

MAO'S PRE-LIBERATION WRITINGS : AN APPRAISAL

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

1988
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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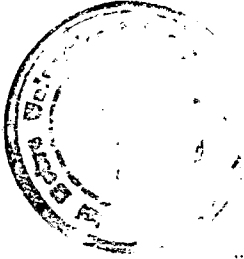
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4 January 1988

This is to certify that the dissertation, entitled "MAO'S PRE-LIBERATION WRITINGS: AN APPRAISAL" submitted by Mr Jaishanker in fulfilment of six credits out of total requirement of twenty-four credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of the University, is his original work according to the best of our knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(GARGI DUTT)
Chairperson


(NARANARAYAN DAS)
Supervisor

to the spirit of rebellion ...

preface .

P R E F A C E

It is a selective study of Mao's important writings during the pre-liberation phase. The purpose is to highlight the content and nature of his ideological vision at various stages of his growth and development. Unlike the common belief, in the course of study, we will find that his primary commitment was to the cause of liberating the millions of downtrodden masses of China rather than to Marxism. Any system of ideas held meaning to him to the extent it was capable of serving his noble purpose. His acquaintance with Marxism took place at the age of twentyseven. The ideas and circumstances which worked upon him before that, continued influencing his process of internalizing Marxism *later on*.

The first chapter discusses his encounters with major and minor circumstances and ideas, *specificity* of his situational response to the crisis and the content analysis of his four major writings up to 1927.

The second chapter *deals* with his two important philosophical writings at the beginning of Yen-an period. The content of these two essays has been evaluated in the context of Marxism and dominant Chinese philosophical system. The uniqueness of this phase lies in the fact that his philosophical maturity coincides with his ascendancy into power within the party.

The third chapter discusses the kind of society Mao visualized for China at that stage. His concept of New Democratic Society was neither the simple reformulation of old Democracy nor the extension of Stalinist vision of Four Bloc alliance. Further, it has been discussed how Mao's understanding of different factions of bourgeoisie and Kuomintang Party was consistent and correct in comparison to the understanding of CPC (Communist Party of China) and Moscow leadership.

Mao's understanding of the role of peasantry has been discussed in the last section of the first chapter as well as the last section of the third chapter.

In the completion of this project, my supervisor, members of the family and friends; all have cooperated and contributed in their own respective ways.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Narnarayan Das for his valuable suggestion, positive criticism and cooperation without which the present task would have remained unfulfilled.

Thanks are due to Prof. Gargi Dutt, Chairman of the Centre, and Prof. G.P.Despande for their suggestion and cooperation.

I cannot afford to miss here my thanks to friends, N.P. Sinha, Abhay, Jay Prakash, Vidyarthi, Ravi, Bala, T. Vellue, Vir Singh -- all of whom wholeheartedly worked with me at the final stage of dissertation.

I record here my debt to my Babooji, Ma, Dada, Chachi, Madhu who extended moral and material support with patience and love to me. Finally, I thank Mr. Baldeo who took the responsibility of typing this dissertation with care and attention.

4.1.88
New Delhi

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chapter 1.

mao in making

CHAPTER I

MAO IN MAKING

Formation of a personality is ^{an} extremely complex process. Minor events and ideas to major circumstantial developments and ideologies; all contribute in their own respective ways to the development of his perception of reality and change. Necessarily in the process of development, certain ideas, views and activities influence him more, while certain things he detests and rejects it. This process of acceptance and rejection and reinterpretation of the given one continue all through the development. The acceptance and rejection takes place not in the passive form. Rather, it is dialectically internalised in which neither the ideas accepted nor rejected one remains in the same form and even content. What is specific to revolutionary personalities is that the commitment to change works as the major determinant in his interpretation, reinterpretation rejection or acceptance of ideas and ideologies. Being extremely conscious and sensitive to the surrounding problems he receives ideas in terms of understanding the concrete problems. And, the process of understanding them is simultaneously developing ideas to change the surroundings. Thus one can logically argue that the formation of a personality, consists of three things -- ideas, practice and circumstances ^{in which ideas and circumstances} dialectically interact through practice and in course both get transformed.

Karl Marx explaining the relationship between ideas and circumstances in the context of individual as conscious subject of history puts it in the following terms "Men make their own history, but do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. What is shown here is the historical character of man, his activities and ideas. In understanding Mao the dominant ideas and circumstances in which he lived should be examined and explained. To put it in more precise manner, the specificity of Mao's ideological formulations must be explained in relation to the ideologies he encountered at different stages of his development. The problem with certain interpretations of Mao's ideological formulations is that it starts evaluating things after Mao claimed himself to be a Marxist one and specifically in relation to other ideological currents within Chinese Communist Party and in Moscow of the time. When Mao became Marxist he told to Edger Snow ^{that} he had already crossed the 27 years of his life. Much water had already flown through him. His never-ending conflicts with his father deep attachment with Buddhist mother, study of romantic novels besides Chinese classics and reformative work of Kang-Yu-Wei, joining army and getting acquainted with various forms of western ideas through News Papers of the time, encountering the ideas of Sun-Yat-Sen aspiring to become a teacher, being influenced profoundly with Yang Chang-Chi, a neo-Confucianist who taught ethics, logic, psychology and pedagogies, his passionate

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1. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte" in Marx, Engels Lenin, a collection On Historical Materialism (Moscow: Progress Publications, 1972), p. 120.
 2. Snow, Edgar, Red Star Over China (Penguin Books, 1973), p. 181. In his long interview to author Mao says "By the Summer of 1920 I had come, in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist, and from this time on I considered myself a Marxist."

leafning of the great heroes of China and the world like Liu Pang and Napoleon or Yao, Shun, Chin Shih Huang Ti and Han Wu-ti, his encounters with Chen Tu-Hsiu, a man of science and Li Ta Chao, the ardent believer in the strength of youth and peasantry⁽³⁾; all these minor and major encounters with the circumstances and ideas were lying down historical bricks of foundation through which the specific Mao was emerging and maturing. Jean Paul Sartre, a leading existentialist philosopher of the modern age while exposing the fallacy of prevalent trend in Marxist methodology beautifully explains how a personality should be studied. "Today's Marxists are concerned only with adults, reading them one would believe that we are born at the age when we earn our first wages. They have forgotten ^{their} own childhood. As we read them, everything seems to happen as if men experienced their alienation and their reification first in their own work, whereas in actuality each one lives it as a child, in his parents work.⁽⁴⁾ Thus, the evaluation of Mao's ideas or personality requires the study of the cross-current of forces material and ideological prevalent at that time and at general level and specificity of Mao's encounters, with material surroundings and ideas at particular level.. Both together can help in appropriating a relative truth of Mao's personality. Given the limitations of space and time and source material in the present work, the attempt to depict a relatively truer picture in terms

3. Ibid., pp. 151-81. Narrating his important developments, Mao talks to the author of his encounters with and reflections of these major and minor events and personalities.

4. Sartre Jean Paul, "Search For a Method" trans by Hazel Barnes (New York Vintage 1963), and quoted in Poster Mark, Sartre's Marxism (London: Pluto Press, 1979), p.26.

of his (Mao's) specific writings and circumstantial encounters is bound to be a preliminary work only which is carried out in the following pages.

HIS CHILDHOOD--Dynamics of Protest and Compromise:

Born in poor peasant family in the village of Shao Chan in Hunan Province in 1893,⁽⁵⁾ Mao was subject to the all embracing dominance of his father under the prevalent tradition of strongly guarded hierarchy of Confucianist order i.e. in subordination of son to father, subject to Emperor and all to ritual and traditions. His father who was also a soldier was an upcoming rich peasant who made every nerve strained to get richer. Mao was also a resource like other persons of the family for him to be utilized in concretizing the visualized task.⁽⁶⁾

Against this perception, behaviour and practice of his father, Mao reacted neither in the fashion of certain types of children who would revolt and run away from the family nor like those who would completely submit to the pressure and authority. He had a character of revolt and compromise both. If he could form united front of

5. Snow, Edgar, op.cit., p.152

6. Ibid. pp.154-156, Mao says "My father wanted me to begin keeping the family books as soon as I had learnt few characters." I finally left the primary school when I was thirteen and began to work long hours on the farm, helping the hired labourer, doing the full labour of a man during the day and in night keeping books for my father."

mother, brother and himself, could run away from the school because of stern teacher and degrading remarks of his father before invited guests, he also did read Chinese Classics as prescribed by father, came back home again and worked in the farm with the hired labourer full day along with book-keeping job in the night. There was protest. There was compromise.

The important thing with this unity of opposites is the fact that compromising aspect was dull and routinised while the protest aspect was living, creative and invigorating. Classics were read but disliked. Father was accepted but hated. But, romances of old China and stories of rebellions, "words of warning" were stealthily read but devoured thoroughly. For the romantic novels like Shi-Hu Chuan's "Water Margin" recounts the exploits of legendary rebel heroes. The emperor, fictitious villain had violated the "Mandate of Heaven" by his corrupt and inefficient rule. The rebelling heroes, of course, minor officials, landlords, gentry scholars and merchants went up in the mountain fortress of Liang Shan and joined the community of rebel bandits. An example from this novel of a beautiful poem would better illustrate the meaning such readings provided to Mao:

"The red Sun is flaming like a burning fire
The rice in the fields is withered and parched
Poor farmer's heart is desperate as boiling water,
But, the gentleman prince calmly fans himself." (8)

7 Ibid., p. 156

8 Gregor, A. James and Chang, Maria Hsia "Maoism and Marxism in Comparative Perspective", Review of Politics, Vol. 40, 1978, p. 311, quoted from Shih Nai-an, Shui Hu, 2 Vols (Peking 1972), p. 178

It was explaining to him the dehumanised and pathetic conditions around him in terms of the ways of emancipation and also probably his desire for becoming hero and great. Sensitivity leads to disgust with surrounding realities i.e., alienation.⁽⁹⁾ And, alienation leads to an indomitable search for a new world and revolt against anything imposed. However, the physical existence forces to ^{compromise} with the narrow and concrete relations which in turn produces the symptoms of laziness, irresponsibility and carelessness. Thus, these novels were feeding his alienated consciousness and helping him in creating his own utopian world on the one side ^{while} symptoms of laziness and carelessness were reflecting his true response to routinized life. And, in that way the allegations of his father against him are true at perceptual level.⁽¹⁰⁾

A serious doubt, however, has been raised against this aspect of hypothesis being stretched too far in terms of analysis by Stuart Schram. He says "The various indications of Mao's hostility to his father and his own statements on the 'dialectical struggles' in his family in which he sides with his mother and brother against the paternal 'ruling power', might lead some to a psycho-analytic explanation of his revolutionary attitudes. But conflict between father and son is a universal phenomenon, especially in a country like the

9 From alienation, I mean here a process of development in personality in which everything surrounding him seems to be alien to him. Essentially the theory explains the process in terms of forced labour and appropriation of its fruits by others and the consequent estrangement; broadly alienation of man from nature, human species and himself - See for detail, Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967) pp. 66-80.

10 Edgar Snow, op.cit. pp. 154-55

old China, where the power of the family and of the elders and the individual was so strong. And yet, all rebellious sons do not become revolutionaries even in the orient.⁽¹¹⁾ It is true and truth forces one to be more specific about Mao in terms of his interactions with ideologies historical currents of his time.

Specific Identification of Crisis

Unlike being disgusted with reality and entering more and more into individualized world, Mao chose the option of identifying his own crisis with the crisis of realities around in the specific way. It was of accepting any idea, traditional or western in a critical manner and in relation to the concrete crisis of China. As early as at the age of thirteen, although he was realizing himself in the romantic revolutionary novels of Chinese past. He found in the same novels that warriors, officials and scholars had become heroes while the tillers of land, peasantry, had got no place in it as they.⁽¹²⁾ Another instance of this criticality within him is the fact that despite the his deep hatred for the Chinese Classics, his teacher appreciated his proficiency in Chinese Classics.⁽¹³⁾ He hated Confucianism, but was passionate enough to visit the Confucius's grave and contemplate there.⁽¹⁴⁾

11 Schram, Stuart, The Political Thought of Mao Tse Tung (New York: Frederic A. Praeger, 1963) p.8.

12 Edger Snow, Op.Cit., p.157

13 Ibid., p.160-61

14 Ibid. p.178

His admiration was there for a reformist scholar Chung Kuang-Yind who saw China's emancipation in wholesale adoption of westernization. But, he was also strongly influenced by the teacher Yang Ch'ang-Chi who believed in and talked of spirituality, physical well-being and sacrifice. (15) Chen Tu-Lsiu was a model for him whose main emphasis was over the role of democracy and sciences. However, Li-Ta-Chao stood no less in esteem with his advocacy for nationalism, peasantry and youth. (16)

Thirst for Learning

Besides being critical and open, Mao was also having insatiable thirst for learning of specific kind. At the age of thirteen he left school and started working in the field and helped his father in keeping accounts. However, he did not continue it for long. Leaving his career, he again resumed his studies in various forms and at different places, sometimes compromising with his father and also at odds with him. At seventeen he enrolled himself in a school called Hsiang Hsiang where he thoroughly read the reformative works of K'ang Yu-Wei and Liang Ch'i-Chiao, and a book called Great Heroes of the World containing the heroic deeds of Napoleon, Catherine of Russia Peter the Great, Wellington, Gladstone, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Lincoln. (17)

In the meantime, turbulent events were coming to a head in China. Peasant uprisings and urban unrest were sweeping across the entire country. The Wuchang revolt exploded in Central China on October 10, 1911. It triggered the revolution of 1911 which aimed at deposing the monarchy and establishing a republic. It was during this time in Changsha that Mao came to know about Sun-Yat-Sen and his programme and principles viz. Nationalism (overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty),

15. Ibid, p. 156, 171

16 Schram Stuart, Op. Cit., p. 15, the author contends that the two leading intellectual giants of China of the May 4th Movement Che'n-Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-Chao both impressed upon Mao with their respective emphasis over "modernization" and "nationalism", the later more deeply.

17. Snow, Edgar, Op. Cit., p. 159, 161, 162

People's Power (establishment of a republic) and national welfare
 (18)
 egalitarian right to land. He also joined here in the army, where
 for the first time, he came in acquaintance with socialist ideas
 from a journal called Hsiang Jin Pao (Hsiang Rever Daily News).
 He used to spend major part of his salary here in purchasing the
 prominent newspapers of the time. (19) However this situation lasted
 for a short period only. Again Mao resumed his studies in 1913 in the
 school named First Provincial Middle School with the aim to become
 a teacher. Here he spent most of the time studying in the library
 the books of his own choice. He says, "During this period of self-education I read many books, studied world geography and world
 history ... I read AdamSmith's The Wealth of Nations, and Darwin's
Origin of Species, and a book on ethics by John Stuart Mill.
 I read the works of Rousseau, Spencer's logic and a book on law
 written by Montesquieu. I mixed poetry and romances, and the
 tales of ancient Greece, with serious study of history and geography
 of Russia, America, England, France and other countries." (20)
 But, it was not the struggle of ideas alone in which he was
 realizing himself.

The struggle with nature for physical survival was equally important
 for him. He, in order to develop resistance against nature
 used to take recourse to

18 Ibid.p.163

19 Ibid.p.166

20 Ibid.p.169

systematically exposing his naked body to cold, wind, rain and sun. (21)
 Organizing people on the various problems of China was his another major activity. He gave an advertisement in a Changsha paper inviting youngmen interested in a patriotic work. In 1917 with some other friends he founded a society called Hsin-min Hsueh-hui, Most of its members later joined and formed the backbone of the Communist Party. At that time a large number of radical organizations were coming up in different important city centres in China like Shanghai, Wangchow, Hankow, Tientsin. This literary renaissance was taking place under the influence of the famous magazine Hsin Ch'ing (22) nieng (New Youth) being edited by Chen Tu-hsiu who was to become the first General Secretary of the Communist Party to emerge in China.

Physical body, consciousness and Reality

During 1917 itself in the month of April, Mao wrote an article entitled "A Study of Physical Education" which constitutes the first systematic exposition of his ideas on the eve of the May 4th Movement. The entire text is not available in English and hence the only source we have is the extractions made by Stuart Schram from the original (23) essay.

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- 21 Shao Emi, Mao Tse Tung: His Childhood and Youth (Bombay People's Publishing House Ltd., 1953) p.1.
 Author explains by instances how Mao developed various forms of hardening his body against nature.
- 22 Snow, Edgar, Op.Cit., p.171
- 23 Schram, Stuart, Op.Cit. pp.94-102

The extracts can be divided into three parts in terms of the theme it carries - (1) The general relationship of human being and nature (2) The relationship of mind and body (3) its application in the prevailing situation of China.

In between human consciousness and material reality around stands the sensuous human being with his limbs. It is the activity or movement of this sensuous body or physical basis, through which the external material reality is conceptualized at the level of consciousness and finally helps in the transformation of material reality itself. Mao says, "It is the body that contains knowledge and houses virtue. It contains knowledge like chariot and houses morality like a Chamber."⁽²⁴⁾ Mind and body in togetherness stand in opposition to and struggle with nature. It is through this nature that the relationship between human being and nature is determined. Mao says "Physical education not only strengthens the body but also enhances our knowledge. There is a saying 'civilize the mind and make savage the body.'⁽²⁵⁾

Mind and Body

In the relationship between mind and body, body acquires the primary position. By putting the body to utmost severity against nature, the capacity to survive is enhanced. As much the physical strength thus acquired develops that much mind gets the opportunity to interact with external ^{reality.} whether it be books, social relations or military pursuits. Because the primary source of knowledge

24 Ibid., p.95

25 Ibid., p.98

is received through the sensuous parts (ears and eyes). The persons like Buddha, Confucius, Jesus and Mohammed who were great sages as well as thinkers had developed both their physical and mental capacities not through idle contemplations but through active physical and mental practices. Yen Tzu and Chia both were extraordinary scholars and of high morality but could not survive for long. Because, they were physically very weak. On the other side, the heroes like Yen Hsi-Chai and Likang-Chu could develop the faculties of military and literary arts both at a time. ⁽²⁶⁾

Thus besides intellect, all the forms of will, perseverance, dauntlessness, courage and audacity depend and develop through physical struggle of body against nature. Without undertaking these activities and by mere intellectual struggle or activity man remains a half developed personality.

Dying China

Mao was writing this essay at a time when the entire Chinese Society was crumbling under the crushing weight of the obnoxious warlords rule and market-hungry western imperialist. The traditional moral fabrics and Confucian cannonic controls were giving way to the stark realities of famine, disease, starvation deaths of millions of people. In the three year drought of 1876-79 which had affected five northern provinces, between twelve and thirteen millions died of hunger, disease and the consequent rural violence.

26 Ibid.p.97

A break in the embankment of the yellow river Honan caused the floods of 1887-9 which ⁿinundated nearly the whole province south of the river; more than two million were drowned or died of starvation. In Mao's own province of Hunan in 1906 a severe famine killed three million people when he was twelve years old. ⁽²⁷⁾ On the other side against the interest of the Chinese people, western imperialists were engaged in unbridled slicing of the Chinese melon and creating their respective spheres of influence. As a challenge to both, a powerful storm of ideas were gathering eventually to burst into May 4th Movement of 1919 which was essentially a nationalist movement opposed in content to imperialism on the one side and Chinese feudalism on the other.

Mao's Ideology -- I

Thus it was but natural for Mao to visualize in his essay the problematic ^mterms of strength and weaknesses of the Chinese Society as a whole in one category of "Chinese nation" He says in the beginning itself "our nation is wanting in strength. The military spirit has not been encouraged. ⁽²⁸⁾ His understanding is simple but profound, based on the fact that the concrete problem can be solved concretely. And the first step in this direction would be strengthening of physical basis embodied in individual existence to create a self-awareness in every individual being to rise up physically to the demand of the time.

27 Howard, Roger, Mao Tse Tung and The Chinese People. New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House Pvt.Ltd., 1977), p.23

28 Schram, Stuart, Op.Cit., p.94

He opposes the social taboos and inferior values attached to the physical exercises by giving instances of the primacy of such practices from the foreign countries like Japan and Germany and the storehouse of Chinese past.⁽²⁹⁾ He gives account of those heroes and sages of Chinese past who had been instrumental in the transformation of Chinese destinies from time to time. It is logical to observe here the generalization of Marx in this respect for a society driven deep into revolutionary crisis -- "The traditions of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language."⁽³⁰⁾

II

Mao shows deep concern in the essay over vigorous practice, individual initiative and harmony as well as contradictory relationship between physical basis and intellectual development. Interestingly

29 Ibid. pp. 95-97

30 Marx, Karl, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Op. Cit., p. 120.

these ideas in traditional caps assume their definite shape later on. In 1937 in his famous methodological essays, on Practice and on Contradiction - Primacy of practice, the inevitability of sensuous interaction as the basis of development of true knowledge the unity of opposite aspects (savage body, civilized mind and attainment of harmony) constitute in beginning from the philosophical moorings of Mao's personality. Deeply embedded with his Chinese tradition and thinking Mao expresses his arguments in concrete and graphic imageries, metaphors and analogies. He borrows heavily from Confucius and other thinkers of China as a basis and in support of his arguments. He talks in terms of eyes and ears constituting the significant part of sensuous being, can be found in the interpretation of the sixth century Chinese thinker Yen Chin-tui who went so far as to say that "What a man believes is only his ears and his eyes. Everything else is to be doubled." (31) As far as the impact of western ideas are concerned, there is little sign of such internalization as shown in this essay. The problematic of physical retardation of Chinese people was essentially related to the total stagnation of the Chinese Society under the combined irresponsible exploitation of Feudal Lords and imperialists.

31 Nakamura, Ways of thinking of Eastern Peoples, p.181
 quoted by Jung, Hwa Yol and Jung Petee, in "The Hermeneutics
 of Political Ideology and Cultural Change: Maoism As the
 Sinicization of Marxism" Cultural Hermeneutics Vol.3-1975-76,
 p.172

A decadent and exploitative rule produces a degenerated and parasitic culture which kills human initiative and creativity. The individual heroism and indomitable will which he talks is constantly limited by the alien decaying external reality. Explanation in this respect of the decaying external reality is neither comprehensive nor well-founded. So, narration of the concern for what it is and to search its simple beginning and solution in the realm of individual heroism and awareness explains the state of understanding of the external reality at the primary level only. It does not reveal the political understanding of the surroundings in comprehensive totality. But, it necessarily shows the beginning of the process. At the general level, it shows a kind of profound idealism in which nationalism, martial spirit and individual initiative occupies dominant role. The aspects "martial spirit and individual initiative" have been argued to be the result of the influence of western ideas through themagazine New Youth.³²

No doubt, given the time and condition of China at that time and particularly Mao's attachment to Ch'en Tu-hsiu who was deeply influenced by western ideas and saw to west as only solution, there was condition available for Mao to absorb western ideas.

32. Schram Stuart, Op.Cit., p.11

But, in his essay, Mao seems to be analysing things still within the dominant traditional Chinese framework. To be influenced by a particular set of ideas and to internalize its logic of reasoning are two different things, although the former clears the way for the later. In this regard his essay reveals to a great extent its actual state of the mind. The negative aspect of his thought content was much more clear and definite i.e. anti-militarist and anti-imperialist. However, the positive aspect was vague and yet to develop. Liberalism, democratic reformism, utopian socialism; all were Co-mingling in his thought process without having definite shape in terms of either content and form.⁽³³⁾

The other important document which reveals systematically the content and form of Mao's mind is the three-part article written by him for the journal Hsiang-Chiang Pin-lum (The Hsiang River Review) dated respectively 21 and 28 July and 4 August, 1919 under the title "The Great Union of the Popular Masses."⁽³⁴⁾

.....

33 Snow, Edgar, Op.Cit.p.174. At the time of leaving his school in 1918, Mao says, "At this time 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 definitely anti-militarist and anti-imperialist."

34 Mao Tse-tung, "The Great Union of the Popular Masses," trans. by Schram, in China Quarterly, No.49, January-March, 1972, pp 76-87. The same essay in excerpts form had been translated by the same author for his op.cit.book, the present one is a better translation in terms of source, content and context.

It is in three parts, each part explaining the specific dimension of the problematic, of organizing people and addressed directly to the Chinese people. The first part covers the explanation regarding the dynamic and historical basis of organization in general. The second part analyses the possible methods of organizing people. And the third part explains the viability of such organizations in the total transformation of the society.

Oppressor and Oppressed

In history, the process of transformation has been analysed by organising people. By organization it is understood, the process of collectivization in which the people with their common interest unite together in order to realize the planned aims. Aim has a universal as well as particular ^a basis of existence. In its particularity, the people having direct immediate common interest unite together. These small unities create at different levels higher unities of common interests. Thus, at the highest level, a great unity of common purpose is formed which bears the universal significance of the greatest aim.

The oppressor in every area constitutes a tiny minority of the total population. In the given conditions of China and the world they are capitalists and aristocrats. They oppress because of their control over three important things: 1) knowledge, 2) money and military power. Knowledge and wisdom could find place in them because of their access and monopoly over the sources of knowledge. Similarly they

devise method to develop control over money and concentrate it for themselves." Money is the intermediary in life. Originally, everyone could get it, but those aristocrat and capitalists with their knowledge thought up various methods for something called the concentration of capital, and as a result the money gradually (35) flowed into the hands of the landlords and the factory bosses." Military power, they maintain because of knowledge and money with them and ignorance of people. With all these they are continuing in power because of the union they have formed amongst themselves against common people, and succeed in keeping the common people in the dark, ignorant and passive.

Given the conditions of China, each occupational group of the society (railway workers, mine workers, telegraph employees, ship building workers, merchant sailors, metal workers, policemen, students, women and teachers) (36) should rise up to form unions of people among themselves and to unite at different higher levels eventually to realize greatest union of the Chinese people against a small enemy, the capitalists and aristocrats.

The main reason for the people not rising up so far has been due to total passivity on their part and lack of self awareness. "We must know that the affairs of the world are, in themselves, very easy to deal with.

35 Ibid., p.78

36 Ibid., p.82

If there are cases when they are not easy to deal with, this is because of the difficulties caused by the force of history -- habit." (37)

However, the positive signs of the popular masses forming unions have begun all over the world as well as in China. In Russia, the toilers and peasants have already overthrown the rule of aristocrats and rich (38) to form their own Soviet government.

Mao's Ideology -- III

In this essay 'people' has been used as a dominant category to analyse society historically. Except for the tiny group of capitalists and aristocrats, concretely visible and subjectively operative, all the occupational groups of people have been taken forming a big collective of popular masses being oppressed. The inner contradiction within the union of popular masses has been argued to exist in terms of occupational interests. But, the nature of these contradictions is as such that it relates, merges and realises itself and in the biggest contradiction between the minority of united oppressors and majority of oppressed popular masses. The process of accumulation of capital, the dynamics of monetary exchange, the interrelationship of ideological and coercive apparatuses of the ruling class -- all these important questions have been dealt subjectively with on the ^{Basis} of what they appear to be. Marx and Kropotkin are the two major references appearing in the essay.

37 Ibid., p.79

38 Ibid., p.84

Marx is attributed to be the leader of the violent party advocating solutions of the exploitative rule in terms of the method "Do unto others as ^{they} do unto you", to struggle desperately to the end (Tao-tan) with the aristocrats and capitalists. ⁽³⁹⁾ On the other hand, Kropotkin is seen as the leader of the moderate party who advocates, "Men should all have a morality of mutual aid, and work voluntarily. As for the aristocrats and capitalists it suffices that they repent and turn towards the good, and that they be able to work and to help people rather than harming them, it is not necessary to kill them. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ The ideas of this party are broader and more far reaching."

From the essay one can derive two important things regarding the content of Mao's thought at that time -- 1) it shows no influence of Marxism on Mao except as a source of inspiration and 2) consciously or unconsciously his categories of thinking and formulations were definitely internalizing the dominant ideas of populism. Nowhere in the essay Chinese society gets treatment in terms of historical classes, role of party as an instrument of transformation, productive forces and productions ~~relations~~ as constituting the base of social consciousness. On the contrary, "people constitute a more or less collective entity. The attitude or activity of collectivization is viewed as innate quality of human being. The task of building consciousness and

39. Ibid .pp.78-79

40 Ibid.,p.79, Emphasis added



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guiding is left to the people for themselves and through their movement, not to party from outside. Will and awareness are seen as the motive force of transformation in history above all human being in general is viewed inherently good and capable of realising eventually a big world family.

Mao's Ideology--IV

His populism and Li -Ta-chao

Such dominant tendencies in Mao have been explained by drawing parallel to the classical Russian populism which had been inspired by the writings of Herzen and Chernyahevsky and dominated the political scene of Russia before the rise of Bolshevik Movement⁽⁴¹⁾. Inclination towards populism in Mao was in all probability due to the influence of his close political mentor Li-Ta-chao. Li was quite impressed by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and interpreted it as the victory of the spirit of all mankind over militarism and autocracy. He perceived in the Russian Revolution the first and most important tidal wave of revolution which would sweep before it the forces opposed to the realization mankind's common goals. This imagery of "tidal wave" of revolution was an expression of a view of history which perceived global categories within the march of history, and which talked in terms of the "spirit of the times", a terminology more Hegelian than Marxist⁽⁴²⁾.

41. Meisner, Maurice, "Leninism and Maoism, some populist perspective on Marxism-Leninism in China", China Quarterly, no.

pp2-36, the author compares Maoism and Leninism, and contends that populism survived and developed in Chinese Communist Movement despite Leninism and that distinguishes Maoism from Leninism.

42. Meisner, Maurice, Li-Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism (Atheneum, New York, 1973) pp 67-70.

Thus, Mao who claimed that with Li-Ta-chao he was rapidly developing towards Marxism during 1918-19, was largely perceiving reality in the same way as, Li was ⁽⁴³⁾. Li was emotionally attached to the peasantry and believed that the Chinese Revolution would be essentially a peasant revolution. He ^{saw} a major task before the educated Chinese youths to go the villages and arouse the peasants to the revolution. This call to youth to forsake the cities and go the villages was inspired both by the belief in the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, and by a suspicion of the values which were fostered by city life; virtue resided in the countryside, and by arousing the peasants, the educated youth could also distance themselves from the deleterious effects of the "mire of the city"⁽⁴⁴⁾. This vision of Li contributed much to the specific ideological development of Mao in future when the Comintern's orthodox line failed to work in China.

A Comparison Between Two Texts

Apart from this, comparing this text with Mao's earlier writing, one finds a shift from individual exclusively heroism and awareness to pronounced collectivist action and appeal. Also, a modest beginning of strategic configuration appears in Mao's thinking. He says, "A greater movement requires a greater union, and the greatest movement requires the greatest union.... victory and defeat are decided by the solidity of fragility of the unions

43. Schram, op. cit., p 17.

44. Meisner, Maurice, Li-Ta-chao, op. cit., pp80-89.

on each side, and by whether the ideologies which serve as their foundation are new or old, true or ill-founded. Both sides, however, are alike in that they must employ the technique of union.⁽⁴⁵⁾ But, also there lies a similarity with earlier texts in one respect, that is, undying faith in the potentiality and greatness of China. He says, "...one day, the reform of the Chinese people will be more profound than that of any other people, and the society of the Chinese people will be more radiant than that of any other people"⁽⁴⁶⁾. This faith got reinforced also because of the proletarian thesis of Li-Ta-chao. Li opined that China constituted an oppressed proletarian nation. The Europeans, he said, regard the world as exclusively whiteman's world, in which they constitute the upper classes and the coloured people the lower classes. The race question on a world scale becomes a class question. The Chinese people must be prepared to enter into a class struggle with the other races of the world and once more demonstrate their national peculiarity⁽⁴⁷⁾

Although Mao grew under the influence of Li, nonetheless he never capitulated to his views. He not only clearly saw the differentiation

45. Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., pp 76-77. Emphasis added.

46. Ibid, p 87.

47. Schram, op. cit., p 26. Quoted from Li-Ta-chao, "Jen Chung Wen T' ," (The Racial Question), Hsin Min Kuo, no.6, June, 1924.

within the Chinese society but also exhibited an apathy towards peasant question till 1925⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Mao, Comintern and Chen Tu-hsiu

The important event in Mao's life was his embracing Marxism in 1920⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Interestingly, it was the same period for two another important events to occur which contributed extraordinarily in the shaping of Mao's destiny as well as ^{of} China. One was the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter referred to as CPC) in July 1921 and the other, summit of the second Congress of the Communist International (hereafter referred to as Comintern) in July 1920 under the direct guidance of Lenin who sent Grigori Voitovsky as a communist agent to Chinato investigate the National Liberation Movement there.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Thus, hereafter, to understand

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48. Snow, op. cit., p 185, Mao says to the author that he only became conscious of the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry at the time of the incident of May 30, 1925. Also, Schram, op. cit., p 26, author contends that despite the fact that Mao swept with Li Ta-chao to ultra-nationalism but at the same time he never lost sight of class differentiation within Chinese society.
49. Snow, op. cit., p 181,182, Mao told the author that after reading three books, Communist Manifesto by Marx, Class Struggle by Kautsky; a History of Socialism by Kirkup and having convinced of the correct interpretation of Marxism, he became Marxist by the summer of 1920. Also in May 1921 he went to attend the founding meeting of the Communist Party at Sanghai.
50. See for detailed discussion over "National and Colonial Queations" d'Encausse, C, and Schram, Marxism in Asia (London: Penguin Press 1969)

the specificity of Mao's ideological development, it is necessary to see in brief the position of the two necessary coordinating agents: 1) Comintern and 2) Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the first general secretary of the CPC⁽⁵¹⁾.

In the beginning Marx and Engels both maintained that the stagnant Asiatic society based on natural basis of oriental despotism come out only of inertia through the intervention of Western capitalism. However, in later phase, they changed their opinion giving way to the view that being supported and guided by the Western industrial proletariat, the Asiatic society could skip the protracted stages of capitalism and go over directly towards socialist stage. However, it was vague and far from the centrality of their agreement.

It was Lenin who afterwards took this question seriously and theorise it finally to emerge vigorously at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. As early as 1916 he asserted, "... national wars waged by colonies and semi-colonies in the imperialist era are only probable but inevitable. Some 1,000 million people and more than half of the world's population live in the colonies and semi-colonies (China, Turkey and Persia)...the continuation of the policy of national liberation by the colonies will inevitably lead them to wage national wars against imperialism...."⁽⁵²⁾ In the marathon session of the Second Congress (1920)

51. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was the first general secretary and continued in that capacity till 1927 when he was charged for the failure of United Front with Kuomintang, also known for his consistent apathy towards the role of peasantry.

52. d'Encausse and Shram, op. cit., pp 144-45.

Lenin's line of major categorization emerged in the following way against the two extreme Eurocentric and Asiatic views of Italian Marxists, Serrati and Indian Marxist M.N.Roy --he put the countries of the world into three categories depending upon the nature of industrialisation, the strength of the organised proletariat class and the hegemonic control of the Imperialism. In the first category came the countries where the proletariat was the main force of the establishment of the Soviets. In the second category came those countries which were colonies or semi-colonies and where there was no proletariat whatsoever nor logically could be any industrial bourgeoisie to overthrow. In these countries, Lenin argued, the proletariat of the Metropolitan country concerned could build peasants Soviet in the wake of its own victory. The third category comprises of these countries where the proletariat was already coming to occupy an important position and where it was possible therefore to conceive of native proletariat as the native force of revolution along with peasantry. Apart from these three specific categorisation, Lenin also contributed to the direction of the Communist Movement at the general level. He was the first Marxist to establish the importance of the role of peasantry in colonies and progressive role of national bourgeoisie in national liberation movements. However, given the condition of China which fell in his second category he never visualised the peasantry

on their own to be the basis and guiding force of successful revolutionary struggles rather, following his logic, it could have been the task of the proletariat, of the imperialist countries penetrated into China, to guide and lead the national revolutionary struggle in the wake of social revolution in their own respective countries.

Let us see now in China the views and the line pursued by Ch'en Tu-hsiu who was the general secretary of the Communist Party of China. Unlike Li Ta-chao, Ch'en was too slow to convert into Marxism. But, once converted (unlike Li) he soon adopted virtually all aspects of orthodox Marxism and historical materialism⁽⁵³⁾. He thought, in China, that at the first stage bourgeoisie would lead the democratic revolution because the proletariat has no power base there. Secondly, he held that in colonial countries, the communists should build up an independent communist organization for eventual struggle with the bourgeoisie. Thirdly, he had explicit doubts over the peasantry, embedded with tradition and petty-bourgeois instincts to play any progressive role. Mao told Edgar Snow, "(Ch'en Tu-hsiu) did not understand the role of the peasantry in the revolution and greatly

53. Meisner, op. cit., Li Ta-chao, pp 112-14.

underestimated its possibilities at this time."⁽⁵⁴⁾ It is ironical that despite holding firmly as his own the first two views mentioned above, he was charged with following Right Opportunist petty-bourgeois policy for giving concessions to the Wuhan Kuomintang and causing the failure of United Front Policy.

In the meantime, Mao after the first Congress of the CPC in July 1921 started working Changhsa as secretary of the CPC in Hunan province, his task being organizing students and workers in the socialist youth corps and founding a party cell at Anyan among coal miners. He had to however, leave the place for Shanghai in 1923 under the threat of arrest. It was not till 1925 that he became seriously aware of the role of Chinese peasantry in Chinese revolutionary movement. Before that as Schram explains "On the one hand, excessive zeal in cooperating with the Kuomintang ; on the other, underestimation of the revolutionary force of peasantry"⁽⁵⁵⁾ dominated his mind. It was the profound shadow of the dominant line of the CPC which was more or less reflecting in his activities.

But, as we have discussed in the beginning itself, the criticality of his thought process and the dynamic developments in the

54. Snow, op. cit., p 188. Name within brackets added.

55. Schram, op. cit., p 27.

reality⁽⁵⁶⁾ Combined together pushed him gradually but definitely towards the majority section of the society, peasantry which was to play the leading and decisive role in the years to follow. In 1925 when he fell ill and was taking rest in his home province, Hunan, he saw the inherent revolutionary potentiality of the peasants and felt inspired enough to begin rural organization campaign. During the course of these political activities he wrote two important essays titled "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in February 1926 and February 1927 respectively. Since, the first essay is substantially revised in the Selected Works (published from Peking: Foreign Language Press), the only source to rely on is the translation by Schram in extracted form. The second essay, in the Selected Works, resembles to a great extent in content with the original version and hence can be relied upon for the purpose of analysis⁽⁵⁷⁾.

In the first essay, Mao explains the position of various classes in the Chinese society and the specific role, each of them would be

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56. Snow, op.cit., pp 185-86, Mao says to the author that following the May 30 Incident in which the Kwantung Peasants demonstrated their hostility to the indignity inflicted in the Chinese people by the foreigners, a great wave of political activity developed in which Hunanese Peasantry became very militant ; developed in him new conviction about the importance of peasantry in Revolutionary Movement.
57. Mao Tse-tung, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" trans. in Schram, op. cit., pp 143-47, 172-78. Also , "Report On An Investigation Of The Peasant Movement In Hunan" Selected Works, (Peking:Foreign Language Press, 1965), Vol I, pp 23-59.

playing in the revolutionary struggle. The dynamics of classes is explained on the basis of the following major variables--the income of occupational groups, concretely identifiable possessions, consumption pattern and the duration of labour power employed. The basis and the role of the CPC is explained in terms of the friends it could rely upon in waging national war of liberation and the enemies it would have to confront.

Mao And Social Classes

Unlike the Marxist assumption of identifying the nature of the development of productive forces objectively and organically relating the revolutionary task with its historically determined bearer--the proletariat, Mao visualises the role of the CPC in the historically identifiable and the most oppressed sections of the society, the proletariat of the city and the proletariat of villages. The proletariat in appearance on the basis of the level of income and consumption pattern replaces the originally conceived Marxian proletariat which emerges exclusively in the factory of bourgeoisie and in direct opposition to it objectively. Thus, the dynamism of the basic classes is evaluated within the broad parameter of the vertical gradation of society which reduces in turn, the dynamic essentiality of the basic classes having certain specific outlook and consciousness objectively determined.

Mao finds five categories of people residing in the city. They are big bourgeoisie, middle bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, semiproletariat and proletariat . As their counterparts in the villages there are eight types of classes⁽⁵⁸⁾ of people --big landlords, small landlords, peasant landholders, semi-landholders, sharecroppers, poor peasants , farm labourers, rural artisans; elements de'classe'. People in both places exhibit similar attitude, tendency and above all consciousness on the basis of the respective places they occupy in the vertical gradations of society. "...the big landowners are the big bourgeoisie, the small landowners are the middle bourgeoisie, the peasant-landholders are the petty-bourgeoisie; the peasants who own part of their land and rent the rest are the semi-proletariat and the agricultural labourers are the proletariat."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Thus, the big bourgeoisie consisting of big bankers, big merchants, big industrialists, and big landlords comprise uppermost sections of the society. They are the joint partners opposed to the interests of the common people, serving as the mainstay of foreign imperialism. The main interest of the common people lies in the overthrow of imperialism with which the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords

58. For, Mao, the terms Type, Category or Class convey the similar meaning of the reality he explains.

59. Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., p 144, trans. in Schram, op. cit.

are organically linked.

Leaving them apart, the other classes and sections would play varying degrees of dynamic role according to the downwards positions they occupy in the vertical arrangements of the society. The middle bourgeoisie consisting of the money lenders, the merchants of middling importance, the owners of small factories; suffers from the blows of the foreign capital as well as the war lords and hence opposes it. However, the growth in the militancy of indigenous as well as foreign proletariat and the consequent fear and anxiety of losing future political base pushes it back into the fold of big bourgeoisie and the landlord. Thus, although, it stands for a specific kind of nationalism, i.e., the establishment of a state dominated by a single power, national bourgeoisie; it vacillates in performing its task. During the course of revolutionary struggle, one section of it being radicalised, would join the ranks of revolutionaries, while the other would go with counter-revolution.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Below the middle bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie consists of shopkeepers and master craftsmen who would perform the role of allies in the struggle. Although, they too vacillate. Industrial proletariat

60. Ibid, p 145.

who stand at the lowest level of the city hierarchy and are highly organised constitute the major force of the national revolutionary movement along with the coolies, rikshawmen, garbagemen and street cleaners, all coming under the category of semi-proletariat.⁽⁶¹⁾

In the village, below the big landlords, stands the small landlords who have risen to that status either through hard work or by investing small merchantile capital in land or by exploiting the small official position. Like middle bourgeoisie, it has also a vacillating character; a section of it would come over to the side of the revolution while the other would embrace counter-revolutionary force. Down to this is the class of peasant landholders divided into three sections. First section consists of those who save surplus money and food after satisfying their basic needs. The second constitute of the landholders who produce as much as they consume. The third is of those landholders who are running in deficit and sinking gradually in the heirarchy of the economic status. In the course of revolution, the first section would go to the side of the counter-revolution, the second would maintain neutrality and join the ranks of revolutionaries only after the balance of forces ^{would shift} towards the same. The third would

61. Ibid, p 177.

necessarily join the ranks of revolution.

Down to this section, there is a vast mass of semi-landholders, sharecroppers, poor peasants and agricultural proletariat ranking downwardsly on the economic scale. The lower the position one occupies, higher the radical potentialities it has. Mao emphasising the importance of his section says, "Agricultural proletariat is the most distressed in the rural areas and should be given the greatest attention by those who are organizing peasant movements."⁽⁶²⁾

Unlike the Marxian position on non-producing section of society, i.e., lumpen proletariat ; Mao finds in their perennial insecurity, a source of revolutionary dynamism. They are the bankrupt soldiers, bandits , thieves, beggars and prostitutes. "These people are capable of fighting very bravely, and if properly led , can become a revolutionary force ."⁽⁶³⁾

Mao's Ideology - V

From the content analysis of this essay it is clear that although, Mao uses Marxian terminologies his method , framework and meaning is not the same . The term "class" is used alternatively to denote group, section , or stratum. Similarly, the centrality of bourgeoisie

62. Ibid, p 175.

63. Ibid, p 176.

and proletariat as constituting two dialectically opposed poles in a specific objective condition, is lost in the schema of virtual gradation of socio-economic order based on income, consumption pattern and simple control over the means of production. Numerical division of the people and descriptive differentiation of characteristics of various sections blurs the general Marxist categorization based on the dynamics of basic production process. Mao says, "How many are our friends? There are three ninety five million of them. How many are our true enemies? There are four million of them. Even if we consider these four million as enemies, this only adds up to a bloc of barely five million, and a sneeze from three ninety five million would certainly suffice to blow them down."⁽⁶⁴⁾ So to put it in a few words the primacy in the evaluation of the dynamics of objective production process is replaced by the arithmetical calculations of the functional role of various sections of society in the national liberation movement. Following the sequence of the same argument, the Communist Party has not been discussed in its historical relations with its class base, i.e., proletariat. It appears as an agent representing the interests of all the most oppressed sections of the society irrespective of their background. Primacy has been accorded to the radicalism,

64. Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., pp 146-47.

manifesting in the concrete action over the objective class basis in this essay. And, the basis of radicalism is sought in the degree of economic instability and insecurity.

Failure^{or} weakness of the revolutionary struggle is argued in relations to the specific policy pursued by and friends and enemies selected by the communist party rather basing it on the maturity or immaturity of the objective situation.

So, to understand Mao by presuming this essay to be the work of a Marxist, would be highly misleading. But, if the tests is evaluated in the dominant Chinese tradition of Marxism that is the way Marxism was perceived and internalized in China; it is very well a definite development within that tradition. Schram remarks over this essay in the following way, "These confirm, first of all, that Mao's position at this time constitutes neither orthodox Leninism nor a hearsay beyond Leninism, but rather the ropings of a young man who has not yet thoroughly understood Lenin. This is strictly evident, first of all, in his classifying the whole of the Chinese population according to income, with no distinction between urban and rural categories, and no attention to the role of the people concerned either in the social structure or in the economy.⁽⁶⁵⁾ It is true that Mao was seriously trying to internalise the Marxian categories through Lenin's framework and he was simply a

65 Schram, OP.Cit., p.28

beginner in this respect at that time. But the bigger truth is the fact that the Leninist categories were themselves being transformed into the Chinese way of thinking simultaneously. Thus, not only the tradition of populism survives extraordinarily in this essay compared its earlier essays; but also Leninism is being coopted into the same. Interestingly the form of the essay is different from the earlier essay (1919) . No longer the heroes and personalities of China's past appear. Also, the focus of emphasis is clearly carved out on working class and peasantry on the one side and the bourgeoisie and landlords on the other. Finally, his perception of the revolutionary process that the national revolutionary was in China is the different form of social revolution ongoing in Europe, clearly reflects the populist mark of Li Ta-chao on him.

Mao and Peasantry

In the second essay, Mao describes the nature of on-going agrarian movement in Hunan and the role of various sections of peasantry in it. As the title suggests, the purpose of his investigation was to find out in detail the truth behind the complaints of the pro-Kuomintang Chinese gentry that the peasant movement was crossing the proper limits. Contrary to the expectation and belief of complainants, Mao soars full praises on the peasantry engaged in violently overthrowing the rule of the landlords and

evil gentry. He exhorts them for getting better organised and execute revolutionary task with thoroughness.

The form of the presentation of report suggests that Mao had suddenly discovered a hidden pressure of revolutionary potentiality in the peasantry. The heat of passion reflects in the first itself when he says, "In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces several hundred peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force swift and violent that no power, however, great, will be able to hold it back."⁶⁷

Peasants were getting rapidly organised in big associations with the purpose of forming their own self-government. In the process the main hurdles were the landlords and its usual supporters, the gentry, police, magistrate and judiciary. So, the peasants with the might of organised physical strength were mounting two pronged attacks, physical as well as psychological on them. From publicly denouncing and punishing them to destroying their material possessions and threatening them physically, were the various ways used by

67. Mao Tse-tung, "Report On An Investigation of the Peasant Movement In Hunan", Selected Works (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1965) Vol.1, p.23

ofganized peasantry against the enemies. Mao says, "They fine the local tyrants and evil gentry, ... slaughter their pigs and consume their grains." ⁶⁸ Thus, the various methods used by the peasants to concretely dismantle the age-old rule of feudalism were followings: at the political level, the methods were checking the public accounts of income-expendtute, impsing fines, levying contributions humiliating, locking up in the village jails, ordering banishments and above all in extreme cases collectively executing the evil landlords at the economic level they were prohibiting the movement of grains from one area to another, imposing convenient grain prices, checking the rents, deposits and cancellation of tenancies and dictating the rate of interest. At the social level they were prohibiting gaming, gambling opium-smoking, distilling and sugar making, feasts, banditry; ^{and building.} roads and repairing embankments organizing cooperative movement for consumers' marketing and creditor on the other.

The Vanguard

The most important section of the text is the role assigned to the poor peasantry in the agrarian revolutionary struggle. As we have discussed in the first essay, Mao repeats here the same argument for the rich and middle peasantry. Rich peasantry avoids and middle peasantry hesitates to join the revolutionary struggle.

68. Mao Tse-tung, *op. cit*, p. 28.

The latter waits till the revolutionary process get stronger enough to be joined. Qualitatively different from them, the poor peasantry which constitutes the largest section of rural population i.e. 70 percent plays the determining and decisive role in the agrarian revolutionary war. Like the proletariat of the city having the no possessions except the labour power of the two hands the poor peasantry in the village has also "neither a tile over their heads nor a speak of land under their feet." (69) Although the bitter struggle in the countryside, it is the main force fighting resolutely. By successfully overthrowing the rule of local tyrants and evil gentry, they have assumed the leadership of the peasant associations. Mao asserts emphatically, "Leadership by the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny revolution. To attack them is to attack revolution."⁷⁰

Mao's Ideology --VI

Attributing such a revolutionary task and role to poor peasantry raises a serious controversy over the genuineness of this argument as being well within Marxist-Leninist tradition. Karl A. Wittfogel in his lengthy debate with Benjamin Schwartz wants to prove that the treatment of the poor peasantry in the Hunan report does not deviate

69 Mao Tse Tung, Op. Cit., p.32

70 Ibid., p.33

from the Leninist formulations. Citing examples from the various documents of Lenin, he argues, that 1917 onwards Lenin began increasingly emphasising the role of peasantry in the national revolutionary wars of the colonial societies. Lenin went to the extent of asking for, propagating the idea of organizing peasant Soviets in the second Congress of the Comintern (1920). In the Baku Congress he described to the peasantry the role of the main fighting force with its task to form peasant Soviets and the Soviet power expressing the dictatorship of the poorest peasantry⁽⁷¹⁾. Above all, had Hunan report been the text of the heretic character it would not have appeared in the communist publications (Communist International, 15th June, 1927) and received appreciation by the person like Bukharin⁽⁷²⁾. The arguments put forward in favour of Lenin's concern over the question of revolutionary role of peasantry is true as we have discussed earlier in the section dealing with Comintern's policy in the colonial and semi-colonial societies but, it is also true that Lenin never opined or visualized that the peasantry in itself would be capable of independently forming state power without the guidance of the communist parties of the metropolitan countries exercising imperialist control over China.

71 Wittfogel, K.A., "The Legend of Maoism" China Quarterly No.1, January-March 1960, pp.79,81

72 Wittfogel, "The Legend of Maoism" China Quarterly, No.2, April-June 1960, p.21

Spontaneity, Organisation, Politics

Leaving apart this debate there^are other important distinctions in the text of Hunan report which reflects clearly the difference in Mao's assumptions from that of Lenin. Mao emphatically warns "Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march as their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly"⁽⁷³⁾. Here, in this questioning argument Mao implicitly emphasises the primacy of spontaneity contrary to the Leninist assumptions of primacy of the party and the organized action of it. Similarly, unlike Leninist distrust in the capability of masses to visualize truth of the reality; Mao emphatically argues that no one can comprehend the truth better than the masses themselves. Mao says, "The peasants are clear sighted. Who is bad and who is not, who is the worst and who is not quite so vicious, who deserves severe punishment and who deserves to be let off likely -- the peasant keep clear accounts ..."⁽⁷⁴⁾ Following this argument one can derive that in Mao's

73 Mao Tse-tung, Op.Cit.,p.24

74 Ibid.,Op.Cit.,p.28

assumption, the masses and their spontaneous activities become more important than the role of the party. The uniqueness of his personality is also revealed in his identification of violence with justice. He says, "Revolution is not a dinner party ... it cannot be so refined ... restrained, magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."⁽⁷⁵⁾ However, Mao's constant emphasis over organization, and primacy of politics over economy reflects his resemblance with the Leninist assumptions in this regard. He clearly suggests, "Once the peasant have their organization, the first thing they must do is to smash the political prestige and power of the landlord class, ... without victory in this struggle, no victory is possible in the economic struggle to reduce rent and interest, to secure land and other means of production, and so on."⁽⁷⁶⁾

Comparing the February 1927 text with this report, one finds in Mao the clear signs of leaning towards peasantry and concentrating on poor peasantry for the future revolutionary struggle. However, this argument cannot be stretched out of proportion. The new learning of Marxian world view still carried profound weight in Mao's thought process. As late as 1930, Mao had serious doubts over the capability of peasants to form Soviets on their own.

75 Ibid., p.28

76 Ibid., p.35

He was worried by the fact that the peasant were unable to understand the meaning of Soviets, that they were ridden by localism and provincialism and that they drew distinction between natives and non-natives but, the criticality of his thought-process and the dynamism of reality together pushed him on the road he was hereafter to allow till the entire China is liberated in 1949. Schram logically explains the seriousness of his pursuit carried out unmindfully of the dictates of Moscow or CPC in the following way, "Only one thing really interested him: that he be allowed to pursue his rural strategy based on the peasantry, rather than the line of the Comintern and of the successive leaders of the Chinese communist party, who placed primary emphasis on the urban proletariat and the conquest of cities.

77 Mao Tse-tung, "Ching-kang-Shan Ch'fen-Wei tui Chung-Yang te-Pao-Kao", pp.77-79, quoted in, Swarup, Shanti, A Study of The Chinese Communist Movement, (Oxford:Clarendon Press 1966) pp.145-46

78 Schram, Op.Cit., p.34

chapter 2.

maoism and marxism

Chapter-II
Maoism and Marxism

In History men who prove their worth in transforming present are rewarded in turn the privilege of untying the knot of future. Mao after the 1927 betrayal of Kuomintang, and the consequent systematic massacre campaign of Chiang Kai Shek, was seriously absorbed in finding a revolutionary base to stand and transform the weakness of present into strength of future. Through continuous interaction with the present he, finally succeeded in finding a revolutionary base on the mountainous Kiangsi-Hunan border with the help of his military helpmate, Chu Teh and successfully defended it against the counterattacks of Kuomintang (Hereafter referred to KMT).¹

Meanwhile, the Moscow directed CPC Leadership under Li Li-san and afterwards Wang Ming (Known as twenty eight bolsheviks or returned students' Faction), was pre-occupied with realizing the given truth, the noble prophecy of Marxist tradition i.e, a working class led city insurrection in order to establish workers' Soviet in the key city centers. Such exercises failed miserably one after another. The CPC leadership during this phase (1929-34) threw whatever its skeletal forces was in to attacks on the cities of China in a conquest of power strategy. Interestingly, the dogmatism was so high that Li-Li-san was visualizing in the growing passivity of revolutionary situation an impetuous upsurge of the masses because in Moscow they saw this proletarian break through going on throughout

1. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank (ed), "A Documentary History of Chinese Communism" (New York : Atheneum, 1971) p.217,

the world and in China especially. After his dismissal, Wang Ming dominated leadership and largely followed the same path.²

Mao in Leadership

At the end of 1934, a period of new crisis set in which posed a serious threat to the very existence of CPC in the Kiangsi base. Cornered by the determined "extermination campaign" of Chiang Kai-shek the CPC and its Red Army had to undertake a long arduous course of journey to find out a new base, the historic march that followed known as Long March. During its course, Mao proved his mettle as a military strategist and people's organiser. In January 1935 the harassed, decimated main forces of the movement paused to rest and re-group at Tsunyi in the hills of northern Kweichow. There the top political and military leaders present held a conference which marked a turning in the history of Chinese Communist movement. Henceforth, the history was to give an opportunity to Mao to direct the future course.³

Mao as a theoretician

After the occupation of the city of Yen-an in December 1936 and the

2. Boorman and Howard (eds), Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (New York: Columbia University Press 1967). Li-Li-san

pursuing the city oriented line dominated the CPC policy during 1929-30, opposing Mao's rural strategy. Wang Ming as the leader of Soviet returned 28 Bolsheviks dominated the Party Policies during 1931-34 resolutely opposing Mao. Also see, Klien and Clark (eds) Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism: 1921-65, 2 Vols (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press 1971).

and the consequent long period of stability and consolidation Mao could get the time for theorising his experiences and getting it accepted as the most appropriate view of Chinese reality. Most of his theoretical and strategic works date to this period (Yenan period 1935 -45).⁴ Interestingly, the context of these writings and lectures has been, apart from the relationship with KMT and Japanese imperialism; to expose and dismantle dogmatism and deviations within the party and emphasize the centrality of practice as the criterion of truth. It was but natural given the nature of crisis he had withstood for a long time i.e. imposition of an externally determined line on CPC and the neglect of the specificity of Chinese situation. Thus, the world view that he developed incorporated marxism to the extent it was not to become the domination of an external agent in the dynamics of internal i.e. Chinese reality.

3. Ch'en Jerome, "Resolutions of the Tsunyi conference," China Quarterly, No.40, October 1969, P P ,1-38. Although ambiguity lies with the exact position acquired by Mao (probably he elevated to the position of Chairman of the standing Committee), it is clear that he acquired considerable power in the party after this conference..

4. Brandt, Schwartz, Fairbank, op.cit., p.239.

The heart of his theoretical formulations constitutes his two lectures (On Practice and On Contradiction) dating July 1937 and August 1937 respectively.⁵ It discusses the philosophical problems concerning theory of knowledge and method of Cognition of reality.

Mao's Ideology- I

On Practice

In the first essay Mao explains the dialectical materialist basis of knowledge and the practice oriented law of Cognition. The source of knowledge is the material interaction with external reality . The interaction assumes mainly three forms; Social , Political and Economic . Among them, the economic one occupies the basic place, Because, in order to exist , the fulfilment of basic needs is possible through material production only. In the process of material production, man begins gradually understanding the phenomenon, the properties and the relations between himself and nature. This relationship is reflected in his other activities i.e. Social and political (Mao differentiates it in the categories, class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits). Although all human material activities contribute to the development of his knowledge , it is the participation in the class struggle in various forms which exerts maximum influence in the development of it. ⁶

5. Mao Tse-tung , "On Practice" "On Contradiction " , Selected Works , Vol.1(Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960) pp 295-309,311-47, .

6. Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice " , op.cit. p.296.

Class basis of understanding presumes that in the process of production the relationship in which the different members of society enters into are essentially based on the respective positions the individual or group acquires in the totality of production . Hence every individual is at the same time member of a class. His ideology is , therefore , the ideology and thinking of a particular class .

Materiality of Knowing: Theory of Cognition -I

After explaining the generality, basis and sources of knowledge ,Mao proceeds to explain the process of the development of knowledge. It is in its general as well as specific form is historical. Marxism has developed as a science of today through the successive stages of the development of knowledge historically . For a very long period in history , Men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of the history of society because for one thing the bias of the exploiting class always distorted history and, for another, the small scale production limited man's outlook.⁷ Here one can see in Mao the emphasis on two aspects simultaneously, the role of ideology in positive sense as well as the limits imposed on the knowledge by the extent of development of productive forces. Thus in the modern age , the immense forces of production with its universality of scope and influence turned the historical understanding of man (Proletariat) to a higher level into a science, the science of Marxism.

7, Ibid,

Thus the process of knowledge in its specificity and generality , develops step by step, from lower to higher and from superficial to deeper,

Since the objective world with its own developmental motion exists independently of the subject, the latter in order to understand the former must involve in practice i.e. bringingsubjective ideas to correspond the laws of the objective reality. If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into the correspondence with the laws of the objective external world. ⁸

In practice, the error is must. However, every mistaken practice teaches a lesson and gives scope to ^rectify mistakes thereby taking the ideas to a higher level as well as closer to the objective reality. So practice and only in the course of practice, the correct ideas evolve, develop and assume the character of theory. Mao says , "Only the social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge." ⁹

Theory of Cognition --II

Cognition is a process in which two stages are involved; one is perceptual and other is conceptual. In the beginning, man, by coming into contacts with the external world receives only the rudimentary idea of the reality, that is, phenomenal aspect. His understanding remains fragmentary and at the superficial level. Although, he cognises the external relations

8. Ibid., pp.296-97

9 Ibid., p.297, cited from Karl Marx, "Thesis on Feuerbach", Karl Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Vol.II, p.403, Moscow 1958

of things, he ^{re}mains no way acquainted with the essence, the internal relations, the totality of the reality. However, when the practice is repeated time and again, gradually and necessarily, his understanding moves at higher as well as deeper level from his earlier position of impressionistic understanding i.e., external relations. It is characterised by a qualitative ^{development in his} thought-process. At this level the formation of concepts take place.

Concepts are different from phenomena in the way that where the latter rests at the level of understanding of separate aspects and external relations of things, the former corresponds to the level of the essence, totality and the internal relations of things. ⁽¹⁰⁾ With these concepts and by the means of subjective reasoning i.e., judgement and inference, one gets the rational knowledge of the reality in its totality i.e., a stage in which the external as well as internal contradictions and their relations are understood. Between the perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge there is necessarily a materialist dialectical relations. Although the perception and conception correspond to two distinct stages in the process of cognition with two different characteristics, they constitute the parts of a singular integrated process of cognition. While the understanding of the first stage solves the problem of phenomena the second stage explains the problem of essence. For Mao the second stage is a theory which can guide in the subjective

(11)
transformation of a given reality.

Experience

After explaining the relations between the two stages of cognition, Mao undertakes the third question i.e., the relationship between direct experience and indirect experience. Here he attempts to solve the problem of the relationship of particular limitations of direct experience and the role in the service of it, the universality of indirect experience can perform. Direct experience is must for the acquisition of knowledge. However, given the limitations of sensuous interaction of a man in, terms of his sense perception and the vastness of the world in terms of space and time, it is impossible for him to acquire the direct experience of everything. So he has to take the support of the indirect sources of information. These indirect informations are themselves the direct experiences of past or present, here or there. From these informations and experiences only those which had truly reflected the objective reality in their contexts should be taken as
(12)
authentic ideas. Direct experience, thus, in particularity and authentic ideas (scientific abstractions) emerged out of the direct experiences of others, in togetherness constitute the unity of knowledge in totality.

11 Ibid., p.299

12 Ibid., p.300

A world view with a contradiction within it and rigidity of of onesidedness is bound to misconceive the reality. Mao criticises the Idealist and Empiricist both the schools, for the fundamental errors they commit in explaining reality. Idealist emphasizes the rational knowledge as true source of reality overlooking the significant role, the perceptual knowledge plays. For them, the reason is supreme while experience is unmeaningful. Contrary to this the Empiricists uphold ^{er} perceptual alone as true. There is onesidedness in both understandings. Their inherent contradictions are resolved in the dialectical materialist theory which visualizes the movement of knowledge from perceptual to the rational at particular as well general level.

Practice and Theory

The aim of revolutionary ideology is not only to explain the given reality but to use this acquired knowledge to change the reality. Development from one objective level to the other requires the conscious subjective effort of the historical agent Man. Marxism as a philosophy of revolutionary change squarely puts the question of practice in any given explanation. No doubt, the role of theory as a guide to action is accepted, but its existence is determined by the nature of practice it professes. Because a knowledge is primarily based on practice and can realise itself only in practice. Mao argues that as a leap occurs in the

transformation of perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge it must follow another leap in the similar way from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice. ⁽¹³⁾ Because, a system of ideas thus developed can be verified of its authenticity only in practice. There are two possibilities for a given theory; either the aim for which the theory has been developed is totally realized or it is partially realized. If the former is the case, the knowledge may be considered completed with regard to that particular process. ⁽¹⁴⁾ But in actuality such perfection is almost an impossibility. The numerous limitations set by scientific and technological conditions and the objective process itself; which does not reveal the essence fully in a given time, ⁱlimits the possibility of concretizing the theorised aimfully. Thus, in the latter case, the theory has to be revised partially or even sometimes thoroughly. But once the subjective realises objective in an anticipated way, the movement of human knowledge regarding that particular objective process at a certain stage of development can be considered complete. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Objective reality is not a static thing. It is constantly changing by reason of its internal contradiction and struggle giving birth to new processes. Therefore, a revolutionary engaged in changing reality should be dynamic and cautious enough to bring changes in subjective understanding according to the changed situation. Specifically, in a revolutionary situation when all

13 Ibid., p.304

14 Ibid., pp.305,306

15 Ibid.,

contradictions are in dynamic form this becomes all the more necessary. The source of all the errors committed is basically the lack of subjective efforts to keep ideas corresponding to the dynamic development in the objective reality. Those who remain clung to the old formulations and fail to recognise the new stage commit the error of Right Opportunity. Contrary to it those who outstrip a given stage of development and regard their fantasies as truth suffer from Left Adventurist thinking.⁽¹⁶⁾ The touchstone of all these deviations, again, is practice.

For Mao, the objective reality is in the infinite process of being, becoming and passing away, so the human knowledge is. Thus, the absolute truth is the sum total of innumerable relative truths.⁽¹⁷⁾ Innumerable, the absoluteness of reality is, thus, projected into an unknowable future implying that the absolute final truth is an impossibility.

Central concern of Mao in the essay has been to investigate the origin, nature, methods and limits of human knowing -- of knowledge. The concept of practice occupies the most important place in his total vision. Giving due importance to the role of theory in the transformation of world he, however, accords primacy to practice, for, the former emerges out of and verified through, the latter only.

16 Ibid., p.307

17 Ibid.,

Between matter and ideas, knowing and doing, theory and practice; matter, doing and practice occupies the primary position. The materiality of external reality imposes limitations; however, within that, the role of subjectivity is supreme. If the material reality is the source of ideas, Ideas in turn can also become material force. It is in this logical sequence, in the Mao's vision, error is never treated as undesirable. It is the integral part of experiment, verification and thereby the source of development. Discover the truth through practice and again through practice verify and develop the truth.

(18)

As we have discussed in the first chapter that for Mao, it is not the maturity or immaturity of the objective situation, but the weakness or strength of subjective formulations and actions ; being primary it becomes all the more explicit that he professes the naturality of error as well as the preparedness of owning responsibility for failure. Contextually, in this essay the subjectivist mistakes in the party as Doctrinairism and Empiricism has been exposed thoroughly. It can be justly said that the necessary lag between the development of a situation and its conceptualization has been a particular bane of communist theory. Although every theory tends to resist the embarrassment caused by emerging new problems, communism's

claim to have grasp^{ed} the true laws of historical development renders the recong^ation an^d incorporation of novel^{ideas}, usually difficult. This problematic has been taken well in the Mao's exposition. For, he observes that any knowledge is only a phase of development that could pass, and therefore exhorts revolutionary leaders to be alert to the signs of the times and to be ready to discard old formulas in new conditions.¹⁹ The question of practice has been the central concern of Marxist school of thinking from Marx himself. Engels, took up this problem in the context of settling scores with both the Idealist as well as Mechanical materialists; Lenin, to fight the influence of Machism among the Social Democrats; but for Mao, the context was radically different. He was applying these concepts to the practical question of Chinese revolutionary strategy in the 1930 s.

"It is the total framework of continuous practice of revolutionary class struggle, Mohanty says, which has added more meaning to this epistemological question of the relationship between Matter and Idea.... Law of unity of knowing and doing did simplify the basic philosophical concept of dialectical materialism for day to day practice"²⁰

19. Hsiung, J. Chieh (ed), The Logic of Maoism: Critiques and Explication (New York: Praeger, 1974) p.23

20. Mohanty, Manoranjan, The Political Philosophy of Mao Tse-tung (New Delhi: The Macmillan Company, 1978) p.151

It is true that there lies uniqueness in Mao's contribution of simplifying the difficult problematic of Theory of Knowledge for common people to grasp and act accordingly . But , the bigger truth is the fact that it could be realised because of the presence of its latent essence in the soil of Chinese philosophy itself of which Mao was in command. The Chinese way of thinking or the Chinese life-world is this worldly, practical, concrete and particular rather than other-worldly, speculative and abstract. Like, Marxism, Confucianism also plead, for a practical humanism. "The unity of knowledge and action, Y.Jung and P.Jung says, is one of the most persistent themes in Chinese philosophy from Confucius and Mencius to Wang Yang-ming and Mao Tse-tung" ²¹

The passive internalisation of a system of thought in its entirety is one thing and ; active and critical assimilation of it in the process of actively transforming the challenge of reality is another. In the latter case, the existing philosophical basis of reality gets transformed in to higher form containing the best elements of the essence which is taken to be transform in the totality of reality. While , in the former case , the

21. Jung ,H.Y. and Jung, Peter," The Hermeneutics of Political Ideology and Cultural change: Maoism as the sinicization of Marxism", Cultural Hermeneutics, Vol. 3, 1975-76,p.173

element of subjectivity is reduced to nothingness rendering the formulation motionless, passive, artificial and devoid of effectivity. The distinctive excellence of Mao's theory lies in the fact that it stands firmly in the history of China and hence historical China resides in him.

On Contradiction

It bears the date August 1937 and so was written a month later than "On Practice". It was a work presented as in lecture form to the "Institute for Resistance to Japan." In it Mao sets contradiction at the centre of the theory of cognition. Beginning his discussion with the nature of two contradictory world views (metaphysical and the dialectical materialist) he delineates over the different forms of contradiction: the Universality of Contradiction, the Particularity of Contradiction, the Principal Contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction and the place of Antagonism in contradiction.⁽²²⁾

Statics and Dynamics

Ideas of an age corresponds to the level of development of the productive forces. In the ancient and mediaeval period, the development of a productive forces was such that the metaphysical world outlook dominated the thought-process of mankind. But,

22 Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", OP.Cit., p.311

with the development of capitalism the thought-process crystallized into two distinct streams; the one being vulgar Evolutionism and other, the Dialectical Materialism. According to Evolutionists "Things exist in isolation, static, immutable, propelled by an external agent for whatever quantitative changesⁿ take place in respective positions of them. So far them, capitalist exploitation, market competition, individualism and so on, all can be found in ancient, slave and primitive societies and will exist for ever unchanged. (23) The problem with this philosophy is that in place of visualising the dynamics of change at different historical stages, it projects the immediate present into past and future in static form. In opposition to this philosophy, dialectical materialist outlook proceeds with the assumption that the Matter always exist in motion. It is the motion that bears the different manifestations of phenomenal diversity of the reality. The qualitative and quantitative changes that takes place in the development of material reality are because of the essential nature the Matter carries with itself i.e., internal contradictoriness (the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relations) of a thing. Mao cites the example of the transformation of Russia from an Imperialist country to Socialist country and feudal Japan into imperialist Japan to prove the point that the dynamics of internal contradictoriness within a thing

is the cause of all transformations in the reality. Had there been no Contradiction, there could not have taken place this distinct transformation.⁽²³⁾

In logical sequence to the earlier arguments is the another point -- the relationship among the various forms of motion in reality. When every form of the motion has its own internal contradictoriness, there is a specific kind of relationship among them. This relationship constitute, the relationship of basis and conditions. For each contradiction within a thing another contradiction plays the role of condition. In a suitable temperature, Mao says, an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken, because each has a different basis.⁽²⁴⁾ Thus, in the relationship of external and internal, the internal occupies the primary place while the external, secondary. external decides the nature in the form of development while the internal determines the nature of the essence, the new development assumes.

The Universal

The Contradiction is absolute and Universal. In every process, it exists from the beginning to the end. Also, it is present in the development of all things.⁽²⁵⁾ According to Mao, Lenin explained this characteristic of Contradiction in the following way --

23 Ibid., p.313

24 Ibid., p.314

25 Ibid., p.316

In Mathematics: + and - ; Differential and Integral

In Mechanics : Action and Reaction

In Physics : Positive and Negative Electricity

In Chemistry : the Combination and Dissociation of Atoms

(26)

In Social Science: The Class Struggle.

This universality of contradiction has been misinterpreted by a section of Marxist philosophers. They opine that the Contradiction appears not at the inception of a process but only when it has developed to a certain stage. That amounts to the acceptance of the fact that the cause of development of the process before that stage would be external and not internal. In this argument one finds the problem that a thing appears which did not have its basis earlier. It, thus, leads one to metaphysical explanation. Mao argues that, labour and capital have been in Contradiction ever since the two classes came into being, only at first stage the Contradiction had not been intensified. Even under the social conditions existing in the Soviet Union, there is a difference between workers and peasants and this very difference is a Contradiction; although, unlike the Contradiction between labour and capital it will not become intensified into antagonism or assume the form of class Struggle. Thus, for Mao the absoluteness of Contradiction should not be confused with the forms of a struggle.

26 Ibid., p.317, cited from Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics", Collected Works, Russ, ed., Moscow, 1958, Vol. XXXVIII, p.357

27 See, for detailed analysis of the debate over Deborin School of Thought in Soviet Union and China in the context of Contradiction, Wakeman, F. History and Will, Chap. 15, pp.223-230

Every difference in the reality is essentially a manifestation of the specific Contradiction inherent in it.

Particularity of Contradiction

The universal Contradiction has its existence and meaning in particular Contradiction. Because the particular Contradiction is its concrete embodiment in motion. It signifies the specificity of each form of motion from the other. The positive and negative numbers in mathematics; action and reaction in mechanics, positive and negative electricity in physics, dissociation and combination in chemistry, forces of production, relations of production, classes and class struggle in social science, offence and defence in military science, idealism and materialism the metaphysical and dialectical outlook in philosophy,⁽²⁸⁾ all such specific form need specific methods of its resolution. Further in each specific form, there are numerous processes, minor and major. There is the state of constant transformation. Some of them are in the state of being, others becoming and still others passing away. So, there is the need to distinguish the stage of development in a process and the dominant contradiction in it at that stage. Also, since each process contains two of its aspects, it is necessary to distinguish the specific position each aspect occupies in its interdependence and mutual opposition.

28 Ibid., p.320

With the accumulation in the crisis of fundamental contradiction, the movement in the processes get all the more intensified. So, during the revolutionary situation the study of the specific processes becomes very important.

Since, the reality is complex with its various types of contradictions, ^{and} various states of its motions, the understanding of it also requires developing ideas corresponding to the same. It is possible by following the method of cognition -- from the knowledge of individual and particular thing to knowledge in general. Thus, for Mao, the laws of the process of cognition and laws of the process of development in objective reality are identical and intercorresponding.

Mao accepts and explains the nature of contribution made by Marx Lenin and Stalin to the storehouse of materialist dialectics in terms of particularity and universality of contradiction. Marx analyzed the socio-historical prospects of the capitalist society in terms of contradiction between the social character of production and the private ownership of ^{the means of} production. It constitutes his contribution to the universality of contradiction. But this contradiction of capitalism belongs to a certain historical stage in the general development of class society. Therefore, the specific contradiction between the productive forces and the relations

of production in the general development of class society, at a particular stage, constitute the particular contribution of Marx. Similarly, Stalin's contribution lies in the explanation of the universality of contradiction at the level of Imperialism, at the universal level, and the particularity of czarist Russian imperialism within this general contradictions. Thus, the logical conclusion of these arguments claim that : 1) the general character of contradiction is universal and absolute, 2) the individual character of contradiction is conditional and temporal.

Principal Contradiction

Among the numerous contradictions within a particular contradiction at a particular stage, there is one dominant contradiction whose existence and development determine the existence and development of other contradictions. This contradiction constitutes the Principal Contradiction.⁽²⁹⁾ For example, in a capitalist society, the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is principal one, while others like between the remnant feudal class and the bourgeoisie, the peasant and the bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, monopoly capitalist and non-monopoly capitalist, constitute the secondary contradictions.⁽³⁰⁾ In a capitalist society it is easier to grasp

29 Ibid., p. 330

30 Ibid., p. 331

31 Ibid.

the Principal contradiction because of the uniformity in the development of socio-historical processes. But in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society the complexity of the situation renders it difficult to find out the principal contradiction. Like in China, when imperialism operates through its lackeys, compradors and feudal lords, the principal contradiction remains between masses on the one hand and alliance of imperialist and the domestic ruling class on the other. However, the position of Principal contradiction changes after the direct Imperialist aggression. It becomes in the latter case, the Principal contradiction between the imperialism and traitors on the one side and the country as a whole on the other.

The difference between fundamental contradiction lies in the fact that where the former applies to an entire process the latter corresponds to a stage only.

Aspects of Contradiction

Besides the Principal contradiction the another important thing to determine is the Principal aspect and Non-principal aspect of a contradiction. All contradictions contain both the principal and non-principal aspects. The Principal aspect is that which plays the leading role. The nature of a thing is determined by this aspect by virtue of the position it occupies in the totality of contradiction. The placement of the aspects is not a fixed thing.

The aspects of contradictions transform themselves into each other. In the process of transformation, the nature of the thing changes. (32) The new principal aspect determines the nature of the new development. Mao gives the following examples to prove this point: capitalism from ^being a subordinate force in the old feudal era to becoming dominant one in modern times, the old semi-feudal, semi-colonial China transforming into new China, the revolutionary war of Communist-Kuomintang alliance (1924-27) against the northern warlords transforming from weak in the beginning to strong after victory over the latter, the numerically weak communist party of 1927 under the attacks of Kuomintang reaction transforming into strong after eliminating opportunism from within the ranks, (33) the one day ruled peasants transforming into rulers. All such events are nothing but necessary manifestations of the changing positions of Principal and non-Principal aspects of contradictions.

In between the contradictions; of productive forces and production relations, theory and practice, economic base and the superstructure, although, it is true that, the productive forces practice and economic base, play the principal and decisive role; the other aspects also become decisive in certain circumstances. For Mao, denial to this fact is to hold mechanical materialist (34) world view. Because the interaction between consciousness and matter includes dynamism of the both aspects. In the general

32 Ibid., p. 333

33 Ibid., p. 334

34 Ibid., p. 336

development if the material determines the mental and social being determines the social consciousness, it is also true that, the mental reacts back on material things, the social consciousness on social being and superstructure on the economic base. (35)

As the Principal and non-Principal aspect of a contradiction explains the nature of development in reality, the method of cognition i.e., the process of conceptualization of reality also follows the same law. In studying Marxism, in the beginning ignorance stands in contradiction to knowledge of Marxism. But, by study, ignorance of the same is transformed into knowledge of it.

Between the aspects of a contradiction there is a specific relationship of identity and struggle. Identity has two aspects: first, explains the existence of each of the two aspects of the contradiction in the process of development presupposes the existence of the other aspects and the second that both aspects coexist in a single entity. The second aspect of identity is that each of the two contradictory aspects of a thing transform itself into its opposite. (36) For example, without life there would be no death, without death there would be no life without the bourgeoisie (37) there would be no proletariat (Mao says so).

35 Ibid., p. 336

36 Ibid., p. 335

37 Ibid., p. 337

The identical characteristics of the contradiction is conditional transitory, temporary and relative. Opposed to it the characteristic of struggle in a thing is absolute and universal. (38) Because it resides from the very inception of the process to its final decay. In the beginning, the state of thing remains such that the ongoing struggle is not manifested. However, with the development of maturity, gradually the aspect of struggle start becoming apparent. Further, as the thing completely transforms into another one, the aspect of struggle becomes crystal clear. Thus the apparent^a unchanging state of a thing may be characterised as a state of relative rest i.e., the state of quantitative change. In the second state, the thing qualitatively transforms into another. Mao sums up the essence of this problematic in the following way: "The combination of conditional, relative identity and unconditional, absolute struggle constitutes the movement of opposites in all things." (39)

In its mutual opposition and struggle, a thing assumes two major forms: antagonistic and non-antagonistic. When the struggle of opposites assume⁶ the form of open and violent struggle, it can be characterised as the case of antagonistic form of a struggle. Contrary to this, non-antagonism corresponds to the stage of incipient struggle. Like the mutual transformation of principal aspect of a contradiction into non-Principal aspect quantity into quality, the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions also transforms into each other.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Thus, for Mao, antagonistic and

38 Ibid., pp. 341-42

39 Ibid., p. 343

40 Ibid., p. 344

non-antagonistic characteristic is not objectively linked with the specific historical classes only irrespective of the forms of struggle; rather these constitute and is determined by the specific historical stage and the state of contradiction at that stage. Thus, even the relationship within the Communist Party i.e., the thought reflection of the external class contradiction within the party in the form of ideological struggle may also transform from non-antagonistic to antagonistic one. It all depends on the specificity of concrete situation.

Mao's Contradiction

For Mao, all the differences appearing in the reality is because of the presence of contradiction within it. Each form of motion of matter, each of the processes within it and each of the contradiction with in it at a particular stage; all contain specific contradictions within themselves. It is by virtue of this specificity that, the material reality, minor and major asserts itself in various ways demanding corresponding methods of revolutions. The understanding of these methods is possible only through systematic interaction with external reality. The laws that work in the dynamic development of external reality, the same applies with the process of cognition. So, the serious attempt is made in Maoist vision to develop consciousness of the external reality through constant and continuous practice. Since, the development in external reality is eternal, the thinking mind has to be dynamic enough to grasp the specificity of development. It is possible only through vigorous practice.

When the subjective fails to correspond objective, there emerges the scope for error to happen of either Right extreme or Left extreme.

Contradiction, by virtue of being absolute and universal has innumerable forms, which can be grasped under following categories-Universal and Particular, Principal and Non-principal, Principal aspect and non-principal aspect, Antagonistic and Non-antagonistic, Relative rest and Absolute Struggle. The dynamism of the contraction^{di} is because of its quality of transforming in to each other and from one to another.

For, Marx, contradiction constitutes the logic of a linear progression in history as well as in human thought - the endless progression of affirmation, negation, and the negation of negation. Progression refers to the idea of progress in which one stage of historical movement which is also reflected in the patterns of human thought is the result of a synthesis of what has preceded. Synthesis i.e. negation of negation is a specific kind of the resolution of conflicts-between two opposite poles, maturing to its highest degree, entering in to head-on-clash with each other, dissolving the two aspects and resolving the contradiction . Secondly, the two aspects of contradiction refer to the two poles of a contradiction, positive and negative or conservative and destructive side showing tendencies of conservation and destruction . As the crisis accentuates, both aspects enter into more and more exclusive, distinct and dynamic state leading to a stage where the destructive side overthrows the conserving side in a way that of abotishing itself and its oppsîte.

Thus, for Marx, contradiction refers to a linear progression in which the two contradictory aspects grow, mature, clash and finally resolve (removal of the conflicts between two opposites) completely into the higher stage (Synthesis). So, Mao's explanation is, that every difference in reality is a specific case of contradiction i.e. following the law of contradiction, that the contradictory aspects transform in to each other rendering the property of a thing changed, that by dissolving the conservative side, the destructive side becomes absolute (landless peasants transforming into landholders and the latter transforming into landless) that the process of resolution of contradiction is never complete ; although , includes the Marxian categories and ideas, it is in no way either dominant or complete. Mao's contradiction is the very stuff of reality rather than being simply the motor of change. Its development is more of a cyclical nature than the linear one. Such development in Mao can be understood by observing the active influence of traditional Chinese philosophy on him like the (41) cosmological principle of the YIN and YANG - the unresolved struggle, co-existence and unity of two oppsites.

41. Y.U.K.H.P., "Is Mao's Theory of the Three Worlds Heavily influenced by the Yin-Yang principle " Asian Profile , vol.12,no.6,Dec.1984, Auther gives a brief introductory note on the content of the said principle .

chapter 3.

theory and practice :

new democracy

Chapter-IIITheory and Practice: New Democracy

Practice occupies the primary place in the Maoist vision of revolutionary change. Whether it be the question of the various forms of subjectivist error, cognitive process, determination of the revolutionary potentiality of a class or the development of a theory; practice stands as the source and basis of all such thing. Hence, any attempt at theorisation in it involves conscious reflection on the series of practical experiences in^herred in the cause of concrete revolutionary struggle. Abstractions at higher level in its own logical relations, having autonomy from the compulsions of direct reflections is not only avoided but also abused. In most of his important writings, Mao squarely puts his bitter criticism on those partymen who showed such tendencies or made attempts in this direction. The major thrust of the two philosophical essays that he wrote is to compass the higher level of generalization to the extent that it corresponds to the dynamics of immediate reality and serves directly as the guide to handle the twist and turns of rapidly transforming reality. Thus, a tension exists permanently between an attempt to theorise and at the same time to be at the immediate level of reality.

The concept of New Democracy is the product of the same thought-process in one way. It is an attempt to fashion the

given concrete reality in the way that it neither underplays the constraints imposed by the concrete reality nor overlooks the ultimate stage in which the reality is to be transformed finally. In China, given the stage of development in productive forces and the nature of intervention made by an alien external force, it was necessary to create conditions for the unified market to develop and to enlist the support of all sections of society including national bourgeoisie and at the same time to develop conditions for the negation of the product of the earlier conditions. In this way, it is an extremely important theoretico-practical work¹ of Mao besides his epistemological writings.

Mao wrote this essay in January 1940 at Yen-an in the middle of on-going Sino-Japanese war. Under the policy of united front, the communists and Kuomintang were jointly fighting the forces of Japanese imperialism. Both of them were contending for the ultimate control over the destiny of China after the withdrawal of Japanese.

1. Theoretico-practical is the term used in the sense that in the case of Mao's writings, theoretical formulations simultaneously carry the practical implications of the same. There is almost one to one relationship between theoretical generalizations and factual details.

In this race of manouvering and out-manouvering , everything appeared confused, vague and elusive. So, it was necessary at this juncture to clarify the specific basis and aim of the communist movement and its policies visa-vis the various other forces of the Chinese society. In this respect Mao used the experiences he had gained through his experiments in Soviet areas during the course of relative stability and consolidation between 1937-1940.²

Democracy

The adjective "New" transforms the meaning of "Democracy" extraordinarily different from hither to understanding and characterization of democracy. Democratic revolution is generally identified with the transfer of political power from the hands of Feudal landlords to a new class Bourgeoisie. At this stage, the dominant characteristics of the society is the evolution of strong market economy on the basis of commodity exchange. Proletariat, a new class, emerges out of the ashes of serfdom and handicrafts producing section, simultaneously with the bourgeoisie and in direct opposition to it. Nationalism with its concrete basis of national market serves as the rallying ideology and slogan in the hands of new ruling class (Bourgeoisie) to enlist the support of

2. Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy" Selected Works vol.II
(Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960)

the other sections of society. Thus, under the impact of objective forces of market and subjective practice of bourgeoisie; the agrarian relations of feudalism at once parasitic and stagnant is transformed into living and dynamic relations of Capitalism. So, the fundamental contradiction at democratic stage lies between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Such laws of transformation, however, is not applicable in the case of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal societies. Because these general laws have been evolved out of the analysis of the societies of classical capitalist transformation. Given the particularity of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, it is the concrete analysis of the process of development and its particular characteristics at different stages which can give clue to the understanding of dynamics of reality. For Mao this particularity constituted "China" at different stages of development and hence his generalisations are based on it primarily. New Democracy in contrast to general characteristics of bourgeoisie democracy or Old Democracy claims to define Democracy in terms of specific stage in the Changed correlations of forces within the Chinese society and outside it.

Historical Background

Before the imperialist penetration into China which was marked by the Opium War of 1840, she had been a feudal society for

3,000 years. Its chief characteristics were the rule of the parasitic landlord-nobility class over the large number of impoverished peasants through the system of rent-extraction and; innumerable peasant uprisings against this unjust rule³. However, since the invasion of foreign capitalism and the gradual growth of capitalist elements in Chinese society, the co-relations of different forces underwent changes which can be characterized as the transformation of China into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. In this process of transformation, China passed through two distinct stages. First stage of the process was marked by the revolution of 1911 having its continuum from the Movement of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French war, The Sino-Japanese war and Reform Movement of 1898. While the conditions appeared for the emergence of second stage after the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 and the founding of a socialist state on one-sixth of the Globe as a result of the Russian October Revolution of 1917⁴.

3. Mao Tse-tung, "Chinese Revolution and Chinese Communist Party" Selected Works , Vol.II, (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960) pp.307, 308 309

4. Mao Tse-tung, op.cit., "On New Democracy" p.343

No longer, Imperialism remained one-sidedly deciding factor as an external condition. The newly liberated state of Soviet Union was ready to extend its helping hand actively to the cause of emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. On the other hand, following the anti-imperialist May 4th movement there developed an organised working class movement and the Chinese Communist Party as the vanguard to it in China as a basis to new stage.⁵

Marxism and New Democracy

Within Marxian paradigm of historical development, the laws of development of society can not transcend the objective logic of the specific historical age, which is characterized on the basis of the nature and extent of development in productive forces. Originated in the capitalist society of Europe, Marxism in the beginning had the specific task of transforming a bourgeoisie democratic society into a proletariat socialist society, in which the dynamic force of transformation being proletariat and its vanguard the Communist Party⁶.

5. Ibid.343,344,

6. A James Gregor and Maria Hsia Chang; "Maoism and Marxism in Comparative Perspective", Review of Politics, vol.40,978, p.307.

The unique thing with the semi-feudal, semi-colonial society like China was that the dominant relations in agrarian sector was feudal, the relations in capitalist sector was colonial and the emergence of Chinese Communist Party whose ideological basis was philosophy of Communism. Thus objectively, the task before CPC was removal of hindrance from the path of development of capitalist productive forces on the one side and not allowing capitalists to come in state power as per the cause and ideology of working class leadership on the other hand.

Thus, Mao in his analysis of, two stages revolution and specificity of New Democracy of new attempts to develop a higher synthesis of these two basic contradictions of semi-feudal, semi-colonial societies like China. He says, "Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is fundamentally bourgeois democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step; and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under the bourgeois dictatorship"⁷.

7. Mao Tse-tung, op.cit. "On New Democracy", p.344

Bourgeoisie cannot establish its dictatorship not because of the subjective reasons that it should not do so. Rather, it is inherent in the nature of objective evolution of capitalist class in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial societies from outside by the imperialist powers in order to serve their own respective interests, i.e. exploitation of vast cheap raw materials and dumping the finished products in the colony. So the growth of native capitalism was bound to be very weak. Explaining the actual position in China Mao opines that but for the duration of first imperialist world war when imperialist powers relaxed control over Chinese economy, indigenous capitalist growth was extremely slow.⁽⁸⁾ Thus the emergent weak native bourgeoisie, although stood in contradiction to imperialism and feudalism was incapable of completing the task of independent bourgeoisie democratic revolution by overthrowing imperialism and feudalism together.⁽⁹⁾ Besides this class, there was another class of bourgeoisie which worked as the comparador of imperialism facilitating the process of exploitation of China by the imperialist masters. So, there was no question of this stratum

8 Mao Tse-tung, Op.Cit., "Chinese Revolution and Chinese Communist Parties", p.310 explains the nature of indigenous capitalism growth in China whose history is so small to date back to the later part of the 19th century and more precisely from the beginning of 20th century. Also, during the first World War China's national industry could develop chiefly in textiles and flour milling.

9 Ibid., p.354 Mao argues that ⁱⁿ the first place international capitalism or imperialism will not allow the establishment in China of a capitalist state under bourgeoisie dictatorship because of its own vested economic interests.

(10)

to take up the question of removing feudalism and imperialism.

The Leadership: New Stage

The question of leadership is an extremely important in the characterisation of a movement within Marxian paradigm. For, the nature of the leadership corresponds to the character of the alignment of class forces. If the national bourgeoisie which, with all her weaknesses had succeeded in rallying other classes of Chinese society in the Revolution of 1911 and May 4th movement to an extent why could not it lead ahead in the same way? It is because of the emergence of a new organised class force with its own independent party, the Communist party of China inside the nation. And, at the international level, the infighting of decaying capitalism (first world war) resulted in the emergence of a powerful socialist state in Russia which was ready to actively support the national liberation wars waged by the colonies and semi-colonies. (11)

Logically deriving from these two explanations of new developments the World, thus, divided into two camps, the defeated camp of imperialist powers and victorious socialist camp. In the colonies, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie became the mainstay of imperialist powers because of the vested economic interests, stood as allies to the socialist camp. National bourgeoisie, because of its own vacillating character was subject to manoeuvring by both the camps.

10 Mao Tse-tung, "Op.Cit.," "Chinese Revolution and Chinese Communist Party", p.320. See for details on the question of characterisation of Comprador bourgeoisie.

11 Mao Tse-tung, Op.Cit., "On New Democracy" pp.348. Also to know in detail the view of Lenin regarding relations with national liberation struggle of colonial and semi-colonial countries. See Encausse and Stuart Schram, Marxism in Asia, Allene Lane, pp.144 (London: The Penguin Press), 1969, pp.144-45

Given the correlation of forces, the Communist party in China which had succeeded in rallying the peasantry and petty-bourgeoisie; and to an extent national bourgeoisie besides its natural base, ^{working class, its} bargaining and rallying capacity had increased tremendously to claim the leadership of national liberation struggle over the hitherto claimant national bourgeoisie. Mao visualised this situation very clearly .

Rejecting the thesis of bourgeoisie democratic revolution under the leadership of bourgeoisie, Mao says, "It belongs to new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage of establishing a new democratic society and a stage under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes."⁽¹²⁾

However, Mao underscored the importance of the national bourgeoisie and always through persuasive tactics of giving due recognition to the latter endeavoured to enlist its support for the cause envisaged. For, the strength of imperialism-feudalism combined was till very powerful.

12 Ibid., p. 344

Mao explains the importance of national bourgeoisie in the following way, "Being a bourgeoisie in a colonial and semi-colonial country and oppressed by imperialism, the Chinese national bourgeoisie contains a certain revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree -- even in the era of imperialism, ~~as~~ in its opposition to foreign imperialists. . . . under domestic governments of bureaucrats and warlords (instances of opposition to the latter can be found in the periods of Revolution of 1911 and Northern Expedition), and it may ally itself with the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie against such enemies as it is ready to oppose."⁽¹³⁾

The Kuomintang

Similarly Mao never identified national bourgeoisie with Kuomintang Party which the Chinese Communist Party leadership as well as the Comintern did. The line which he had taken in 1927 as a result of the defeat of the revolution, i.e. national bourgeoisie is also a partner in the defeat along with the proletariat and peasantry; the same he maintains in the analysis of New Democracy also.⁽¹⁴⁾

13 Ibid., p. 348

14 Swarup Shanti, A Study of the Chinese Communist Movement (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1966) pp. 82-83. He finds Mao's position on the question of national bourgeoisie and Kuomintang as consistent from 1927 to the writing of On New Democracy.

Kuomintang was a party representing all the strata of bourgeoisie and its possible actions were decided by the group dominant in the leadership at that particular time. Although Chinese bourgeoisie played principal role in revolutionary struggles such as the revolution of 1911, Northern Expedition and was playing the same in the course of on-going anti-Japanese struggle; a section represented by the reactionary clique within the Kuomintang, collaborated with imperialists, formed a reactionary alliance with the landlord class, betrayed the friends, who had helped it—the Communist Party, the proletariat, the peasantry and the other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie in between 1927 and 1937¹⁵.

Primacy of National Revolution also, unlike the M.N.Royists¹⁶, Mao never belittled the importance of national liberation movement although taking it organically linked with the question of social revolution. Rather, in between the two tasks, national liberation struggle held primacy in his concrete. He asserts, unquestionably the major tasks are to strike on these enemies (imperialism and feudalism) to carry out a national revolution to overthrow feudal landlord oppression, the primary and foremost task being the national revolution to overthrow imperialism¹⁷. He also understood well the importance of the use of revolutionary aspects of the popular bourgeois principles and slogans in furthering the cause of new democratic revolution in China, Sun, Yat-Sen and his principles were extremely

15. Mao Tse-tung, op.cit. "Chinese Revolution and Chinese Communist Party" p.315

16. M.N.Roy's main assertion was that Social Revolution was primary and more important in colonial countries on the basis of experiences in India.

17. Ibid., p.318

popular in the society at large and decisive in the bourgeois circles. In the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924; Sen put forth three great principles, 1) Democracy means a democratic system shared by all the common people and not privately owned by the few, 2) Private capital can not dominate the livelihood of the people and 3) Uniting in common struggle with these nations of the world which treat as equals. These principles correspond to three policies- alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers⁽¹⁸⁾. These three principles and three policies correspond to a great extent to the needs of the immediate and basic programme of New Democratic Movement.

Moreover, it was a right ideological instrument to implement and win over bourgeoisie, to expose its vacillations before the popular mass and to establish hegemony of the Communist Party over broadest possible sections of society. However, emphasis over the importance of the three great principles and three great alliances, never led Mao to finally capitulate to it. He always firmly guarded the distinct identity and initiative of the Communist Party. Warding off confusion over the issue of

18. Ibid., p.328

apparent unity hesays, "There is a difference in part of the programme for the whole course of the democratic revolution includes full rights for the people. The eight hour working day and through agrarian revolution, whereas the Three People's Principles do not!"⁽¹⁹⁾ Similarly, there are differences like Communist Party having socialist revolution under its maximum programme and dialectical historical materialist outlook which are absent in the Three People's Principles.⁽²⁰⁾

Thus, national liberation struggle against imperialism (Japan), revolutionary agrarian war against feudalism, alliance of four classes (proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie), the leadership of Communist Party and alliance with socialist camp (Soviet Union) constituted the basis of New Democratic Movement. It was new because the leadership of democratic movement had passed on in to the hands of the Chinese Communist Party and democratic because the four classes were participating with their respective interests. The specific dynamics of this movement was that it constituted a transitory phase in the final transformation of China into a proletarian socialist society. Thus, nature of the society visualised as an outcome of the concreteization of New Democratic Movement was to be a New Democratic Society.

19. Mao Tse-tung, op.cit., "On New Democracy " p.362

20. Ibid, p.363

A study of the reality is an analysis of the parts as well as whole. The meaning and significance of the whole resides in parts and parts in dialectical relations provide the understanding of the dynamics of the whole. New Democratic Society as envisaged by Mao has three major components. They are new polity, new economy and new culture. Since politics is the concentrated expression of economy and culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economy, all the three constitute the specific aspects of the totality, New Democratic Society.⁽²¹⁾

New Economy:

Economy is the base of any society. Its arrangement represents the interest of certain classes and equally opposes the interests of certain classes. Given the specific stage of New Democracy, imperialism and lackey Compradore bourgeoisie and feudal landlords stood as two major stumbling blocks in the path of the democratic development of China. Hence, the interests of these two classes had to be shattered by the measures

- 1) nationalization of big banks and big industrial and commercial enterprises
- 2) confiscation of the land of landlords and its distribution among peasantry.

As a positive aspect of the

21. Ibid., p.340

measures, capitalist entrepreneurship in the private sector was to be allowed to the extent it did not dominate the livelihood of the people. Similarly a rich peasant economy was to be allowed in the rural sector. The nationalised banks, big industrial and commercial enterprises had to constitute the proletariat directly (22).

Thus, in this arrangement of economy what we find with Mao is his central concern for the big capital which plays key role in the management of economy. The socialisation of big capital symbolised not only the attainment of a democratic society in China but also as stepping stone for the transformation of China into a socialist state in future. Allowance to small entrepreneurs in the private sector and rich peasants in the rural sector were based on the assumption that adequate technological development as well as increase in rural production was necessary before ushering into the era of socialist revolution. Politically also it was desirable given the urgent need of rallying the bourgeoisie and peasants as a whole.

New Polity

Politics is the concrete expression of the nature of arrangement at the level of economy. An economy constituted of the state sector and private sector in which the state sector

playing dominant role and being under the firm control of proletariat led by Communist Party records its own specific kind of political basis in order to enhance and consolidate the base of state sector keeping in view the future task of socialist transformation of economy as well as polity. Political basis constitutes the classes sharing power in the administration state sector as well as the form of government evolved to administer. Mao pleads for the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes are the proletariat, peasantry, intelligentsia and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie who had rallied behind the Communist Party to fight resolutely against feudalism and imperialism. (23) So far as bourgeoisie is concerned it suffers from dual character (possible participation in the revolution on the one hand and proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution on the other) (24)

Hence, so long as it fights the two enemies — imperialism and feudalism, it is the partner in the joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. As a form of government, a system of people's congress down to the provincial, country, district, and township people's congresses, with all levels electing the representative governmental bodies shall combine in the best manner democracy and unity of all levels. (25)

23. Ibid., p. 350

24. Ibid., p. 343

25. Ibid., p. 352

Mao knew very well that this arrangement of government, the party which had the largest followers and sympathisers would solely dominate the decisions of the supreme level, i.e., the national level and which were to implement in a united manner from top to bottom and, since the Communist Party had succeeded in fallying the support of petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry besides its base in working class; there was no question of national bourgeoisie dominating the scene in the supreme body, national people's congress. Thus, one can logically derive comparing the nature of new economy and new polity that although concessions were there in the field of economy, the polity was in the command of the Communist Party.

New Culture:

The third aspect of the new democracy, i.e., new culture extremely significant place in the total analysis. It has been assigned largest number of pages in terms of elucidation⁽²⁶⁾. For, Mao the culture is the ideological reflection of polity and economy as well as a catalyst to change the latter also. It is a world view in which human being explains and gives meaning to feelings, emotions and experiences, language being the most important bearer carries the experience of past and present.

25. Ibid., p.352

26. Ibid., p.369-382. In this essay in comparison polity, economy and even history, on culture has been given maximum numbers of pages as well as sections for analysis.

Philosophy, economics, political science, military science, history, literature, art (theatre, cinema, music, sculpture, painting),⁽²⁷⁾ all such activities of man in which he creates his values and realises the meaning of life comes within the domain of culture. In a way, it is a mirror in which he visualises and evaluates himself and a guide which works in actions.⁽²⁸⁾

Historical Basis:

Ruling classes in China, feudalism and imperialism represented the two variants of reactionary idealist culture. Against this, the national bourgeoisie developed the culture of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist bourgeois democracy. May 4th movement marked the highest development of this cultural movement in which three sections of people-communist intellectuals, revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois intellectuals participated. However, it was confined to the intellectuals only till the new two forces, working class and peasantry joined it during the June 3rd movement⁽²⁹⁾. The next important development was the formation of Communist Party in China having the philosophy and ideology of proletariat socialist culture aided by the socialist camp

27. Ibid.p.372,

28. Ibid.,p.382 Mao says,"without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement; one can thus see how important the cultural movement is for the political revolutionary."

29. Ibid.,p.374,

of Soviet Russia(1921). Thus,during the second stage (1921-27); the national bourgeoisie represented by Kuomintang Party and Chinese Communist Party under the three great principles of Dr. Sunyat Sen campaigned for the new democratic culture among youths, intellectuals and broad masses.

The Confucian cannon, feudal literature, classical language were opposed throughly and ; the new literature and new vernacular style of writing books anti-imperialist, anti-feudal content was promoted. But,after the betrayal of bourgeoisie in 1927, three classes, working class, peasantry, petty_bourgeoisie revolutionary intellectuals alone were left with the new democratic cultural tasks and the leadership of this task came upon the Chinese Communist Party. Despite the counter-revolutionary military and cultural campaign of "encirclement and suppression" by Kuomintang, the agrarian and cultural revolution deepen under the leadership of the Communist Party.⁽³⁰⁾ From 1937 onwards, however, bourgeoisie, although vacillating in its characteristics had joined the struggle of nationalliberation.

Thus, in the four stages characterisation of the development of the cultural movement, Mao explains the specific change and development in the nature and scope of cultural struggle.

30. Ibid.,p.376, Mao says,"As a mark of deepending agrarian and cultural movement, the military campaign of Kuomintang failed resulting in the northern march of the Red Army to resist the Japanese while cultural campaign resulted in outbreak of the December 9th movement of the revolutionary youth in 1935."

As in ~~polity~~ culture is also an instrument as well as powerful front in the progressive struggle for societal transformation. Its content and form is determined by the principal contradiction of the time.

Dynamism of the New Culture :

The objective of cultural movement lies not only in explaining things but also actively associating with the transformation of the explained reality. Given the specific stage of anti-colonial, anti-feudal struggle the task at the cultural front was to oppose and expose the true colours of enemies on the one side, and to work for the development and progress of national and democratic culture among the broad masses constituting four classes alliance. Being organically linked with political and economic struggle of the time, creating basis and promoting principal cause; in the eyes of Mao, culture has no specificity of its own in terms of relative autonomy. He says, "It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution." (31)

Like practice limits theory matter limits consciousness, nature and content of cultural activity is also limited by the specificity of age and the stage of people's consciousness. Thus, although, the cultural ideologues must know and develop among

31. Ibid., p.382

themselves and party cadres of the Communist Party, the method and ideology of proletarian socialist culture; the nature of the cultural activity among the masses must be of the national democratic type. For, a culture, howsoever, noble it may be unless represents the specific revolutionary demand of the time it can not be a popular and mass culture. And, a revolutionary movement only by becoming popular among the masses can realise its purpose. Thus, a proletarian culture in its entirety is the reflection of proletarian socialist politics and economy.

In the case of China, given the specificity of New Democratic Stage, the content of the culture is neither wholly a proletarian socialist nor bourgeoisie democratic. On the one side the leadership of the movement is in the hands of Communist Party armed with the proletarian ideology and hence in constant drive on its path to inculcate and develop the elements of socialist culture among themselves (Party members and cadres), while on the other side; the broad masses under the united front fighting for national liberation and democracy, needing and developing the culture of revolutionary nationalism and democracy. Mao say, "We must keep the spreading of communist ideas and propaganda about the communist social system distinct from the practical application of the new-democratic programme of action; we must also keep the communist theory and method of investigating problems, undertaking research, handling work and training cadres distinct from the new democratic line for a national culture as a whole."

It is undoubtedly inappropriate to mix the two up. (32)

New Culture: The Relationship of Internal and External

Now the question arises what would be the specific method of evolution of new-democratic culture and its content in relation to foreign and indigenous ideas. Mao to solve this problematic follows again the same methodology which he had evolved in (On Practice on Contradiction three years back. External factors are the conditions of change while internal thing the basis. New democratic culture is national and upholds the dignity and independence of the Chinese nation. In order to itself it must assimilate the progressive cultures of socialist and new democratic societies and even progressive ideas of the Age of Enlightenment of capitalist countries. But it should not be wholesale adoption in the mechanical fashion in which China (the basis) is itself lost. He explains it as a process beautifully in terms of relations between the functioning of human body and food. "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 nutrients to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded-before it can nourish us. (33)

32. Ibid., p.379-80

33. Ibid., p.380,

Here, intestines with their juices and secretions represent the Chinese people and society while the chewing process is assigned to role of Communist Party in critically analysing an ideology and giving it Chinese form.

Marxism as an ideological instrument must be used to analyse, examine, evaluate and establish the task of action, China has itself a long history of rich traditions. Through out the history of Chinese civilization its agriculture and handicrafts have been renowned for their high level of development, there have been many great thinkers, scientists, inventors, statesmen, soldiers, men of letters and artists and we have rich store of classical work.⁽³⁴⁾ These ideas and works must be evaluated in the light of new democratic culture through Marxian method which is for Mao, scientificity against superstition and idealism, seeking truth from the facts and the unity of theory and practice.⁽³⁵⁾ Thus, Mao finds in the history of China not only vagaries of slavery, feudalism and obscurantism but also traditions of protest, revolutionary values and innovations. Vehemently criticising the method of taking Marxism as a dogma, a readymade formula, Mao asks for the proper integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution⁽³⁶⁾

34. Mao Tse-tung, op.cit. "Chinese Revolution and Chinese Communist Party " p.306

35. Ibid., p381, Quoted from, Stalin, J.V. "Concerning the National question in Yugoslavia", a speech delivered in the Yugoslav Commission of the E.C.C.I., March 30th 1925.

36. Ibid., p..380

which would develop finally a scientific new-democratic culture in the national form, i.e., Chinese form. China's present new politics and new economy have developed out of her old politics and old economy, and her present new culture, too, has developed out of her old culture; therefore we must respect our own history and must not lop it off.⁽³⁷⁾ Thus what we see with Mao is the constant emphasis over China in its past and present throughout his analysis and the place of Marxism is always visualised as a guide to action.

Centrality of Peasant Question :

A very important part of the essay which has not been dealt with in detail but is profound in its emphasis is peasant question. Quoting Stalin that "In essence, the national question is a peasant question"⁽³⁸⁾ Mao also equates it with the three people's principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen as being essentially the principles of a peasant revolution.⁽³⁹⁾ In his revolutionary practice of fighting against the Japanese and feudal landlords in China; the entire rank and file of the movement had swollen with the stuff of peasantry. It was a factor which was bound to influence ideology and working of the

37. Ibid., p. 381

38. Ibid., p. 366, quoted from, Stalin, J.V., "Concerning the National question in Yugoslavia", a speech delivered in the Yugoslav Commission of the E.C.C.I., March 30' 1925.

39. Ibid., p. 366

Communist Party which had 'although' received the experiences of working class movements of Europe and Russia through the ideologues of the Soviet Union; but had never been put to such a task in which Communist Party was to swim like a boat in the ocean of peasantry. Mao admits "The anti-Japanese war is essentially a peasant war, we are now living in a time when the "principles of going up into the hills" applies; meetings, work, classes, newspaper publications, the writing of books, theatrical performance, everything is done up in the hills, all essentially for the sake of peasants. And essentially it is the peasants who provide every thing that sustains the resistance to Japan and keeps us going. (40) What does it signify? That, the working class has been substituted by the Communist Party and the latter's real base of operation and existence has become peasantry which has essentially an ideology of a petty-producing community. Given the conditions, the ideology of Marxism, ideology of a class which has broken all the petty chains of tradition and looking forward towards universalism with no other means to survive but own labour power, has to be applied in revolutionizing peasantry which carries with itself the tradition of thousands of years and whose most important ideological components are

40. Ibid.,

nationalism, heroism and obscurantism. It is because of these reasons that we find in Mao the constant concern for practice, individual and particular on the one side and taking Marxism as guide to transform a class which in itself constitutes backwardness but through practice is capable enough of transforming herself into a bearer of working class ideology if not in form, at least in content.

All through the essay quotations have been taken from Marx, Lenin and Stalin but without explaining the conditions and specificity of those general statements and distinguishing it with his (Mao's) own specific formulations.. If one explains Mao through his vision he should find these small quotations as constituting the content of the universal truth of Marxism and which have been explained in particular situation of China. Hence the newly developed theory is bound to contain the universal aspect of Marxism-Leninism as well as the particular truth of Chinese reality.

In this way, the new democracy with all three aspects of new polity, new economy and new culture owe as much to Marx, Lenin, Stalin, as to Mao himself also. For, a new universal ^{has been created out of the old universal and new} Chinese reality. It is true that Mao knew the concept of the bourgeois democratic revolution in relation to China as a Communist concept at least as early as 1928 and he accept this fact in his essay also "On New Democracy";⁽⁴¹⁾

41. Wittfogel, A.K., "The Legend of Maoism", China Quarterly, No. 2, January-June 1960, pp. 28-29. The author contends that "On New Democracy" contains no originality of specific kind to be designated as ism and also that Mao does not claim to have done it so.

but a concept in general sketch to become a theory concretized and also being in the process of concretization requires extraordinary labour, thought and understanding. And to that extent extent no doubt he owes originality and creativity in his thought-process.

Karl A. Wittfogel sees this essay in the context of ongoing Sino-Japanese war, after the conclusion of Hitler-Stalin pact which got the European war going and greatly strengthened Moscow. At that time the Chinese communists were under less pressure to make concessions to the Chinese Nationalists than in the pre-pact period. In accordance with Moscow's desire to protect its eastern flank Mao continued to maintain the anti-Japanese alliance with the Kuomintang, but he felt free to discuss the future development of China in terms of a not yet completed revolution.⁽⁴²⁾ So, in his contention, the essay occupies tactical significance and falls within the overall framework of Marxism-Leninism and under the guidelines of Stalin. For, Benjamin Schwartz given the historical peculiarity of the Chinese revolution, the new democracy is an accurate reflection of the spirit of Chinese communism during the Yanan period. For, it was in this period that the movement boldly asserted its own personality, in all spheres of activity, developed its own ingenious techniques and most vigorously

42. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

asserted its national character.⁽⁴³⁾ Thus, for him the essay represents an originality of its own in opposition to impositions and restrictions of Moscow line. Opposed to both views and assimilating the both is the view of Ronald Lew who admits the seriousness of Stalinist impositions and restrictions and the same time gives credibility to originality and authenticity-an originality mixed with Stalinist orthodoxy.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, there is fourth important view of Bob Avakian who contends that the concept of new democratic revolution is higher synthesis of Marxism and concrete situation of semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. He says, "The theory showed how the agrarian revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle could be correctly combined under the leadership of proletariat and the one hand was, in its first stage, still resolving the contradictions characteristic of a bourgeois democratic revolution, but on the other hand preparing the ground for, and upon victory in the first stage pass over to the second

43. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank (Eds) A Documentary History of Chinese Communism, (New York: Atheneum, 1977) p.261

44. Lew, Ronald, "Maoism and the Chinese Revolution", The Socialist Register, 1975, pp.137-38. The author contends that given the restrictions of Stalinist orthodoxy and the need to mobilise the maximum number of people for the cause of anti-Japanese war, Mao decides the road of development most suited to time and condition. Thus, although bearing in least proportion the Stalinist orthodoxy, the essay is the original contribution of Mao.

socialist stage.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Among these divergent views expressed; the view put forward by Ronal Lew seems to be much closer to the reality. Mao living for a long time with Marxist revolutionaries of the party, having acquainted with the current debate in the Comintern and by passionately reading literatures of Marx, Lenin and Stalin in order to find out ways for China's emancipation; must have internalised ideological tools of Marxist evaluation. Also, it is a fact that he was at odd with the Moscow line and Moscow imposed leadership. It reflects on and on in his writings in the form of ridicules to those, taking Marxism as a dogma and readymade formula, However, with all these, the most important concern of Mao was to devise ways for the emancipation of China, i.e., the thrust of all his writings carries situational explanation and its form a popular one. Thus, his formulations owe as much to Marxism as to traditional philosophy of China. Not only in the case of new democracy even in his methodological formulations (On Practice, On Contradiction), one finds as many instances and as much explanation from Marxism as from traditional Chinese philosophy. If one evaluates his essay in this

45. Avakian, Bob, For a Harvest of Dragons, (Chicago: RCP Pub. 1983) p. 103

perspective one finds originality in his formulations as well dependence over Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist orthodoxy. Stalin, although, professed the doctrine of four class block, but had never thought of it in the way Mao did i.e., of sharing power with the national bourgeoisie for a relatively longer period. The problem with Ronald Lew is that he attempts to show Mao's moves in contradiction to Stalin and closer to Schema of Trotsky's views of revolutionary development. Mao's formulations envisaged two stages revolution in China not only under Stalinist pressure but also because he believed in the authenticity of that particular way. He was not only aware of the disadvantages of Stalinist interference but also of the advantages attached to it which was no doubt more than the former one.

Finally, the theory of New Democracy is, although, based on the particular experience of China; it holds wider influence and broader significance. The situation of China resembled more or less with almost all the post-colonial or colonial societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For example, the direct or indirect interference of imperialism, technological backwardness, weak, vacillating national bourgeoisie predominant peasant population; all these elements of post-colonial and colonial societies bear resemblance with the situation of China. Quite naturally, the revolutionary reformers of these countries made efforts to learn and implement the theory and model of "New Democracy". Even today it is dominating the ideological vision of a section of revolutionary leaders in these countries.

conclusion .

The development of Mao's personality took place amidst the heat of revolutionary struggle itself. His primary commitment was to the cause of liberating the millions of naked, diseased, starving people of China from the obnoxious rule of war-lords and imperialists combined. In the wake of his search for true revolutionary path he came under the influence of various radical ideologies, indigenous and foreign. Each one of them contributed in its own respective ways to the development of his outlook. Marxism was an ideology he came into the contact with when he was already a mature youth of twenty six. By that time, he had already developed basic intellectual predisposition which were to mould his understanding of Marxism and Revolution later on.

Unlike the long and rich intellectual tradition of Marxism in the Bolshevik movement in Russia, Chinese intellectuals were attracted to it as late as 1919 during the May 4th Movement and even then internalized it within the broad radical framework of populism. Li Ta-Chao whose ideas influenced Mao profoundly was essentially a populist despite his conversion to Marxism. Mao followed in his footsteps and attempted to blend populism and Marxism in his outlook. In his article "A great union

of the popular Masses" written on the eve of May 4th movement, he used the basic category of "People" in the analysis of Chinese society. He reposed great faith in the unity wisdom and sponteneity of masses and argued for the primacy of social consciousness -- ideas, wills and practice over the material conditions, as a basis of historical transformation. In his Article "Analysis of All the classes in Chinese Society" written in Feb. 1926; he analyses the dynamics of social reality in the form of vertical gradation of occupational groups on the economic scale. He assigns degree of impoverishment as the barometer for revolutionary quality of a person or a group. Similarly, in extremely simple fashion he equates and draws parallels between the division of various classes in the urban and rural area. Interestingly he uses the categories like "group" "section" and type" alternatively with class. In his famous "Hunan Report" of Feb. 1927 he ascribes the revolutionary vanguard role to poor peasentry and soars praises over the revolutionary potentiality of the Lumpen proletariat. He exhorts the spontaneous present movements and its essential violent character warning the party to either march over its head (more in the direction of peasentry wants) or to be ready to be swept aside. He appreciates the

wisdom of the common masses and justifies all their actions. It was the commitment with the basic category of "People" that gave him sufficient philosophical justification for his shifting loyalty from the working class to peasantry in 1927. For, after all, it was the peasantry which constituted numerically the largest section of Chinese Society.

Thus, the image that emerges out of his writings clearly reflects the populist moorings of his thought process even after converting into Marxism. No doubt, Leninist assumptions like primacy of politics over economy and the inescapable faith in the significant role of revolutionary organization were there in his outlook. But, it was already present in him in the rudimentary form before converting to Marxism and which got reinforced later on.

The ~~is~~ another important dimension of his thought process which do not get parallel within Marxist tradition; was the excessive belief in the greatness of Chinese people reflecting within nationalist form and the qualities of backwardness reflecting in the boundless revolutionary potentiality of peasantry.

His had an element of criticality in his personality

from the childhood days itself. As we have seen in the beginning of Chapter I that the novels narrating the tales of rebel heroes fascinated him too much. But in the same novels he could also visualize that the basic producing class-peasantry was not getting place as heroes in those accounts. Similarly, he was profoundly influenced by the reformist scholar Chung-kuan-Yin who saw China's emancipation in wholesale adoption of Westernization, nevertheless, the ethical teachings of spirituality, physical well-being and sacrifice put forth by Yang Ch'ang-chi appealed him deeply. Among his two close intellectual mentors Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-Chao, each of whom had distinctly different vision influenced him simultaneously. Like these there are several examples to safely argue that he had a critical vision and each influence underwent the process of critical assimilation in his outlook.

The cause of revolution was his supreme value. Its actualization was a practical task confronting him. Therefore, the significance of any ideology to him was its capability to serve the cause of practical necessity. Marxism, not only offered him a powerful philosophy of rebellion, but also a broad, comprehensive and flexible tool for societal analysis. The term "Proletariat" can

be easily freed from its context to mean "Impoverished", "Oppressed", "Colonized" etc. Similarly, the question of "Dialectics" and "Praxis" (emphasis over practical aspect of revolutionary activity) of Marxism could be very well freed from its context to mean and explain the dynamism of his dominant traditional Chinese Philosophy.

There is a qualitative difference between the Mao of 1927 and Mao of 1937. The practical revolutionary experiences of a decade amidst the heat of concrete struggle and the relative stability and consolidation ensured with the beginning of Yenan period provided him an opportunity to organize his understanding, giving it a rigourousity of logical coherence. No longer the distinct presence of Marxism and populism is observable in his writings. They are finally coherently organized in the logic of Mao's own-ism may be classified as Maoism. Interestingly, his such maturity coincided with his ascendancy to power within the party which provided him the opportunity to establish his ideas and assertions.

In his two important essays dating 1937 "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" he establishes his epistemology i.e. his conceptions of the origins of knowledge and method for cognition. In the first essay he emphasizes the

interrelatedness of every day perception and cognition, perception being the first step to cognition. Also that there is a dialectical materialist relationship among - perceptual, conceptual and rational knowledge and revolutionary practice. As we have discussed in Chapter II, the primacy that he assigns to Matter, Doing and Practice from among 'Matter and Ideas' "Doing and knowing " Practice and Theory" is as much the exposition of the dominant Chinese philosophy and the circumstances of rapidly changing co-relations of material forces which he was withstanding for a decade as the profound influence of Leninist concept of Practice "concrete evaluation of concrete circumstances" on him. His essay "on contradiction" although claims Marxist-Leninist inheritance but it is not true in entirety. Where, for Marx, contradiction referred to a linear progression in history, in which the two contradictory aspects grow, mature, clash and finally resolve (removal of the conflicts between two opposites) in to the higher stage (synthesis); for Mao it is more of a cyclical progression, its aspects transforming into each other, from the two aspects, the destructive side becoming absolute and a state of non-finality of the complete revolution. Unlike, Marx's assumption of it being a motor of change, it is the very stuff of life and

reality for Mao. Sehram logically traces the another source besides, Leninist ~~are~~ one in the traditional Chinese thought of Yin and Yang¹ - the unresolved struggle, co-existence and unity of opposites.

In these two essays, the primacy of social action and the true revolutionary role of subjective consciousness have come up vigorously. But, the difference, here lies with the earlier Mao in the fact that the role of these elements have been logically and theoretically established in the context of the centrality of concrete objective situation.

In a report to the sixth plenum of the central committee of the CPC in 1938 Mao made an important observational remark which truly reflects the meaning and significance of Marxism had in total outlook of Mao:

There is no such thing as abstract Marxism, but only concrete Marxism...consequently, the Sinification of Marxism - that is to say, making certain that in all of its manifestations it is imbued with Chinese peculiarities, using it according to the peculiarities - becomes a problem that must be understood and solved by the whole party without delay...²

1. Sehram, Stuart, "The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (New York: Praeger, 1963) p.46.
2. Ibid, p.114

Although, the term "sinification of Marxism" disappeared from the Chinese Communist Lexicon in the mid-1940s, it truly reflects the relationship Mao visualized between the Chinese reality and Marxism-Leninism. It was the question of synthesizing the general formulations of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete peculiarities of Chinese reality. All through his writings of Yanan period, this problematic of synthesizing the general (Marxism-Leninism) with particular (Chinese reality) comes in various forms and arguments. As we discussed in the Chapter III in the section of New Culture; that Mao advocates for synthesizing true scientific revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism with the national form of China, or through scientific methodology of Marxism-Leninism to evaluate the revolutionary aspects of Chinese tradition in order to develop New Culture shows that his basic commitment lies to the cause of transformation of China's destiny. Thus, the role of Marxism-Leninism is reduced to mere guide to action. Boleshevism stood for him as the integration of Marxism (Universal essence) and Russian (Particular form). So, in the case of China, necessarily the Marxism could be made applicable by stripping it off Russian form.

With the passing of time Mao was getting more and

more concerned with the problems of revolutionary transformation of Chinese society. With Leninism, Populism also survived in his ideology during this period. In his essay ~~Rectify the Party's style of work~~ "Rectify the Party's style of work" in 1942 he frowns over the false vanity of intellectuals in the following way, "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".³ Not only that, in his essay "concerning methods of leadership" dated 1943, he asserts the primacy of masses over the party in the following way, "In all the practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'⁴. Further, asking the party intellectual, to come down to the level of common people's consciousness, he quotes Dimitrov's statement at the Seventh world congress of the communist international, "We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters for the cause of the masses, whose every word, whose every idea reflects the innermost thoughts and the sentiments of millions."⁵

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3. Mao Tse-tung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" Selected works Vol.III p.39.
 4. Mao Tse-tung, "Concerning Method of leadership" Selected works vol.III, p.119.
 5. Mao Tse Tung, "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" Selected Works Vol.III, p.65

Thus, in his outlook Mao combined both populatism and Marxism. His unbending faith in the uprightiousness, wisdom and revolutionary potentiality of the common masses remained profound. Identification with the cause, life style, thought process and activities of the masses assumed supreme value in his outlook which he could get a chance to implement during Yenan period after getting ascendancy in the party hierarchy. The basic element of his personality i.e. crticality and the mad-haunt for finding ways to overthrow the oppressive regime could show the right path and throw him at the helm of China's affairs. For, a decade between 1927 and 1937, he had to fight with the Moscow inspired externally imposed leadership before getting his line established. Despite thoroughness of study of Marxism-Leninism, the intellectualized leadership of Chen-tu-hsiu, Li Li-san and Wang-Ming failed to perceive that in the given state of working class movement and nature of decentra-lized power-distribution-among the war lords' it was not possible to repeat the experience of Soviet Russia in China, that of, leading the working class insurrection and capaturing in a sweeping manner the power from the hands of oppressors.

Mao after 1927, gradually understood this fact of

Chinese situation and thus turned towards the poor peasantry of the villages who were brewing with revolt against the age old tyranny of the landlord classrule. Probably, the less influence of Marxism combined with his commitment to the cause of liberation pushed him finally towards the peasant-road to capture state power. Marxism was as much a hurdle in the path of revolutionary goal as much as a contributing ideology.

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