was popularly elected as the class organizer—but many people wondered how he would manage, since he could not read any more than the rest. The

plan was this: that he should make a daily visit to the nearest primary school teacher—who lived 15 kilometers away—learn a few characters from him and bring them back to teach to his “class,” and on the two-way journey gather firewood. This is how the spare time school began. Later the “teacher” was helped by his co-operative (now part of a commune) to learn mathematics, chemistry and other subjects from various technical workers and school teachers in the county. He has now reached the level of an ordinary middle school pupil. Methods like this, known as “choosing the teacher from the masses and helping him keep one step ahead of the rest,” were widely used; without such a policy the demand for teachers could never have been met. It is roughly reckoned that the country nowadays has over six million spare time teachers, the overwhelming majority of whom have volunteered from among the people.<sup>12</sup>

In Shanghai, for example, by the beginning of the 1960's, as many as seventy-eight percent of the 35,761 persons giving spare time classes were not full-time regular teachers.<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, “old” and “young” teachers—as Mao's basic guide was: “One who can, teaches when needed,” a number of elders, such as retirees, have taught irregularly. More importantly, since 1949, in the great drives to promote literacy, it has been extremely common to find children teaching their neighbors, grandparents and parents to read and write. Every home has become a center of learning. It may be quite a refreshing experience for people of highly industrialized nations to know about the “Little Teachers Taking Characters Home Program” in China which was inaugurated in the early 1950's:

The village school children were charged with the duty of teaching their illiterate family members what they had learned in school. Each little teacher has a small blackboard holed and fastened with strings

for easy carrying. He takes his blackboard to school in the morning. The school teacher writes a few of those commonly used characters on the blackboard and teaches the little teachers to read and write. At noontime, when all the little teachers have learned the characters, they take their little blackboard home. While the family is eating their lunch at home, the little teacher hangs the little blackboard on the wall and teaches the family to read the characters on it.<sup>14</sup>

Fourthly, opponents as teachers—Mao, who held a broad concept of teachers, not only considered friends, comrades or allies to be “teachers,” he also believed that enemies, opponents or challengers are teachers from whom one may learn. He stated, for example: “The rightist clique has made great educational impacts on us.” “There are rightists who have penetrated in our School Cultural Revolution Committee; this is not really serious. We can use their challenges to inspire better work, considering them as our ‘opposite teachers.’” On July 8, 1957, he told the people at a meeting in Shanghai: “We have received education in two ways, the positive and negative. Japan's imperialists were giant teachers. In the Chin Dynasty, there were Yuan Shih-K'ai and the northern warlords. Later, there was Chiang Kai-shek. They were all our ‘opposite teachers’ from whom we learned.” Furthermore, from Mao's July 10, 1964, talk with a group of Japanese visitors, we find: “I tell you: In the early time, I did not know war, because I was merely an elementary teacher. Who taught me about war? First, Chaing Kai-shek; second, the Japanese imperial army; third, the American imperialists. I am thankful to those three teachers.”<sup>15</sup>

*Good teachers*—Who are good teachers? Among Mao's answers, the following “three” are to be analyzed: “The characteristics of a good teacher,” “the training,” and “the proletariat-orientation.”

First, Mao stressed a number of characteristics which every good teacher must have. Among them are: (1) Being a good pupil—“The teacher's knowledge and experience are limited.” “Educators and teachers, they themselves must

first be educated; one needs to become a student prior to becoming a teacher"; "One must learn from his own students."<sup>16</sup> Regarding "learning to teach," Mao made numerous remarks; for example: "One definitely cannot do well without the fullest zeal, without a determination to direct one's eyes downward, without a thirst for knowledge, without shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness, without a willingness to be a pupil."<sup>17</sup> "Of course, we can only teach while we learn; serve as teachers while we make ourselves pupils. In order to be a good teacher, one must first be a good pupil."<sup>18</sup> "As they are educators, acting as teachers, they have a responsibility to receive an education."<sup>19</sup> (2) Humanistic-democratic authority—A teacher should be sympathetic to and empathetic with students; he is a counselor and a democratic leader who listens to students. However, Mao insisted that a teacher should be the humanistic and democratic authority. He denied any form of anarchism which is a "bad characteristic" inherent in the petty-bourgeoisie.<sup>20</sup> (3) A productive worker—A teacher should teach and study; he should also do manual work. "Go to the villages and factories with the students." "Be re-educated by the peasants and workers." "In order to help students to be 'barefoot students,' teachers must be 'barefoot teachers' first."<sup>21</sup> (4) An ideological missionary—Mao said, "Our attitude toward ourselves should be insatiable in learning, and toward others we must be tireless in teaching."<sup>22</sup> He asserted that a teacher must tirelessly carry on the mission in teaching for the state. Importantly, a teacher should be an ideological seeder and a "soul engineer." From "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" issued on August 8, 1966, we find: "In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed."<sup>23</sup> According to Mao's theory the center of any individual's soul is his ideology; therefore, teachers have a political mission: "All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies...especially to heads of educational institutions and

teachers."<sup>24</sup> As a matter of fact, the philosophy, policy and practice of education in the People's Republic of China have always reflected Mao's ideology. As an example, from the "Normal School Laws" promulgated by the Central Government in 1956, we find: "The task of the normal schools is to nurture and educate future elementary and nursery school teachers who will have a political awakening in socialism, a dialectic-materialistic world outlook, the virtue of communism, the middle cultural level, professional knowledge and skill in education, physical health, and the total heart, wish and will to serve socialist education."<sup>25</sup>

As Mao advocated the characteristics which a good teacher must possess, he indicted the teachers who do only mental work and not any physical task as "feudalistic" teachers. He stated, in 1927, that "the attitude of the teachers (with the bourgeois disease) toward the peasants, was very bad; they were far from being helpful to the peasants who even became the object of their dislike."<sup>26</sup> Interestingly enough, he pointed out that some female teachers, who wore a Western style of hose while teaching poor peasants, were ridiculously capitalistic. In 1923, lamenting the commercialization of teaching, he wrote: "Teachers and students do not have any affection for each other; teachers cherish only money, students only the diploma; to trade one for the other, to give and receive instruction, is merely like a market place."<sup>27</sup>

Finally, in order to explain more specifically Mao's ideas concerning a good teacher, it is appropriate to present here the following letter he wrote in 1937 to his teacher Hsu T'e-li:

You were my teacher twenty years ago. You are still my teacher and you surely will still be my teacher in the future. When the revolution failed [1927] many Communists left the Communist Party and some went over to the enemy side. But you joined the Communist Party in the fall of 1927 and adopted an extremely positive attitude. During the protracted hard and bitter struggle from that time up to now, you have been

Towards the end of 1971, veteran teachers Shen Yu-ching and others went to Nancheng County to carry out "open-door" education. The poor and lower-middle peasants' noble quality of loving the state and the collective educated him and helped change his thinking and feelings step by step. In the past, he thought only about how to achieve personal fame through teaching agriculture and doing experiments in the college. After going among the poor and lower-middle peasants, he did much the same thing—running experimental plots and making scientific experiments—but what was on his mind was how to raise grain output for the state. It was generally believed that two rice crops a year could only be planted in areas south of 33° N where he then lived. Supported by Party organization, he began to experiment on double rice crops on a teaching plot together with the poor and lower-middle peasants.<sup>34</sup>

What is the principle for achieving better "integration"? People are the "water"; teachers and cadres are the "fish." In order for teachers to attain "water-fish-like" integration, teachers must keep in mind: "Start everything for the benefit of the people"; "Serve the people wholeheartedly" and "Act responsible for the people."<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Mao stated that integration with the people can best be achieved by getting close to the people in the countryside where they actually are. Mao's important directive which was issued in the *People's Daily* in December, 1968:

It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle class peasants. Cadres and other people in the cities should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, college or the university to the countryside. Let us be mobile. Comrades throughout the countryside should welcome them.<sup>36</sup>

Specifically, he advised his disciples that the best way to integrate with the people was not only by joining the people where they lived and worked, but by living and working as the peasants and workers lived and worked: "Living in the peasants' houses or the workers' dormitories," "Eating food with the proletariat," "Speaking in their language and vocabularies," "Wearing clothes identical to what the peasants wear in the village." It was ridiculous to Mao that the bourgeois reformers, in the 1930's, who wore Western style suits and hose went to the farms to work with the villagers who were barefoot and had manure on their hands. When Mao mobilized and organized the peasants to join the revolution in the 1920's and the 1930's, he lived for many days in the peasants' houses where the cows also stayed. Each peasant family in the 1920's had only one house for both its family and cows. Occasionally Mao mentioned that the cows did not smell bad.

Finally, it is interesting to note the impact of "integrating with the masses" upon Mao. In 1942 he told his comrades of his own experiences while living and working with the peasants, workers and soldiers of the revolutionary army. He said: "It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people...."<sup>37</sup>

Mao's ideas always affected educational practices in China. His directives regarding teachers' work have been implemented. Marked progress has been made by teachers in integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. Not only have millions of teachers and intellectuals gone to the villages, many of them have established homes in the villages. The report from Chaoyang Agricultural College serves as an example: "Teachers in old agricultural colleges were divorced from workers and peasants; new agricultural colleges helped teachers integrate with workers and peasants and helped them strive to build a contingent of proletarian teach-

ers...Over the past few years, our college has organized the students to go to advanced people's communes, production brigades, and army units, so that they can learn from workers, peasants and soldiers."<sup>38</sup>

*Better teachers*—In light of Mao's doctrines: "Everyone can and should teach"; and "Peasants and workers certainly can teach"; there were "Masses Educate Masses" Campaigns. The following report is explanatory:

The movement for the elimination of illiteracy is another great movement under the leadership of the Party...There must be carried out the principle of "people educating the people," by mobilizing the masses to educate the masses, with the formation of a large army for the elimination of illiteracy and the absorption of millions and tens of millions of literates to participate in this historic movement.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, Mao insisted that the proletariat make better teachers. His rationale was: (1) Have faith in the proletariat, who are not only genuine, tolerant, and hard working, but also humble, transformational and creative. (2) The proletariat have more first-hand experience in life and work, and their experience is actual, practical and richer than that of intellectuals. Accordingly, Maoists have interpreted: "Veteran peasants should be approached for advice. Old peasants are farming experts with rich practical knowledge, who are at home with local, natural surroundings."<sup>40</sup> Mao said: "The masses are the real heroes; many times we are ridiculously childish. If we do not understand their strengths and our weaknesses, we cannot have a minimum of learning."<sup>41</sup>

Consequently, Mao spoke and wrote on "Learning from the proletariat": "I have nothing great; I only have some limited knowledge which I learned from the masses."<sup>42</sup> "We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and

methods..."<sup>43</sup> Finally, regarding one of the cases in which he learned from the masses, he wrote:

All of these people gave me a great deal of information I had never even heard of. The man who for the first time gave me a complete picture of the rottenness of Chinese jails was a petty jailer I met during my investigation in Hengshan County, Hunan. In my investigations of Hsingkuo County and Changkang and Tsaihsi Townships, I approached comrades at the township level and ordinary peasants. These cadres, the peasants, the *bsiutsai*, the jailer, the merchant and the revenue clerk were all my esteemed teachers, and as their pupil I had to be respectful and diligent and comradely in my attitude; otherwise they would have paid no attention to me, and, though they knew, would not have spoken or, if they spoke, would not have told all they knew.<sup>44</sup>

Because Mao believed that proletarians were better teachers, he spoke against bourgeois intellectuals who were not willing to learn from the masses:

We all know there are many intellectuals who fancy themselves very learned and assume airs of erudition without realizing that such airs are bad and harmful and hinder their own progress. They ought to be aware of the truth that actually many so-called intellectuals are, relatively speaking, most ignorant, and the workers and peasants sometimes know more than they do. Here some will say, "Ha! You are turning things upside down and talking nonsense." [Laughter] But, comrades, don't get excited; there is some sense in what I am saying.<sup>45</sup>

If a person is not just prating but sincerely wants to transform to a mass style, he must really go among the common people and learn from them, otherwise his "transformation" will remain up in the air. There are some who keep clamouring for transformation to a



mass style but cannot speak three sentences in the language of the common people. It shows they are not really determined to learn from the masses. Their minds are still confined to their own small circles.<sup>46</sup>

“Learning from better teachers—peasants and workers” has been implemented in China. The endeavor to build a contingent of proletarian teachers continues in China. Among reports on “teachers from masses,” we note:

The winter schools in the three provinces of Liaosi, Kirin and Sungkiang have 47,460 teachers altogether that come from the masses, representing more than 64 percent of the total number of the teachers in the three provinces. In the workers’ spare time schools, nearly all the teachers are workers themselves.<sup>47</sup>

A former shepherd has recently been made a professor of animal husbandry.

A working farmer, chairman of a commune, has been made a member of the Shansi Academy of Science through his research work in the development of new strains of wheat, cotton and maize.<sup>48</sup>

The termite-killing expert Li Shih-mei, has been invited by the Chungshan University here to become a professor in its biology department....The expert... will give courses in extermination and prevention of termites at a training class to be set up.<sup>49</sup>

In a classroom at Peking’s Tsinghua University, forty students in heat engineering listen to a lecture on the dynamics of thermal control. The lecturer, Shih Hsiao-yen, is not a professor but a meter worker from the Shihching-shan Power Plant. Tall, energetic and with a resonant voice, he is one of a group of full-time worker-teachers now at the university. He is regarded not only as a good lecturer but, more importantly, a backbone force in the teaching revolution in his own

field. His and other worker-teachers’ efforts have greatly strengthened working class political leadership in the revolution in education at the university.

Shih’s twenty years of practical work experience enables him to explain everything graphically and clearly. On the blackboard, a chart in colored chalk shows how a key part of an instrument automatically controls the water level in a boiler. Next to the chart, mathematical formulas explain it. The teacher describes the theoretical and practical aspects of the instrument, gives examples from China’s chemical, petroleum, power equipment and metallurgical industries and tells how it has promoted safety, improved working conditions, raised output and lowered cost.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, in the selection of teachers from among workers, the Maoist measures are: (1) Rotation system—the workers take turns attending schools in order to become teachers for a set period; (2) Interchange system—the factories send workers to schools to become teachers, and schools send teachers to the factories; (3) Permanent assignment system—the factories send workers to teach in school permanently. For example, 30 percent of the middle school teachers in Wuski of Kiangsu province are workers; more than 520 workers were assigned as professional teachers in Nanking in 1971.<sup>51</sup>

*The best teachers*—Mao criticized bourgeois intellectuals and bureaucratic officials who felt “superior” to the people and looked up to officers of higher rank. He said: “Practical workers must investigate the people of the lower level”; “Don’t feel ashamed to get advice from your subordinates”; and “Ask those who are ranked below you to help you understand what you don’t know.”<sup>52</sup> Specifically, he asserted: “We cannot obtain even minimum knowledge unless we honestly become pupils of the worker-masters”; and “It is absolutely necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be reeducated by poor and lower-middle peasants.”<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, in numerous ways, he explained why

soldiers, workers and poor and lower-middle peasants were the best teachers: "The lower peasants, workers and soldiers have real experience in the actual circumstances of life and work." "The poor have courage, they have nothing to lose and they need to struggle." He also said: "...in the last analysis, the workers and peasants are the cleanest people and, even though their hands are soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they are really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." "The worker's, peasant's and soldier's way of life is: hard work, frugality, simple living and acceptance of hardship." "The lowly are the most intelligent while the elite are dull and ignorant."<sup>54</sup> In short, the workers, peasants and soldiers professed unswerving adoration of Mao and unquestioning acceptance of his teachings. As they are the best learners, they are the best teachers.

Finally, as Mao asserted, poor peasants are the best teachers. There are numerous reports of "Poor Peasants Teach." For example, one article entitled, "An Old Poor Peasant Teaches a Lesson," tells the following story:

In the Guanghui People's Communes, poor and lower-middle class peasants manage the commune schools. The people recommended an old, poor peasant named Chen Kai-wan to be the person to teach the proper method of sowing water rice seeds.

First, Chen Kai-wan talked about for whom the seeds were being sowed. He said: "In the old society, we sowed the seeds and planted the field for our landlords. After toiling with the crop for a full year, we still had no rice for our cooking pots. Now, we sow seeds for the revolution, for the country and for socialism." Only after this did he begin his lecture on the technique for sowing seeds.

After he finished his lecture, he immediately took his students to work in the fields and taught them how to sow seeds.<sup>55</sup>

Another report entitled, "A Village Teacher," written by Wang Chi-ming and Luan Yeh-li, is as follows:

Chang Jen-tsui, whose parents were poor peasants, is a teacher in the farm-study school in Sangtzukou Village of Haiyang County, Shantung. When the term began, only five or six children reported. They were mischievous and noisy during class. This upset Jen-tsui.

Jen-tsui thought of the old society when poor people had no hope of going to school. She was aware that Chairman Mao had taught the people to work for the interests of the people whole-heartedly and feels she cannot give up, no matter how hard things are.

One of her students, Chang Lan, had to stay home to do the housework after her mother died from an illness. Every day Jen-tsui went to the home of Chang Lan and helped her with the cooking and washing. In this way, Chang Lan was able to go to school again and her father was able to leave home early enough to get to work on time.

When the winter got hard, Jen-tsui divided the students into groups where they could study at home. She herself braved the harsh weather and went from house to house to help them with their lessons.

Jen-tsui was patient with her students and helped them cultivate Communist morals by telling them revolutionary stories. She had former poor peasants speak to them about their village history and the sufferings of their families at the hands of the landlords. The children became increasingly aware of their duty to the revolution and became attentive and diligent.

Jen-tsui led the students in doing what manual work was suited to them. One job they had was to collect manure for the production team. Jen-tsui held classes

in the field when the children worked there. Her lectures were accompanied by demonstrations so that that her pupils had no trouble in understanding or remembering. She also taught hygiene and cleanliness and showed concern for their health. At times she even cut their hair.

As more students came, Jen-tsui set up separate classes in the morning, at noon, or in the afternoon to accommodate the farming seasons and the home responsibilities of the children. After a year, some students could record work-points and write short letters. The people praised Jen-tsui for her good work, and more and more children came to study.<sup>56</sup>

## II. THE STUDENTS

*The concept of students*—Not only those who enroll in different levels of schools are students; anyone who can learn in some way, at any place, during any time and to any extent, is a student. Each person, old or young, male or female, rich or poor, intelligent or feeble, can be a student. "The whole of China is a learning institute; the enrollment should approximately be comprised of the total population."<sup>57</sup> Among the reports, such as that which follows, one finds evidence of the "Everybody is a Student" movement:

A people's commune in Szechwan is putting into effect a far-reaching educational scheme by which practically all the members are being drawn into study closely combined with work. The commune itself has become a gigantic school, with some of the most experienced people serving as teachers and nearly as many courses arranged as there are occupations in the commune.

There are over 7,500 students at this "Red experts" school of the Red Banner People's Commune in Nanchung County, Central Szechwan, roughly 95%

of all the able-bodied members of the commune. They are studying, first and foremost, things they urgently need to know.<sup>58</sup>

In a class society, rulers always teach their subordinates—the latter are the students of the former. In a socialist society, a teacher is a teacher and a student; a student is a student and a teacher. Governmental officers, army generals and Party leaders should all be students of the people of the lower rank and vice versa, according to Mao's ideas.

Although Mao considered that people of all ages, old or young, can be students, he praised the youth: "Marx wrote creatively when he was young. At the age of twenty-nine, he wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. Lenin in 1903, when he was thirty-one, formalized Bolshevism."<sup>59</sup> He said to Chinese students:

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed in you....The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.<sup>60</sup>

In sum, he viewed the characteristics of youth as more genuine, less sophisticated and least conservative; hence, he trusted students and praised their movement: "The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement."<sup>61</sup>

*The reactionary students*—In the old society, the student body was dominated by the sons of landlords, feudal agents and bureaucrats. More than seventy-five percent of college students were sons of reactionaries; hence, they were more likely to be wrong.<sup>62</sup> "Does a dragon beget a dragon, a phoenix only a phoenix, and are those begotten by rats good only at digging holes?" The Maoists' answer to this question is "affirmative." This question was raised and resolved during the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution. The Party leader-

ship, headed by Mao, deemed it important for Party media to contend that "The reactionary's son is no good."<sup>63</sup> Mao, on May 7, 1966, issued the call in the "May 7 Directive": "Education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer."<sup>64</sup> Among the reasons for Mao's denunciation of those students are: (1) They are timid in taking revolutionary action and often vacillate with regard to revolutionary demands, and therefore, cannot totally be relied upon; (2) They are studying for "grades" and personal fame; (3) They hesitate to integrate with workers and peasants and always have distaste for any manual labor;<sup>65</sup> (4) They lack practical experience. Mao said:

Now let us take a look at certain students, those brought up in schools that are completely cut off from the practical activities of society. What about them? A person goes from a primary school of this kind all the way through to a university of the same kind, graduates and is reckoned to have a stock of learning. But all he has is book-learning; he has not yet taken part in any practical activities or applied what he has learned to any field of life. Can such a person be regarded as a completely developed intellectual? Hardly so, in my opinion, because his knowledge is still incomplete.<sup>66</sup>

*The good students*—Good students should have a strong body, a clear mind, a warm heart, a strong will and definite vision, according to Mao's thought. Among the qualifications of a good student are his thorough understanding and devotion to correct political ideologies. These ideologies are mainly Marxism-Leninism, and especially Maoism, which are incarnated in Party doctrines. They also include "dialectical materialism," "socialism and communism," "patriotism and internationalism," "anticapitalism-imperialism-chauvinism-revisionism," "proletariat dictatorship," "perennial revolutionism" and "class struggle." Of particular significance is "Sinocized Marxism," meaning the adaptation of Marxism to Chinese

conditions. Furthermore, he insisted that revolutionary morality is the necessary means for the fulfillment of political doctrines. "Being a selfless self with genuine desire and action to serve the proletariat" is the most basic virtue of all. He specifically pointed out the following characteristics of good students: optimism, spontaneity, dedication, modesty, propriety, carefulness, gregariousness, frugality, vigilance, perseverance, self-reliance, self-discipline, sacrifice for the revolutionary cause, arduous struggle, Spartan ways, and, especially, courage or daring spirit. He ridiculed reactionaries for being "chickens" or "sheep," even though they might be stubborn in some manner. He advised students to be courageous in order to be good. On June 24, 1964, Mao said to his niece, Wang Hai-ri:

You will not achieve greatly, because you have many fears: You fear being accused of destroying the old system. You fear being criticized or suspended or expelled from school. You fear not being accepted as a Party member. You should not have anything to fear in school. The worst is "being expelled from school" which you do not need to fear. School should allow students to rebel. You should go back to school and assume leadership in rebellion.<sup>67</sup>

Among Mao's statements on "good students," is one he delivered at the Inauguration service of the She-Pei Academy in December, 1937:

School must educate a group of people to be the pioneers in revolution. These pioneers must have political vision and the spirit of sacrifice for struggle. They are open-minded, straightforward, faithful, positive and upright. They do not intend to be selfish, and their only desire is for the liberation of the nation and its people. They fear no difficulties and face hardship resolutely and courageously for great advancement. They are neither boastful, nor do they seek personal fame. They work effectively, step-by-step.<sup>68</sup>

Mao's ideas regarding students have been the guide for admission policies and the criteria for the selection of students. For example: "The Rules of Behavior of Middle School Students" issued in 1955, and Chapter 5 on students contained in the "Regulations of Normal Schools" issued in 1956, are both implementations of Mao's doctrines.<sup>69</sup>

*The best students*—In the previous sections, Mao's ideas regarding "reactionary students" and "good students" and some of the impact of such ideas have been analyzed. In this section, we discuss, "Who the best students are"; "What they should do"; and "Where they should go" in accordance with Mao's doctrines.

First, who are the best students? Mao believed that everyone must subordinate himself to the proletariat, who are the peasants, workers and soldiers in China. They are not only the most powerful, but also they are the most valuable because they are poor. The poor people are neglected and humiliated by the ruling class, but they have more potential, more practical experience. They are hard workers, honest people and very courageous because they have nothing to lose. Above all, they have the cleanest minds and are more acceptable to new ideology; thus, they can become the most dependable comrades in revolution. Consequently, they can be the best students.<sup>70</sup>

He pointed out that, before 1949 in the Nationalist regime, more than 70 per cent of the students were the sons and daughters of landlords, bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie. He also claimed that the pre-Cultural Revolution (before 1966-68) educational system favored children from certain advantaged backgrounds (both old elite and "new class" elements) rather than children from workers', peasants' and soldiers' families. He insisted that education must be established under the class-line, which means education for the proletariat. It had been his consistent belief that young people from worker and farmer families should be granted priority for entering schools. Most importantly, on July 21, 1968, Mao forcefully redeclared: "Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experi-

ence,..."<sup>71</sup> This proclamation greatly affected educational practices in China.

It has become the common practice that if two students have the same academic level, but one is from a worker or peasant family, then he will receive priority for admittance to college. In 1959, sons and daughters of workers and farmers comprised the majority of pupils in primary schools and kindergartens, 75 per cent of those in middle schools and 48 per cent of those in colleges and universities.<sup>72</sup> After the Cultural Revolution, the colleges began reopening at the end of 1970—with a radical change. Most students had to come from the families of workers, peasants or soldiers. They were chosen by their fellow factory or farm workers and other soldiers in the army. They did not need to have the usual educational preparation. The following reports, among many others, are to be noted: "More than 167,000 workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience have been enrolled in China's universities and colleges in 1974."<sup>73</sup> From "Changes in Peking University," published in 1975, we find: "Since the start of the educational revolution, the university has selected students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience. In the last few years it has enrolled over 9,500 students, of whom 3,000 have graduated..."<sup>74</sup>

Finally, the following case report is interesting:

Fu Ching-chih was born in the new society and had a better life. But her mother's health was poor and the family was short of labor power. She had to quit school after fourth grade to take care of the younger children and start working. The peasants liked this hard-working girl who dared to speak out and struggle against non-socialist tendencies and was whole-heartedly devoted to the collective. At 15 she was elected head of her production team of 300 people. The heavy responsibility required more knowledge so she studied in her free time and asked others to explain what she didn't understand.

The socialist education movement began here in 1965. Party comrades sent to lead the movement in the village felt that Fu Ching-chih would be a good person to train as a leader in the revolutionary cause and they did their best to educate her....She dared to expose bad people and actions in the village. Several times some class enemies tried to kill her, but this only made her more militant. Modeling herself on 15-year-old Liu Hu-lan, who gave her life in the War of Liberation, she was not afraid to die for the revolution....She always held to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, grasping revolution and promoting production....When the county was building the Weilou reservoir, she led a 40-member "Iron Girls' Team" to drill and blast during the day and study political theory and technique in the evening.

Fu Ching-chih's skill and political level grew rapidly in those years. First joining the Communist Youth League, she later became a member of the Communist Party. She was League branch secretary for the Yangtien brigade, head of its women's team and vice-commander of its militia battalion. Because of her outstanding achievements in work and the study of Chairman Mao's writings, she was selected to attend county, prefecture and province meetings of people with advanced experience.

When Tsinghua University came to the country to enroll new students, Yangtien brigade members promptly recommended by other communes were better educated, but after an all-around evaluation everyone settled on Fu Ching-chih for her outstanding record in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

At a meeting to send her off, a county leader gave her a firm handshake and said, "Our county has recommended you for university; the people are counting on you." As she was about to leave, the

villagers presented her with a new book bag with the words, "Serve the People," embroidered in red on it.<sup>75</sup>

Secondly, what should the best students do? They should continuously engage in political tasks, meaning class struggle. Throughout his life, Mao consistently advised students to be active politically. For example, he wrote on "Protraction of Student Movement" in the early 1930's. He motivated and led students to engage in the Great Cultural Revolution (1966-68). Even when he became aged and ill, he continuously advised students to be politically active.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, Mao believed that students should study and engage in productive labor as well as in political activities. From his famous "May 7, 1966 Directive" we find: "While the students' main task is to study, they should also learn other things; that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge; they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production, and military affairs. Students also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie."<sup>77</sup>

The participation in peasant and worker production may help fulfill a political mission and make "gaining knowledge" meaningful and effective. Mao asserted that a student should be a village farmer or a factory worker. He said: "Go to the people; live among them; learn from them; love them; plan with them; start with what they know; build on what they have."<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that all students should integrate with the proletariat: "How should we judge whether a youth is a reactionary? How can we tell? There only can be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice."<sup>79</sup> He also trusted that, "The majority or the vast majority of students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers."<sup>80</sup> How can students effectively integrate with the proletariat? Mao answered: "They should gladly... take off their school uniforms, put on coarse clothes and willing-

ly take up any work, however trivial; they should go there to learn what the peasants demand, help to arouse and organize them. . . ."<sup>81</sup> Finally, the way for students to be successfully integrated with the proletariat is to work and live as they do, Mao advised. Consequently, students usually go barefoot with rolled up pants, working in the fields with the peasants.<sup>82</sup>

Thirdly, where should students go in order to carry out their triple task—study, work and class struggle? Mao issued a clarion call frequently: "Go where the proletariat are." He pointed out that workers and peasants are the main force of the revolution, and revolutionary young intellectuals and students "must go among the workers and peasants, who make up 90 per cent of the population."<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, it is highly patriotic, as well as an honor, a privilege and a pleasure, for anyone to stay on rural farms or in factories. Mao advocated a farmward movement in numerous ways: "No student should stay in school long; a student should return to production after a few years of study." "College students should come from the rural areas and go back to the villages." "It is extremely necessary for young people with an education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by poor and lower-middle peasants." How could the farmward movement become a success? Mao's instruction was: "The high officials of the government, Party and the army, should send their daughters and sons first."<sup>84</sup>

Finally, it is interesting to note the September 25, 1975 report written by Fox Butterfield from Hong Kong:

Over 10 million young people—or one of every 15 urban residents—have been sent to the countryside since the program began in 1968 at Chairman Mao Tse-tung's command. . . . In addition, particularly in Chairman Mao's view, rural resettlement was designed to instill revolutionary enthusiasm in young people by recreating the conditions of hardship, struggle and sacrifice that earlier generations of Chinese Communists went through.

Judging from a recent series of provincial broadcasts, the program is continuing at its inexorable pace again this year, with 1.5 million graduates estimated to have resettled.

Although no nationwide figures have been released on the percentage of youths required to resettle, in some areas it often seems to reach 80 to 90 per cent. A radio report last week from Liaoning Province, in the center of heavy industry in Manchuria, said 240,000 students this year had been sent to the countryside, including over 90 per cent of the 1975 graduates in several of the province's major cities.

The others go to work in factories. . . . The few who manage to get into universities—167,000 last year by Chinese count—must work first for at least two years in a factory or on a farm and must be selected by their unit.

A further effort is to send large numbers of Party workers with the graduates to stay with them until they are properly settled. In the case of the 15,000 students in Wuhan, for example, a broadcast reported that they were accompanied by 1,700 Party workers.<sup>85</sup>

One of the official 1976 reports on "Graduates Return to the Rural" reads:

Middle-school graduates no longer go straight to colleges and universities. The majority go to work in communes and some in industrial plants so that they can integrate with the working people. After two years or more of practical experience, those who show a high socialist consciousness and are outstanding in their jobs and political and other studies, are recommended by their co-workers for higher education.

Fu Ching-chih (a village girl who was selected by her villagers to study in Tsinghua University) had never forgotten the hopes the people of her village

had in her. Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat had broadened her horizons. She applied to the school and village Party organizations to return to her village after graduation. She wanted to do her bit to reduce the three great differences (the difference between towns and villages, that between the standard of living of city workers and rural peasants, and the gap between mental and manual work). In an application full of enthusiasm she said, "Students trained under the revisionist line saw the university as a ladder for climbing up to high positions. We worker-peasant-soldier students refuse this. We must make a complete break with the old traditional ideas and chop this bourgeois ladder down."

When she returned home with her bedroll on her back, the villagers were happy to find that Fu Ching-chih had not changed—she was as hard-working and simple-living as ever. She still wore patched blue cotton clothes, and early the next morning went to work in the fields. Later they were happy to find that she had changed—she thought even more about the affairs of the collective, was more farsighted and resourceful.<sup>86</sup>

Chairman Mao died in September, 1976, and as recently as February, 1977, a young Chinese student wrote: "I was selected by the villagers to study in the university, and I will return to the village after the completion of my studies."<sup>87</sup> This is evidence that Chairman Mao's idea, "Graduates return to rural work," continues to guide Chinese students.

## CHAPTER TEN

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction  
 The Man  
 Mind of the Man  
 Concepts of Education and Guiding Principles  
 Education for a New China, New Chinese and  
 a New World  
 Curriculum  
 Fundamentals of Ideological Methodology  
 Methods in Education  
 Learning and Teaching  
 Teachers and Students  
 Positive Phases and Problem Areas  
 Afterwords

The People's Republic of China, proclaimed in 1949, has emerged as a new nation with a unique culture. Supporters and foes alike agree that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thoughts and leadership are responsible for China's political, economic and cultural transformation. His educational ideas and ingenious innovations undeniably have guided schooling in China. To understand this schooling is to understand Mao's ideas. In this chapter the author summarizes and comments on Mao's theories and practices of education.

#### I. THE MAN

Mao Tse-tung, a many-sided man, was a peasant teacher, revolutionist, strategist, and writer. Throughout his life, Mao



had a deep love and high respect for the countryside and peasants, possibly because he had worked and was raised in a village. Mao's childhood experience with farm work and his participation in peasant secret meetings established a background for his future leadership of the proletariat revolution.

Mao pioneered the mass education movement, indoctrinated, persuaded and taught Party members, cadres, guerilla fighters, soldiers, government officers, production managers and millions of workers and peasants in China. Chou En-lai, the late Prime Minister of China, once said of Mao: "The Chairman is the teacher and has taught us." While all Party members and millions of Chinese honored him as "our great teacher, leader, commander and helmsman," he said: "Cut all the others titles. I like only to be called a teacher." His pride in having been a teacher and his innovative teaching of workers and peasants undoubtedly formed the basis for his emphasis on the role of education in revolution.

Mao constantly had been an insurgent revolutionist. He rebelled against the methods of teaching in his elementary school. Later he distributed pamphlets attacking President Yuan Shih-k'ai, participated in founding the Chinese Communist Party and directed strikes and organized peasant unions until he was forced to flee to Shanghai. Following his return to Hunan in 1920, he resumed the rural movement which led to the well-known Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927. Thence commenced his guerilla life marked by the famous 6,000 mile Long March that swept across the country in 1934. During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), Mao organized partisans and peasants for guerilla warfare and he launched the conspicuous and successful rectification of ideology in 1942. After 1949, numerous ideological revolutions were accelerated as Mao insisted that revolution could never be completely achieved. The Cultural Revolution of 1966-68 served to emphasize his strong belief in progressive revolution. Finally, he initiated the 1975 revision of the Party Constitution in order to enable the proletariat revolution to continue forcefully in China.

Mao was not only a strenuous revolutionist, he was also an ideological writer. In 1915 he started to write on patriotism. His writings and speeches are profuse. He continued to write until he became seriously ill in 1974. Officially published volumes contain 2,516 pages or 1,761,200 words. Most of his major works have been read by millions of Chinese and some must be studied by each person in the People's Republic of China.

Mao was a pragmatic strategist in politics, economics and the military. From 1920, when Mao became a Marxist, until the end of his life, he held the same ideology. However, he made compromises in the revolutionary process so that he might attain his goal. Beginning in 1922, Mao advocated the "United Front." During 1937-49, Mao enlarged and enforced his "United Front" policy by appealing to all people—capitalists, landlords, bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the proletariat—for "war" to achieve "peace."

After the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, state affairs evolved from "Solidification" to "Transformation" to "Socialist State Formulation." Regarding rural economic construction, Mao followed a gradual process of change in light of changing circumstances. In regard to the establishment of industries, he permitted some few private ones after 1949. These were soon followed by co-ownership by the individual and the state. Later, the economy was nationalized, leading to total state planning and control by the 1950's. Mao was also a pragmatic strategist in war. In 1928, his peasant army was compelled to relinquish the conventional tactics of war. Hence, he innovated the "guerilla warfare" strategy, whereby war would be based in the rural areas and would have as its vanguard the peasants. The art of guerilla war is "elusive and defensive offense," and "elusive and offensive defense." The science of guerilla war involves making quick decisions within a protracted war: when circumstances demand retreat, one must do so promptly, he advocated.

Having reviewed that Mao was a peasant, a teacher, a revolutionist, a writer and a strategist, his personal character-

istics will now be analyzed. He was a man with a many-sided and complex personality. He appeared as an individual with soft manners; however, he had a strong will, revolutionary zeal and a tough mind. He was tolerant toward his comrades and ruthless toward reactionaries. At times, he was cool and patient, but on occasions became hot-tempered. He was humble, but always displayed firm confidence in the infallibility of his theories. His optimism was sustained by conviction, dedication, a sense of direction, and the will to achieve a goal. A revolutionary idealist, he was always ready to sacrifice for the cause of revolution.

Long before he became a Marxist, Mao had participated in a patriotic revolution in 1911. Believing in international Communism, he devoted himself to the Communist revolution in China, and he persisted in applying Marxism to Chinese culture. He loved the land of China and her people.

Mao was a man of ideas, but he was more a man of action. He ridiculed the bourgeoisie for merely sitting and talking: "We revolutionaries always stand up and take action." He condemned inactive people as stupid, wrong, and bad; on the other hand, he said that one who worked was smart, right and good. This he explained by saying that revolutionary success and virtue come from hard work. Mao always took action in light of the realities of the "here" and "now" and adjusted the methods of doing accordingly.

Mao's Spartan life commenced early as he endured harsh physical training in secondary school and continued to discipline himself strenuously until he was in his seventies. He cautioned his disciples that the individual's material desires must be less, and the desire to serve the people and the cause of revolution must be definite and ever-growing.

Time, place and events always deeply and intricately relate to man's success or failure. Whatever Mao's achievements may have been, they can be attributed to his pragmatic methods, as set forth in Chapter One. He maneuvered and guided the events in modern China to serve his life-long goal of revolution.

## II. MIND OF THE MAN

Mao completely scorned bourgeois intellectualism which he believed had no relation to "class struggle" and "productive labor." However, he never denied the constructive function of ideas and emphatically instructed his disciples to study ideology. He was an omnivorous reader and had a keen appreciation for ideas. Long before he discovered Marx, Mao had read Adam Smith, Charles Darwin, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. His intellectual interests persisted, and even at the age of seventy-two he continued to study history and foreign languages.

To a large extent, Mao was not only like Trotsky, the architect of the Red Army, and Stalin, the mold of the Party in the USSR, he also set the stamp of his intellect on modern China as Lenin had on Russia. Mao's philosophy has become the guide for all work in the Chinese Communist Party, the army, the government and in the schools. Therefore, Mao's ideology, which is the basis of his educational principles and practices, may be summarized as follows:

*Proletarianism*—Mao said: "Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people."<sup>1</sup> At all times, he urged each Party member to serve the people in order to attain real inner satisfaction. His dictum was: "One who has the love of the people is reborn." The people are the proletarians—the peasants, the workers and the soldiers. Furthermore, Mao correctly estimated the significance of the rural proletariat over the urban proletariat in the Chinese revolution and earnestly urged government officers, Party members, students, and especially, intellectuals to go to the villages to serve the people. Finally, Mao asserted that only the proletarians, especially poor peasants, are allowed to exercise the power, the privilege, and the right to enjoy "democracy" among themselves. In addition, the proletarians have the authority and the right to practice their dictatorship over all reactionaries.

*Materialistic concept*—One of the two essentials of Mao's materialistic concept is dialectical materialism, a reversal of

dialectical "idealism" under which the mind-centered interpretation of all phenomena is held. The other essential is historical materialism, a presumption of the primacy of economic determinants in history and the emphasis upon productive labor.

*Scientific realism*—Mao asserted that attention must be given to reality, especially to social practices, and he criticized dogmatic philosophers who reject experience and deny that "philosophy is a guide, not a dogma." He also criticized empirical philosophers who would restrict thinking to fragmentary experience, without understanding the whole and without recognizing the interrelations between theory and practice. Above all, correct ideas come from social practice and physical experiment; thinking must be integrated with action.

*Scientific socialism*—There are two classes in capitalist society: people who exploit and those who are exploited. Even in a socialist society, there may be "new" classes. There are always conflicts and struggles between classes. Class struggle is the moving force of history and the only method to achieving socialism. Cooperation exists only among the proletarians who must always struggle against the non-proletarians, Mao explained.

*Permanent revolution*—The continuity of struggle or the process of "contradiction-balance-new contradiction" exists, and there are always contradictions in human society and in the natural world. The contradictory elements are struggling against each other. Subsequently, contradictions may be eliminated; then new contradictions will appear. Hence, forms of revolution continue permanently,

*Nationalism and internationalism*—Mao believed that nationalism is an authentic value in itself. Only by achieving national construction will it be possible for the toiling masses to achieve their own liberation. Furthermore, proletarian patriotism originates with the basic interests of the proletariat of each nation, as well as with the common interests of all the proletarians in the world. Chinese Communists must, therefore, combine patriotism with internationalism.

The former is the necessary means for achieving the latter, according to Mao's thought.

*The Sinicization concept*—The ideology to be adopted in China must be based upon present and concrete facts as they exist in the actual circumstances of China and the Chinese. Such ideology must accord with past experiences gained from Chinese history and philosophy, and the ideology should be revised and then be refined by practicing it in China.

Historical materialism has been challenged ever since its inception, and it continues to be debatable. The theories of scientific socialism and permanent revolution have merit but need modification, clarification and even some rectification. The ideology of a communistic one world and Communistic techniques of world revolution may not be acceptable; however, Mao's nationalism and his sincerity for building an independent China can be justified. Mao's scientific realism also may have some merit. His "proletarianism" serves the majority of the poor Chinese. Mao's special contribution is his synthesis of Marxism with actual practice in China.

### III. CONCEPTS OF EDUCATION AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Mao never isolated education from revolution; he always asserted that social ideology guides schooling. Although he considered the education system as the superstructure which originates with and is decided by politics and economics, Mao believed that education is one of the most significant and sensitive areas of national life, the cornerstone of the new society, the soul of the state, and a human instrument. He believed that education is the political power which promotes changes in society and in the world and changes in the action and thinking of men. Consequently, he held a broad view of education, emphasizing that all types of life and work in all nations and at all times are forms of education. The community is a classroom; the nation is a school; the world is a campus. All revolutionary movements

can be considered educational because these movements have impact upon the minds and behavior of people. He said that fighting a battle or working on a farm or in a factory or store, are all forms of learning. He identified education with propaganda, indoctrination and with military, economical, ideological or cultural campaigns.

Mao clarified the social and human meaning of education: All forms of education are social enterprises and must be integral parts of total national affairs. School is a society; society is a school. There must be close cooperation between the school and out-of-school agencies. Education is the balance wheel of the social machinery and the way through which a society unifies itself.

Education should be based primarily upon the comradeship of man, according to Mao. Also, it is an endless process of both the bio-physical and socio-physical growing and remodelling of man. During the process, the abilities of man are liberated, cultivated and disciplined by means contrived and employed by man.

The ultimate ideological battleground is the human mind; the bourgeoisie ego must be relinquished; class and production struggle must continue; an army without culture is an ignorant or stupid army; the peasant individualism and desire of private ownership must be liquidated. Therefore, not only has every proletarian the right and duty to obtain education, but education is also a requirement before one understands the politics and economics of the country.

Furthermore, we analyze Mao's specific guidelines for education:

**Proletariat-centered**—Man's functions are not interchangeable with machine functions. People's minds are incompatible. Man should never be the captive of technology. Hence, education must be man-centered. Working people, who create both material and spiritual wealth, are the real masters of mankind. Peasants comprise the main body of the Chinese proletariat; the program of the village-based school is the priority, Mao endorsed. Proletariat-centered education comprises proletarian leadership and management

which have been difficult. The workers, peasants, and soldiers dispatched into the schools and universities, with limited schooling, have not been able to provide academic leadership in educational matters for the scholars of universities.

**China-oriented**—Education must meet the present needs of the life and work in China, Mao rightly asserted. A program that reflects a capitalist society must be denied. The education of urban, industrialized cultures is unsuitable for the Chinese rural economy. Neither the American nor the Russian model of education could meet the needs of China.

**Diversity and universality**—Formal schooling is merely one of the institutionalized patterns of education; informal learning may be more important and more effective. Both formal and informal learning must be diversified in form and substance. However, the basic goals, fundamental principles and the essential ideology of education must be universal. People may disagree with the "diversified means" and "the universal goals" which Mao prescribed; however, "diversity for universality, universality for diversity" is a sound principle of education.

**Productive labor combined with education**—Mao indicted the divorce between education and physical labor. Education combined with productive labor is not only economically and pedagogically desirable, it is also ideologically and morally significant. Participating in productive labor would facilitate a better understanding of the meaning of capitalistic exploitation, Mao explained. Taking "traditional education" divorced from production and the primary needs of Chinese peasants into consideration, the author may give credit to such a theory. However, we find evidence of an undue emphasis on productive labor and the consequent deterioration of basic studies in Chinese school. Maoists have overemphasized the value of human labor and underestimated the effectiveness of machines in their effort for national construction. It is naive and even dangerous to assume that a sweating toiler can produce sufficiently without machines. It would be unrealistic not to admit that

technological leadership in the modern world is a full-time task for the nation's intellectual resources. Only if China promotes high academic and technical accomplishments can she catch up with the more advanced nations in the near future.

Politics in command—The political mission is the life-blood of all educational programs. Sinocized Marxism is the basis of educational purposes, curriculum, teaching and learning. The dictum that "Politics commands education" is denied in a "true democracy," according to this writer. However, in feudalistic and capitalistic societies, education is under the command, in full or in part, of the respective political system. The real issue is not "Politics commands education;" rather it is: "What is the best political theory or system?" "True democracy" may be better than Communism, but it is difficult to deny the fact that 'education serves politics.' Mao thought that ideology, the soul of revolution, was the direction of education and that political doctrine was the motivational force which raises student morality and sets standards of discipline. In firmly implementing this principle, we find the problem of overemphasis of politics in Chinese schools. Ideological command may mean party control, and it becomes much more specific and regulatory than the expectation that education serves national ideals and aids political construction. Maoist teachers might frequently indulge in verbalism, and the use of certain political dogmas often runs the risk of becoming a ritual. Student writings and speeches become monotonous with constant repetition of ideological clichés. The problem is not only that students' expressions become stereotyped, but that their thinking is in danger of becoming stereotyped also.

#### IV. EDUCATION FOR A NEW CHINA, NEW CHINESE AND A NEW WORLD

Education, the product of politics, must serve politics, Mao stated. Hence, the important purpose of education is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, then to attain the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and ultimately to

achieve the realization of Communism. In other words, based on Maoism, education aims to construct a new China, mold the new Chinese and eventually establish a new world order.

First, socialist new China is a nation of independence, security, territorial integrity and her cultural heritage. The new China is characterized by the dictatorship of the proletariat which signifies true liberty and equality for all proletarians and their dictatorship over all reactionaries. The new nation is a state of democratic-centralism in which the authority of the central government is above the decentralized freedom of local governments. The power of the Communist party supersedes the authority of the states; consequently, education is under Party control to achieve the purposes of Communism. Mao stated that in order to defeat reactionaries and establish a new China, the Party of super power is necessary, especially in the process of revolution. In a true democracy, Party control of state can never be tolerated for any long period of time.

Second, in accordance with Mao's analysis, feudalism, Confucianism, and the bureaucratic system had crushed Chinese minds. Mao firmly believed in the ability and virtue of the Chinese and assumed that they would catch up with and surpass more advanced cultures. Mao's purpose of education was to mold and develop people to attain a balanced moral, intellectual and physical growth and to mold them into socialist-oriented and socialist-cultured new Chinese. Mao said that the socialist new Chinese are epitomized by Communist Party members who have healthy bodies, minds, hearts, wide vision, and, above all, high revolutionary morality. Some of the characteristics of the new Chinese prescribed by Mao and presented in Chapter 3, such as "being collectivized," might be challenged because in collectivization each person loses his identity. However, some of the qualifications prescribed, such as "being self-disciplined" and "being socially responsible," seem credible enough.

Thirdly, the real meaning of revolution according to

Maoism, is to serve not only the Chinese but all peoples in the world who are closely bound by a common interest and ideals and whose welfares are inseparably connected. Therefore, building the socialist new China and the new Chinese is merely a part of the mission of education; the complete and final purpose of education is to build a socialist new world, Mao asserted. The writer would like to state that education in each nation should necessitate a need for world cooperation, in addition to developing its strength and citizenry. The real issue is whether people agree or disagree with international Communist ideology underlying the educational purpose and qualifications of the new Chinese that Mao prescribed for world revolution.

#### V. CURRICULUM

Both perceptual and conceptual learning are the instruments for economic production and class struggle, according to Mao. Consequently, his concept of curriculum is that it is a channel through which experience flows; it is a means which serves economic production and class struggle. The first source of subject material must be the objective society and the world, especially, reliable data on actual revolutionary life and work. Hence, we conclude that Mao's broad scope of curriculum may include any pattern of experience; life and work may serve as some of the patterns. The inexorable quantity of objective facts to date, the intangible ideas of the past and creative ideas for the future should all be considered in learning. Both structured subjects in school and unstructured learning experiences in class struggle and production are forms of learning.

In light of Mao's instrumental and broad concept of learning, we are led to point out that the Maoist curriculum is: (1) Community-centered or village-based—Mao's advocacy is appealing, and the reasons set for educators to accept this view are that education is a social enterprise; school and society should always be incorporated. The ivory tower of learning must lose its seclusion. What is done in

school must be what is needed in the village; thus school programs mirror the actualities of the community, and the whole village becomes the huge laboratory of the schools.

(2) Student-centered—Mao used "student" and "people" interchangeably. What the people can learn and like and need to learn should comprise the materials to be taught.

(3) Present-oriented—Yesterday is for today and tomorrow starts from today. Mao's dictum is "We learn what is good for the present stage of class struggle and economic production."

(4) The utilitarian—Mao had no tolerance for bookish learning; he compared knowledge with an "arrow" which must be useful for hitting targets. He clearly emphasized his pronounced objectives of adapting education to economic, political, and defense needs. Consequently, knowledge must be integrated with life practice; thinking is a part of the action process; and intellectual learning relates to class struggle and economic production. Curriculum programs contain matters from abstract ideology down to practical items, such as pig raising.

(5) The "common" and "special"—The basic, common, minimum materials are for all students; different persons in different places learn diversified materials.

(6) Constant revision—This principle simply is an implementation of Mao's theory of "permanent revolution." The educational reformation and revolution under Mao's command can be said to be the most sweeping, profound, ambitious and constant form of human undertaking ever attempted in the history of Chinese education.

(7) Ideological implementation—Correct ideology, namely Maoism, serves as the basic and indispensable guide.

Regarding subjects, Mao's doctrine is that some, but not many, important subjects must be taught, and each of these should contain solid, rich, concrete and practical contents. Although he categorized learning into knowledge and skills, he classified subjects into: (1) Ideological subjects, which were ranked as top priority; (2) Vocational, technical and

professional subjects, which were given priority over the humanities or pure science; (3) General or cultural subjects.

According to this author, the Maoist's instrumental nature, broad scope and utilitarian concept of curriculum, especially the emphasis upon the needs of the present life of the Chinese, indeed have their merits. Teaching specific essentials, which include both the minimum common learning for all students and diversified special learning for different students, should also be credited. Maoists also pronounce that different subjects should not be taught in compartments, and that each subject should be considered as an integral part of others. However, there are questions that should be raised: First, "Should ideological subjects be ranked as top priority?" Maoists, defending this doctrine, frequently ask: "Why have religious doctrines been taught in nations as the top priority?" "Do capitalists and revisionists give their political doctrines top priority?"

Second, the "balanced curriculum" and "appropriate distribution of learning" continue to be issues of Chinese education: (1) Formal learning in school has seemingly received less attention. (2) Maoists appeal to the student to be ideologically correct and technologically advanced and proficient. However, the former has always overshadowed the latter. (3) Stress upon practical training in production and devotion in class struggle have negative impacts upon academic study. Some of Mao's critics in Peking, before the Cultural Revolution, raised these questions: "How long can we be indifferent to theoretical study and intellectual contributions?" "Should learning for production and learning for cultural advancement be balanced?" "How can students attain a balance between work and study?"

## VI. FUNDAMENTALS OF IDEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

Mao's theories diverge from mere metaphysical abstractions; they are in fact the social-philosophical justification

of methods. Maoism can be considered as a theory of logic or a system of ways of doing. Mao Tse-tung philosophy derived from life, work, war and revolution is more methodological than philosophical. His speeches, writings and talks mostly have been reflections on, or instructions for, problem solving in war, political struggle and economic production, as well as in education.

According to Mao, good intentions in revolutionary endeavor are important, but if there is no method for their fulfillment, the intentions may have little meaning. During every period of Chinese revolution, he laid down for the Party, not only the directives and policies, but also the precise methods for performing work. Beginning in the 1920's, Mao continuously improved his methods of revolution. He indicted such ideologies of methods as individualism, subjectivism, empiricism, doctrinairism, sectarianism, bureaucratism, commandism, liberalism, rightism, and leftism.

Mao asserted such methods as: Authoritarian methods, which must be employed in dealing with any kind of enemy—He said: "Tactically, we should take all enemies seriously; we must hate them, use force to fight against them and destroy them."<sup>2</sup> The step-by-step method for dealing with enemies is "remodeling," "compelling," "suppression," "arrest," "sentence" and "execution." Mao justified authoritarian methods by saying: "Our political power can be solidified only by our success in the suppression task. We must suppress the enemy ruthlessly."<sup>3</sup> Is the rationale for using the authoritarian method justified? Mao stated that revolution is love for the proletariat, not for every person or each human being. Is Mao's doctrine acceptable?

Democratic methods, which must be practiced among proletarians—Mao pointed out that complete freedom and true equality for all the people signified a real democracy, which only existed in a proletariat classless society. In order to secure democracy for the proletarians, their dictatorship toward reactionaries is imperative. Mao felt that this dictatorship could be solidified only by means of inner-Party democracy or democracy for the proletariat. The

democratic process of real freedom and true equality helps develop the initiative of the people and keep their morale at a high level. Democracy is the most effective method for problem solving and working together. Furthermore, among the methods Mao cautiously suggested for implementing the democratic process are: (a) The comradeship of individuals involved; (b) Through communication, which includes everyone's free expression, attentive listening, and thorough exchange of information and ideas among individuals; and (c) Persuasion, which is to present the honest facts and to reason together genuinely and patiently.

Scientific method, which is seeking truth from facts—Truth consists of the internal relationship of objective things; facts refer to all things which exist objectively. Scientific method is a system of orderly procedure which includes deliberate planning, objective investigation, factual analysis, experimentation and adoption of new action.

Dialectical method, which can be simply entitled as "continuationism"—Mao's theory of continuity contains the concept of change, contradiction and interconnection. First, the possibilities of continuous change in the objective world are endless and so is man's cognition of truth through practice. Changes occur in various ways. The different forms and processes of change and the different parts within and among the other factions of change are interconnected and interacting. Secondly, the cause of change is the contradictions which constantly exist in the world and in society. The various forms of contradiction are not only unavoidable but necessary for progress. The types of human contradictions, as Mao viewed them, are "Contradictions among enemies, between people and their enemies, and those among the people." Thirdly, there are various forms of relations between things, ideas and things, and ideas or relations among all phenomena. Mao especially recognized interrelations among people. One of his simple illustrations is the "part-whole" relation—"The whole is made up of the parts; the parts belong to the whole." Another one of his illustrations is "general-specific" relations—"General

principles may be the origin or the guide for specific actions; general principles only can be dependably derived from specific actions."

Relative methods, which are based upon diversified circumstances—The purpose of proletarian revolution is definite, but revolutionary methods should be flexible. In other words, multiple methods are devised in light of diversified circumstances. Thus, there are expeditious ways of doing. Mao's dictum is, "It is right to fight; it is smart to compromise." Furthermore, Mao's theory of relative method can best be illustrated by his "pair system," including (1) united and divided—"United with any who is not our enemy; divided from all who are counterrevolutionary," (2) forwardness and backwardness—"When real opportunity comes, we advance; when real difficulty exists, we retreat," (3) promptness and protraction—"Go fast; hit hard while the iron is hot." "Go slowly for getting ready to take quick action," and (4) love and hatred—"Love our comrades and hate reactionaries." In summation of what Mao said, the "two" in each pair are complementary facets of the total revolution.

All the methods presented above have either a direct or indirect bearing upon the educational methods advocated by Mao.

## VII. METHODS IN EDUCATION

In relation to his philosophical concepts, educational purpose and curriculum in general, and ideologies of methods in particular, Mao asserted the following methods in education:

*Diversity*—To attain the universal ends of education, diversified means must be employed. Educational methods must be derived from real and different circumstances. A good method is one that is well-suited to the total specific and unique situation in which education is undertaken. Mao indicated that various educational methods are related to these five factors: (1) Methods serve the purpose and



are the outgrowth of it. For example, the methods for "popularization" (quantity) of education and those for "elevation" (quality) are different. (2) Methods and subject materials are intertwining; learning or teaching methods are never in any way outside of subject matters. (3) Time is the factor in the formation of method. The most effective methods are those which suit the circumstances of the present day. (4) No methods can be equally effective in different places. Mao asserted that the educational method used in city or village, farm or factory, must be different. (5) There are three categories of people: enemies, allies and comrades. Methods for teaching and dealing with each of these three are different.

*Freedom and discipline*—Mao said that within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, which is a means to an end or the cause of revolution. The usefulness of freedom must be judged against the criterion of what is good for the building of Chinese socialism. Furthermore, men are not good at birth; the development and the implementation of their rational, moral and vocational power for success is always a disciplinary process. Discipline, especially self-discipline, means working at the appropriate time by using the appropriate method in accordance with the demand for the success of the work. Hence, discipline is instrumental and, indeed, positive.

*Interest, effort and will*—Interest is the motivating force of all activities; interest, based upon the establishment of mental and emotional momentum, can be the most satisfactory beginning, the driving power of learning and working. Furthermore, according to Mao, the process of life includes both interest and effort, meaning trying hard to use physical and mental power, to accomplish tasks. The two are not opposed to each other, but are complementary. Effort is strengthened by interest in devising and using certain means in the pursuit of a desired end. The outcome of "things" is always determined by human effort. The way to make an effort is precisely by making an effort. "Do it now, seize the day and seize the hour," Mao instructed his disciples.

In addition to stimulating force or interest and strenuous actions or efforts, will power, which is derived from rational judgment, moral conviction and a deep sense of dedication, is also important. Mao believed that effort and discipline enhance the will and, thus, said: "Cultivate Communist morality, collective virtue and will power through labor."

*Individual, environment and group*—The formation of man is always under the impact of nature and society. Mao insisted that man is an integral part of nature. He especially explained that individuality does not exist and develop above social relations and cannot be isolated from social class, which forms and enhances the growth of the individual. Furthermore, the individual is not only the "product" of a social class; he should be the means for the proletariat society. The methods for the development of the individual for the state, as Mao asserted, are: (a) Socialist competition is a source of motivation and a force for promoting the work of individuals as a whole for the state. (b) Cooperation is "helping each other and working together under the leadership of a centralized authority." (c) Individuals grow, live and work through the collective process in which each individual eventually loses his identity.

*Criticism*—Criticism is dynamic and dialectic in nature; it should be a process of open discussion and genuine persuasion. Criticism is not only a useful means for problem solving, it is also an effective and "moral" system for progress in revolutionary work. Everyone can be criticized, and each can be a criticizer. The best method for criticizing is "being genuine and warm hearted to the criticized," Mao explained.

Mao developed his educational method from his experiences in war, politics and economics, as well as from his personal efforts in indoctrinating and persuading party members, soldiers, peasants and students. Among the merits of Mao's methods: (1) Many of Mao's methods are indigenous, innovative and practical, in light of the real circumstances of work and life. (2) The experience-practice centered methods are sensible and effective. Mao might have

learned this theory and practice indirectly from John Dewey; however, he recognized the credibility of "learning by doing and doing by doing" from his personal experience of doing. (3) His democratic methods described in Chapter 6 in teaching revolutionaries, especially the proletariat, are pedagogically sound. For example, he asserted that humanization must be deepened and broadened among men, meaning among his comrades who are both teachers and learners. From humanization comes intellectual inspiration and moral contagion. Through personal contact, the teacher is able to explore more fully the interest, ability and needs of his comrades. Then he will be able to suggest flexible and effective programs to be undertaken by students. (4) The "Farmward" method was strongly emphasized by Mao; students must be re-educated by the peasants, and they should learn and reinforce learning with the peasants in the countryside.

Now we will discuss the demerits of Mao's educational methods, especially those currently used by Maoist teachers:

The conditioning process—Maoists trust in external force and believe that the individual can be formed and that his mind can be cleansed or "brainwashed" in order to provide a clean and blank slate for new ideas. For example, the love of family can be transformed into the love of state or the party. However, there has been only limited success in the remolding of human beings. Repeated and forceful indoctrination have led to mental monotony and emotional strain, tension and insensitivity. Consequently, Maoist teachers may, at best, train, instruct and discipline pupils, but they may not educate the young. They do less than what should be done in inducing, leading, nurturing and developing the full potential of the students.

Neglect of the wholeness and the fullness of the students—Maoism has the tendency to neglect a pluralistic reality in preference to a monolithic reality. Maoists seem to be obsessed with a mania for truth, reality, and value in the materialistic sense. They see much of the physical side of man. We understand that individuals are something more

than a physical organism having a highly developed nervous system. The individual "whole" is more than the sum of his physiological parts. Furthermore, some Maoists consider the mind as a container to be filled with knowledge. They pay little or no attention to the inner process of the comprehensive unification of learning. They also seemingly disregard emotional conditions, such as attitudes, determination, and curiosity, which affect learning. Consequently, Maoists first attend to facts, not meaning; the details, not the over view; external reaction, not internal intuition; measurable results, not genuine interest or personal preference. As the result, the learner at times may lose a sense of prospective and perspective and neglect the development of personality.

*Collectivization*—Do we believe that man's increasing technical skill and knowledge will inexorably oblige him to move towards communal living and collectivism, as China has already experimented in her social and educational system? While cooperation is imperative, is it better to achieve human collectivization, whereby each individual loses his identity? The answer to this question requires a philosophical judgment, as well as scientific evidence explaining the real form of human desire.

The over-emphasis of socialization—Educators in a democracy who condemn the undue emphasis upon individual development in a capitalist society might say that, although Mao mentioned individual development, socialization unavoidably overshadows individualization under the Maoist system, which is an unbalanced one.

Psychological basis—Mao's methods of education are primarily based upon his own experience and the real circumstances in China; the necessary psychological and pedagogical research on students for establishing methods is lacking.

#### VIII. LEARNING AND TEACHING

Mao considered learning as both an art and a science, a humanized process which is a life-centered and life-long enterprise of different individuals within the group. The

various forms of the broad scope of learning must be inter-related. He believed that everyone can learn and needs to learn. Learning is essential to the revolution. He suggested such principles of learning as "work-study," "specific-general-specific," "part-whole-part" and "from imitation to creation." He advised learning at all times and in all places, learning about the past and present from both foreigners and Chinese, learning the acceptance of hard work and simple living of the proletariat, and learning from personal experience. Furthermore, Mao's learning theories are "work-centered," the practices are "activity-oriented," and the best method is the problematical approach to thinking.

Mao emphasized informal learning, which means learning from productive activities and class struggle. Learning which could be obtained from classroom procedure was not highly considered. While pointing out the failures of school and asserting deschooling, Mao de-emphasized the function of school, which is a definite place with facilities and could serve as a useful institution for learning.

Mao denied adult-centered, book-centered, mind-centered and past-oriented teaching and also denied the pedagogy from the United States and the USSR. He demanded "student-centered," "activity-centered," individualized and socialized patterns of teaching which are ideologically guided and must be integrated with productive labor. His fundamental concepts of teaching were the "oneness of teaching and learning" and the humanized process of art and science for the mission of revolution. The major guides included the "togetherness of teachers and students," teacher exemplification, both punishment and reward, prevention measures and "follow up." Some of the specific methods he suggested are: giving less lectures, speaking clearly and specifically, teaching by a flexible time schedule and in numerous places, and innovating better methods according to circumstances. Tests must be a process to aid teaching and learning, and no grading system is a really dependable and constructive means for the improvement of teaching and learning.

Mao unmistakably expressed that teaching should be based

upon cooperation and communication among students and teachers and that teaching is an art of cooperation and communication. Also, teaching is to establish a reciprocative atmosphere under which students and teachers work together. Teachers enable students to take part in a group through participation in the planning and execution of activities. Hence, a companionable and cooperative attitude should replace selfishness. Furthermore, Mao insisted upon his ideology and methods of work; however, he attempted to persuade his comrades to follow. He correctly stated that teaching is to appeal to people's reasoning as well as to their feeling, and it is to cultivate the student's understanding and judgment. Finally, Mao had profound experience of teaching in a broad sense. However, he gave little attention to pedagogy. Hence, his advice on teaching does not seem to be consistent. For example, he affirmed: "There must be discipline in class." While on the other hand he said: "Students may be allowed to sleep in the classroom while teachers teach."

#### IX. TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Mao was proud of being a teacher himself. Experience led him to emphasize the role of teachers in education and revolution. He viewed the teacher's role as that of the human engineer. He held a broad concept of teachers: Everyone can teach something to a certain extent in some way. One who *can* is obligated to teach. Hence, anyone who can teach one "thing" or more is a teacher; thus, all proletarians are teachers. He emphatically stated that all should teach each other. For example, officers teach soldiers, and vice versa. Above all, both old and young can and should be teachers. Mao's rationale for such a new concept of teachers does have a logic that is acceptable. Furthermore, Mao asserted a number of characteristics which every good teacher must have. Among them are being a good pupil, being humanistic and democratic, being an ideological missionary, being inspirational, and being proletariat-oriented—this means that

a teacher must be a manual worker subordinate to the proletariat and, especially, integrated in their living and working. Mao frequently mentioned that good teachers are trained. The substance of his concept of teacher training lies mainly in ideology and revolutionary morality. He rarely mentioned professional and pedagogical training which, most educators believe, is necessary for teachers. While we recognize that everyone may be able to teach and that "lay" teachers are especially needed for the popularization of education in China, we must give due attention to the capability of professionally and pedagogically trained teachers. Seemingly, Mao did not appropriately credit "lay" teachers and those who are pedagogically trained. Furthermore, Mao insisted that proletarians make better teachers because they are not only genuine, tolerant, hard working, but are also humble, transformational and creative. In addition, the proletarians have more first-hand experience in life and work, and their experiences are actual, practical and richer than those of intellectuals. As the poorest are the best learners, they are the best teachers, Mao affirmed. In conclusion, one who denies Mao's views on the virtues of the proletariat, would most likely deny his concept on "better" and "best" teachers.

Not only those who enroll in different levels of school are students; anyone who learns in some way, at any place, during anytime and to any extent, is a student. Mao said: "The whole of China is a learning institute; the enrollment should approximately be comprised of the total population."<sup>4</sup> All Chinese should continuously engage in class struggle and productive labor, as well as in studies. Mao advised students: "Go to the people; live among them; learn from them; love them; plan with them; start with what they know, build on what they have."<sup>5</sup> Mao claimed that no student should stay in school all year round; students should return to productive labor work after study. Good students should have strong bodies, clear minds, warm hearts, a strong will and a definite vision, according to Mao thought. Among the qualifications of a good student are thorough understanding and devotion to correct political ideology—Sinocized Marxism.

Furthermore, Mao insisted that revolutionary morality is indispensable. "Being a selfless self with genuine desire and effective action to serve the proletariat" is the most basic virtue of all. The best students are those from families of lower peasants, workers and soldiers. They have the cleanest minds and are most receptive to new ideology; thus, they can become the most dependable comrades in revolution.

Mao deemed it important for the party to contend that "the reactionary's children are no good." Would this be just for those children who were incidentally born with a reactionary background? Young people from proletariat families have priority to be in school; those from bourgeois families do not have the same opportunity to attend school as the proletariat. The rationale affirmed during the Cultural Revolution, for this policy seemingly is "Dragon begets a dragon; a phoenix only a phoenix; those begotten by rats are good only at digging holes." Is this scientifically valid? Maoists argue that giving no educational opportunity to children with a reactionary background is a punishment to the reactionary who had long exploited the proletariat. How much should the children share the "punishment" which should be given to their parents? They have also stated that children from bourgeois families have "wrong" minds and "bad" habits which are contagious. In order to safeguard the minds and habits of proletariat children, bourgeois children should not be allowed in school. Is this a sound policy?

#### X. POSITIVE PHASES AND PROBLEM AREAS

The educational revolution in China under Maoism has been the most sweeping, profuse, profound and ambitious enterprise in Chinese history. Mao's educational ideas have not only been studied but also implemented. In this conclusion, we may list some of the positive phases: Educational enterprise contains both formal schooling and informal activities; it is a vital force in the evolution of civilization, and education must be viewed as the process of change of human minds and behaviors.

The change must be directed toward building a new China, the new Chinese and a new world. China has become a world power. Among the evidences of national progress are well-established programs in economics, as well as in education. Some positive transformations of the young people are obvious. They exhibit strong motives and high morality. They, in light of their social consciousness, work and study, seemingly not for self-gain, but in order to serve the people and the nation. Students are highly mobilized, well organized and disciplined, and many of them do have a sense of purpose, dignity, self-confidence and self-discipline.

All changes through education must be proletariat-centered. Changes are by, for, and of the proletariat. The task of education is to transform the bourgeois and intellectual minds and behaviors to that of the proletariat. Education has effectively raised the status of the proletariat and lowered that of the bourgeoisie. The extension of educational opportunity has been noticeable. Schooling is more available to peasants and workers. The nation no longer suffers from the evils of illiteracy. The various forms of adult education, spare-time education, and large scale "social education" have been helpful in extending instruction to the total population. The broad scope of the curriculum is instrumental and utilitarian. The real circumstances of proletariat life are the core of the curriculum. The variety of experimental programs is adapted to local conditions.

The oneness or togetherness of school and society is an accomplishment. In general, the whole society teaches; society is a school, and the school is a community. The village is school-centered, and the school is village-based. The school is the agency of social change; society is the laboratory and origin of school programs. Teachers are the leaders or pioneers of social construction, and peasants are the supporters and masters of the school. Walls which separated school from society have been torn down. Furthermore, schools, other forms of education agencies, and different social organizations effectively cooperate, closely coordinate and totally integrate. Party apparatus, governmental agencies,

farms, factories and stores always share education activities with school, or work independently in education.

Mao's methods in administration, curricula, teaching and learning are derived from actual circumstances at respective times and places. The democratic methods used to teach the people, the persuasion, the socialization, and the "farm-ward" movement have all been fruitful. Mao's theory of the "activity-centered" method has been implemented in all walks of life in China.

One of Mao's doctrines in education is adaptation to specific actual circumstances of the life and work of the people. Under uniform ideology, there are different practices in different times and places. For example, there are numerous forms of village schools, part-time schools, short-term schools, and locally improvised study groups.

Mao intended to eliminate the differences between rural and urban schools; to give equal educational opportunity to men and women, to officers and to the rank and file; to give equal status to mental and manual work, to vocational and intellectual learning, to formal schooling and self-study.

Education is a total enterprise, meaning that all persons, male or female, young or old, in all places, throughout life, in school or out of school, should learn from all forms of life and work, mental or physical, by utilizing all kinds of methods, mechanical or human.

As the positive phases of Mao's theories and practices in education have been listed, we now set forth some of the problems. First Mao made frequent comments on the broad scope of education, along with war, politics and economics. However, he did not establish a complete system of a philosophy of education. What he explained are not sufficient guides for the nation's education. Furthermore, we find his remarks inconsistent. At times, he indicted the study of theories, but, at other times, encouraged students to study them.

Second, the following practices might well be questioned:

Party control of education, especially at the lower level of party leaders.

The overly-emphasized collectivization in learning and teaching.

Remolding or forming students who lose their individuality.

Less educational opportunity given to those students with bourgeois or reactionary backgrounds.

Educational decisions which are based upon ideology primarily, and not psychological research on children.

Pedagogical training of teachers, which does not receive appropriate attention.

The authoritarian methods which are used in dealing with the reactionary, even after the success of the revolution.

Third, there are necessary adjustments to be made concerning education under Maoism: Ideological, academic and technological study—How much time should students use for academic and technological study, and how much time should students devote to ideological study? The times cannot be distant when the Chinese must give a definite answer to the question.

Popularization and elevation of education—A great number of Chinese have free access to education. The progress of "quantity" has led to the demand of "quality," or higher standards of learning. New questions are raised: Does a proletarian society need leaders of broad understanding, far vision and specific and profound knowledge? If so, would the methods of mass-oriented education be sufficient? Would systematic study or regularized curriculum be necessary?

Human labor and machine efficiency—It is desirable to trust human labor or man power as Mao did, but an equal or appropriate emphasis upon both human efforts and machine efficiency is advisable. It is naive to overestimate the significance of human labor and underestimate mechanical efficiency, as some Maoists have done.

Study and activities—Students should perform both school study and out-of-school activities (productive labor and class struggle). Which should take precedence? There are times when the latter has become the central task. Regulatory measures regarding this issue seem necessary. Specifically,

how much time should be allotted to labor production and to participation in revolutionary activities inside and outside the school?

Intellectual-worker and worker-intellectual—According to Maoism, a cultured, socialist-minded man is able to undertake both mental and manual work, and he should be both a worker-intellectual and an intellectual-worker. Who is most suitable to be an intellectual-worker or a worker-intellectual?

Formal and informal learning—Is formal learning in school, or informal learning in activities, first and more important? What is the appropriate emphasis to be given to each of the two?

Theory and practice—Theory and practice or knowledge and experience—both are important. Which is first and more important for which persons doing what work?

Opening the minds of the young—Students are disciplined and mobilized. For a better civilization, advancement and a greater new China, the minds of the young should be open. Do the young have such an opportunity? If so, how great an opportunity?

#### AFTERWORDS

Chairman Mao died on September 9, 1976, in Peking, as a result of the advancement of his illness. His death may even reinforce the power of his thought in China. Chinese education undoubtedly will continue to be guided by the doctrines he pronounced. Now might well be the time to attempt to place his mind and work in education in perspective. Hopefully this book will help.

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