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Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the largest Communist Party in the world and the ruler of over seven hundred million people on the Asian mainland, is no doubt one of the most controversial figures in China's history. On the one hand, he is hailed as "The Great Leader, Great Teacher, Great Supreme Commander, and Great Helmsman" of the Chinese nation.[1] On the other hand, he is regarded as treacherous, traitorous and "the villian of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, who tries to destroy the ethical, moral and historical foundations of China's 5000 years of old civilization."[2] What sort of person is Mao Tse-tung from the standpoint of Chinese tradition? Is he a paragon of Chinese virtues or thoroughly unchinese in his thinking and action? The purpose of this paper is to attempt to seek a partial answer to these questions by suggesting a framework for comparison of Mao's patterns of thought and those believed to be generally held by the Chinese people throughout the ages before the Communist conquest of the mainland.

China is an old and complex society. Mao Tse-tung is a complex personality. It is difficult to make generalizations on the values cherished by Mao and those by traditional Chinese society. It is perhaps even more difficult to compare them in a meaningful way. However, at the risk of oversimplification, four generalizations can be tentatively made. Firstly, Mao, being a Marxist and a revolutionary who has vowed to change China, is bound to entertain ideas which clash with the dominant values of Chinese traditional society. Secondly, since Mao is Chinese, received his education in China and has lived almost all his life in China, his ideas and patterns of thought would naturally be influenced by some, if not many, Chinese traditional values. Thirdly, Mao has exalted certain lesser traditional values or values formerly shared by a minority in traditional China to the status of important values, which he hopes all China will accept today. Fourthly, certain traditional values rejected by Mao nevertheless have reasserted themselves in contemporary China and even in Mao's own thinking and practice, albeit in a different form. The following is a brief explanation of these four generalizations.

I. *Dominant Traditional Values Rejected by Mao*

Two dominant traditional values which seem to have been clearly rejected by Mao are conservatism and passivism. Traditional Chinese society was essentially conservative and somewhat passive in nature, while Mao is radical in his thinking and an activist.

Conservatism. — The conservative nature of the Chinese traditional society was largely due to the teachings of Confucius, its agricultural economy, and centuries of isolation from the rest of the world.[3] For over two thousand years, the country was governed by

the gentry class composed of scholars, bureaucrats and landowners. The peasants who constituted the largest percentage of the population had little or no voice in government. Both the gentry and the peasants were indoctrinated with Confucian ethics which praised the ways of the ancients and stressed loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, faithfulness, moderation, propriety, honesty, integrity, peace and harmony, as virtues to be followed. On most occasions, these ethical or moral values tended to favor the status quo and to support the existing authority. The teachings of other major schools of thought, such as the Taoist emphasis on non-action, the Legalist advocacy of respect for law and authority, and the Buddhist concept of the Void, also tended to perform the same function.

The Chinese farmers, like farmers in other parts of the world, were usually conservative in their temperament. They worked hard in the field, had little time to think, and when the harvest was completed and taxes were paid, they wanted to be left alone, to relax and enjoy life with what they had earned. For thousands of years, little was changed in their way of living. Occasionally rebellions occured among the peasants due to famine or oppressive rule by the government. Some rebellions succeeded in changing the government (or dynasties), but seldom changed the fundamental social order; that is, rule by the gentry in accordance with the Confucian ethics. It has been the alleged aim of Mao Tse-tung to turn this traditional society upside down[4] that is, to replace what he termed the feudalistic rule with the rule by the proletariat comprised of the workers and peasants.

Mao Tse-tung, however, was not the first one who tried to change traditional China. In the last three centuries, while the West made tremendous advances in science, technology and industry and in improving its social, economic, and political systems, China, under the rule of Manchu Dynasty remained static and stagnant. The western impact on China since the Opium War of 1839-42 made many Chinese realize that she must change in order to catch up with the rest of the world. Mao was born on December 26, 1893. Even before his birth, attempts had been made by Chinese leaders to change China. Among these attempts were the movement to learn western science and technology led by Tso Tsung-T'ang and Chang Chi-tung, and the Taiping Rebellion of 1851-65 led by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan. During Mao's childhood, there were the Constitutional Reform in 1898 led by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 and the Revolution of 1911, which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and for the first time in China's history established a Republic. The Founder of the Republic, Dr. Sun Yet-sen and his successor Chiang Kai-shek strove to implement the former's program, the Three Principles of the People; i.e., the Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood, the last of which stressed land reform and the promotion of a mixed economy for China. But the Republic was beset by civil wars and foreign aggression. To Mao Tse-tung and his fellow leftists, Sun's program is inadequate to solve China's problems.[5] They are more inspired by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and obviously feel that since China has to borrow ideas from the West, she might as well borrow the newest and most effective, which, in their opinion, means Communism.

Mao's thoughts incorporated Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical basis for solving China's problems and are different from the Chinese tradition in many respects. For example, Chinese tradition in general respects private property; Mao advocates public ownership of property. Chinese tradition values moderation and harmony as the mode of living; Mao advocates class struggle. In traditional China, family ties were generally very close; Mao denounces familism and advocates loyalty to the Party and to the Socialist State. Many Chinese believe in religion; Mao is an atheist, regarding religion as superstition. In sum, a traditional Chinese usually likes to preserve what he has. Mao wants to change, and to change in a drastic way.

Passivism. – There is a Chinese adage which says: "Ta shih hua hsia shih; hsiao shih hua wu shih." It means that major controversies should be reduced to minor controversies and that minor controversies should be reduced to no controversy at all. In other words, in traditional China, people were somewhat passive in their conduct. They tended to choose tolerance, procrastination, or inaction as means of dealing with problems. Mao Tse-tung is different; an activist, he prefers action. He not only chooses to face problems and tries to solve them, he also loves to create problems. The struggle he and his followers waged to seize power in China is legend. Since the Communist conquest of the Chinese Mainland in 1949, he has carried on a seemingly endless series of mass campaigns, reforms, movements and revolutions all in a short span of eighteen years.

First, he undertook the Land Reform Campaign (October, 1950 – December, 1952). In this campaign, his government reclassified the people in China into two groups: the people and the enemies of the people. To the former group belonged the Communists and their allies, the poor and middle peasants, the workers and the national capitalists. The latter group included the rich landlords, the Kuomintang agents and other reactionaries opposed to the Communist cause; they were liquidated by the millions. The land owned by the landlords was confiscated and redistributed among the poor peasants. The new landowners were asked to join the cooperatives or collectives.

In addition to the Land Reform Campaign, four other campaigns were launched in the first three years of the People's Republic of China led by Mao. They were the Resist America Assist Korea Campaign (October, 1950 – July, 1953), Suppress Reactionary Campaign (July, 1950 – July, 1952), Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaign[6] (January, 1952 – October, 1952), and the Thought Reform Campaign (1949 –).

Beginning in 1953, the attention of the Peking Government was shifted to the Three Great Reforms; i.e., the Agricultural Reform, Handicraft Industry Reform, and Commercial and Industrial Reform, all aimed at increasing production and transforming individual ownership to collective ownership. In 1958, Mao surprised the whole world by launching the "Great Leap Forward" and the Commune system. With regard to the former, he expected the Chinese people to make great leaps in the following ten areas: publicity, production, training of labor, self-reform, cultural reform, science and technology, sanitation and athletics, military training, public administration and public safety measures, and peaceful preparation for war.

The Communes, which spread rapidly in rural areas and somewhat haltingly in the

cities, were intended to militarize the social, economic, cultural and political life of the people. In the early stage of the Commune system, men and women were required to lodge in separate barracks, children in nurseries or schools, the aged in "Happy Homes." Mess halls took the place of private kitchens. In this process one hundred million women were reported to have been liberated from their homes to be able to work in the Communes. There were frequent military drills. Within the Communes, there were Production Brigades which were subdivided into Production Teams.[7] Individual ownership was to a large extent further socialized and made into Commune ownership. The Communes, by replacing the townships as administrative units, are supposed to achieve the "withering away of the state" at the local level.

The generally acknowledged failures of the Great Leap Forward and the Commune system prompted Mao to initiate in May, 1963, the Three Great Revolutions (Class Struggle, Production Revolution and Scientific Experimentation) and in September, 1963, the Four Purifications Movement (to purify politics, economics, organization and thought). The latter movement led to the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution – which began in November, 1965, gathered full force in 1967 and is still raging today. The avowed aim of the Cultural Revolution is to eradicate the Four Olds (Old Idea, Old Culture, Old Custom and Old Habit) and to defeat the imperialists, the revisionists and those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.[8]

It could be questioned whether all these mass campaigns, reforms, movements and revolutions were carefully thought out by Mao and whether they have succeeded in achieving their objectives. One conclusion however can be reached. It is that they are all somewhat drastically different from the Chinese traditional standpoint and that they were initiated either by Mao himself or with his active participation.

II. *Traditional Values Which Influenced Mao*

The above brief survey of Mao's ideas and activities tends to show that he personifies the very antithesis of China's tradition. But a close examination of Mao's writings, speeches and personal conduct may show that he is by no means opposed to all traditional values. According to Jerome Ch'ên, a biographer of Mao Tse-tung, Mao was in his youth under the influence of the patriotic and pragmatic school of Wang Fu-chi (1619-1692).[9] Ch'ên finds that Mao often quotes from the Confucian classics such as The Book of Rites, The Analects, The Golden Mean, and Mencius, from the Taoist tracts such as the Tao-Te Ching and Lieh-Tzu, and frequently from the great work on strategy, Sun Tzu. Mao reads extensively Chinese history, is well versed in the essays of Han Yu and Liu Tsung-yuan of the Tang Dynasty, writes romantic poems in Chinese classical style, and refers often to popular Chinese novels, such as the Water Margin, the Monkey, The Red Chamber Dream and The Romance of the Three Kingdoms. In Ch'ên's opinion, these books could hardly have failed to affect Mao's thinking. It is believed that from these books Mao acquired his knowledge of peasant revolts, the ideals of leadership and his concept of friendship.[10] Ch'ên pointed out that the last of these might have accounted for Mao's treatment of opponents in the CCP. In the various rectification campaigns and

power struggles within the CCP, Mao's opponents who had been his old comrades might lose their party membership or official positions. They were seldom subject to bloody purges like those used by Stalin in Soviet Russia.

Idealism and Realism. – In Mao's Selected Works, he emphasized the importance of human will, plain living, hard struggle, education, wisdom, courage, initiative, modesty, prudence, self-reliance, selflessness and one's willingness to sacrifice for the whole or for a higher cause. All these are traditional Chinese values. They are exalted by Mao in the context that they are helpful to the proletariat revolution. For example, Norman Bethune, a Canadian doctor who died in China while working for the Communist cause in the 1930's, was immortalized by Mao, who wrote:

> Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him . . . We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people . . .[11]

A Chinese folk tale, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" became the title of one of Mao's popular articles to illustrate the triumph of sheer human will or determination over insurmountable odds. He wrote:

> There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of Northern Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this. It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons and then their sons and grandsons and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism; the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly and we too will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?[12]

Here Mao is no different from many traditionalists who are believers of the Chinese proverb, "Yu chih tse shih chin chen," meaning "Those who have the will will succeed in their undertaking." In this regard, Mao seems to possess a trait which is not uncommon

among many traditional Chinese, optimism or faith in the ultimate triumph of one's cause. He seems to believe sincerely that the Socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system and that "no matter how much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph".[13]

On the other hand, Mao is not unmindful of realities. On many occasions he can be practical just as many traditional Chinese are practical. For instance, he often accepts "twists and turns" or zig-zag evolution as inevitable in the course of revolution. Mao views the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism as having two outstanding characteristics:

> One is its class nature; it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality; it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, and emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.[14]

He believes that all work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well intentioned. The following is advice he gave to his comrades:

> It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses.[15]

In his opinion correct ideas come only from social practice, especially three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific experiment. It is interesting to note that two out of these three social practices, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, are universally advocated by all level-headed Chinese and all nations in the world. One does not have to be a Communist in order to be conviced of their merits.

In foreign policy, Mao vociferously denounced American imperialism and called the United States a paper tiger. Yet he is quite cautious in his action, trying to avoid a direct confrontation with the United States. The fact is that he only regards imperialism and all reactionaries as paper tigers from a strategic point of view. From the tactical standpoint, he feels that they are also "living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people."[16] In a speech given at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow on November 18, 1957, he said:

> Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with

respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question.[17]

He warned his followers against one-sideness in thinking or thinking in terms of absolutes. In his article entitled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", he wrote:

We must learn to look at problems all sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing could lead to good results and a good thing to bad results.[18]

He divides contradictions into two kinds: antagonistic and non-antagonistic. The former is the contradiction between the people and the enemy of the people which, in his opinion, has to be resolved by violence. The latter is the contradiction among the people or Communists themselves, or between the people and the Communists, which can be solved by discussion, education, persuasion, or criticism and self-criticism. The policy of benevolence can be applied to non-antagonistic contradictions but not to antagonistic contradictions.[19]

III. *Lesser Traditional Values Exalted by Mao*

Militarism. – Mao's advocacy of the use of violence to resolve antagonistic contradictions reflects perhaps the most controversial aspect of his political realism. Although the use of force as a means to seize political power or to solve political disputes was not uncommon in China's history, it was usually considered as bad practice and condoned only in times of crisis or unbearably oppressive government. The country as a rule was governed by scholar-bureaucrats, and not by generals. Soldiers often occupied the lowest rank in the society. As the saying goes, "Good men shall not become soldiers as good iron shall not be made into nails." Although there were military heroes in China, such as Kuan Kung and Yo Fei, who were admired and worshipped by the people, well known warriors were comparatively rare compared with a long list of civilian leaders and famous literati.

In Communist China today, this lesser tradition of militarism is exalted by Mao Tse-tung and raised to a prominent status hitherto unknown in China. Mao is fully convinced that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." In his view, politics and war are intertwined, as he says, "Politics is war without bloodshed; war is politics with bloodshed."[20] In his Report on An Investigation of Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927), he described the sanguine nature of revolution:

A revolution is not a dinner party or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.[21]

In an article on "Problems of War and Strategy" (1938) he defended his reliance on war by saying:

> Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war". Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good not bad, it is Marxist.[22]

He considers all revolutionary wars as just wars which should be fought with vigor, and all counter-revolutionary wars as unjust wars which should be condemned. On other occasions, he expresses his abhorence to war but he feels that war can only be abolished through war and "in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun."[23]

The importance he attaches to war can be further detected in his well known teachings in the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare and the wars of national liberation, by which he hopes that the Communists will be able to conquer the rural areas of the world (the underdeveloped nations) and then use these areas as revolutionary bases to encircle and strangle the cities (the western democracies, especially the United States).[24]

To seize and maintain power in China, he relies heavily on the People's Liberation Army which he considers as the chief component of the States' power. Among the Chinese people, a vast educational campaign has been launched to change their attitude toward the soldiers – from fearing the soldiers to loving them, from regarding the soldiers as the most terrible people to regarding them as the most beloved people, from fearing and refusing to serve in the Army to taking the lead in joining it, and from the idea that "good men never becomes soldiers" to "good men must become soldiers."[25] In the present Cultural Revolution in China, the PLA is regarded as one of the Three Pillars of the Great Alliance (the other two being the Revolutionary Workers and the Masses) and in fact it has become the only stabilizing force in China.

Democracy. – Another traditional value which was less significant in old China and which Mao seems to have great success in exploiting is the concept of democracy. Since ancient times, the Chinese scholars often paid lip service to the importance of people. They believed that the government should be for the welfare of the people, although they did not expect that the people should participate in the decision-making process. Mencius once said: "The people are the most precious; next the State; and the ruler is the least important." He advocated that the ruler should pay attention to public opinion. But that was as far as he went to promote democracy. Mao Tse-tung seems to have caught and gone beyond this traditional spirit by his advocating the famous "mass line." Perhaps more than Mencius and any other Chinese leader in history, Mao is able to realize and mobilize the tremendous potential of the power and wisdom of the people. He believes that the people and people alone are the motivating force in the making of world history. "They have boundless creative power" and he asks his followers to learn from them and to act according to their wishes. The principle of democratic centralism is said to be essentially a principle of "government from the masses and to the masses." While the role of leadership is retained by the Communist elite with Mao at the apex, the Chinese people, either willingly or unwillingly, have become highly politicized in the eighteen

years of rule by the Communist Party and are participating in the political process on a scale which is unprecedented in Chinese history. In the cities and throughout the countryside, people by the millions study Mao's books, attend meetings, hold rallies, read and write wall posters and vote in elections. The genuineness and effectiveness of these activities may be questioned by the standards of western democracy. Nevertheless, they produce a political atmosphere in China which would appear very strange to any ancient Chinese sage if he lived again today.

IV. *The Resurgence of Traditional Values Rejected by Mao*

Despite Mao's ambitious effort to rid China of old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits, some old values still seem to exist in China. The Chinese people on the mainland, like their forefathers and the people in the other parts of the world today, want to live a good life. And they have their own ideas of what constitutes a good life. Workers in the factories demand higher wages. Farmers want to keep more what they produce. Scholars like to write what they see and feel, not purely from a Marxist view point. Obviously some of these ideas have run afoul of Mao's teachings. Even his old time comrades such as Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiu-ping and Peng Te-huai, choose to disagree with him and became the targets of attack by the Red Guards in the present Cultural Revolution. They are accused of being revisionists or of having taken the capitalist road.[26] Among the people in China, there is no doubt a strong undercurrent which demands more freedom from regimentation and more rights to live one's own life. During a three year period from 1961 to 1964, three Chinese writers, Wu Han, Teng To and Miao Ma-sa, published in a Communist magazine and paper in Peking, over two hundred articles under the general titles, "The Three Family Village" and "Evening Conversations at Yen Mountain." They advocated for China a more benevolent government.[27] In these articles Mao Tse-tung was covertly and subtly criticized for being egoistic and despotic.

Conformism and Egoism. – It can perhaps be said that all great men in the world have streams of egoism in their veins, otherwise they may not have become great. Although Mao has denounced egoism as bad for any man, he himself seems to have been hopelessly seized with it. Mao's egoism can be traced at least in two ways: his nonconformism and the personality cult he created for himself in recent years.

Mao always prides himself on being a rebel. When he was a boy, he rebelled against his father. When he was in school, he rebelled against his teacher. In his adulthood, he rebelled against the government. In recent years, as leader of the Chinese People's Republic, he has led his people to rebel against the West, including the Soviet Union. In the current Cultural Revolutions, he even rebels against his own party which he largely created. Being a rebel, he is known to have been opposed to many social ideas and practices, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, liberalism, economism, rightist opportunism, leftist adventurism, subjectivism, dogmatism, empiricism, sectarianism, commandism, tailism, mountaintopism, and above all revisionism and imperialism. Most of these "isms" obviously are still prevalent in China today.

In addition to being a non-conformist, Mao also has a grandiose image of himself. This is reflected in one of his famous poems, entitled "Snow," which he wrote in 1945, in appreciation of the magnificent winter scenery near the Great Wall in Northern China. The second stanza reads:

Such is the beauty of these mountains and rivers
That has been admired by unnumbered heroes —
That Great Emperors of Ch'in and Han
Lacking literary brilliance,
Those of Tang and Sung
Having but a few romantic inclinations,
And the Prodigious Genghis Khan
Knowing only how to bend his bow
and shoot at vultures.
All are past and gone!
For men of vision
We must seek among the present generation.[28]

This poem has often been interpreted by his opposition to imply that Mao believes that he is really superior to and stands above all the great Emperors and heroes of China. In old China, youngsters were required to study the Four Books and Five Classics in order to get ahead in life; today they are required to study the *Quotations from Chairman Mao.* Everywhere in China, one may find Chairman Mao's busts and Chairman Mao's pictures. Great rallies are held to praise Chairman Mao and declare allegiance to him. In the streets one sees big posters bearing the following exhortations by Lin Piao, China's Defense Minister and Mao's possible successor:

STUDY CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS, FOLLOW HIS TEACHINGS
AND ACT ACCORDING TO HIS INSTRUCTION.

The following is a typical message sent to Mao from one of the many rebel groups in response to his call for the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution:

Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao: It is hard for us even in thousand words to describe our present feelings of elation. We are resolved forever to study your writings, follow your teachings and act according to your instruction. We are resolved to follow you and advance in the teeth of the great storms and waves and temper ourselves into red rebel newspaper militants who will be forever loyal to the Party, the people and to you.
Sincerely wishing you a long-long life.

Wenhui Bao and Jeifang Ribao
January 9, 1967.[29]

One of the reportedly best loved Chinese revolutionary songs in praise of Chairman Mao is entitled "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman." A literal translation of this song

runs like this:

Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman,
All living things depend on the sun for their growth,
Moistened by rain and dew, young crops grow strong,
Making revolution depends on the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Fish can't live without water,
Melons can't thrive off their vine,
The revolutionary masses cannot do without the Communist Party,
Mao Tse-tung's thought is the never-setting sun.[30]

China today is said to have become one large school of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.[31] It is perhaps an irony of history that Mao, a nonconformist in thinking and action, is now asking 700 million people of China to conform to his own thoughts. If conformity has been a part of Chinese tradition, Mao seems to have abetted it, instead of eliminating it.

[1] See page 3 of *Peking Review,* No.38 (September 16, 1966) and subsequent issues.

[2] President Chiang Kai-shek's New Year Day Message, January 1, 1968, *Free China Weekly,* Vol. VII, No. 20 (January 7, 1968), p.2.

[3] For a succinct and pointed survey of Chinese traditional values, see Derk Bodde, *China's Cultural Tradition, What and Whither?* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1957).

[4] A Chinese expression for this is "Chun jen fang shen".

[5] Mao Tse-tung considered Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People a minimum program for China in the stage of her revolution before 1949. See Shao Chuan Leng and Norman D. Palmer, *Sun Yat-sen and Communism* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p.111.

[6] The Three-Anti Campaign was a nationwide drive against corruption, waste and bureaucracy. The Five-Anti Campaign was another nationwide drive, principally against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of government property, and theft of state economic secrets.

[7] In the early stage of the Rural Communes, the Peking Government established about 26,000 Communes, which were subdivided into 500,000 Production Brigades, which were in turn divided into 3,000,000 Production Teams. Each Production Team was composed of about 40 households. In 1966, the Communes, Production Brigades and Production Teams were all reduced in size and consequently their numbers increased. It is reported that in that year, there were 74,000 Rural Communes, 700,000 Production Brigades, and 5,000,000 Production Teams, each Team composed of 10 to 20 households. Commune ownership and control of the means of production were somewhat decentralized. In some areas, decision-making was left to the Production Brigades or Production Teams. The Urban Communes did not proceed as rapidly as the Rural Communes. In July, 1960 there were 1064 Urban Communes having as members 55,500,000 people. See *1967 Yearbook on Chinese Communism, A Summary of Chinese Communist Situation from 1949 to 1966* (Taipei: Institute for the Study of Chinese *Communist Problems,* 1967), pp. 1010-43.

[8] For an interesting analysis of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, see *ibid.*, pp. 235-65. Cf. Asia Research Center, *The Great Cultural Revolution in China* (Hong Kong, 1967).

[9] Jerome Ch'en, *Mao and The Chinese Revolution* (New York: Oxford University, 1967), p.12.

[10] *Ibid.*, p.13.

[11] *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 171. For the full text of Mao's statement on Bethune, see *Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works,* Vol. 3 (New York: International Publishers, 1955), pp. 104-105.

[12] *Quotations from Chairman Mao,* pp. 201-202.

[13] Mao's speech at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (November 6, 1957), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 24.

[14] Mao's article, "On Practice" (July, 1937), quoted in *ibid.*, p.205.

[15] Mao's speech, "The United Front in Cultural Work" delivered at a Conference of Cultural and Educational Workers in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region on October 30, 1944, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 124-25. Cf. *Selected Works,* Vol. 4 (New York: International Publishers, 1956), p. 226.

[16] Speech at the Wuchang Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, (December 1, 1958), quoted in *Quotations from Chairman Mao,* p. 74.

[17] Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (November 13, 1957), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 79.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

[19] An editorial in *Jen Min Jih Pao* (The People's Daily), June 4, 1966, quoted Mao saying: "We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people . . . " Asia Research Center, *op.cit.,* p. 275.

[20] *Quotations from Chairman Mao,* p. 59.

[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 11-12.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Mao Tse-tung, "Problem of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," *Peking Review,* No. 35 (August 27, 1965), pp. 6-22; Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory of People's War," *Peking Review,* No. 36 (September 3, 1965), pp. 9-30.

[25] In a report made at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, entitled "On Coalition Government", Mao advocated the organization of people into fighting units, the reform of conscription system, improvement of the living conditions of officers and men, and taking good care of the families of soldiers serving in the war against the Japanese invaders at that time (June, 1945). *Selected Works,* Vol. 4 (New York: International Publishers, 1956), pp. 279-80.

[26] For a summary of the disagreements between Mao and Liu, see Wan Ta-hung, "The Mao-Lin Group's Anti-Liu Offensive," *Chinese Communist Affairs,* Vol. 4, No. 4 (August, 1967), pp. 9-20; and Wang Chang-ling, "Overt and Covert Struggles between Mao and Liu over Literature and Art," *Issues and Studies,* Vol. IV, No. 3 (December, 1967), pp. 1-11.

[27] For a summary of "The Three Family Village" episode, see the *1967 Yearbook on Chinese Communism.* pp. 331-41.

[28] Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 340. Cf. Stuart Schram, *Mao Tse-tung* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1966), p. 195.

[29] Reported in *Peking Review*, No. 4 (January 20, 1967).

[30] *Peking Review*, No. 1 (January 3, 1968), p.25

[31] The Editorial of *Jen Min Jih Pao*, August 1, 1966.