

Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE)

Key Learning Area: NSS History (Compulsory Part)

TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINA:

MODERNIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION

CDI020081438 (8 June-8 July 2009)

Alfred H.Y. Lin (Ph.D.)

Honorary Associate Professor, School of Humanities (History), HKU

Lecture 6

**From the “Struggle between Two Lines” to
the “Cultural Revolution”: China’s Efforts and Setbacks in
its Quest for Modernization in the 1960s and 1970s**

**1. Origins of the “struggle between two lines” 「兩條路線的鬥爭」: formulation
of the so-called “Liu Shaoqi line” 「劉少奇路線」 (1961-1962)**

**1.1 Policies formulated according to the “eight-character principle” of “readjustment,
consolidation, filling out and raising standards”**

- Financial retrenchment: reducing state investment in capital construction
1960: 38.9 billion *yuan* investment; 8 billion *yuan* deficit
1961: 7.1 billion *yuan* investment; 1 billion *yuan* surplus
- Promotion of industry:
Closing down sub-standard enterprises (25,000 in 1961 and 18,000 in 1962)
and resettling urban workers in the countryside (10 million in 1961 and 20
million in 1962)
Stressing material incentives, the role of experts, and quality in production

- Promotion of agriculture:
 - Raising rural consumption standards
 - Achieving sustained growth in agriculture through “de-collectivization”:
 1. Reducing the size of the communes
 - December 1958: 24,000 communes (5,000 households per commune)
 - 1964: 74,000 communes (1,620 households per commune)
 2. Affirming the three-level system of ownership, with the production team as the basic accounting unit
 3. Implementing the policy of the “fixing of output quotas based on the individual household” (*baochan daohu* 「包產到戶」)
 4. Implementing the policy of the “extension of plots for private use” (*ziliu yudi* 「自留餘地」)
 5. Implementing the policy of the “extension of free markets (trade fairs)” (*ziyou shichang* 「自由市場」)
 6. Implementing the policy of “the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses (*zifu yingkuai* 「自負盈虧」)
 - [#3-6 collectively referred to as “three selfs and one contract” (*sanzi yibao* 「三自一包」)
- Raising of educational standards: emphasizing regular, full-time education and “key” schools 「重點」學校
- Rectification of the lopsided emphasis on “redness” 「紅」 at the expense of “expertise” 「專」: emphasizing the role of professionals
 - Rise of criticisms among Party intellectual in the early 1960s: Deng Tuo 鄧拓; Wu Han 吳晗; Liao Moshan 廖沫沙; “Notes from a Three-Family Village” 〈三家村札記〉, *Frontline* 《前線》
 - Appearance of “middle characters” 「中間人物」 in post-Leap novels

1.2 Political struggles in the course of formulating “readjustment” policies

- January 1961: 9th Plenum of the 8th CCPCC 中共八屆九中全會
 - Party Center endorsed “eight-character principle”
 - Mao: “make 1961 a year of seeking truth from facts” 「搞一個實事求是年」
- May-September 1961: Party Center passed “readjustment” policies

“60 Articles on People’s Communes” 《人民公社 60 條》

“40 Articles on Commerce” 《商業 40 條》

“35 Articles on Handicraft Industry” 《手工業 35 條》

“18 Articles on Forestry” 《林業 18 條》

“14 Articles on Science” 《科研 14 條》

“8 Articles on Literature and Art” 《文藝 8 條》

“70 Articles on Industry” 《工業 70 條》

“60 Articles on Higher Education” 《高教 30 條》

- January-February 1962: Enlarged Work Conference of the CCPCC 中共中央擴大工作會議 (The 7,000-Person Conference 七千人大會): views articulated by Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, and Lin Biao
- Late February 1962: Enlarged Meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee 中央政治局常委擴大會議 (Meeting in the West Building at Zhongnanhai 西樓會議): Liu and Deng endorsed the “responsibility system in agriculture” 農業生產責任制
- August 1962: Beidaihe Work Conference 北戴河工作會議
Mao criticized the “responsibility system in agriculture”; raised three questions concerning (1) classes, (2) the general situation, (3) contradictions; pointed to the continued existence of class contradictions; equated “Right opportunism” 「右傾機會主義」 with “revisionism” 「修正主義」
- September 1962: 10th Plenum of the 8th CCPCC 中共八屆十中全會
Mao: “Never forget class struggle” 「不要忘記階級鬥爭」; “It is imperative to talk about class struggle every year, every month, and every day” 「階級鬥爭必須年年講，月月講，天天講」
Existence of “small producers’ spontaneous capitalist tendencies” 「小生產的自發資本主義傾向」
Criticized three foul “winds”:
 1. The “wind of seeing the current situation as entirely dark” 「黑暗風」 (“Right deviations” 「右傾」)

2. The “wind of practicing individual farming” 「單幹風」 (“taking the capitalist road” 「走資本主義道路」)
3. The “wind of calling for the reversal of previous verdicts” 「翻案風」 (“class struggle in the ideological sphere” 「意識形態方面的階級鬥爭」)

2. Mao Zedong’s Strategic Dispositions and the Widening of Schisms within the Party (1963-1965)

2.1 Strategic disposition I: launching the Socialist Education Movement 社會主義教育運動 (also called the “Four Clean-Ups Movement” 「四清運動」)

- Late 1962-early 1963: experiments in rural rectification
“checking up of accounts, warehouses, property and workpoints” 「清帳目、清倉庫、清財物、清工分」
- May 1963: Mao Zedong issued “The Draft Decision of the CCPCC on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work” 《中共中央關於目前農村工作中若干問題的決定(草案)》 (“Former Ten-Point Decision” 《前十條》)
- September 1963: Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen issued “The Draft Regulations on Some Specific Policies in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas” 《中共中央關於農村社會主義教育運動中一些具體政策的規定(草案)》 (“Later Ten-Point Decision” 《後十條(草案)》)
- May-June 1964: Mao pointed to the existence of “revisionism” in China: “leadership in roughly one-third of the grassroots units in the country is not in our hands” 「全國基層有三份之一的權力不在我們手裡。」
- September 1964: Liu Shaoqi issued “Revised Later Ten-Point Decision” 《後十條(修正草案)》
- December 1964: Mao put forward the concept of a “bureaucratic class” 「官僚主義者階級」 and “leaders taking the capitalist road” 「走資本主義道路的領導人」
- January 1965: Mao issued “Some Current Questions Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas” 《農村社會主義教育運動中目前

題出的一些問題》(“23-Point Document”《二十三條》)

- “Four clean-ups”「四清」: “cleaning things up in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology”「清政治、清經濟、清組織、清思想」

2.2 Strategic disposition II: launching a rectification campaign in the ideological sphere

- Mao organized a team of theoreticians: Jiang Qing 江青, Chen Boda 陳伯達, Kang Sheng 康生, Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋, Yao Wenyuan 姚文元, Guan Feng 關鋒, Qi Benyu 戚本禹
- May 1963: Jiang Qing criticized two *kunqu* operas 昆曲:《李慧娘》,《有鬼無害論》
- September-December 1963: Mao criticized the Ministry of Culture 文化部
「文化部不管文化，封建的、帝王將相的、才子佳人的東西很多，文化部不管。」
「如不改變，就改名帝王將相部、才子佳人部、或者外國死人部。」
- Second half of 1964: expansion of the rectification campaign
Criticism of Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (philosopher), Liu Jie 劉節 (historian), Jian Bozan 翦伯贊 (historian), Sun Yefang 孫冶方 (economist), Yang Xianzhen 楊獻珍 (Marxist theoretician)
Controversy over Marxist philosophy: Yang Xianzhen’s “two combine into one”「合二而一」versus Mao Zedong’s “one divides into two”「一分爲二」
- March 1965: Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi proposed to “stop [rectification] by applying the brake”「剎車」; Mao said some people had formed “cliques”「小集團」and “independent kingdoms”「獨立王國」
- November 1965: Yao Wenyuan criticized Wu Han in “Comment on the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*”〈評新編歷史劇《海瑞罷官》〉, which was the prelude to the “Cultural Revolution”「文化大革命」

2.3 Strategic disposition III: stepping up control of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA)中國人民解放軍

- 1963: launching of the “learn from the PLA campaign”「學習解放軍運動」

- 1964: government and party organs set up political departments 政治部 modeled on the PLA
- 1965: PLA reverted to Red Army (guerrilla) tradition; victory of Lin Biao (defence minister) over Luo Ruiqing 羅瑞卿 (chief-of-staff of the PLA)
- February 1966: Lin Biao made Jiang Qing the official cultural adviser of the PLA; formation of the “Mao-Jiang-Lin” coalition

3. Mao Zedong’s views concerning a number of issues prior to his launching of the “Cultural Revolution”

- Mao’s view concerning the failure of the “Great Leap Forward”
 - Mao’s view concerning the pragmatists headed by Liu Shaoqi
 - Mao’s view concerning the question of succession
 - Mao’s view concerning China’s rapid economic recovery in 1963-1965
 - Annual rate of growth of industry and agriculture: 15%
 - Annual rate of growth of industry: 18%
 - Annual rate of growth of heavy industry: 15%
 - Annual rate of growth of light industry: 21%
 - Annual rate of growth of agriculture: 12%
 - Mao singled out Dazhai 大寨 as model for agriculture and Daqing 大慶 as model for industry (“two participations, one change and three combinations” 「兩參、一改、三結合」)
 - Mao’s view concerning the “capitalist class” in the mid-1960s
 1. Ex-capitalists, ex-landlords, ex-rich peasants
 2. Intellectuals alleged to be under bourgeois influence
 3. Small producers harbouring “spontaneous capitalist tendencies”
 4. A new “bureaucratic class”
 5. “Leaders (power-holders) taking the capitalist road”
- (N.B.: Political campaigns in socialist China were as a rule targeted at the so-called “five categories of Black elements” 「黑五類」(i.e., “landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists 「地(主)、富(農)、反(革命分子)、壞(分子)、右(派)」)

4. The “Cultural Revolution”: political struggles in ten calamitous years (1966-1976)

4.1 The first round of political struggles: the “Mao-Jiang-Lin” coalition versus the so-called “capitalist roaders” 「走資派」 (November 1965-April 1969)

- November 1965: publication of Yao Wenyuan’s “Comment on the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*”, *Wenhui bao* 《文匯報》 (Shanghai), which triggered off an academic debate on the play
- March 1966: Mao Zedong turned the academic debate into a political struggle against Wu Han, Deng Tuo, and Liao Mosha (the so-called “three-family village”)
- May 1966: convening of the Enlarged Politburo Meeting 中央政治局擴大會議 and passage of the “May 16 Circular” 《五·一六通知》
Peng Zhen 彭真, Luo Ruiqing 羅瑞卿, Lu Dingyi 陸定一, Yang Shangkun 楊尚昆 purged as an “anti-party clique” 「反黨集團」
Establishment of the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG) 中央文(化)革(命)小組: Chen Boda 陳伯達, Kang Sheng 康生, Jiang Qing 江青, Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋
Affirmation of Mao’s “theory of the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat” 「無產階級專政下繼續革命的理論」
- Late May 1966: CCRG prompted radical teachers and students in Beida to use “big-character poster” 「大字報」 to criticize Lu Ping 陸平 (chancellor and secretary of party committee of Beida)
Red Guards 「紅衛兵」 appeared in Beijing (first in the middle school attached to Qinghua University 清華附中)
- 1 June 1966: *Renmin ribao* published “Sweep Away All Demons and Monsters” 〈橫掃一切牛鬼蛇神〉, which called for the destruction of “old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits” 「舊思想、舊文化、舊風俗、舊習慣」
Liu Shaoqi sent “work teams” 「工作組」 to schools to restore order
- 1-12 August 1966: convening of the 11th Plenum of the 8th CCPCC中共八

屆十一中全會 and the official launching of the “Cultural Revolution”

Mao criticized Liu Shaoqi for his act of “suppressing the student movement” 「鎮壓學生運動」; “work teams” evacuated from schools

Mao wrote “Bombard the Headquarters—My Own Big-Character Poster”

〈炮打司令部——我的一張大字報〉 and referred to the existence of a “bourgeois headquarters” 「資產階級司令部」 in the Party Center

Passed “Decisions of the CCPCC on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” 《關於無產階級文化大革命的決定》 (the “Sixteen-Article Decision” 《十六條》)

- Mid-August-end of December 1966: rise of the Red Guard Movement 「紅衛兵運動」 (Mao received 13 million Red Guards on eight occasions)

1. August-September: ascendancy of the “official-sponsored Red Guards” 「官辦紅衛兵」; “destroy four olds” 「破四舊」; “exchange of revolutionary experience” 「大串連」

prevalence of the “bloodline theory” 「血統論」 and the notion of “born Red” 「自來紅」 (「老子英雄兒好漢，老子反動兒混蛋，基本如此。」)

Categorization of members of society popular among Red Guards:

- (1) The “five categories of Red elements” 「紅五類」 (“revolutionary martyrs, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary military men, workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants” 「革命烈士、革命幹部、革命軍人、產業工人、貧下中農」)

- (2) The “five categories of Dusky elements” 「麻五類」 (“small traders, middle peasants, upper-middle peasants, office workers and the self-employed” 「小商、中農、上中農、職員、自由職業」)

- (3) The “five categories of Black elements” 「黑五類」 (“landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists” 「地主(主)、富(農)、反(革命分子)、壞(分子)、右(派)」)

2. October-November: criticism of the “bourgeois reactionary line” 「資產階級反動路線」; denunciation of the “bloodline theory”; rise of the “rebel Red Guards” 「造反派紅衛兵」

- December 1966: the “seize-power movement” 「奪權運動」 started in Beijing: “rebel Red Guards” replaced “official-sponsored Red Guards” as the main force in Chinese politics (latter became “conservative 保守派(Royalist 保皇派) Red Guards”)
- January 1967: “seize-power movement” extended nationwide (“all-round seizure of power” 「全面奪權」 in the “January Storm” 「一月風暴」): Shanghai “rebels” overthrew the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and established the Shanghai Commune 「上海人民公社」 modelled on the Paris Commune (1871)
- February 1967: the collapse of Party and state organs
 Politburo members criticized CCRG but were rebuked by Mao (the February Struggle 二月抗爭, then called the “February adverse current” 「二月逆流」): CCRG became the *de facto* power organ in China; CCP became a “Mao-centred Party” 「以毛主席為首的黨中央」; the Mao-cult reached new heights (Mao being referred to as “the great teacher, the great leader, the great supreme commander and the great helmsman” 「偉大的導師、偉大的領袖、偉大的統帥、偉大的舵手」)
 Mao rejected the Shanghai Commune in favour of setting up “revolutionary committees” 「革命委員會」 based on the principle of “three-in-one combination” 「三結合」(i.e., combination of “leaders of rebel organizations, representatives of PLA troops stationed in the locality and revolutionary leading cadres” 「群眾組織的領導人、當地駐軍的代表、革命領導幹部」)
- March 1967: Mao instructed the PLA to carry out the policy of “three supports and two militaries” 「三支兩軍」 (i.e., “supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training” 「支工、支農、支(持革命)左(派群眾)、軍管、軍訓」); PLA supported “conservative Red Guards” in line with the traditional class standpoint; “rebels” resented PLA intervention in politics and opposed the setting up of “revolutionary committees”
 Splits within Red Guard and mass organizations: “rebels” *versus* “conservatives”; “rebels” *versus* “rebels”; drift toward civil war

- July 1967: the “second seize-power movement”: “rebels” *versus* PLA and Zhou Enlai
The “Wuhan Incident of July 20”武漢「七·二〇」事件: Jiang Qing provoked violence by raising the slogan of “attack by reasoning and defend by force”「文攻武衛」; full-scale civil war
- September 1967: Mao labeled the most radical “May 16 Corps”「五一六(紅衛)兵團」 as a “counterrevolutionary clique”「反革命集團」
- End of 1967-end of 1968: restoration of order
November 1967: order to “resume classes while making revolution”「復課鬧革命」
July 1968: promulgation of “July 3 Report”《七·三佈告》and “July 24 Report”《七·二四佈告》: dissolution of mass organizations
August 1968: “workers’ Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams”「工人毛澤東思想宣傳隊(工宣隊)」 sent out to schools; Yao Wenyuan published “The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything”〈工人階級必須領導一切〉(*Renmin ribao*)
September 1968: establishment of “revolutionary committees” completed in 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of China
October 1968: convening of the 12th Plenum of the 8th CCPCC中共八屆十二中全會: Liu Shaoqi expelled from the Party
End of 1968: youths “sent up the mountains and down to the countryside”知(識)青(年)「上山下鄉」 for re-education

4.2 The second round of political struggles: struggles within the “Mao-Jiang-Lin” coalition and the eruption and repercussions of the “September 13 Incident”「九·一三」事件 (April 1969-August 1973)

- April 1969: convening of the 9th Party Congress中共「九大」
Predominance of military men in Chinese politics
Victory of Lin Biao (designated “Comrade Mao Zedong’s close comrade-in-arms and successor”「毛澤東同志的親密戰友和接班人」in the new Party Constitution) and victory of the Fourth Field Army:

1. First Field Army(第一野(戰軍)) : Peng Dehuai 彭德懷 and He Long 賀龍
 2. Second Field Army(第二野(戰軍)) : Liu Bocheng 劉伯承 and Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平
 3. Third Field Army(第三野(戰軍)) : Chen Yi 陳毅
 4. Fourth Field Army(第四野(戰軍)) : Lin Biao 林彪
 5. North China Field Army 華北野戰軍 : Nie Rongqin 聶榮臻
- July-August 1969: promulgation of the “July 23 Report” 《七·二三佈告》 and “August 2 Order” 《八·二八命令》 : end of “three years of rebelling” 「三年造反」
 - June 1969-December 1970: launching of the “party-consolidation and party-building movement” 「整黨建黨運動」
 - June 1969: reestablishment of party committees at the basic level
 - November 1969: reestablishment of the first party committee at the county level (Hunan province)
 - August 1970: mass media emphasized the tradition of “the Party commands the gun” 「黨指揮槍」
 - December 1970: reestablishment of the first party committee at the provincial level (Hunan province)
 - August-September 1970: convening of the 2nd Plenum of the 9th CCPC 中共九屆二中全會 at Lushan 廬山: Lin Biao quarreled with Mao and Jiang Qing over the question of whether to abolish the state presidency
 - October 1970: launching of the “criticize Chen [Boda] and party rectification campaign” 「批陳(伯達)整風運動」
 - March-September 1971: the staging of an “armed *coup d’etat*” 「武裝起義」 by the “Lin Biao clique” 「林彪集團」

The “Lin Biao clique”: Lin Liguang 林立果 (Lin Biao’s son), Ye Qun 葉群 (Lin Biao’s wife), Huang Yongsheng 黃永勝 (chief-of-staff of PLA), Wu Faxian 吳法憲 (air force commander), Li Zuopeng 李作鵬 (political commissar of the navy), Qiu Huizuo 邱會作 (head of the General Logistics Department)

March 1971: “armed *coup d’etat*” under way; “Joint Fleet” 「聯合艦隊」;

“Outline of ‘Project 571’” 《「571 工程」紀要》

August 1971: Mao’s southern tours and open criticism of Lin Biao

September 1971: failure of the attempt to assassinate Mao; Lin Biao’s escape (September 13) and death in Undur Khan in Outer Mongolia

Controversies over Lin Biao’s death: official version *versus* non-official versions (see Teiwes, Frederick C. and Sun, Warren, *The Tragedy of Lin Biao: Riding the Tiger During the Cultural Revolution*. London: C, Hurst & Co., HK: HKU Press, 1996)

■ Repercussions of the “September 13 Incident”:

Launching of the “criticize Lin Biao and party rectification campaign” 「批林整風運動」(「語錄不離手，萬歲不離口，當面說好話，背後下毒手。」;

「反革命兩面派」) and the emergence of a crisis of faith in the Party

Intensification of conflicts between Zhou Enlai and Jiang Qing: Zhou identified Lin’s mistake as “ultra-‘Left’” 「極『左』」; Jiang regarded it as

“‘Left’ in form but Right in essence” 「形『左』實右」

Fall of Fourth Field Army generals

Rehabilitation of purged cadres and military men: “pragmatists” 「務實派」

/ “moderates” 「穩健派」 constituted a new force under Zhou’s leadership

4.3 The third round of political struggles: Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and the rehabilitated veteran cadres *versus* the “Gang of Four” 「四人幫」 (August 1973-October 1976)

■ 24-28 August 1973: convening of the 10th Party Congress中共「十大」

Realignment of power in the CCPCC and Politburo

Zhou Enlai delivered the “Political Report” 《政治報告》

Wang Hongwen 王洪文 delivered the “Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution” 《關於修改黨章的報告》

■ November 1973: Zhou accused of committing “Right capitulationism” 「右傾投降主義」after Henry Kissinger’s visit to China; formation of the “Gang of Four” (Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan)

- January 1974: circulation of “Lin Biao and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius” 《林彪與孔孟之道》 and the launching of the “criticize Lin Biao, criticize Confucius campaign” 「批林批孔運動」 (targeted at Zhou Enlai)
Reinterpretation of Chinese history as “a history of the struggles between the Confucians and the Legalists” 「儒法鬥爭史」; the Confucians were criticized as “Restorationists” 「復關派」

History used as a tool to serve current political struggles against Zhou Enlai and his supporters (the so-called “Restorationists”): criticism of “the Duke of Zhou” 「周公」, “the prime minister (premier)” 「宰相」, “the big Confucian of modern times” 「現代的大儒」, “the big Confucian within the Party” 「黨內的大儒」

Mao’s relationship with Zhou Enlai

Mao’s relationship with Jiang Qing

- November 1974: three youths (Li Zhengtian 李正天, Chen Yiyang 陳一陽, Wang Xizhe 王希哲) in Guangzhou 廣州 posted up a big character poster entitled “On Socialist Democracy and Legality” 〈關於社會主義的民主與法制〉, criticizing the “feudal” and “fascist” rule of the ultra-“Leftists”
- January 1975: Zhou Enlai was seriously ill after the convening of the 4th National People’s Congress 四屆人大; Deng Xiaoping took charge of the day-to-day work of the State Council and Party Centre with the support of Mao
- February-June 1975: launching of the “study the theory of proletarian dictatorship campaign” 「學習無產階級專政理論運動」: the theory of “exercising overall dictatorship [on the bourgeois class]” 「全面專政」論; “restriction of bourgeois rights” 「限制資產階級法權」
- August 1975: launching of the “criticize *Outlaws of the Marsh* campaign” 「評《水滸》運動」: criticism directed at the so-called “capitulationists” 「投降派」 (i.e., people who wanted to negate the “Cultural Revolution”)
- November 1975: launching of a campaign to “criticize Deng and oppose the Rightist wind of calling for the reversal of previous verdicts” 「批鄧、反擊右傾翻案風運動」

Deng: drafted three position papers on “rectification” 「整頓」 (October 1975):

1. 《論全黨全國各項工作的總綱(草稿)》
2. 《科學院工作匯報提綱(草稿)》
3. 《關於加快工業發展的若干問題(草稿)》

Deng: instructed people to take Chairman Mao’s “three directives as the key link” 以「毛主席三項指示為綱」

1. “Learn from the dictatorship of the proletariat; struggle and guard against revisionism” 「學習無產階級專政、反修防修」
2. “Promote stability and unity” 「促進安定團結」
3. “Upgrade the national economy” 「把國民經濟搞上去」

Mao: “Class struggle is the key link, all other things are secondary”

- January 1976: death of Zhou Enlai; Politburo appointed Hua Guofeng 華國鋒 as acting premier and put him in charge of everyday work of the Party Centre

Mao: “With you [Hua] in charge, I’m at ease” 「你辦事，我放心。」

- 4-5 April 1976: the “Tiananmen Incident” 「天安門事件」

Politburo relieved Deng Xiaoping of all his posts; appointed Hua Guofeng as first vice-chairman of the CCP and premier; “Tiananmen Incident” labeled as a “counterrevolutionary” incident

- August 1976: launching of the “criticize Deng campaign” 「批鄧運動」

Deng’s three position papers on reorganization vilified as “three poisonous weeds” 「三株大毒草」

- September 1976: death of Mao Zedong
- October: arrest of the “Gang of Four” and end of the “Cultural Revolution”

5. Rethinking about the “Cultural Revolution”

- What was the “Cultural Revolution” all about?
- What kinds of problems existed in China, as revealed by the “Cultural Revolution”?
- What was the most disastrous consequence of the “Cultural Revolution” for China?

- Was the “Cultural Revolution” totally devoid of significance?

6. The end of the Maoist era: assessment of Mao Zedong

- Charismatic leadership
- Age of totalitarianism and one-man dictatorship

6.1 Understanding Mao Zedong

- What was special about Mao’s character?

Mao’s arrogance as seen from some of the poems he wrote:

「獨坐池塘如虎踞，綠楊樹下養精神。春來我不先開口，哪個蟲兒敢作聲？」(詠蛙，1909年，16歲。)

「獨立寒秋，湘江北去，橘子洲頭。看萬山紅遍，層林盡染；漫江碧透，百舸爭流。鷹擊長空，魚翔淺底，萬類霜天競自由。悵寥廓，問蒼茫大地，誰主沉浮？」(沁園春，長沙，1925，32歲。)

「江山如此多嬌，引無數英雄競折腰。惜秦皇漢武，略輸文采；唐宗宋祖，稍遜風騷。一代天驕，成吉思汗，只識彎弓射大雕。俱往矣，數風流人物，還看今朝。」(沁園春，雪，1936，43歲。)

「多少事，從來急；天地轉，光陰迫。一萬年太久，祇爭朝夕。四海翻騰雲水怒，五洲震蕩風雷激。要掃除一切害人蟲，全無敵。」(滿江紅，1963，70歲。)

- What did Mao like best?
- What did Mao hate most?
- Did Mao have any personal problems that affected his daily life?
- Mao: the embodiment of contradictions

6.2 Assessing Mao Zedong

- If Mao had created a tragedy, it was a tragedy that never meant to be