POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CPCP</td>
<td>Chieh-fang chün pao (Liberation Army News), Peking</td>
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<td>CKCN</td>
<td>Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth), Peking</td>
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<td>CPC</td>
<td>Communist Party of China</td>
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<td>CPPCC</td>
<td>Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference</td>
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<td>CPSU</td>
<td>Communist Party of the Soviet Union</td>
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<td>CYL</td>
<td>Communist Youth League</td>
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<td>FLP</td>
<td>Foreign Languages Press, Peking</td>
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<td>GPCR</td>
<td>Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution</td>
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<td>HC</td>
<td>Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking</td>
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<td>HH</td>
<td>Hsueh-hsi (Study), Peking</td>
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<td>JMCY</td>
<td>Jen-min chiao-yü (People's Education), Peking</td>
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<td>JMJP</td>
<td>Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), Peking</td>
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<td>KMJP</td>
<td>Kuang-ming jih-pao (Enlightenment Daily), Peking</td>
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<td>NCNA</td>
<td>New China News Agency, Peking</td>
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<td>PI</td>
<td>Politico-ideological</td>
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<td>PLA</td>
<td>People's Liberation Army</td>
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<td>PR</td>
<td>Peking Review, Peking</td>
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<td>PRC</td>
<td>People's Republic of China</td>
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<td>SCMM</td>
<td>Selections from China Mainland Magazines, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>SCMP</td>
<td>Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>SMCI</td>
<td>San-min chu-i (Three People's Principles)</td>
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<td>TMTT</td>
<td>Thought of Mao Tse-tung</td>
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<tr>
<td>URI</td>
<td>Union Research Institute, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>YPC</td>
<td>Young Pioneers Corps</td>
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SUMMARY

This study sets out to examine Chinese communist education in the politico-ideological context, with special reference to the postwar period of 1949-70. We hold that education in communist China today is intended to fulfill three major tasks. First, to build socialism. For this purpose, education must serve proletarian politics, be combined with productive labour and be led by the Chinese Communist Party. Such has been party policy since 1958. Second, to wipe out feudal, bourgeois and capitalist influences on ideas, culture, customs and habits, and to establish new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary proletarian line for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Third, to bring up well-educated workers imbued with socialist consciousness—an ideal advanced in Mao's speech of 27 February 1957, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People. We therefore describe at length the history, theories, policies, organisation and techniques of politico-ideological education as well as the educational reforms introduced in the period under review.

Politico-ideological education has scored some successes. For one thing, it is breaking up the traditional barriers between mental and physical labour, resulting in the unity of educational theory and practice. For another, it is heightening the political consciousness of the otherwise ignorant working class and peasantry. Moreover, it is instrumental in bringing about political, ideological, economic, social and educational reforms. But it would be wrong to assume here that politico-ideological education is a panacea and can in future take the place of full-time education. Recent attempts by Mao in this respect had already brought about chaos, resulting in the interruption of normal studies and the deterioration of educational standards during the Cultural Revolution. It is hoped that politico-ideological education would in future play its proper role as education for communist morals, thus contributing to the moulding of a young communist nation.
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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to investigate politico-ideological education in communist China, with special reference to the postwar period of 1949-70. In this Introduction we shall examine the origin, the Chinese communist interpretation and the basis of politico-ideological education.

ORIGIN OF PI EDUCATION

The term, politico-ideological education, is a literal translation of the Chinese, cheng-chih ssu-hsiang chiao-yu. The concept which it expresses dates back as far as the Chou period (1122-255 B.C.). At that time, great philosophers like Confucius, Lao-tzu, Mo-tzu and Kuan-tzu all developed their own schools of thought, and applied their political ideals to politics as well as education. Among all the major schools of thought in that period, Confucianism became the most influential one, and dominated the educational scene in China for centuries. Even the education of San-min chu-i was based on Confucianism. When communist education was first introduced to China, it was known as new democratic culture—a modified form of SMCI education. We shall discuss in detail the significance of Confucian and SMCI education in Chapter 14.
CHINESE COMMUNIST VIEWS ON PI EDUCATION

Since politico-ideological education has a special place in the education of both young and old, the Chinese communists interpret it in a way that serves their interests best.

CONCEPT

They hold that PI education is an essential component of education for the younger generation. At school, PI education aims to establish the socialist political orientation of students, lay down the foundation of their dialectic materialist world outlook and cultivate communist morals. It therefore exerts a systematic influence on students in organising them into various kinds of activities, with the ultimate aim of bringing up socialist-minded, cultured workers.1 Therefore, great significance has been attached to the PI education of the younger generation at school. There are at least three considerations which in the Chinese communist view make PI education play a significant role at school. First, it is necessary to bring up successors to complete the historical tasks of industrialising China and gradually changing over to socialism from New Democracy. Second, the existence of the bourgeoisie perpetuates class struggle.

Third, the bourgeois ideology of students needs to be replaced by socialist ideology. For example, some students who come from landlord and bourgeois families entertain class hatred for the Party and people. Some lack a high degree of consciousness or have not yet taken a firm working class stand. And some have not actually established the world outlook of the proletariat.

TASKS

Generally speaking, there are five main tasks of PI education. First, to establish the communist viewpoints as set forth in the Directive of the Central Committee and State Council on Educational Work of 19 September 1958:

In all schools it is necessary to implement Marxist-Leninist politico-ideological education and cultivate the following viewpoints in teachers and students: the class viewpoint of the working class so as to struggle against the bourgeoisie, the mass and collective viewpoints so as to struggle against the viewpoint of individualism, the labour viewpoint or the viewpoint of integrating mental labour with physical labour so as to struggle against the viewpoints of despising physical labour and labourers and advocating separation between mental and physical labour, and the viewpoint of dialectical materialism so as to struggle against the viewpoints of idealism and metaphysics.

1. Ibid., 224-228.

Second, to form communist behaviour and habits, which are conducive to a better understanding of the substance and demands of the communist ideology and to further strengthening the communist faith. Third, to cultivate communist feelings, such as those for the working class, the country, the Party, collectivisation as well as hatred for all enemies of socialism. Fourth, to build communist morals and character. Fifth, to overcome bad influences from the old society and old ideas, such as individualism, contempt for labour and the working class, hypocrisy, stubbornness and rudeness.¹

The Chinese communists tackle the above five tasks in six ways. First, education relating to the future of communism. They believe that historical materialism discloses the objective law of social development, and that the natural result of social development is the emergence of a communist society. Education of this kind therefore constitutes the most important part of PI education at school. Through it the students will understand the great significance of socialist construction and the inevitability of a communist future in world history. In this connection they should be taught the viewpoint of the working class, and be helped in establishing their socialist political

¹ Pedagogics, 228-232.
orientation and communist view on the philosophy of life.

Second, education for a dialectic materialist world outlook. Since the communists aim to reform the world through communism, it is important to establish a correct world outlook for themselves. What they have in mind is the dialectic materialist world outlook of the working class, which is opposed to the idealist world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

Third, education for patriotism and proletarian internationalism. By patriotism it is meant the liberation of the people from bourgeois exploitation, enslavement and oppression, the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and the establishment of a non-exploitable, classless socialist country. By internationalism it is meant uniting all proletarian workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for world peace.

Fourth, education for collectivism. Through the education for collectivism the people will learn to live and work together, and put public interests before personal interests. It is a struggle against individualism and selfishness, and puts emphasis on the mass viewpoint, i.e. the viewpoint of serving the people wholeheartedly, assuming responsibility to the people and learning from the masses.
Fifth, education for labour. Since the Chinese communists believe that labour is essential to the existence and development of society and that labour not merely supplies mankind with the necessary means of production but also creates man, education for labour at school aims to cultivate a correct viewpoint on labour, take the socialist attitude towards labour, form the habit for labour, love the working class, acquire the skills and knowledge for production, and take good care of public property.

Sixth, self-imposed disciplinary education. It differs from externally-imposed disciplinary education in that it is self-conscious, takes initiative, unites and helps comrades, and is strict and firm.¹

PRINCIPLES

Once these tasks are made clear, the Chinese communists go on to lay down eight guiding principles as follows: (1) The principle of educating people in communist objectives and ideology. (2) The principle of practice, which should be emphasised side by side with theoretical study. (3) The principle of constancy and systematisation to ensure the continuity of PI education. (4) The principle of collective education. (5) The principle of integrating the respect for

¹. Ibid., 232-265.
students' character with rigid demands on them, on the theory that the more we respect and trust a person, the higher demand we make of him. (6) The principle of carrying out positive education by publicising merits and overcoming defects. This principle is said to manifest the spirit of socialism and optimism, and on the other hand reflect the conviction of reforming people through education. (7) The principle of uniformity and consistency in educational influence to ensure that all individuals, educational institutions, bodies, homes, Communist Youth League and Young Pioneers Corps coordinate with one another in implementing PI education, lest the students should be confused in their minds and the efficiency of education should suffer. (8) The principle of taking into consideration the age and individual characteristics in the course of teaching so as to ensure the success of educational work.1

The above principles are further supplemented with some practical methods. In the main, PI education must be implemented (1) in all subjects in addition to the fixed period of PI study, (2) through productive practice and social work, (3) through the study of current events and government policies, (4) at school assemblies and class meetings, (5) through the CYL, YPC and student unions, (6) in all extra-curricular

1. Ibid., 265-276.
activities, (7) at home, (8) by persuasion, and (9) by means of praise and criticism.¹

From the above description it is obvious that this type of education is more than a training in political ideology. It embraces a much wider field, including political, ideological, moral, disciplinary, productive and collective education. It differs from traditional education on two major points. First, it is not meant to promote academic studies. Second, it is entirely built on a PI basis. It is in this context that PI education is given the utmost importance in Chinese communist educational practice, and pursued with unprecedented fervour and faith.

**BASIS FOR PI CONTROL OVER EDUCATION**

The political control of education is effected through the party leadership. The Chinese communists hold that education must be led by the Party, so that it can serve the politics of the working class and be combined with productive labour.² Since the CPC is also known as the political party of the proletariat,³ it goes without saying that education


must also serve the interests of the Party. The idea of party leadership in education is consistent with the Chinese communist tradition that the working class (Read: the CPC) must exercise leadership in everything.  

It has its origin in the party history, because it was the Party which first built up the Red Army, now known as the PLA, and founded the People's Republic. It therefore seems only natural to the Chinese communists that their Party should give leadership to the Government, the PLA, and in fact everything.

As early as 1928 Mao Tse-tung already pointed out that the Party must carry out its task of giving leadership to the Government, and the party policies and measures must be carried out through the government organisations.  

Soon after the founding of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, he saw fit to lay down the general principle of putting the army under the party leadership and supervision. This idea was included in the resolution he drew up for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army in December 1929. In the resolution he attacked the mistaken idea that organisationally, the army's political departments should be placed under its military departments. He held that if it was allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger


of estrangement from the masses, control of the Government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership. What he had in mind was that the army must not be separated from the party leadership, otherwise the Party would not be able to lead the army. His foresight in this matter led to his famous words, "The Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." With the roles of the party leadership thus clearly defined in politics and military affairs, it is only natural that education should also be led by the Party and tackled in the political context.

But it is still not enough to have the party leadership alone. Education must be guided ideologically. The Chinese communists hold that ideology plays an important part in historical development, because, without a revolutionary ideology, there can be no revolutionary movement. Historical experience, they maintain, has proved that in

order to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, the proletarian party, after seizing power, should still give first place to spreading revolutionary ideas for two reasons. First, socialist revolution and socialist construction are the people's own cause. Second, class struggle continues to exist under socialism and is especially complicated and sharp on the political and ideological fronts. It therefore follows that the aim of spreading revolutionary ideas among the masses and giving them a communist education is to help them become increasingly revolutionised, i.e. to help the masses to abandon capitalist ideology and all other outmoded ideas and conventions in favour of proletarian and communist ideas.

Basically, the ideological guidance advocated by the Chinese communists is that of Marxism-Leninism, which was described in the 1956 Party Constitution as an ideological guide to action. But the Chinese communists were quick to see that without adaptation, Marxism-Leninism could not possibly be applied to the changing Chinese situation. Mao was the first leading Chinese communist who made known his view on the need for ideological adaptation. In his *On New Democracy* he pointed out that in applying Marxism to China the Chinese communists must fully and properly integrate

1. Ibid., 34-35.
the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese situation.¹ His suggestion was later written into the Party Constitution of 1956.

Mao himself looks at Marxism from two angles. It is dogmatism if Marxism is treated from the viewpoint of metaphysics and regarded as a dead thing. But it is revisionism if the basic principles of Marxism are denied. The compromise lies in developing Marxism along with the development of practice.² In this regard, Mao's thought offers the answer. It is little wonder that his thought has been twice linked to Marxism-Leninism in the Party Constitutions of 1945 and 1969. In the latter case, Mao's thought is described to be

Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

In education, as elsewhere, such an adaptation to Marxist-Leninist guidance is meant to complement the party leadership on the one hand, and to put education in the PL context on the other. There is also an added advantage. Ideological

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adaptation enables the Chinese communists to interpret Marxism-Leninism freely so as to suit their purpose in general and Mao's thought in particular. As a result, the Marxism-Leninism which they cite frequently represents in most cases their own interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary if they want to convince the people of their word and deed. This point is important in our study, because it is not what Marx and Lenin had actually said, but what the Chinese communists want them to say that matters. Therefore, our references to Marxism-Leninism in the text are made, in principle, from the Chinese communist own viewpoint or translations.
PART I

POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATION
Chapter 1

Educational Thought of Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese communists hold that education in new China is a science which has a party character, because (1) it studies how to educate the young generation in socialism and communism, (2) it must fight anti-Marxist views in order to carry out the educational principles and policies of the Party, (3) it must serve the politics of the proletariat and the socialist economic base, and (4) it must take a scientific attitude, i.e. the attitude of uniting Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, to study Chinese educational problems. Arising from this view are a number of educational theories and policies, which have to some extent been influenced by Mao's thought.

Ever since it was written into the Party Constitution of 1945, Mao's thought has been the PI guide to action and has been regarded as a model of uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with Chinese revolutionary practice. When applied to education, Mao's thought serves as a model of uniting the educational theories of Marxism-Leninism with Chinese educational practice as well as an ideological guide to the development of educational sciences. It is

1. Pedagogics, 6.
therefore not surprising to hear the Chinese communists warn that any departure from Mao's thought will not only cause educational theories separated from Chinese practice, but also result in rightist and dogmatic mistakes.¹

What is the educational thought of Mao Tse-tung? Mao himself is not known as an educationalist and in fact writes very little about education. To him, education is an instrument used to achieve political aims. This political belief leads him to look into the theory and practice of education in relation to Chinese culture. His view now forms the basis of Chinese communist educational thought.

The Chinese communists have been criticising education in old China as metaphysical, divorced from productive forces, scientific knowledge, class struggle and physical labour. To remedy these shortcomings Mao proposes to give a new look to education: the dialectical materialist world outlook. He holds that in order to understand the development of a thing, one should study it internally and in its relations with other things.² Dialectical materialism is also characterised by its effort to explain clearly the class nature of social consciousness and to declare a resolute struggle between its

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¹ Ibid., 5-6.
own proletarian nature and the idealist philosophy of the propertied class.¹ In this context education is a weapon in the class struggle and is inseparable from social, political and economic developments.

Besides, education is geared to the unity of theory and practice. It means not only to put into practice what one has learned but also to undertake physical labour in order to boost economic production. Mao himself attaches great significance to the unity of theory and practice. He holds that ever since the class society came into being, the world has been dominated by two kinds of knowledge only, i.e. knowledge gained in the course of the struggle for production and knowledge gained through the class struggle.² Any theoretical knowledge must therefore be linked to practical struggle in accordance with the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, namely, the dialectical materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.³ This view provides the Chinese communists with a theoretical basis for the unity of theory and practice in P/E education.

² Mao Tse-tung. Rectify the Style of Study, the Style in Party Relations and the Style of Writing, Cheng-feng wen-haien (Rectification Documents), 1st enlarged edn. Hong Kong: Hsin min-chu ch'u-pan she, 1949, p. 12.
It is however not enough to merely apply the dialectical materialist world outlook and the theory of knowledge to Chinese communist education. The application must be adapted to the following peculiar cultural situation in China:¹

There is in China an imperialist culture which is a reflection of imperialist rule.... China also has a semi-feudal culture which reflects her semi-feudal politics and economy, and whose exponents include all those who advocate the worship of Confucius, the study of the Confucian canon, the old ethical code and the old ideas in opposition to the new culture and new ideas. In order to oppose this kind of old culture Mao suggests a new democratic culture which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and at the same time national, scientific and democratic.

From this concept of new culture emerges the culture of the proletariat. To Mao all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. Whereas the old culture served the interests of the exploiting feudal class, the new culture must serve the interests of the people. Since the majority of people are what Mao calls the worker-peasant masses, it is obvious that the new culture should serve the proletariat and become proletarian culture. Proletarian literature and art, so Mao believes, are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause and are subordinate to class politics, i.e. the politics of the masses.²

Proletarian culture is therefore used to promote the revolutionary cause on the one hand, and to educate the masses politico-ideologically on the other. To the Chinese communists there is no such thing as art for art's sake.

Although Mao only refers to culture, education in his view would be regarded as one aspect of culture. Thus, this view could be taken to apply to education just as it applies to literature and art. In 1957 Mao further developed his cultural concept into an educational ideal—the upbringing of socialist-minded, cultured workers, i.e. "red experts." He puts forward this idea in his speech, _On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People:_

> Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

He thus provides the PI basis for the education policy of the Party and Government, which puts education in the service of proletarian politics and combines it with productive labour under the party leadership.

Chapter 2

Educational Policies of the Party

With the educational thought of Mao as their ideological guideline the Chinese communists began to lay down the party line for education. Although the Party did not become a ruling party until 1949, it started tackling education in areas under its control as early as the First Civil War period (1921-27). At that time the Party already paid great attention to carrying out PI education at school. And this soon became a tradition, originating from the first peasants' school established by Mao during that period. In this school the peasants were taught basic revolutionary knowledge such as the Revolutionary History of the Chinese People and Political Economy, which aimed to raise the class consciousness and working capacity of peasants. During the Second Civil War period (1927-36) cadres' schools began to strengthen PI education on the basis of the experience acquired from the first peasants' school. Education of this type was further strengthened in the old liberated areas during the period of the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-45). In Yenan, for example, it took the form of political classes, where the History of Chinese Revolution, Problems of Chinese Revolution, Common Knowledge of Political Economy, Dialectical and Historical Materialism were taught. All these subjects were further coordinated with local political activities. Some new methods were also introduced, such as criticism,
self-criticism, class committees, and the system of evaluating a person's PI study and progress at the end of each term or academic session.

POSTWAR TASK

In the postwar period PI education has gone through five stages. In the first stage of 1949-52 the Party confronted two urgent tasks as the immediate results of its conquest of the mainland. First, politico-ideologically, there were the problems of eradicating the influences of all feudal, comprador, imperialist and Fascist thoughts and educating the masses in Marxism-Leninism. Second, economically, there was the problem of making education serve national construction. But these two tasks were made easier through the help of various campaigns and movements such as the Study Movement, Agrarian Reform, Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries, Resist-America-Aid-Korea, Ideological Reform, Three-Anti and Five-Anti, which contributed in one way or another to the PI education of the masses.

The second stage, 1953-56. This stage was characterised by the party call in 1953 of the General Line and general tasks of the transitional period, which aimed to bring about gradual socialist industrialisation and introduce socialist reforms of agriculture, handicraft industry, capitalist industry and commerce in connection with the First Five-Year
Plan. Politico-ideological education was therefore charged with the task of strengthening the education for patriotism so that the people would actively take part in socialist construction. It was further supplemented by the education for communist morals in 1954 and the education for exterminating counter-revolutionary elements in 1955-56 on the heels of the "Kao-Jao anti-party alliance" so as to sharpen the people's ideological and political awareness.

The third stage, 1957-59. This was the most eventful stage before the GPCR in the party history, because it ushered in various important campaigns such as the Hundred Flowers of 1957, its subsequent Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957, the All-People Rectification Movement of 1957-58, the Three Red Banners of the General Line of Socialist Construction, Great Leap Forward and People's Communes in 1958, and finally the anti-rightist opportunist struggle of 1959. Understandably, PI education in this period was geared to the above campaigns and movements and characterised by class education and the education on the General Line of Socialist Construction.

The fourth stage, 1960-65. It was characterised by Mao's desperate call, "never forget class struggle," made at the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962—a call issued in the face of growing "economism" which Liu Shao-ch'i introduced in order to ease
the repercussions of the Three Red Banners and the three bad years of famine (1959-61). The call was followed by the Three Great Revolutionary Movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, which Mao launched in May 1963. Under these three movements class struggle served as the main stimulus in the struggle for production, which in turn was used to test the people's class consciousness in politics, while scientific experiment was a key to raising productivity. Among these three elements the struggle for production constituted the main body, with class struggle in command and scientific experiment as the means. Taken as a whole the trio formed the substance of the General Line of Socialist Construction, and went along with another nationwide movement, i.e. the Socialist Education Movement of 1962-66 featuring the "new five-anti" campaign in cities and the "four-clean" campaign in the countryside.

The fifth stage, 1965-70. This stage was now known as the GPCR, characterised by a fierce struggle between the "two classes, the two roads and the two lines." Because of its special significance in PI education the GPCR will be given special treatment in Part IV.

PRODUCTIVE LABOUR

A main feature of the party line is productive labour. There are at least six good reasons why the Chinese communists
want to emphasise this aspect strongly. First, it breaks with the traditional bourgeois attitude of despising manual labour. Second, ideologically, it moulds the dialectical materialist world outlook on the central role of labour in helping create the world. Third, it puts into practice the theory of the unity of theory and practice. Fourth, economically, it provides badly needed manpower for socialist construction. Fifth, socially, it solves the employment problems of primary and secondary school graduates who cannot go on to study. Sixth, politically, it provides the Party with the means and excuse to get rid of undesirable or trouble-making elements by condemning them to productive labour in the countryside.

It was Mao who first put forward the idea of introducing productive labour into education. In the general party policy on culture and education for the Chinese Soviet Republic he suggested that the broad labouring masses be educated in communism, culture and education be made to serve the revolutionary war and class struggle, and education be combined with labour.¹ Productive labour was however not actually carried out on a nationwide scale until 1958. Under the party call of "exerting the utmost efforts to swim upstream and

building the socialist general line with greater, faster, better and more economical results" productive labour was, and still is, used to provide the necessary incentive and means.

While the immediate aim of productive labour was to serve the general line of socialist construction under the Three Red Banners, its long-term aim is to bring about the mobility of economic manpower and cultural revolution. In the latter case the Chinese communists put forward the Marxist view on all-round development, and quoted Friedrich Engels as saying that the students should acquire comparatively broader knowledge and become versatile people capable of going over in sequence from one branch of production to another, depending on the requirements of society or their own inclinations. They therefore hold that workers should at the same time be peasants, peasants should be workers, civilians should take up military service, retired military men should go back to production, cadres should participate in physical labour, and manual workers should take part in administration. And measures such as these which involve both the division of labour and change of work conform to the needs of society, because they not only increase production but enable the state to carry out reasonable re-adjustment of the productive forces when this becomes socially necessary, without causing social upheaval. By so doing the maximum mobility of economic
manpower will be attained.¹

The idea of bringing about a cultural revolution had its origin in the 2nd Session of the Eighth Central Committee held in November 1956, which resolved that the main task was to actively carry out the technical and cultural revolutions while continuing with the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts. The cultural revolution was so conceived as to enable the people to do productive work and to study. In explaining the social and ideological significances of the cultural revolution Lu Ting-i, then Director of the Central Propaganda Department, pointed out:²

This means to make the masses of our workers and peasants intellectuals as well as our intellectuals labourers. Only when the masses of workers and peasants and the intellectuals alike develop along the line of making up what they lack, is it possible to change thoroughly the irrational legacy of the old society and eradicate the backwardness of each... The cultural revolution demands that education must serve working-class politics and must be combined with productive labour.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Apart from laying down the above educational principles and policy the Party also introduced educational reforms, which increasingly determine the contents of education. Before

¹ Lu Ting-i. Education Must Be Combined with Productive Labour, HC, 7, 1958, pp. 6-7.
² Ibid., 9.
the GPCR the Party had at least made two attempts to revolutionise education in the PI context. The first attempt was made in 1958. Under the slogan of the Great Leap Forward, education was tackled by "walking on two legs" in order to achieve "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Under this policy the Party and people adopted the mass line in establishing part-time and spare-time schools side by side with full-time education,¹ and called the movement as "all people go to establish schools." Consequently there emerged red-expert schools and universities, half-day and spare-time schools, and schools run by factories and mines. All these schools were concerned with popularising education quantitatively. This was the first leg in education. Meanwhile, full-time education was not to be neglected. That was the other leg which concerned itself with quality.

Whereas the Great Leap Forward in education was essentially an advance in educational quantity and red-expert education, the educational reform of 1960 was designed to bring political contents into education. Productive labour had by then been included in school timetable. But this was not enough. Full-time education in the late 1950s was not much different from that prior to the Liberation. For one thing, the school system of the Kuomintang days was still in use.

For another, school curricula did not change much insofar as academic subjects were concerned. Clearly, if full-time education was to serve the socialist cause better, it had to be revolutionised. In 1960 the Party felt it was time to do so on an experimental basis, and concentrated on two aspects of reform: the period of study and the curriculum.

Under the old system of full-time education the period of study was six years each for the primary and secondary courses, known together as "ordinary education," and four years generally for the university course. The primary and secondary courses were divided into junior and senior stages each lasting three years. It therefore took a pupil who normally began his studies at the age of 7 at least sixteen years to complete his full-time education. Such a long period of study, in the Chinese communist view, only worked well with the bourgeoisie who had both time and money to do it. But it was financially impossible for the poor working class and peasantry. There were other more important considerations which strongly persuaded the Party to shorten the period of study in the 1960 reform. Assuming that the shortening of the period would not affect the quality of education, the Party could hope to achieve both reduction in the cost of full-time education and labour.

Under the proposed reform the new educational system would be a full-time primary and secondary education with
the time reduced from twelve to about ten years and the standard raised to approximate the first year of the university course. The main reason given here was that extra manpower would be made available for productive labour. It takes about ten years for children who go to school at the age of 6 or 7 to become physically fit for labour. It was estimated that under the new system communist China could produce well over 10 million senior secondary school graduates a year, as against the normal number of several hundred thousand graduates a year, while drawing very little on the full labour power. It was also hoped that those new graduates engaged in productive labour would be capable of pursuing part-time, spare-time higher education run by their factories, mines, communes and organisations, so that they would eventually become both "red" and "expert."¹

In connection with the shortening of the period of study it was necessary to revolutionise the curriculum. The Party held that among all the subjects normally learned at school the most important ones should be the Chinese language and mathematics. If the pupils could master these two subjects, it would be easier for them to learn all other subjects, such as physics, chemistry, biology, history and geography. It

was therefore necessary for them to oppose slavish adulation of bourgeois pedagogics, emancipate their minds and be prepared to experiment. Such a revolutionary reform did not appear to have had much success, because it never went beyond the experimental stage. It nevertheless paved a way for further revolutionisation of PI education during the GPCR.

1. Ibid., 329.
Chapter 3
Educational Policies of the Government

The educational policy of the Government is characterised by its adherence to the party line. In two policy statements Yang Hsiu-feng, then Minister of Education, made it quite clear in 1959 that his job was to carry out the party education policy. In affirming the government policy of carrying out the party line of Great Leap Forward in education Yang told the 1st Session of the Second National People's Congress that the Government would make continuous efforts to implement the party education policy under the party leadership. Six months later he reviewed the work of education in the last decade, and noted with satisfaction the great educational progress already made. He was therefore convinced that in their educational work they should continue to carry out the party education policy, so that the educated may be developed morally, intellectually and physically to become workers with socialist consciousness and culture, so that new personnel of all-round development with political consciousness and culture who are capable of taking up mental work as well as physical work may be fostered, and so that the goal of making labourers of the intellectuals and intellectuals of the workers and peasants may be gradually realised.

What he said may be taken as the basic government line in education, which has gone through three periods as follows.

SOVIET PERIOD 1931-34

The first government policy on education was formulated when the Chinese Soviet Republic was established in 1931. It was written into the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Article 12 of which provided that the workers, peasants and labouring masses should have a right to education and should be actively guided to participate in political, cultural revolutionary life so as to develop new social forces. A more specific policy was drawn up in 1934. In a report made before the Second National Soviet Congress on behalf of the Central Executive Committee and People's Committee in that year Mao pointed out that the general cultural and educational policy was to make the workers and peasants intellectuals, educate the masses of labouring people in communist spirit, make culture and education serve the revolutionary war and class struggle, and combine education with labour. It is clear here that even in the early period of the regime education was essentially PI education and was used to serve the communist cause.

When the Chinese Soviet Republic was broken up in 1934 under the Kuomintang pressure and was finally dissolved on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the policy was also discontinued. However, its spirit remained. Soon

afterwards, the Chinese communists were given complete autonomy under the Nationalist Government, and established in their central base area the Shensi-Kansu-Ningxia Border Regional Government. Education was then implemented in the same spirit of the old education policy. Primary education was free and intended to be made universal. Pupils were forbidden to study the Confucian classics. Organised into children's corps they acted as sentinels, took part in investigating the use of land, and paid visits to the dependents of soldiers. Schools opened their doors to cadres, workers and peasants. In teaching, emphasis was laid on politics, military affairs and productive labour. The Chinese communists even attempted to Latinise the Chinese script, but apparently without success. All these measures indicated that the Chinese communists did not hesitate to put into practice their own educational principles and policy as soon as they had the opportunity of doing so.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD 1949-54

In this period the Government faced for the first time the gigantic task of changing an educational system which was totally different from its own in political ideology. On the basis of new democratic culture and education and the Common Programme a government education policy began to take

1. Ibid., III, 270-283.
shape. It was in the main a policy of re-adjustment and re-organisation, with increasing emphasis on PI education. From the start new democratic education in this period was meant to overthrow the bourgeois educational system and usher in socialist education. It was therefore necessary for democratic education to contain socialist elements. This point was made clear in the First National Conference on Educational Work held in December 1949. The general policy then formulated was to make education serve workers, peasants and socialist construction. This was the primary socialist element in new democratic education. As a result of this policy schools opened their doors to workers, peasants and all national minorities. In addition, PI education was introduced to the school curriculum so as to help students establish the communist world outlook. Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought were incorporated into school textbooks. The principle of uniting theory with practice was applied to the method of teaching. Finally, teachers were urged to become Marxist-Leninists so that they could accomplish the national task of bringing up the younger generation. Once this guideline was laid down, the Government proceeded to reform the old system of full-time education on the one hand, and establish a new system for the education of workers and peasants on

the other. The ultimate aim was to produce an integral system of full-time and part-time education so that it would serve the communist cause and socialist construction better.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1951 the Government introduced the first education reform, under which the original six-year primary course was compressed into a thorough five-year course, with the age of entry fixed at 7. Two over-riding PI factors favoured such a move. First, a thorough five-year primary course would encourage more children of the labouring masses to complete the primary course, thus preventing the bourgeoisie and landlord class from dominating over school. Second, the shortening of the period of study would produce more primary school graduates for productive labour. The Chinese communists held that a primary school graduate at the age of 12 had just reached that stage at which he could be usefully employed in productive labour. The old 6-year primary course was therefore not only politico-ideologically unsuitable but also economically unwise.¹

In spite of the Chinese communist theory on the reform of primary education the new system, first put to test in 1952,

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encountered insurmountable difficulties in regard to teaching staff and teaching materials. As a result the old system of 6-year primary course was restored in the Autumn of 1953. The Government had nevertheless made two contributions to promoting PE education. First, all primary school textbooks were standardised and re-edited in 1951, resulting in a new set of textbooks with socialist contents. This new set was released for use in 1954. Second, the Government laid down a clear-cut policy on the future of primary school graduates. It pointed out in its Directive on Re-organising and Improving Primary Education that the majority of primary school graduates would be required to take part in productive labour, and only a few of them could go on to study. It was therefore suggested that schools should not emphasise further studies following graduation. Instead, they should stress productive labour and inspire the pupils with a love of work.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Chinese communists regard secondary education as an important link with national construction as well as a preparatory stage for training personnel for national construction. This was made known at the First National Conference on Secondary Education held by the Ministry of Education on 19 March 1951. Therefore, the main task of

1. Department of Primary Education. Primary Education in the Past Five Years, Hsiao-hsueh chiao-shih (Primary School Teachers), Sept. 1954, p. 6.


secondary education was to educate students with the spirit of the General Line of the Transitional Period so as to enable them to become all-round new men and take part in socialist construction.1 The success of this task depended on two factors: PI education and party leadership, which we shall discuss in detail in Part II.

On 5 June 1954 the Government Administrative Council issued the Directive Concerning the Improvement and Development of Secondary Education.2 Apart from laying down the guideline to secondary education it elaborated the communist theory of education and defined the aim of secondary education as

educating the students with socialist ideology so that they would grow up as full-fledged members of the socialist society and develop in an all-round way.

Secondary education was therefore entrusted with two major tasks. First, it should supply higher schools with a sufficient number of qualified first-year students. Second, it should meet the needs of national construction by supplying the country with a large number of secondary school graduates. This implied that for the majority of secondary school graduates their future would lie in productive labour. On the

2. JMCY, July 1954, pp. 16-17.
basis of this directive a policy was formulated to guide secondary education. First and foremost, secondary education should be geared to the general tasks of the transitional period and developed according to needs and possibilities. For instance, apart from developing senior secondary schools emphasis should be laid on developing short-term and part-time schools at the same time. In the matter of teaching teachers should raise their socialist consciousness, recognise correctly the relationship between mental and physical labour, and reform their teaching by applying the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and the principle of uniting theory with practice, with special reference to Soviet educational theories and experiences. In the matter of study students should be armed with PI education. In doing so it was necessary to strengthen the ideological leadership of the working class, criticise the bourgeois ideology and the residue of feudal, comprador and Fascist thoughts, and demonstrate the "five-love," i.e. love the fatherland, people, labour, science and take good care of public property.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the educational ladder of old China higher education was the privilege of the wealthy bourgeois class. Furthermore, its strong Western and bourgeois influences tended to bring up an intellectual elite. This was naturally found intolerable to the communist regime. To make matters worse many
leading universities were founded and run by Americans. Therefore, from the PI viewpoint higher education had to be reformed. Besides, there was the economic consideration. Communist China needs scientists and technicians for socialist construction, and only higher education can meet this need. It is not surprising that the Government should tackle the reform at the earliest possible moment.

On 30 May-9 June 1950 the Government held the First National Conference on Higher Education in Peking. The foremost task of the Conference was to formulate a general policy on higher education on the basis of the Common Programme. Two proposals were then put forward. First, higher education should redouble its efforts to bring up, by the method of unifying theory with practice, experts for national construction. Second, it should start to take in cadres and youth of the working class and educate them to be a new type of intellectuals, i.e. proletarian intellectuals. It was further suggested that in carrying out this policy precautions should be taken against dogmatism which deviates from practice, and narrow pragmatism and empiricism which tend to despise theoretical study. Also discussed at the Conference was the question of leadership and curricular reform. Both discussions resulted in the promulgation by the Government Administrative Council of two important

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documents: Decision Concerning the Leadership Relations in Higher Schools, and Decision Concerning the Enforcement of Curricular Reform in Higher Schools. The former provided that while the Ministry of Education assumed overall leadership in all higher schools except military schools, the Education Department or Department of Culture and Education in each Great Administrative Area should exercise leadership in the higher schools of the Area concerned in accordance with the uniform policy of the Central People’s Government. The latter attempted to deal with the remoteness of the old university curriculum from practice and its failure to manifest the spirit of New Democracy. Under the proposed reform all subjects should be linked with the national needs and textbooks re-edited from the Marxist viewpoint. In addition, all reactionary political courses should be replaced by a political course on New Democracy, so that all feudal, comprador and Fascist thoughts would be purged and the ideas of serving the people cultivated.

The most important change made in this period was the re-organisation of the institutions of higher learning in 1952, officially known as the re-organisation of colleges and departments. On the surface it appeared to be a merely

2. The Central People’s Government Issues the Decision Concerning the Enforcement of Curricular Reform in Higher Schools and We Strive for Achieving the Unity of Theory and Practice Step by Step, JMJP, 3 Aug. 1950, p. 3.
administrative measure under which all educational resources were concentrated in order to strengthen the development of sciences and technology. But in fact it had both political and ideological implications. Politically, the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign provided the Government with the excuse of taking over all American-aided cultural, educational, charity and religious enterprises as a stepping stone to re-organising the institutions of higher learning.³ Ideologically, the political study movement organised by the Ministry of Education for university teachers in Peking and Tientsin in September 1951 and the subsequent Ideological Remoulding Movement launched among university teachers on the basis of a proposal made at the 3rd Session of the First CPPCC in October 1951 all aimed to remove the ideological obstacles of individualism, favouritism and sectarianism, thus paving the way for the re-organisation of colleges and departments.² Moreover, the confiscation of all American enterprises numbering approximately 17 universities, 200 secondary schools, 1,500 primary schools, 200 hospitals, 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 40 schools for handicapped children and 73 religious establishments contributed to eliminating American influence.³


2. Tseng Chao-lun. The Improvement of Higher Education in the Past Three Years, JMCY, January 1953, pp. 11-12.

3. N. 1 supra.
On the Government had cleared all the obstacles, it began to tackle the re-organisation of colleges and departments in three directions. First, organisationally, it eliminated once for all all private institutions of higher learning and organised all existing ones into three groups: technology, general studies, and teacher training. Second, administratively, the Soviet systems of "teaching research groups" and subject specialisation were adopted. Third, political supervisors were for the first time installed in institutions of higher learning under the Plan of Re-adjustment of Engineering Colleges in China promulgated by the Government Administrative Council on 16 April 1952. Their duties were to see that students would pay enough attention to political study, take part in PI activities, respond quickly to the calls of the Party and Government, and obey the government decision on unified allocation of work after their graduation. After the re-organisation higher education was said to have become a new type of higher education led by the working class and have been adapted to the needs of national construction.

WORKER-PEASANT SHORT-TERM EDUCATION

The idea of implementing worker-peasant short-term education


was put forward at the First National Conference on Educational Work held by the Ministry of Education in December 1949. At that time the Provisional Enforcement Plan for Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools was discussed. It was on this basis that the Ministry of Education convened the First National Conference on Worker-Peasant Education in September 1950. As a result of the conference the Government Administrative Council issued in December of the same year a directive authorising the establishment of worker-peasant short-term secondary schools and cultural supplementary schools for worker-peasant cadres. All these early measures showed the Government’s determination to find a short-cut to educate the youth and cadres of the working class, who were normally denied the opportunity of education under the full-time educational system.

Although the ultimate aim of short-term education was in theory the same as that of full-time secondary education, the approach to teaching and study was necessarily different. The short-term secondary schools provided the adult workers and peasants with a simplified secondary course compressed from the normal six years to only three. When they were first established, their tasks were defined as

1. Department of Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools, Ministry of Education. Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools in the Past Five Years, JMCY, Nov. 1954, p. 34.

taking in worker-peasant cadres and youth and giving them secondary education in culture and science so that they can go on to study in universities or technical colleges and become the strong backbone of national construction.

According to the Provisional Enforcement Plan for Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools, this type of school first enrolled worker-peasant cadres who had taken part in revolution for at least three years. Such a policy determined the nature of teaching and study, i.e. from "red" to "expert." It was therefore suggested that in view of the relatively high political consciousness of these cadres the curriculum should primarily be cultural study, with PI study merely as a subsidiary subject.1 To ensure that the students would digest and complete the secondary course in the prescribed period the Ministry of Education issued three sets of Subject Group Teaching Plans in October 1952, which emphasised those subjects geared to the university departments the students had chosen to go to. For example, the first set aimed to help those who intended to study in the Departments of Literature, History, Finance, Economics, Politics and Law, and emphasised Chinese History and Geography. Likewise, the second set was designed for those going to the Departments of Science and Engineering, and stressed Chinese, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. The third set was meant for those going to the Departments of Agriculture, Medicine and Biology, and concentrated on Chinese, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry

1. Ibid., p. 32.
and Biology. To make things easier for graduates of short-term schools to enter universities the Ministry of Education also promulgated in November 1952 the Decision on Affiliating Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools to Higher Schools. This meant that all graduates of these affiliated schools were automatically admitted to the relevant higher schools without going through a competitive entrance examination. Such a measure was no doubt necessary in the face of the strong competition of a large number of full-time secondary school graduates. Besides, the Chinese communists deemed that the affiliation would have the added advantage of enabling the higher school to carry out its political task of producing working class technicians and administrators as the backbone of national construction.

In spite of the full support of the Government this type of school did not prove to be a success. The "reds" did not turn out to be suitable material for becoming red experts. Their lack of a good primary school education, coupled with the problems of teaching staff and suitable textbooks, began to affect the quality of study. Three years after the establishment of short-term secondary schools the Government learned the hard fact that if the students enrolled

1. Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools in the Past Five Years, JMCY, Nov. 1954, p. 34.

2. Shih Wei-san. Do Well the Transfer of Affiliating Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools to Higher Schools, JMCY, May 1953, p. 20.
in this type of school did not have an educational background equivalent to that of senior primary school graduates, it would be extremely difficult for the short-term secondary schools to carry out their teaching plans and the national plan of bringing up worker-peasant cadres.\(^1\) The high wastage of students in short-term schools must have alarmed the Government. The statistics of twenty worker-peasant schools showed that only 52% of the total students enrolled in 1950 managed to graduate in 1953.\(^2\) The situation continued to deteriorate until 1955 when the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education both took drastic action to suspend any further enrollment of students in this type of school. In a joint circular of 12 July 1955 on Suspending Enrollment in Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools they admitted that the short-term schools had failed to achieve their aims. They therefore suggested that the existing schools of this kind should be gradually transformed into ordinary secondary schools. In the meantime, enrollment of new students should be suspended from the Autumn term of 1955, and the education of the masses of worker-peasant cadres should in future be substituted by worker-peasant cadres classes and spare-time education.\(^3\) There was also another important factor which

\(^1\) We Must Pay Great Attention to Improving Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools, *JMJP*, editorial, 29 Aug. 1953, p. 3.

\(^2\) There Are Many Problems in Worker-Peasant Short-Term Secondary Schools in This Country, *JMJP*, 29 Aug. 1953, p. 3.

contributed to the suspension of short-term schools. It was productive labour. The rapid growth of these schools between December 1949 and the Summer of 1955 already caused the loss of something like 50,000 worker-peasant cadres over a long period of three-year full-time study,¹ who would otherwise be engaged in productive labour needed urgently under the First Five-Year Economic Plan. To make the matter worse the great loss of labour power such as this was not found justified in the light of the poor performances of the worker-peasant students. Nevertheless, such a new experiment in education represented the first major effort of the Government in educating worker-peasant cadres as the backbone of national construction.

SPARE-TIME EDUCATION

Ever since its introduction in 1951 as a part of the educational system spare-time education has proved itself to be a better type of supplementary adult education. First, it does not attempt to interfere with productive labour. Second, its period of study is flexible. Third, it imposes much less financial burden on the Government and local education authorities. In theory, spare-time education provides the full range of ordinary education. In practice, its main task in this transitional period was to eliminate illiteracy. To the Chinese communists, illiteracy is an educational as

¹. Page 46, n. 1 & 3.
well as a PI problem. Politically, it denies the masses the opportunity of studying government directives and policies which they are asked to carry out. Ideologically, it discourages the masses from taking part in study campaigns which the Party may launch from time to time. In any case it is a great handicap to the communist cause. This was why the Party and Government both announced in 1956 that the systematic eradication of illiteracy was not only a great revolution in Chinese culture but also a most important political task of socialist construction.¹

Like any other type of education, spare-time education must first serve the politics of the working class and be combined with productive labour. Such a policy was first made known in June 1950 by the Government Administrative Council in its Directive on Developing the Spare-Time Education of Employees and Workers, which pointed out that spare-time education was one of the most important methods to raise the political, cultural and technical levels of the masses of workers and employees.² In the transitional period to socialism the tasks of the spare-time education of peasants were defined as follows: (1) To coordinate closely with the development of co-operativisation movement. (2) To serve politics. (3) To be combined with agricultural production.

To carry out the principle of "teaching the people by themselves." (5) To observe the principle of uniting theory with practice. (6) To rely on the party leadership.¹

The urgent need for strengthening spare-time education in the countryside may be seen from another two government directives: Directive of the State Council on Strengthening the Spare-Time Education of Peasants, 2 June 1955, and Circular of the Ministry of Education on Organising Peasants for Spare-Time Study in Winter 1955-Spring 1956, 24 October 1955. The former emphasised PI education for the purpose of raising the peasants' political consciousness,² while the latter stressed the urgent tasks of wiping out rural illiteracy and organising peasants for spare-time study in connection with the high tide of agricultural co-operativisation.³

PROMOTION OF PI EDUCATION

Apart from various initiatives in organising full-time, short-term and spare-time education the Government did not


neglect the task of promoting PI education through special educational establishments. This was necessary if it wanted to solve the urgent problems of training "red and expert" cadres, supplying schools with specially trained PI teachers, and re-educating the large number of intellectuals of the former regime. It was also clear that the normal educational system, officially introduced in 1951, could not and was not designed to cope with these special problems, and a new type of school had to be established in order to meet these special needs. This consideration saw the founding in September 1950 of the Chinese People's University. Its establishment, declared Kuo Mo-jo in 1950, then Chairman of the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs, was based on the experience of the Soviet Union and the actual requirements in China. Its educational methods emphasised the unity of theory and practice, and its aim was to train cadres who had already had considerable revolutionary experience and select industrial workers and young intellectuals for national construction. To all intents and purposes it was meant to be a model PI university as well as the first one which opened its doors to workers and peasants of primary and junior secondary education. Such an extraordinary measure was in fact in line with the Party's Directive on Strengthening the Cultural and Educational Work of Cadres, which made the education of worker-peasant cadres an important political task in this period.


Another important task of the Chinese People's University was to supply PI teachers for higher schools. Reporting on 7 June 1956 the New China News Agency claimed that over 80% of the 1,600 graduates of the University's Marxism-Leninism Research Class had already run political classes in various higher schools. It also reported that the University planned to produce and supply 10,000 teachers of political theory in twelve years' time.\(^1\) The mass production of PI teachers was felt justified because of the need for re-educating the large number of intellectuals. Re-education was carried out in another new type of "university," known as the People's Revolutionary University. It was then the government policy that all intellectuals of the former regime, such as university professors, students, civil servants and former members of the Kuomintang, should attend the local People's Revolutionary University for one semester. While there they studied historical materialism, basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, Mao's thought, basic problems of the Chinese people's revolution and government policies on national construction. In addition, they were also required to take part in criticism meetings and productive labour. Such a course of re-education aimed to reform old ideas and establish the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the viewpoint of serving the people. The scale of re-education may be seen from the

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following example. In the North China People's Revolutionary University there were 17,000 students in the first two semesters from March 1949 to March 1950. After completing their course they were thought to be able to stand closer to the revolutionary cause.¹

Ever since the course started, re-education has become a regular feature of PI education. As Premier Chou En-lai once put it,²

it will be possible for us on the whole to complete this special historical task of re-educating intellectuals during the transitional period. After this, like all other people, the intellectuals will still have to go on with their self-education, through study and in practice, and advance to still higher standards on the new levels; but this will have become a regular task by them.

We shall comment on the significance of re-educating intellectuals in Chapter 13.

CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

With the Constitution of the PRC adopted on 20 September 1954 China entered the transitional period from the founding of a People's Democratic Dictatorship to the attainment of a socialist society. During the transition the fundamental tasks of the State were to bring about the socialist industrialisation of the country and accomplish the socialist transformation of

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¹ North China People's Revolutionary University Educates Intellectual Youth en Masse, JMJP, 8 May 1950, p. 3.

agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce. The role of education was therefore geared to the spirit of the Constitution, i.e. people's democracy and socialism. The Chinese communists hold that education not only requires the teachers and students to promote communist ideology, but also puts into practice the general principle of "ensuring the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society" as laid down in Article 4 of the Constitution.¹

As early as 1940 Mao pointed out in On New Democracy that communist ideology plays the guiding role in the orientation of Chinese national culture. He also made it clear at the First Session of the First National People's Congress that the theoretical basis for guiding their thought is Marxism-Leninism.² Although the Constitution makes no direct mention of communist ideology, some of its Articles have been deliberately interpreted by the Chinese communists in this context. For example, Article 94 is taken to mean the establishment of communist ideology. Articles 14 and 101 urge the people to put public interests above personal ones. Article 16 deals with the attitude towards labour. Article 100 lays down self-imposed discipline. Articles 3 and 85 cultivate the spirit of equality. Finally, Article 103 manifests the

spirit of patriotism and internationalism. All of them tend to suggest that the fundamental task of education in this period was to establish communist ideology along the line specified in the Constitution.

EARLY POLICIES

Insofar as educational policies were concerned this period first saw the consolidation, next the Great Leap Forward, and then the socialist reform of communist education, with increasing emphasis on PI indoctrination. Already, education seemed to flourish under the 1951 system of full-time, short-term and spare-time education. But it became increasingly clear by 1955 that the quantitative improvement had been made at the expense of quality. It was therefore decided at the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work held on 19 May-10 June 1955 that the new cultural and educational policy should aim to raise quality as the main point of emphasis, develop in a planned manner, and make reasonable arrangements for geographical distribution and overall arrangements for both private and state-run cultural and educational enterprises.

By the time this new policy was formulated the First Five-Year Economic Plan was already well under way. There is reason to believe that the new policy was geared to the economic plan which called on education to bring up high-

level personnel for national construction. It is therefore not surprising to find the JMJP warning that it would run counter to the interests of socialist industrialization if education should fail to guarantee a given quality.¹

HALF-WORK HALF-STUDY

The period of consolidation did not last long, however. In 1958, under the party calls of Great Leap Forward and "walking on two legs" the Chinese communists introduced another new type of education, known as "half-work/half-farm, half-study," which was designed to embody the three essential elements of productive labour, "red" and "expert" on a workable basis. From the beginning it was regarded as superior to both short-term and spare-time education, because it made up the loss of productive labour in short-term education and expedited the growth of technical force hitherto handicapped by spare-time education. For these two reasons half-work half-study had been described as a new method of study, which not only met the new needs for cultural revolution and technical innovation, but also opened a new path to combining education with productive labour.²

The idea of half-work half-study had its origin in a party report which Liu Shao-ch'i made before the 2nd Session

¹. Ibid.
of the Eighth Party Congress on 5 May 1958. He then pointed out that in view of the basic victory of socialist revolution already won on the economic, political and ideological fronts it was time to make technical and cultural revolution in socialist construction.¹ In response to this call the First National Cotton Mill in Tientsin made an experiment in workers' education by establishing a half-work half-study school in May 1958. The significance of this type of education may be seen from the official view on this matter. In a talk given on his tour of inspection in Kiangsu Province in September 1958 Liu Shao-ch'i commented on half-work half-study education thus:²

One of the most thorough ways to carry out the system of combining education with productive labour is to run factory and school together.... The establishment of a new factory also means the opening of a new school.... This method, when carried out, will greatly shorten the process of intellectualising the masses of workers and peasants. It will also eliminate the difference between mental and physical labour more quickly. The intellectuals thus brought up will be red-expert intellectuals of the working class.

Moreover, the Government saw fit to point out in its Report on the Work of the Government, made before the 1st Session of the Third National People's Congress, that half-work half-study education contributed to bringing up new men of all-round development.³

³. Ibid., iv.
The following example shows how this type of school would measure up better to the Great Leap Forward requirement of "achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results." An initial estimate of the needs of the technical force in Tientsin, made in 1958, revealed that an increase of at least 80,000 higher- and middle-level technicians would be required under the Second Five-Year Economic Plan. But the higher and technical schools there could at best produce 30% of the personnel needed. The rest had to be found from other sources. It was therefore suggested that half-work half-study schools at both higher and middle levels should be established and run by factories. These schools would not only speed up the training of technical cadres, but also drastically reduce the cost. The period of study could be reduced from 11 to $\frac{3}{2}$ years for training an engineer, and from 7 to 3 years for a technician. In the latter case, the cost would be reduced from 637 to around 30 yuan per annum. With regard to studies a half-work half-study student might learn a little bit less than his full-time counterpart. But he would do better in uniting theory with practice and solving practical problems arising from production.¹

In connection with "half-work half-study" the Government issued the call, "work hard and study diligently," on 4 February

1958 in a circular to all educational institutions. The circular was in fact based on an earlier decision of the CYL Central Committee, Decision on Promoting Hard Work and Diligent Study Among Students (27 January 1958).¹ The whole thing was carefully planned beforehand and timed to coordinate with the Great Leap Forward. Long before the Decision was promulgated the Chinese communists already paved the way to create public opinion for such a demand. Quite appropriately, the Chinese Youth Daily, organ of the CYL, took the lead in publishing an editorial on 5 May 1957 under the title, Work Hard, Study Diligently and Engage in Extra-curricular Labour. The JMJP followed suit, and wrote in its editorial of 5 June 1957 that labour and study should be carried out simultaneously. By the time the Government issued the circular the campaign of "working hard and studying diligently" had already been well under way.² All these earlier measures had paved the way for the introduction of the half-work half-study system.

The policy of half-work half-study applied not merely to schools run by factories but also to agricultural secondary


schools and red-expert universities. The first two agricultural secondary schools were established in Hai-an and Han-chiang counties, Kiangsu in March 1958 for the purpose of accommodating the large number of primary school graduates. As schools of this kind not only solved the problems of primary school graduates and productive labour but also were self-supporting, they flourished. By the beginning of 1960 there were already 20,000 such schools, with 60,000 teachers and 2.9 million students.¹

The red-expert labour university is in fact a half-work half-study school built on a larger scale and devoted to political study and productive labour. A successful and much publicised example is the Kiangsi Communist Labour University. Founded on 1 August 1958 in response to the General Line of Socialist Construction the "university" adopted the policy, "half-work, half-study, hard work, diligent study; study combined with productive labour and politics combined with the profession."² In fact, the "university" started from scratch, and the first lessons the students learned were to erect their own buildings and to engage themselves in production. It was the strong communist faith that made the school a model of "red-expert labour universities."

The period which followed the Great Leap Forward but preceded the GPCR was marked by renewed efforts in implementing PI education through the Socialist Education Movement. Although no basic changes in the educational system were made, the Chinese communists began to attach more and more significance to the system of "half-work half-study," which turned out to be the basis for socialist education reform under the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
Chapter 4
Changes in Attitude and Practice since 1949

Despite the theories and policies set out above there have since 1949 been some notable changes in attitude and practice in the PI field. Specifically, there are the questions of "redness and expertise," physical labour, literature and art, and the re-education of intellectuals. The last two questions also fall within the scopes of propaganda techniques and the GPCR, and will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 13 respectively.

REDNESS AND EXPERTISE

The questions of "redness and expertise" and physical labour in fact represent the changing views on how to implement the party education policy of 1958, which still remains in force to-date. Ever since Marxism-Leninism was first introduced to all the people on the mainland in 1949 the Chinese communists have been no less confused than the ordinary men in the street over the first question. The Chinese people have been expertise-conscious for centuries. It is only natural that when confronting mass political indoctrination for the first time they were not only slow in accepting it but reluctant to do so at the expense of expertise. Here the inevitable question is raised: If indoctrination is essential in a communist country, how much should it be administered? If too little it might defeat its
own purpose. Too much, then expertise would suffer, to the
detriment of socialist construction. Hence, in both theory
and practice, different attitude towards this question is
taken in order to meet special needs at a particular time.
Thus, in 1949 when the people still entertained doubts about
the compatibility of redness and expertise, especially in the
scientific and engineering fields, they were persuaded to
change from exclusive concentration on expertise and concede
equal importance to redness. The emphasis then was "both red-
ness and expertise." But expertise soon took precedence over
redness under the First Five-Year Economic Plan and reached
its climax in 1956 under the party call of "marching on science"
—a call made in response to the "upsurge of socialist revolu-
tion."3 It was not until the Great Leap Forward in 1958 that
the slogan, "both redness and expertise," was issued in con-
nection with the party policy of "walking on two legs." Equal
emphasis was then given on the study of communist ideology and
technology in an all-round way.4 However, the failure of the

   Wu Heng. The Fatherland Calls Us to March on Science, CKCN, 2, 1956, pp. 4-6.
Three Red Banners could not but make the people question the wisdom of being red at the expense of expertise. Such a view must have alarmed Mao who has been increasingly apprehensive of the growth of revisionism since his decision in December 1958 not to stand for state chairmanship. The Socialist Education Movement launched in 1962-66 may be taken as his attempt to put redness before expertise. A drastic change in attitude and practice was further made in the GPCR: redness (Read: TMTT) was, and still is, put in command of everything.

PHYSICAL LABOUR

The idea of physical labour in education had its origin in Mao's view on the unity of theory and practice. As early as 1937 Mao already suggested in his On Practice that knowledge must be put into practice. By practice is meant breaking the old barriers between mental workers and labourers. Since Chinese education tends to divorce itself from practice, the introduction of physical labour not merely aims to make up such a deficiency but provides the Chinese communists with an important means for PI indoctrination. No sooner had the People's


3. In the current sense, "practice is often distorted to mean mere physical labour so that one would learn agriculture by carrying water," quoted in: Marianne Bastid. Economic Necessity and Political Ideals in Educational Reform during the Cultural Revolution, China Quarterly, London, No. 42 (April-June 1970), p. 34.
Republic was born than a first attempt was made to introduce to the people the concept of labour in order to remould them in communist outlook. Nevertheless, some people took the old attitude that physical labour was after all drudgery and was inferior to mental labour insofar as social standing was concerned. It was not until 1958 that a change in attitude was made under the new party education policy. Education was to be officially combined with productive labour—the new official name for physical labour. Any opposite view was therefore condemned as erroneous. Meanwhile, the "red banner of common labourers" was to be raised higher and higher. The best form then recommended for integrating education with labour was "half-work half-study." The "red expert" schools and "labour universities" which thrived in the late 1950s all contributed in no small measure to the now established practice of labour.


But physical labour, if over done, would no doubt affect normal studies. By 1964 such a view became more and more prevalent and finally found its way to a compromise between red and expert education. It was the party call, allegedly issued by Liu Shao-ch'i in that year, of "two different educational systems and two different labour systems," under which the full-time students would participate in physical labour during their long vacations only whereas the part-time students would split their working day into two halves--half for academic study and the other half for physical labour. Such a change in attitude and practice clarified the policy of productive labour, and on the other hand related education with the actual needs of the country. But what would appear to be a sensible measure was completely repudiated under the great impact of the GPCR, and the masses of youth and intellectuals began to be sent "up the mountains and down the countryside" for re-education through labour on a permanent basis.¹

PART II

ORGANISATION OF POLITICO-
IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION
Chapter 5

Organisation of the Educational System

The system of PI education is characterised by the dual control of the Party and Government, and organised at three different levels: the school, student body and military organisation.

PATTERN OF DUAL CONTROL

Both the Party and Government exercise leadership in PI education. This kind of dual leadership is necessary, because the Party often acts behind the scene, and the Government is merely the executive body. Their relationship is similar to that between a superior and his subordinate. Such an organisational relationship has been clearly defined in the party constitution of 1969, which provides that

the organs of state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PLA, and the CYL and other revolutionary mass organisations, such as those of the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the Red Guards, must all accept the leadership of the Party.

The organisational control of the Party is effected through its General Political Department, Central Propaganda Department, Leading Party Members' Group, CYL and YPC. Through these five organs the Party is able to exercise full control over the organisation of PI education in the PLA, Government, people's

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organisations and all educational institutions. The General Political Department is a party organ installed in the PLA, and takes charge of the ideological and organisational work of the Party in the armed forces. Under it there are the Departments of Organisation, Propaganda, Culture, Cadres, Youth, Security, Masses' Work and Liaison in addition to the Secretariat, the influential Liberation Army Daily and various "cultural work troupes." The Central Propaganda Department is the party spokesman charged with the task of announcing major educational policies and conveying the party guidelines to the Government. The Leading Party Members' Group is the party representative in a state or people's organisation where no official party link has been established. The Group, formed by three or more party members holding responsible posts in the organisation concerned, will assume the responsibility of carrying out party policies and decisions, fortify unity with non-party cadres, cement the ties with the masses, strengthen party and state discipline, and combat bureaucracy. The CYL is the party assistant in youth organisations, while the YPC the party's basic organ at both primary and junior secondary schools.

The organisational control of the Government is effected through its Ministries of Defence, Education, Higher Education, and Culture. On policy matters the Ministry of Defence is guided by the Military Affairs Commission of the Party, and
the other Ministries take the guidelines laid down by the Central Propaganda Department. The following chart shows the organisational control of PI education under dual leadership.

### Chart 1

**Organisational Control of PI Education**

<table>
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<th>PARTY</th>
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<td>Junior Secondary School</td>
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<td>YPC</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leading Party Members Group</td>
<td>Leading Body of a State or People's Organ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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___, direct control

....., dual control
SCHOOL ORGANISATION

The basic organisational unit of PI education is the school, which is run by an executive organ and the teachers concerned.

EXECUTIVE ORGAN

The highest executive organ in a school is the school affairs committee, which is composed of the school party commissar, principal, deputy principal, director of studies, director of general affairs, chairman of the education committee of the trade union, representative of the CYL and 1-3 teacher representatives, with the principal and deputy principal as the chairman and vice-chairman respectively. The school affairs committee is entrusted with five main tasks as follows. First, carry out the educational policies and directives of the Party and Government. Second, execute the instructions and decisions of the school party commissar on school work. Third, examine and approve the work plan of the school. Fourthly, discuss and decide on other important matters. Fifthly, sum up, draft and introduce various regulations and systems. In order to discharge its functions correctly the committee is led and supervised by the school party commissar.

The school party commissar is not only the highest authority in a school but represents the party organisation
at the basic level. According to the Directive of the Central Committee and State Council on Educational Work, 19 September 1958, his tasks are described as follows: (1) Assign party members to lead class work, undertake PI work, and take part in school administration. (2) Be responsible for the political course and productive labour. (3) Carry out thought reform among teachers. (4) In promoting teachers pay primary attention to their PI qualifications rather than their seniority. (5) In evaluating students pay primary attention to the degree of their political consciousness. In addition, he also organises work, carries out propaganda, brings about unity among teachers, supervises and gives guidance to the CYL, YPC and other bodies of the masses.¹

TEACHER'S ROLE

The school party commissar is assisted by the teachers and class teachers. The teacher organises his school work from the curricular and extra-curricular angles. In the class he should carry out the party education policy, organise his students into productive labour, and demonstrate to the fullest extent his leading role in the course of teaching his own subject. Outside the class he should organise his students into various kinds of PI activities so as to raise their political consciousness and develop their abilities and interests in an all-round way. In addition, he has two

¹. Strive for the Leadership of Party Commissars and Strengthen the PI Work at School, JMCY, Dec. 1954, p. 5.
social obligations. First, he should take part in social activities and assist local party and government organs in propaganda work relating to politics, culture and party campaigns. By so doing he not only brings knowledge to the masses but reforms himself through these activities. Second, he has the responsibility of developing education in the context of Marxism-Leninism, Mao's thought and the party line.

As the head of a class the class teacher is regarded as the political backbone at the basic level. He works under the immediate direction of the principal and the director of studies. In view of the important position he holds at the basic level he should be a party member—a qualification strongly recommended in the 1958 Directive of the Central Committee and State Council on Educational Work. His jobs include the following: to organise productive labour, guide the work of the CYL and YPC, liaise with the subject teachers and establish a strong "collective class body." In carrying out all these tasks he is required to put politics in command.

STUDENT BODY

Student organisation also plays an important part in PI education and usually takes the form of the CYL, YPC and student union.
COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Chinese communists pay special attention to organising and developing the CYL throughout the whole period of its growth. In its early days during the first civil war period (1920-27) the League took part in land movement, organised youth vanguard and children corps, led students to strike and demonstrate against imperialism, instigated the masses to overthrow the warlords, and mobilised youth to join the Red Army. During the period of the second civil war (1927-36) it took part in armed struggle against the Nationalist Government. In the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-45) it organised the youth into various kinds of anti-Japanese activities in the name of, for example, the Wuhan Youth National Salvation Corps and Kwangtung Youth Anti-Japanese Vanguard Corps. During the period of the third civil war (1945-49) it organised the youth to support the frontline and production in the old liberated areas. In the "white areas," i.e. areas still under the Nationalist control, it organised liberation war and paved the way for eventual liberation. In the new liberated areas it assisted in taking over the old administration, restoring law and order, and carrying out propaganda and cultural activities. In the period of post-Liberation it responds to the party calls of socialist revolution and construction, and has actively taken part in various campaigns and movements. All in all, its basic tasks are officially described
as follows:  

Educate the youth in Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought, guide them to temper themselves in the three revolutionary movements and bring up socialist-minded, cultured workers.

The CYL also has a very special place in student organisation. Apart from being the nucleus of the collective class body it organises and directs all curricular and extra-curricular activities within its terms of reference, and strengthens PI work on students. In this respect it acts on the decision of the 4th Plenary Session of the Third CYL Conference which pointed out in its communiqué of 23 February 1959 that the League should further strengthen the education on labour and collective spirit. In implementing PI education the League is asked to carry out the following tasks:

(1) To establish the correct aim of study and rectify the style of work. (2) To strengthen the education of the party line. (3) To mobilise students to participate in physical labour. (4) To assist in running political and physical education courses. (5) To manifest the revolutionary traditions of the Party. (6) To conduct various kinds of cultural activities. Internally, its organisational work takes precedence over all other work. For example, it recruits new members, develops the political life of its members and leads

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the YPC organisationally.

YOUNG PIONNEERS CORPS

While the CYL recruits its members between 16 and 25 years of age, the YPC was founded to cater for the political need of young children between 9 and 15 years old, with the following stated aim:

To unite youth and children, to study diligently, strengthen the body, love labour and the motherland, continue the revolutionary tradition of the Party and resolve to become builders and protectors of communism.

The YPC at school is an organisation of self-education by the young children themselves. In this respect, the school and YPC both have the common task of educating young children. The only difference lies in the approach. The school implements education through the medium of classroom teaching, whereas the YPC does through self-consciousness and practice. Organisationally, the YPC is not an affiliated organisation of the school in which it operates. Under the leadership of the CYL it assists the school in educating pupils through collective activities, which are pursued with a purpose. For example, all activities should be linked with socialist construction and the struggle for production, so that the pupils will learn from the beginning to link their future with the destiny of their country.

STUDENT UNION

Parallel to the CYL and YPC is the student union. The need for it arises from the fact that memberships of the CYL and YPC are both selective. In order to bring non-members also under the influence of a collective body there is need for an organisation which is able to accept the whole student body as its members. The student union was created to meet such a demand.

Organisationally, the student union has as its executive organ a student committee elected by the student general assembly and composed of 7-15 committee members, 1 chairman, 1-2 vice chairmen and a departmental head each in charge of the departments of culture and recreation, propaganda, welfare, and physical education. Its basic unit is the class committee elected by the whole class and composed of a chairman and 2-4 committee members.

The student union coordinates with the school, CYL and YPC, and has the following main tasks: (1) To assist the school leadership and teachers in improving the studies of students. (2) To encourage students to take an interest in foreign and domestic affairs and organise them for various kinds of PI activities. (3) To lead the class committee in extra-curricular activities. (4) To assist the CYL and YPC in running wall newspapers. (5) To assign daily duty officer.
MILITARY ORGANISATION

Politico-ideological education in the PLA is within the confines of political work, which is organised according to the principle of "dual party leadership, supervision at the same level and personnel monopolisation at the top level."

Under the unified leadership of the Party Military Affairs Commission a PLA unit works closely with its party commissar who holds the same rank as the unit commander and makes decisions on important matters through his party committee. It also accepts the leadership of the local party committee in its garrison area. This is called dual party leadership.

Besides, the party commissar is entrusted with the task of supervising his counterpart, i.e. the unit commander. This system is called "supervision at the same level." In view of the important role a party commissar plays in the PLA it is the normal practice of the Party to appoint the first secretary of a party bureau or provincial party committee to be the party representative in a regional or provincial military zone. Through this process of monopolising the top posts in the PLA the Party has full control of all political activities in the armed forces.

According to the Regulations of the Central Committee Governing Political Work in the PLA, 27 March 1963, political organs and party committees headed by party commissars are established at and above the regimental level only. There
are however political instructors and political advisers at the battalion and company levels respectively. The party branch in the company unit is the basic party organisation in the PLA. Assisted by the CYL branch at the company level and the Company Revolutionary Servicemen Committee the Company Party Branch leads the work of the company and at the same time serves as the basic link between the Party and the masses. The Company Political Adviser who is sent to the company level by the superior political organ works under the leadership of the Company Party Branch. He carries out PI education and party policies, strengthens unity between the officers and soldiers, and between the military and people, and maintains military political discipline.  

Apart from assisting the unit concerned in carrying out party policies and programmes the party representative in the PLA performs the following tasks of PI significance: (1) To organise all military personnel to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought. (2) To administer the Party's ideological


and organisational work and lead the organisational work of the CYL in the PLA. (3) To demonstrate and cultivate the "three-eight style of work." (4) To carry out cultural work and organise cultural study. (5) To educate all personnel in the spirit of internationalism. (6) To organise inspection of work, publicise advanced experience and strictly carry out the system of making "work conclusion" reports.
Chapter 6
Organisation of Teaching

The organisation of teaching takes the form of "teaching plan," "teaching programme" and teaching method.

TEACHING PLAN

A teaching plan is a government document setting out the contents of teaching. It prescribes the subjects which ought to be taught, the teaching sequence of various subjects, the number of hours required for teaching each subject, and the organisation of each school year. There are four basic requirements which a teaching plan must fulfill. First, it should prescribe those subjects which will enable students to acquire the most basic knowledge of natural and social sciences and understand the natural and social phenomena and their basic laws. Second, its contents must be consistent with the party education policy. It is therefore necessary to make adequate provision for the development of moral, intellectual, physical and art education and productive labour. For example, the curriculum of an ordinary secondary school will include the following subjects: Politics, Chinese Language and Literature, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, Geography, Productive Labour, Political Study, and Foreign Languages. Third, the teaching contents should be relatively complete in themselves at each educational stage and at the same time provide a link to the next higher stage. Since it is the established government
policy that most primary and secondary school graduates are required to take part in industrial and agricultural production and only a small number can go on for advanced study, a teaching plan should be so conceived that on the one hand it provides relatively complete education at each stage so as to enable those school leavers to acquire some basic and useful knowledge, and on the other hand serves as a link for those who can carry on their studies so that they will have no difficulty in transferring from one school to another. Furthermore, it should be flexible so as to meet the need for popularising or improving education as the situation warrants. Ideally there should be two sets of teaching plans. The first prescribes the minimum number of subjects whereas the second the maximum. For those schools which are understaffed they should adopt the first plan so as to popularise education. But for others which have no staff problem they should use the second plan so as to raise educational quality. Fourthly, the arrangement of subjects should be systematic, and the teaching sequence should take into account the demand of teaching, logic and the relations between relevant subjects, so that the subjects taught will provide a basis for those subjects which follow. For instance, arithmetic should be taught before algebra or geometry, and plane geometry before solid geometry. The following official timetable shows how subjects and hours of study should be allocated for both primary and secondary schools.¹

¹. Hsiao-haueh chiao-shih (Primary School Teachers), 9, 1955, p. 2; and Pedagogica, 147.
### Table 1

Teaching Plans of the Ministry of Education for Primary and Secondary Schools, 1955-59

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**Total hrs/wk**

- P=Primary, full-time
- S=Secondary, full-time

- 24 24 24 24 26 26 26 29 30 30 31 31 30

- Fourteen to twenty eight days per year

- Six days per year
TEACHING PROGRAMME

A teaching programme consists of two parts. Part I states briefly the aims and tasks of the subject concerned, points out the sources of teaching materials, and gives guidance to teaching method. Part II defines the scope and nature of teaching materials, and prescribes the number of hours required for teaching each chapter or section and for doing assignments in class or at home, together with a list of reference books. Therefore, the programme not merely serves as a main tool for the Government to lead and supervise school work but also provides the teachers with a basis for carrying out their work.

A teaching programme is organised on the following three principles. First, the communist directional principle. Each subject taught must fulfill the task of PI education, and the teaching materials must be scientific, historically progressive and instrumental in shaping the dialectical materialist world outlook of students. But emphasis on PI education should not be made at the expense of the subject concerned. Second, the principle of uniting theory with practice. The programme should first of all explain the significance of practice in relation to various kinds of theoretical knowledge and combine the contents of teaching with the practice of industrial and agricultural production. Third, the principle of being scientific and systematic. Teaching materials should therefore
reflect the truth of objective reality and be logically persuasive. It follows that any anti-Marxist views and theories must not be included in a teaching programme. From the scientific viewpoint teaching materials must be able to reflect various kinds of phenomena, facts and the regular process of objective development. Take for example the study of history. Students should learn the development of social life according to the historical sequence. Likewise, in studying natural science they should learn the evolution of living matters, origin of mankind and formation of the earth. Systematisation also requires that all teaching materials should be arranged according to the nature of subjects and in one of the following two ways: straight-line arrangement and circumferential arrangement. In the former teaching materials are arranged in sequence in order to avoid repetition. For example, the teaching programme of botany adopts this pattern under which the students study botany, zoology and physiology of human anatomy, in this order. In the latter the teaching materials used in the earlier teaching stages will be reinforced and repeated at a later stage. For example, the teaching programme of physics used in junior secondary school makes room for advanced study at the senior secondary stage. From the viewpoint of scientific logic the straight-line arrangement suits the sequential demand better. On the other hand the circumferential arrangement would suit younger students better who are unable to digest their studies at once. It
is particularly suitable to school leavers who may like to carry on their studies by spare-time education later.

TEACHING METHOD

There is no stereotyped teaching method for the implementation of PI education. Different method is employed by different type of school and for different subject taught. To illustrate, we describe below the methods used in kindergarten, primary, secondary and higher education.

KINDERGARTEN

The implementation of PI education starts with the kindergarten. Since the Liberation in 1949 the teaching of younger children has undergone a radical change. The old method based on Dewey's educational thought is criticised and condemned as feudal and Fascist. In any case the Western educational thought emphasising the individualism of children is found incompatible with the communist idea of collectivism. As early as 1951 the Government decided at the First National Conference on Primary and Normal Education that kindergarten education should be developed by means of revolutionary spirit and method. By "revolutionary" is meant replacing the bourgeois ideology with the educational thought of the working class and implementing education for patriotism, internationalism

and labour. For patriotic education children are taught to love and respect the PLA. For example, during the Korean War they wrote to the Volunteers Army and vowed to join it and help the Korean people to destroy the American aggressors when they grew up. As to education for internationalism the children in a Peking kindergarten were told to pay their regards to North Vietnamese children when a North Vietnamese delegation visited them. For labour education children of the same kindergarten went to visit cooperatives, railway stations and other places of work. They also wrote letters to model workers and played at labour heroes.¹

PRIMARY SCHOOL

Politico-ideological education in primary school is organised in a wider context. Apart from being educated in "five loves" the pupils take part in various PI campaigns. They are also encouraged to uncover crimes in their families and demonstrate their public spirit.² In the classroom the teacher's main task is to establish the correct PI viewpoint in each lesson taught. For example, in a Harbin primary school a lesson about love for parents was used to establish a new moral viewpoint. The pupils were told that they should

¹ Ting Hua. How were the Children of Peihai Kindergarten Educated in the Past Three Years, JMCY, June 1953, pp. 13-15.
² Kuo Lin. Primary School Education in the Past Three Years, JMCY, Jan. 1953, pp. 29-30.
love their parents, not because filial piety towards parents is a Chinese tradition, but because parents work hard and make contributions to the country and people. Likewise, in teaching a lesson about Autumn the teacher should link the topic with the Autumn bumper harvest and the patriotic act of peasants who have contributed their crops to the Government for socialist construction. Under no circumstances are the pupils allowed to entertain the "bourgeois idea" that Autumn symbolises pessimism in the form of withered flowers, fallen leaves and south-bound wild geese. Besides, every opportunity should be taken to encourage children to be workers and soldiers so that the ideas of serving the cause of socialist construction and defending the motherland would take root in their young minds.¹

SECONDARY SCHOOL

In secondary school the teaching method varies as to the subject taught. The following examples show how some of the important subjects are tackled.

Political Study. Political study runs through the whole secondary course. Generally speaking, junior students study topics such as self-cultivation and common political knowledge, while senior students tackle common knowledge of social sciences and socialist construction. Furthermore, no opportunity will be lost to link political study with current campaign. During

¹ Sun Shu-chih. How Do I Carry Out the PI Education of Junior Primary School Pupils, JMCY, March 1952, pp. 33-34.
the anti-rightist campaign of 1957 political study laid stress on the anti-bourgeois rightist struggle and rectification movement. Clearly, the teaching of political study has great flexibility and aims to solve any PI problems which may crop up from time to time.

Current Events Study. The importance of teaching current events is to familiarise the students with official policies and the significance of various campaigns so that they will respond warmly to the calls of the Party and Government. Current events are carefully selected. For example, domestic news should convey the official message, while international news should stress fraternal unity of the communist bloc or condemn imperialists. The study of current events not only takes place in the classroom but is conducted through study session, newspaper reading group, symposium, debate, soiree, listening to radio broadcasts, report by guest speakers and test.1 No matter which method is adopted, the essential thing is that current events must be studied and interpreted in the way they are meant to be.

Physical Education. The teaching of physical education is linked to the upbringing of all-round socialist builders and defenders. Such a PI task is consistent with the government policy that all athletic exercises should be used to

prepare the students for labour and national defence.\(^1\) The policy is in fact based on the Soviet system, which the Chinese communists first adopted in 1953.\(^2\) By 1955 the Government declared that this system provides the basis for improving physical education and extra-curricular activities.\(^3\) Physical education has since been tackled in the PI context. In teaching rope-climbing the teacher should point out that it needs a grip of at least 30 kgs for an aviator or 40 kgs for a tank soldiers. In teaching grenade-throwing he should point out that a soldier should be able to throw more than 100 grenades in succession and at the same time accurately kill his enemies.\(^4\)

Literature. In teaching literature the teacher not only ought to observe the general principle laid down in Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art,* but carefully explores the PI angle in each lesson. Thus, in teaching Lu Hsun's short story, *Blessings,*\(^5\) he should explain it from the viewpoints of class contradiction and class struggle.

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2. Su Ching-ts'un. *How to Thoroughly Carry Out PI Education in Physical Education Class,* [JMCY, April, 1955, p. 56.](#)


4. *Vide n. 2 supra., pp. 55-56.*

The teaching of literature should also be linked with realistic situation, as exemplified in the lesson, Wang Yung-huai. The teacher should use the story of Wang Yung-huai who dedicated himself to construction work in a remote mountainous area to influence those students who are reluctant to take part in productive labour in the countryside. He should point out that labour is a heroic deed, and that honour belongs to those willing to build socialism with their hands. It was reported that after studying the above lesson no less than 49 students in a Chungking secondary school criticised their own mistaken view on productive labour.¹

Foreign Languages. The teaching of foreign languages is combined with PI indoctrination. A case in point is an English lesson taught at the Peking Foreign Languages Institute. In the lesson, The United Kingdom, the students were taught the following things: (1) The U.K. is a bourgeois democratic country and exercises bourgeois dictatorship dressed up as democracy. (2) The kings and queens have been the instruments of the capitalist class. (3) The Tory and Labour Parties are both the agents of the bourgeoisie. (4) The British Communist Party is a Marxist organisation, and will rise to lead the British working class to socialism and communism.²


History. Since history must be taught from the viewpoint of historical materialism and class struggle so as to make the students "understand the rules of social development, hold firm their political orientation and become builders and defenders of socialism," all history textbooks have been re-edited from the Marxist viewpoint. For example, in teaching the Paris Commune the teacher should describe the bitter struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie and conclude the lesson in the following manner:

The blood-smelling, cruel, ruthless, abominable face and reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie were entirely exposed in the Paris Commune incident. Although the Paris Commune failed, its heroic struggle and great deeds always remain in the memory of the proletariat and are of great historical significance.

Geography. The approved method of teaching geography is to combine geography lesson with some PI questions. In a lesson describing the time-consuming construction of the Lunghai Railway several questions of PI significance were raised: Why did it take the late Ch'ing Government so much time to build the railway? Was it because the railway ran through the mountains? If so, would the task be more difficult than the recent construction of the T'ienlan Railway between T'ienshui and Lanchow

3. Vide n. 1 supra.
which ran through the same mountains but was completed on 1 October 1952? The conclusion thus drawn was that it was wrong for the lesson to emphasise the difficulty of building the Lunghai Railway without explaining the essential differences between the old and new societies.¹

Physics. Like any other science subjects physics is also used to establish the dialectical materialist world view of students. Such a task has been clearly defined in the Draft Outline for the Teaching of Physics in Secondary School, which the Government promulgated in early 1955². Despite the difficulty of using science as a vehicle for PI education a science teacher should, in the Chinese communist view, tackle the PI aspect of his lesson tactfully and link it with the text at the opportune moment. Thus, in explaining the movement of the heavenly bodies prior to Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) and the Copernican theory, On the Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies, the teacher should point out at the same time that science has since its existence been struggling against the reactionary forces of ignorance, superstition and arbitrariness.³

¹. Chou Ching-hsing. My Experience in Teaching Geography, JMCY, April 1953, p. 49.
². Fang Ssu-t'ing. My Experience in Cultivating the Dialectical Materialist World View of Students in the Teaching of Physics, JMCY, Aug. 1956, p. 58.
Teaching method in higher school has since 1949 gone through two major changes. The first took place in 1950 when the "teaching research group" was formed on the Soviet model of the Teaching Research Department of Marxism-Leninism. But no real progress was made until the re-adjustment of colleges and university departments was completed in 1952. The second took place during the GPCR and will be discussed in Part IV.

Apart from introducing the Soviet system of seminars the teaching research group embarked on the task of experimenting with revolutionary teaching methods, such as collective preparation of lectures, trial lectures on difficult points, demonstrations by experienced teachers, trial lectures by new teachers, study of Russian teaching method, and review of student reaction to the lecture given. In addition, a lecture should meet two basic requirements. First, it should attain a high ideological level on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. For example, a lecture on social science should be based on Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao's thought, and a lecture on natural science should take the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. Second, it should strongly

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oppose bourgeois ideology. In other words, the teacher ought to expose and criticise the anti-scientific and reactionary characteristics of the bourgeois ideology, particularly those bourgeois theories and viewpoints of imperialist origin.\footnote{Chung Shih. \textit{Higher Education in Communist China}, 51-54.}

The teaching of political course is also a central task in higher school. Its method should emphasise the link with ideological reality, criticism, self-criticism and the unity of realistic struggles.\footnote{Tseng Chao-lun. \textit{Improvement of Higher Education in the Past Three Years, JMCY, Jan. 1953, p. 12.}} For instance, in teaching the Doctrine of New Democracy the teacher should link it with the current situation and the concrete tasks of production and construction. Furthermore, on the problem of the petty bourgeoisie he should talk about the reform of intellectuals and criticise the wrong ideas and working style of petty bourgeois intellectuals. In lecturing on the history of Chinese revolution he should explain the thought of Mao and the application of the past experiences to present revolutionary practices. Finally, in discussing the May 4th Movement and the road of intellectuals he should also talk about the ideological problem of uniting students with workers, peasants and soldiers, cultivate correct ideas and criticise wrong ideas.\footnote{Some Experiences of Peking University's "Teaching Research Group for the Doctrine of New Democracy" in Carrying Out Collective Teaching and Bringing Up New Teachers, \textit{JMCY, April 1953, p. 27.}}
Chapter 7

Organisation of Extra-Curricular Activities

The organisation of PI education is further strengthened by two kinds of organised extra-curricular activities: those pursued outside the class but organised by the school, and those pursued outside the school but organised by special organs such as youth centres, children's libraries and children's theatres. Both types have a common task: to organise students to take part in a great variety of PI activities.

Extra-curricular activities are carried out for the purpose of (1) strengthening the moral education of students, such as unity, friendship, collective spirit, organisational life, discipline and strong character; (2) broadening the general knowledge of students; (3) making the students acquainted with society, arts and nature; and (4) helping the students develop their independence and activism. In order to achieve the above aims extra-curricular activities are guided by certain organisational principles. First, all activities must have a clear-cut direction. For example, they must carry out the party education policy and reflect the realistic demands of society and students. Second, they must conform to the age characteristics, interests and specialities of students. For instance, junior students should undertake simple activities whereas senior students may tackle complicate or technical exercises and undergo
more strenuous physical labour. Third, they should be colourful and varied. Fourthly, they must not fall into the pattern of formalism which not only defeats the purpose of extracurricular exercises but hinders the intellectual and moral developments of students. On the other hand students should be encouraged to actively take part in organising their activities, make necessary plans and solve their problems.

Extra-curricular activities may be organised in three different patterns, each having its own organisational method. First, individual activities. Students are organised individually to undertake independent work, such as reading assignment, report on studies, observation on social life, collection of specimens, model-making and designing. Second, collective activities. They are normally activities of the whole school or schools concerned, and take the form of report meeting, speech forum, symposium, social work, PI propaganda, wall newspaper, soiree, commemorative assembly, sports and visits to museum, exhibition, factory, people's commune, etc. Third, group activities. They are usually more specific by nature and only cater for a small group of people of common interest, such as dancing group, drama group, singing group, science group, etc. All these group activities offer wider opportunities for group members to develop their talents and skills.

It is interesting to find out how the above aims, principles and methods are translated into action. In Lankan First Middle
School, Honan Province, extra-curricular work was tackled in the following three ways: theoretical, systematic guidance to organisational work and individual problems; patient persuasion; and practical training. Under theoretical and systematic guidance the school organised special topic reports on class struggle and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, discussion meetings, PI soirees, and conducted interviews with model agricultural workers and Long March cadres. The successful example of individual guidance was found in a student named Shao. He felt ill at ease after attending a discussion meeting on class struggle because he was then not sure whether he should expose his old neighbour as a counter-revolutionary or not. Given individual guidance he was able to draw a line between the enemy and himself and re-affirm his revolutionary stand. Finally he exposed the counter-revolutionary. Under patient persuasion, criticism and disciplinary sanction were used as the occasion demanded. For example, a student named Yang expressed his reactionary thought in a poem. He was then brought to a class meeting, where he was criticised and patiently persuaded to give up his wrong view. He did. He had no choice, for patient persuasion would, in both theory and practice, go on until he succumbed. Under practical training, students were organised to take part in roadside propaganda, voluntary labour, camping and productive labour in the farm.¹

¹ The Task of Extra-Curricular PI Education in Our School, JMCY, Sept. 1957, pp. 27-28.
PART III

POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES
Chapter 8

General Patterns

The implementation of PI education follows five general patterns which serve as a guide to action: class struggle, criticism and self-criticism, political study, rectification and thought reform.

CLASS STRUGGLE

Of these five patterns class struggle is the most important one, because it perpetuates the communist cause and is regarded as a concrete representation of the contradiction between productivity and productive relations in a class society.¹

Class struggle takes place because of the existence of classes in society. In an article called A Great Beginning V. I. Lenin defined classes as ²

...groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.

To Lenin there are the classes of have and have-nots, or the exploiter and exploited. Class struggle is therefore used as a means to overthrow the exploiters, landowners and capitalists,

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with the ultimate aim that all private ownership of the means of production would be abolished and the distinction between manual and brain workers eliminated. In carrying out class struggle Mao follows Lenin by first defining the classes in a Chinese society, then sets out the targets for struggle. As early as 1926 he made an analysis of the classes in Chinese society in an article, Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, for the purpose of fighting two party deviations, i.e. Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "right opportunism" and Chang Kuo-t'ao's "left opportunism." He argued in his article that both deviations had failed to recognise the strength of the peasantry and unwisely turned to seek alliance either with the Kuomintang (i.e. right opportunism) or the workers (left opportunism). He therefore defined all classes in Chinese society and came to the conclusion that only the industrial proletariat can be looked upon as the leading force in revolution, assisted by the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie.¹ His analysis of Chinese classes forms the basis of class struggle in China, and is instrumental in drawing up the Decision of the Government Administrative Council on Classifying the Status of Rural Classes, 4 August 1950 which has since served as an official guide to class struggle in the agrarian reform.²

Class struggle may be waged in the agrarian reform, between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, or between the two roads of socialism and capitalism during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism. No matter which target it aims at, it takes the basic form of economic, political, armed and ideological struggles. The first is a struggle between individual exploiters and exploited. The second differs from the first in that it is a struggle between two whole classes, such as the capitalists and workers. Organised under the guidance of a political party it is also meant to be a concentrated representation of economic struggle. The third is the highest form of political struggle. For example, the Liberation War was the armed struggle, aiming to accomplish the political task of "liberation." The fourth is a struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary ideologies. This is deemed to be an important aspect of class struggle too, because the Chinese communists hold that ideology is used to serve the practical interests of a class. Generally speaking, class struggle is a driving force to move class society forward.

The Chinese communists use class struggle as a major weapon to serve their revolutionary cause. During the three


revolutionary civil wars against the Nationalist Government class struggle assumed the form of armed struggle, with the ultimate aim of seizing political power. Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic class struggle was geared to various campaigns. In the agrarian reform and the 3-anti and 5-anti campaigns, for example, it took the form of economic struggle, with the liquidation of the capitalists and national bourgeoisie in view. Again, in the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries and anti-rightist campaigns it became an ideological struggle, aiming to reform the thoughts of reactionaries, dissentients and critics. Finally, in the GPCR it was turned into an acute PI struggle on all fronts.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Criticism and self-criticism have their origin in a resolution which Mao drew up for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army in December 1929: On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party. In this document he lay down the principles governing criticism as follows: (1) Inner-party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the party organisation and increasing its fighting capacity, not for launching personal attack. (2) Criticism of party committees and party members should be made at party meetings, not outside the party organisation. (3) Subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness often breed
unprincipled disputes and undermine the party organisation. (4) The main task of criticism is to point out political and organisational mistakes, not to expose personal shortcomings. (5) With regard to inner-party criticism, one should guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarisation of criticism. Furthermore, statements should be based on facts, and criticism ought to centre on politics. All these principles are in fact an emphasis on the party organisational principle of criticism and self-criticism, which has since been incorporated into the party constitutions of 1945, 1956 and 1969 in one form or another. Generally speaking, criticism and self-criticism are mainly used for improving work styles. This seems particularly important to the Chinese Communist Party, which entrusts itself with the long-term, great tasks of completely overthrowing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat..., fighting together with the Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups and the oppressed people of the whole world to overthrow imperialism and modern revisionism and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe so that all mankind will be emancipated.

In order to do so the Party employs criticism and self-criticism as an effective weapon to consolidate its unity, and on the other hand to educate its members and cadres in overcoming their shortcomings and mistakes which may occur in the course of their work, such as bureaucracy, commandism, bourgeois ideas, individualism and individualistic heroism.1 Through criticism and self-criticism not merely can they improve their work styles, thus resulting in strengthening the Party, but also draw themselves closer to the masses who criticise and help them correct their mistakes.2

Criticism and self-criticism may be carried out through (1) constant self-examination in work, studies and daily activities, (2) informal discussion of problems between two people, (3) a regular sectional meeting held under the guidance

1. Individualistic heroism (Ko-jen yin-haiung chu-i): "The first consideration of people with such an idea is their position in the Party. They like to show off and to have people sing their praises and flatter them... try to dress themselves up as great men and heroes in the communist movement and stop at nothing to gratify their desire." (Liu Shao-ch'i, How to Be a Good Communist, 1962 edn., quoted in: HC, 15-16, 1962, p. 24.)

of the Party or Communist Youth League, (4) a general meeting when a certain comrade has committed grave mistakes or when there generally exists a wrong tendency in a party branch or organ, or when there are grave mistakes in the work of a party branch or organ. In those cases a general meeting is called to educate the person concerned and other comrades, or to correct the wrong tendency in a certain organ, or to criticise the work styles of the party branch or organ concerned, (5) a summing-up or inspection of a person's work in order to learn his successful experience or find out his mistakes, (6) the people's assemblies at all levels, and (7) public discussion in the press. All these media should be used in the spirit of democratic style, specified demands and practicability.\(^1\) It also goes without saying that the formula which Mao first used to solve contradictions among the people in the 1942 rectification movement still applies here, i.e. "unity, criticism, unity."\(^2\)

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1. Ibid., 35-50.
POLITICAL STUDY

The basic pattern for self-education and self-reform normally begins with political study. The Chinese communists maintain that for those organisations and individuals who are bold enough to make criticism and self-criticism their study of Marxism-Leninism can certainly advance rapidly and achieve good results; otherwise it will be superficial, cease to progress and certainly yield bad results. They therefore conclude that criticism and self-criticism provide the necessary power to move political study forward. To them, political study is the fundamental way to systematically indoctrinate the people in communism, and this basic task takes precedence over all other socialist construction work.

Even long before it came to power the Party already attached great importance to political study. As early as May 1941 Mao was aware of two opposite attitudes in study: subjectivist and Marxist-Leninist attitudes. He therefore pointed out that the correct attitude is to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution in political study. Shortly afterwards he issued a call to fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in party relations, and fight party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing.

1. Ai Ssu-ch'i. Learn from the Beginning: the First Step to Study Marxism-Leninism, HH, I, 1, p. 4.
His call led to a party decision on political study in all organisations and schools: Decision of the Central Propaganda Department on Discussing the "Decisions of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Report on Rectifying the Three Styles of Work in Yenan," 3 April 1942. A list of 22 documents made up chiefly by Mao's works, Central Committee's documents and CPSU literature was subsequently released for study. The period of study ranged from three months for organisations to two months for schools, followed by inspection and examination.

In the early years of the People's Republic political study became a matter of great urgency for two reasons. First, the party members and cadres had never had an opportunity of studying communist doctrines systematically during their prolonged and bitter struggles against the Kuomintang and Japanese. Second, the large number of people in the new liberated areas had to be educated in Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought. No sooner had the Chinese communists gained complete control of the mainland than a nationwide political study movement was launched in 1949 under the call, "learn from the beginning: the first step to study Marxism-Leninism," which was also the title of an article by the noted communist theorist Ai Ssu-ch'i.

1. Cheng-feng wen-hsien (Rectification Documents), 1-5.
In addition to the study of communist ideology, current events and official policies also form an important part of political study. The Chinese communists hold that the study of these three subjects should be regarded as a permanent task of every revolutionary. The people are therefore urged to study the present revolutionary situation and use the Marxist viewpoint to analyse current events, which in turn should help them understand the various policies of the Party and Government and lead them to take part in national construction. Policy, in the Chinese communist view, is the unity of the universal truth of Marxism and Chinese revolutionary practice, and hence serves as a guide to action. For example, in order to understand Mao's policy article, _On the People's Democratic Dictatorship_, and especially the passage, "the abolition of classes, state power and parties is the road all mankind must take," it is necessary to study first the laws governing the development of the history of mankind in Ai Ssu-ch'i's book, _History of Social Development_, and the Marxist theory that

class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which in turn constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

This shows that theoretical study must be linked with practice, and vice versa.

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The Marxist quotation was taken from: _PR_, 10, 1969, p. 17.
Likewise, in analysing current events, the Chinese communists emphasise the importance of taking a firm class stand, i.e. that of the proletariat. This is why they regard the third "revolutionary civil war" as the Liberation War, or President Nixon's inaugural address of 20 January 1969 as "confession in an impasse." To them, current events are the history of present class struggle and should be used either to promote the communist cause or serve as "lessons by negative example." There are in their view two kinds of news which form the main contents of current events: news about class struggle and news about the struggle for production. While the former reports the struggle between the two classes (proletariat vs. bourgeoisie), two political powers (proletarian party vs. "reactionary" party) and two international fronts (communist front vs. imperialist front) and includes strikes, parades, demonstrations, anti-espionage, protection of state property and elimination of speculators, the latter comprises insect control, irrigation, mining, flood control, construction of highways and other things under the five-year economic plans, competition in production, expedition, afforestation and research in antbiotic serum.¹

ORGANISATION

There are two ways of organising political study: individual and collective study. The former appears to be less involved in

technique. But this does not mean that it can be recommended to the majority of people. It is in fact meant for a particular group of people who have already attained a reasonably high ideological level but are unable to take part in collective study because of the particular nature of their positions or jobs. In other words it is designed for party members and government officials in responsible positions.

Individual study is carried out under supervision. A good example has been reportedly set by the high-level cadres of the Northwest Region. Writing in 1952 Chao Shou-i, Head of the Department of Theoretical Education of the Party's Northwest Bureau, admitted his past failure in organising the high-ranking cadres for political study, because he (1) failed to recognise their characteristics in theoretical study, such as their good experience in class struggle, higher political level and cumbersome work, (2) failed to inspire them with enthusiasm for study, and (3) overlooked their special conditions, organised them into study groups and discussion meetings arbitrarily and required them to carry out the rigid study programme. In order to correct these mistakes he began to re-organise them on the principle of individual study, enrolled them into an advanced correspondence course and required each of them to submit a study plan, a half-yearly report and an annual résumé only. In order to stimulate their interest he published a bulletin which carried study plans, reports, study notes, reference materials, criticisms, questions and answers, recommended
methods of study and provided a channel for exchanging ideas.\(^1\)

It is obvious that individual study is prescribed for the privileged class. For the masses of people collective study is designed instead.

The advantages of collective study are: compulsory attendance, fixed study period, better supervision and group discussion. But against these merits are some drawbacks such as lack of initiative, additional strain after a day's work, difficulty in assessing individual progress and a tendency to desultory discussion.

In the institutions of learning where study is regarded as a normal task collective study is organised in a systematic way and goes through the following process: recruit members, listen to reports, study documents, look up reference materials, raise problems, give informal talks, hold discussion meetings and tests, make assessment and finally draw up a conclusion. As a result the participants would grasp better the ideological problems of the masses, correct their deviations in study, learn good methods of study and receive appropriate praise or criticism. But such methods do not work well with non-academic organisations where any form of study is usually treated as a sideline activity only. Generally speaking,

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collective study in such organisations is normally tackled in one of the following three ways: (1) Set up a study committee, which in turn will work out a study programme and get it posted up in the staff club or dining room, then hold two conferences, each marking the beginning and the end of the study programme. (2) Organise study groups at departmental level for the sake of convenience. For instance, those working in the same department are automatically grouped together irrespective of their different educational background. It thus makes discussion difficult and affects enthusiasm in their study. (3) Hold collective discussion as a routine task and carry out collective study on a routine pattern instead of applying such interesting methods as special report and debate in a wall newspaper. Collective study organised in such a manner tends to be perfunctory.

In order to correct such a tendency the Chinese communists suggest that collective study should be primarily based on individual study, with the former used only as an occasion to exchange experiences and solve problems. Such an idea is in fact borrowed from Russia, where the on-the-job cadres normally learn Marxism-Leninism by individual study and only those who need help go to attend political school.


Ideally, collective study should take the form of study group, discussion meeting and mutual help team. There are at least four ways of organising a study group. First, free association, where the participants know one another and join together of their own volition. The advantage is that study can be carried out smoothly. But free association also tends to confine to a small circle of friends or colleagues, thus encouraging sectarianism. Second, arbitrary grouping. It can avoid the drawback of free association, and is particularly useful in bringing strange people together. But some of the participants may not be happy about such arrangement. Third, grouping according to position, salary or means other than cultural and ideological levels. This will bring about discrimination or segregation. Fourth, grouping according to cultural and ideological backgrounds. This is so far a satisfactory way of organising a study group. But it requires careful analysis and planning on the part of the leadership.

A discussion meeting is organised on the principle of the mass line. Before it is held, the organiser should analyse the ideological problems and views of the masses and then plans the meeting accordingly. Moreover, a discussion should be tackled in such a way that it is linked with one's own work and self-examination. For example, in discussing the

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problem of intellectuals a person should ask himself such questions as: "What are the shortcomings in the work of intellectuals?" "What shortcomings do I have in my work?" "How can a good style of work be cultivated?" "How can I reform myself so as to be a people's teacher?" "What were the relations between teachers and students before the Liberation? And how should correct relations be formed?"¹

The mutual help team forms the basis of study group and discussion meeting, because it plays an important part in making preliminary preparations for collective study and discussion. Ideally it should be composed of not more than six members and organised on a voluntary basis. Each of the team members should excel in one particular field, such as theory or practice, so that he has something to offer others and will in return learn from them what he does not know. The following example shows such a team in action. The team reported in the press had six members who worked, studied, played and ate together. When one of them was slow in studying documents and theories, the others helped him discuss various problems. As a result, not only the slow learner began to improve in his studies but the helpers deepened their understanding of the lessons they taught. In tackling collective reading the team chief first collected all reference materials required for study and then organised a study session. Collective reading of this kind does away with desultory study,

¹. Ibid., 87-88.
makes individual study keep pace with the study programme, saves time in looking up reference materials and gives immediate attention to any question raised. The team also made routine inspection of study and held periodical meetings to discuss problems likely to be raised in the next general discussion meeting of its study group.\(^1\)

METHODS

The success of political study also depends on the correct methods used. They are in the main "materialist dialectical approach," "seminar" and "study conclusion."

The materialist dialectical approach is made in two steps. First, establish the correct viewpoint of materialist dialectics, which is the unity of theory and practice. Mao holds that a person should study the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a purpose, i.e. to integrate the theory with the actual condition of the Chinese revolution and seek from the theory the standpoint and methods with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the revolution.\(^2\) In other words the materialist dialectical approach Mao recommends to political study is to link Marxism-Leninism with the practical problems in China. Second, apply the materialist dialectical method

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1. Lu Fei. How Did We Make the Mutual Help Team A Success, HH, II, 8, p. 32.

of "dividing one into two," which had its origin in Lenin's Philosophical Notebooks:¹

The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts is the essence of dialectics.

In explaining this method Mao points out:²

The dialectical world outlook teaches us primarily how to observe and analyse the movement of opposites in different things, and, on the basis of such analysis, to indicate the methods for resolving contradictions.

He therefore urges the people to learn to take an all-round view, seeing not merely the positive side of things but also the negative side. To him, such a dialectical process in analysing things is important, because "a bad thing can lead to good results, and a good thing to bad results."³ It therefore follows that people should recognise contradictions, analyse and solve them by the method of "dividing one into two." Such is the fundamental way to observe things, claim the Chinese communists.⁴

The idea of adopting the seminar system in political study is also borrowed from Russia, where a seminar carries out discussion under the teachers concerned. A seminar normally takes

⁴ Every Thing in the World Always Divides Itself into Two, Che-heueh yen-chiu (Philosophical Studies), Peking, No. 2, 1966, p. 5.
two stages. Before it is held, the teachers assign to their students some seminar topics and relevant reference books. Each student is then expected to prepare his own outline accordingly. Meanwhile, the teachers themselves hold a preparatory meeting about two days before the seminar and discuss problems likely to come up in the seminar and the ways to link them with practice. When the seminar is held, the teachers choose the topics for discussion and then ask the students to elaborate on them. The views thus expressed may be supplemented by those of the teachers. And the students are given appropriate marks on their performances, such as excellent, good, average or poor. Finally, on the basis of the discussion and the general conclusion reached earlier in the staff meeting, the teachers draw a conclusion at the end of the seminar.¹

The conclusion reached at the end of political study is known as the "study conclusion," made up in two parts. The first part is a test on theories such as the History of Social Development, History of Modern Revolution in China and On New Democracy. The questions are made up in such a way that they aim to put across the ideas of labour, class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. Before the test, the topics are announced. During the test, it is permissible to look up reference books. After the test, the papers are marked by the

¹. Wen Tzu-hsu. Introduce the Seminar System, HH, IV, 1, p. 35.
students themselves according to a selected standard paper. The papers are then displayed and are subject to re-marking if necessary. Such a method is called "taking the mass line." The second part is "thought conclusion." It is in fact the most important part, because it aims to lay bare a person's ideological condition first by criticism and self-criticism then by a "thought autobiography," which is used to assess his PI progress, and therefore has to be revised again and again until it completely satisfies the leadership and all concerned. In the thought conclusion, Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought are used to analyse and criticise the ideological influences of the old society, bourgeois families and old-type school, and on the other hand to struggle against all ideological enemies so as to destroy the "incorrect, reactionary, old philosophy of life" and establish a communist viewpoint. In this sense the thought conclusion is an ideological conversion of the person concerned. A satisfactory and acceptable thought conclusion should go through three stages. First, the "brewing stage," in which every person should rack his brains to review his past economic background, his past life and major experience. He then organises his ideological activities, discusses them with other people and writes down by way of concrete examples his whole ideological process and the major turning points. In the course of writing it is imperative to take the proletarian

stand and criticise severely one's own ideas and activities. The first self-criticism thus made forms the draft of the thought conclusion. Second, discussion, i.e. to subject the first draft to further scrutiny by criticism and self-criticism and revise the draft accordingly. Third, approval of the final draft, which must satisfy the party leadership on clear-cut historical turning points, clearly enunciated ideas and penetrating self-criticism. It can be readily seen here that the use in political study of the technique of "thought conclusion" in fact forms a part of the whole thought reform process.

READERS

The basic material for political study is the political readers. There are different kinds of readers to cater to the needs of different categories of people such as the general public, cadres, CYL members, middle school students, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and children.

The pioneer in the field of political readers in the People's Republic was the Hau-ch-hsi (Study), a Peking journal on the study of Marxism-Leninism and party policies and the predecessor of the Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), the authoritative journal of the Central Committee of the CPC. First published in September 1949 the

Hsueh-hsi was meant to be a national magazine for the intellectuals. For the general public with a background of primary or junior secondary education there was the *Hsueh-hsi Primer*, published by Hsueh-hsi in March 1951. A great feature of the Primer was its regular section, "Common Political Knowledge Reader," which was published in 1952 as a book under the same title.\(^1\) Strongly recommended as a standard textbook for political study it consisted of eight chapters dealing with the old China of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism, the struggle of the Chinese people for liberation, the organisation of the PRC and the CPC and the party leadership in revolution and national construction. These contents were further strengthened by a reference book called *Reference Materials for the Common Political Knowledge Reader*.\(^2\) Meanwhile, the Hsueh-hsi itself also broadened its study of Marxism-Leninism by publishing in 1951 its own supplementary reader, a bi-monthly called *Hsueh-hsi i-\(\text{ts}'\text{ung}^\text{a)}* (Collected Translations) and entirely devoted to introducing articles from the Soviet press. Another smaller political reader for the general public was the *Cheng-chih hsu\-eh-hsi* (Political Studies), a monthly first published in Peking, 1955. Its articles dealt with such subjects as "documents for study," "socialist education course," "criticism of bourgeois ideology," "labour training," "the general line of socialist construction."

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"fundamental knowledge of Marxism-Leninism," and terminology.  

The political reader for cadres primarily aims to acquaint them with communist ideology, party and government instructions and policies so that they can be better equipped for their jobs and leadership among the people. When the first nationwide study movement was launched in September 1949 the cadres were required to study the following twelve books: *History of Social Development, Political Economics, Foundation of Leninism, Communist Manifesto, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Socialist Construction, On Historical Materialism, On New Democracy, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, Chinese Communist Party and the Revolutionary War, Problems of Strategy in the Chinese Revolutionary War,* and *On the Future of Chinese Revolution,* mostly made up by the works of Mao, Stalin, Lenin and Marx. The study was further supplemented by the perusal of various party documents from time to time, the most important and influential one of which was Liu Shao-ch'i's speech made at the Marxism-Leninism Institute in Yenan, July 1939, *How to Be a Good Communist*—a standard textbook for party members prior to the GPCR.² When the Socialist Education Course was started in all party schools and institutions of higher education on the recommendation of the Report of the Central Propaganda Department to the Central Committee on Running the Socialist Education Course in 1957, political study centred on another standard textbook


specially prepared for this purpose and based on Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and relevant CPSU documents. It was called *Collected Documents for Study in the Socialist Education Course*, in two volumes. The first volume contained documents described as basic readings, while the second one "advanced readings."

For students there were the standard readers known as *Elementary Political Knowledge* and *Common Political Knowledge for Junior Secondary School*. The former was in fact a textbook for Youth League members, first appearing in the *Chinese Youth* as a series. Its stated aim was

To help the youth inside and outside the Youth League better carry out political study so that they can learn about the Chinese revolution in a systematic way, improve their political knowledge, raise their socialist consciousness and play a positive role in national construction.

The political reader for junior secondary school was not much different from the *Elementary Political Knowledge*. It was edited by the Youth League in 1955 at the request of the Ministry of Education and based on materials drawn from the League's own reader and the *Common Political Knowledge Reader*. These two political readers for students explained class struggle,

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3. Ibid., p. iii.
people's democracy, the bright communist future of China, the party leadership in Chinese revolution, First Five-Year Plan and the Constitution of the PRC.

The political reader for the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is basically a cultural or elementary reader integrated with political indoctrination. The first reader of this kind in the People's Republic was the Political Reader for Workers, edited by the General Trade Union of Shanghai in about 1949 with the following stated aims: (1) To assist workers in understanding class struggle, the new democratic revolution and their tasks in building a new China. (2) To explain the "class nature" of the working class and the latter's responsibility of leading the Chinese revolution. (3) To tell the workers whom they should fight, whom they should unite with and what are their present and future tasks. (4) To explain the labour policy and help the workers take a new attitude towards labour. This political reader was also supplemented by another series for the workers, peasants and soldiers, the Popular Political Readers. Published by a private book company in Shanghai, 1950, this series consisted of twelve readers and aimed to help the workers, peasants and soldiers clear away their ideological obstacles. A glance at its titles will give


The political reader for primary school children is generally meant to be "reading for pleasure." As such, political indoctrination is carried out through picture stories, normally in colour and with the Latinised script alongside the original Chinese characters to help the slow readers. Each story serves a certain purpose. Thus we have such stories as Go to Look for the Guerrilla Troops, The Child Who Collects Cinders, The Hydraulic Power Station of the Hsin-an River, The Little Soldiers and The Little Turnip, which drive home the themes of anti-American imperialism, class struggle in the old society, socialist construction, the PLA and revolutionary martyrs respectively.²

RECTIFICATION

Rectification means correcting one's way of thinking and


² Hsu T'ung-ch'ao. Chao yu-chi tui ch'ü (Go to Look for the Guerrilla Troops). Shanghai: Shao-nien erh-t'ung ch'u-pan
style of work on the one hand, and involving primarily the whole Party in the study of Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. According to the Chinese communists there are at least two main reasons why rectification is necessary from time to time. First, they hold that the transformation and construction of China depend on the party members for leadership. If they have rectified their way of thinking and style of work, then they will enjoy greater initiative in their work, become more capable and work better together with all non-party members who are actuated by high ideals and determined to institute reforms. Second, there is a need for re-educating the large number of party members who have brought with them into the Party ideas out of keeping or not altogether in keeping with Marxism. The Party can go forward with "great, firm strides in unprecedented ideological, political and organisational unity" only if the contradiction between the Marxist and non-Marxist


2. Ibid., 15 & 16.
ideologies in the Party has been solved through rectification movements.\(^1\) Such a view largely explains the extraordinary frequency of rectification since 1942.

There were officially four rectification movements in the party history, which were further augmented by various rectification activities carried out in the name of other political movement or campaign. During a rectification movement the party members and cadres are asked to study some specific documents, carry out criticism and self-criticism according to Mao's formula, "unity, criticism, unity" or "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient,"\(^2\) exercise people's democratic dictatorship,\(^3\) and take the mass line in order to help themselves and others correct their ideological deviation and non-Marxist practice. In a broad sense rectification is often extended to the masses of people as a movement for strengthening self-education and raising political consciousness. Apart from the general aims and techniques described above, each rectification activity or movement also has its specific aim, central task and, if necessary, special technique. Thus we learn that the rectification of 1942 aimed to

\(^1\) Mao. On Production by the Army for Its Own Support and on the Importance of the Great Movements for Rectification and for Production, Selected Works, III, 278.


\(^3\) Ibid., 89-90.
fight subjectivism, sectarianism and party stereotypes on the one hand and to condemn both the right and left opportunists in the Party in regard to their attitude towards the ruling Kuomintang and the Sino-Japanese War on the other. Moreover, the Chinese communists took this opportunity to sum up the party history of power struggle since 1921 and review their past mistakes in the party line, so that they could learn from the past and prepare their Party for postwar PI work.

The second rectification was launched in 1948 in co-ordination with the land reform movement. Three considerations gave rise to such a need. First, the rapid growth of party membership had inevitably absorbed into the Party many undesirable elements such as the landlords, rich peasants and riffraff who rode roughshod over the people and were opposed to the land reform policy. Second, the imminent liberation of the whole mainland called for a new working style to cope with problems of nationwide scale, and the old method of empiricism used in the old Yenan days became increasingly unsuitable to the new situation. Third, the land reform movement then under way was not only an important economic measure but also the first lessons in class struggle and political indoctrination for the people in the new Liberated Areas.

This movement therefore had the tasks of opposing empiricism and assisting in carrying out the land reform policy. In the latter the Chinese communists also employed the special techniques of "three check-ups" and "three improvements," i.e. to check on class origin, ideology and style of work in the localities; or on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight in the armed units; and to improve organisational consolidation, style of work and the quality of PI education.

The third rectification opened with Mao's report made before the 3rd Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee in June 1950. Mao then enumerated its central tasks as follows:

1. To overcome bureaucracy and commandism.
2. To raise the PI level of party members and cadres.
3. To correct mistakes in work.
4. To overcome pride and complacency in being the founders of the People's Republic.
5. To improve the relationship between the Party and people.

Of the above five tasks the first appeared to be particularly urgent, because these two shortcomings were neither consistent with the interests of the masses nor instrumental in national construction. Generally speaking, bureaucracy occurs in higher organisations where the ranking cadres do not have a direct contact with the masses and therefore fail to understand the latter's problems. Commandism, on the other hand, occurs in lower organisations where the cadres often fail to interpret official policy correctly but enforce it on the masses. This is also regarded as a form of bureaucracy.

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1. Teng T'o. The Importance of Rectification Movement in National Construction, MM, 11, p. 4.
Bureaucracy and commandism came to a head shortly after the Chinese communists took over the huge bureaucratic machinery of the former regime. In fighting these two evils they adopted the mass line and put forward the view, "History is made by the labouring masses, not by a few heroes." They also held that the leadership cadres should take turns to go to the masses and help them solve problems, and that the elimination of bureaucracy and commandism depended to a large extent on raising the PII and cultural levels of the working class. Another task carried out at the same time was the criticism of empiricism—an old theme of the second rectification. The methods recommended this time were: to study relevant documents such as Mao's Rectify the Party's Style of Work and replace empiricism by all-round observation and objectivity.

In 1957 another rectification movement was launched to fight the revival in the Party of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism. But it soon developed into an all-people

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rectification movement following the Hundred Flowers incident. The tasks then were to wage a large-scale anti-rightist struggle and defend the Hundred Flowers policy on the basis of the six criteria Mao laid down in his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.* Throughout the rectification the methods used were: first to study a number of documents, and then, on the basis of such study, to examine one's own thinking and work and unfold criticism and self-criticism to expose shortcomings and mistakes and promote what is right and good. In the course of making criticism the method of "finishing people off with a single blow" should not be used. Furthermore, leading cadres at all levels were required to take part in physical labour in accordance with the following two Central Committee directives of 1957: *Directive on the Rectification Movement* and *Directive on Physical Labour by Leading Personnel at All Levels.* The former pointed out that physical

1. The six criteria were: (a) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of various nationalities. (b) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction. (c) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship. (d) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism. (e) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Party. (f) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

labour for the leading cadres was going to be a permanent policy, while the latter deemed that such "participation" would not only help the cadres concerned overcome bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism but also change their attitude towards manual labour.\(^1\)

In addition to these four major rectifications activities of the same nature were also carried out from time to time under other campaigns or movements. There were for example anti-bureaucracy in the "three-anti" movement in 1952; anti-bureaucracy and commandism in the campaign to purge party members at the rural basic level in 1952-53; criticism of bourgeois ideology in the cases of Yu P'ing-po and Hu Feng in 1954-55; anti-rightist opportunism in 1959 which led to the purge of Defence Minister P'eng Te-huai because of his open attack on the Three Red Banners policy; the campaign to oppose subjectivism and bureaucracy and re-organise the communes in 1960-61; the new "five-anti" in cities and "four-clean" in the countryside under the Socialist Education Movement in 1962-66; criticism of bourgeois ideology in films and historical plays in 1964-65; and finally anti-modern revisionism and mass criticism and repudiation of bourgeois ideology under the GPCR in 1965-70. The methods used here ranged from the mild form of criticism and self-criticism to the violent forms of class struggle and purge.

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THOUGHT REFORM

The first thought reform movement in the People's Republic was launched on the heels of the nationwide study movement of 1949, and had its origin in Mao's closing speech made at the 2nd Plenary Session of the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 23 June 1950. He then pointed out that self-education and self-reform should be carried out by means of criticism and self-criticism. His proposal was soon adopted as a policy of the Central Government, and an extensive movement for self-education and self-reform was subsequently launched on the cultural and educational fronts and among the intellectuals. By late 1951 Mao was able to note with satisfaction that thought reform of this kind was one of the important requirements for democratic reform and industrialisation.

Thought reform applies not only to the "reactionaries" such as the "five-category elements" but also to all intellectuals and the "four classes" who have formed the people's democratic united front. For the reactionaries, this means

3. The "five-category elements" are landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists.
4. The "four classes" described in the Common Programme of the CPPCC are the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie.
eradicating from their minds the imperialist, feudal and bureaucratic capitalist influences and ideas. As for the intellectuals thought reform would be instrumental in overcoming their shortcomings such as looking down upon physical labour and the labouring masses, disunity of theory and practice, subjectivism, individual heroism, unpractical ideas, petty bourgeois viewpoints on class struggle (of which they are afraid) and small ownership (which they advocate), liberalism and vacillation in their attitude towards revolution. Likewise, through thought reform the workers would raise their class consciousness, the peasants be prepared for the change from feudal economy to agricultural collectivisation and communisation, the petty bourgeoisie overcome their shortcomings which they normally share with the intellectuals, and the national bourgeoisie be persuaded to develop commerce and industry in the national interests and give up speculation and profiteering.

Thought reform takes the form of either people's dictatorship or patient persuasion, depending on the object to be

1. Editorial: It Is Imperative to Carry Out Thought Reform, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth), Peking, No. 80, p. 2.


reformed. Thus, in the case of reactionaries, it calls for confession, exposure of crimes and suppression, and sometimes ends up in reform through hard labour. For others, the techniques used include criticism and self-criticism, study of Marxism-Leninism-TMTT, thought conclusion, and if possible a link with other campaign. Moreover, self-consciousness is emphasised throughout the whole process. In other words, thought reform of this kind should be carried out from a person's desire for self-conscious ideological education and reform. The progress thus made ought to be assessed by the degree of his self-consciousness. An example here will suffice to show how this should be tackled. In 1951, teachers in Peking and Tientsin numbering over 6,500 from twenty four colleges and universities organised a study movement for ideological remoulding in five stages as follows: to carry out criticism and self-criticism, to study relevant documents and criticise the reactionary thoughts of feudalism and imperialism in order to draw a clear-cut line between the people and enemies, to establish the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and criticise all bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas, to discuss the reform of higher education in the light of the needs for national and economic construction, and finally to sum up.

1. Teng T'o. Thought Reform Ought to Be a Self-Conscious Movement, HH, V, 4, pp. 5-8.

2. Activities in the Ideological Field: the Thought Reform of Higher School Teachers in Peking and Tientsin Has Entered the Second Stage, HH, V, 4, p. 32.
Chapter 9
Propaganda

As a PI technique, propaganda also plays an important role in communist education. To Mao, its task is two-fold: to disseminate Marxism and persuade the people to accept it, and on the other hand to unfold criticism of bourgeois ideology and revisionism on the ideological front.\(^1\) He holds that despite the establishment of the socialist system anti-Marxist ideology will continue to exist for a long time and complete victory on the PI front has yet to be won. For example, in the ideological field the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet, and there is still need for a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. He therefore concludes that the party committees at all levels must tackle the question of ideology in their propaganda work.\(^2\)

In doing so the Chinese communists resort to some essential media in this field.

THE PRESS

In his talk given at the reception for journalists on 10 March 1957 Mao pointed out:\(^3\)


\(^2\) Ibid., 26-29.

\(^3\) Editorial Departments of JMJP, HC & CFCP. *Carry the Great Revolution on the Journalistic Front through to the End*. Peking: FLP, 1969, p. 16.
Before classes are abolished, the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies all have their class character and all serve particular classes.

From such a view arises his "comprehensive proletarian line on journalism," which demands that proletarian journalism serve the political line of the proletariat and be a powerful weapon for the proletarian revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is clear that in the eyes of the Chinese communists, journalism is an instrument of class struggle, and its propaganda influences the thinking, sentiments and political orientation of the masses. In this context, the press is used as one of the major propaganda tools.

As early as 1948 Mao already pointed out that the role and power of the newspapers consisted in their ability to bring the party programme, the party line, the party's general and specific policies, its tasks and methods of work before the masses in the quickest and most extensive way, and that the principle of running a newspaper well was to give correct publicity to party matters and strengthen the party ties with the masses. What he said may be taken as the official policy in the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War. It was subsequently amplified in a directive of the Central Propaganda

1. Ibid., 2.
2. Ibid., 1.
Department, which provided that a city newspaper should primarily serve the interests of the workers and peasants, propagate Marxism, carry news about the countryside, factory, school and market, and have a literary page with such features as essay, story, commentary, criticism and a readers' column. The first national policy was formulated in 1950. The Press Administration then called a national conference of journalists and passed the Decision on Improving Newspaper Work, the main points of which were: (1) All newspapers should devote prominent space to reporting on labour and production, publicising both successful and unsuccessful experiences in production and management and discussing methods of overcoming difficulties. (2) Local newspapers should primarily satisfy needs arising from local conditions. (3) The organisation of correspondence networks and newspaper-reading groups should be regarded as a major PI task. (4) Criticism should be made of the weaknesses and mistakes of the government organs concerned. (5) Letters from the readers ought to be dealt with.


The contents of a newspaper or periodical are affected not only by the above policies but also by some general principles and the kind of readers it aims to serve. Generally speaking, the press is expected to play to the full "a tremendous role as an organiser, inspirer, agitator, critic and driving force." On the other hand, news reporting is, in Liu Shao-ch'i's words, biased and only the official view is permitted in the press. Once all these requirements are met, a newspaper or periodical is allowed to vary its contents so as to cater to the special needs of its readers. Insofar as newspapers are concerned, there are two major kinds: general and special. Those serving the general readers have the following characteristics: (1) Very meagre in foreign news from non-communist countries. (2) All news is supplied by the NCNA and is normally undated. (3) It is not uncommon to carry lengthy articles and feature stories for the sake of PI indoctrination. In this case they take precedence over all other news. (4) Editorials represent the official view on the matter concerned, and are normally meant for study. (5) The contents are generally dull. The People's Daily is a case in point. Among special newspapers there are the Liberation Army News for the PLA, Enlightenment Daily for intellectuals, Literary Daily for the educational circle,


Workers' Daily for the working class, Physical Culture News for the circle of physical education, Commune News for commune members, Chinese Youth Daily for students and CYL members, Chinese Juvenile News for children and YPC members, Teachers' Journal for teachers, Impartial Daily for industrial and commercial circles, and Ts'an-k'ao hsiao-hsi (Reference Information). The latter is published by the NCNA as an internal publication and distributed by subscription only from high-ranking officials and politically reliable persons. It is a 4-page newspaper of a format of 15½" x 11" and aims to keep its readers informed of the outside world and foreign reactions to China with a great variety of less distorted foreign news. Its first page deals with foreign relations with both Peking and Taipei (Nationalist) Governments; Page 2, news from other Asian countries; Page 3, news from Europe and America; Page 4, feature articles such as technological innovations in other countries, developments in Africa and foreign comments on domestic events. All news originates abroad, with the sources named and dated, and no attempt is made to alter the original text, e.g. the title "President Chiang" is retained in the news despatches from Taiwan. A constant feature of this special newspaper is its "Short Items of News Monitored from Foreign Short-Wave Stations." And there are no editorials as such.

Broadcasting plays a vital role in the national life of the People's Republic and has been described as a medium of mass education and entertainment as well as a means of propagating information and political thought. The first broadcasting station, known as Hsinhua (New China), was established in a little temple in Yenan, 1945 for the primary purpose of demoralising the Nationalist Government during the civil war. It was not until 1949 that broadcasting was organised on a national basis, and the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs of the Information Administration was then created to take charge of this matter. By 1950 the network already included 58 government-owned stations with 108 transmitters. In addition, there were 32 private stations of which 22 were located in Shanghai. The most important one is the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Its Department for Foreign Broadcasts is well-known in the world as Radio Peking.

The first policy on broadcasting since 1949 was the Decision of the Information Administration on Establishing a Radio Network, 1950, which provided that such a network should be set up in the whole country so as to enable the broadcasting industry to carry out its propaganda function on a broad basis, and that monitors be installed in all local government and PLA organs to jot down

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1. Mei Tso. The Chinese People's Broadcasting System, Culture and Education in New China, 49.
the main points of daily newscasts and official instructions for distribution. This directive was soon followed by two others of equal importance in the same year: Directive of the People's Revolutionary Military Council on Establishing a Radio Network in the Armed Forces and Directive of the Information Administration and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on Establishing a Radio Network in All Factories, Mines and Enterprises. All these early measures saw the set-up throughout the country of monitoring teams and stations which worked closely with the Monitoring Liaison Departments of the broadcasting stations concerned.

There are in existence the wireless and wired networks. The former is necessarily expensive, because it involves the use of radios which the poor cannot afford to own. The latter therefore aims to overcome this drawback. Copied from the Soviet radio-diffusion exchange system, it is essentially a wired communication, with loudspeakers installed elsewhere and radio programmes fed to them from a wireless receiving station. The advantages of such a network are obvious. First, it is cheap.


2. It was reported in January 1956 that there were only 1.5 million radios for a population of 600 million people. Quoted in: Frederick T. C. Yu. Mass Persuasion in Communist China. London: Pall Mall Press, 1964, p. 124.
to install and run, and on the other hand imposes no financial burden on the people. Second, it is possible to select radio programmes to meet the special needs of such audiences as the workers, peasants and soldiers. Third, attendance can be made compulsory. Thus, the anticipated results of each programme may be guaranteed. Finally, in case of emergency the network can be quickly converted into a public addressing system for the transmission of urgent calls or instructions. The extensive use of this system has been reported by Mr. Sripati Chandra-Sekhar, a noted Indian demographer. According to him, one can escape the sun and moon but not the loudspeakers hidden in treetops. It is from these loudspeakers that the people receive news of the nation's progress, the industrial output, instructions on how to make a native smelter, how to defeat the American imperialist and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, how to be a good communist, how to be neat, how to denounce the rightists, how to cook sweet potatoes, where not to spit, and a thousand other things. In fact, everything the Government approves and wants to convey to the masses.¹

The most effective way to make people listen to radio programmes is to organise them into collective listening groups. The Directive on Establishing a Radio Network in All Factories, Mines and Enterprises stipulates in part that in the hostels for workers, the administrative staff, trade union officers and representatives of the workers' families should work together

to organise radio-listening groups, so that all workers and their families can regularly receive political and cultural education at home.¹ Still, broadcasting is not to be taken for granted. The same directive further provides that all broadcast-receiving stations should make periodic reports to the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs, the All-China Federation of Labour and the local People's Broadcasting Station on their plans and current situation. In addition, all trade unions should consider broadcasting as a major task, step up their production of programmes, organise current affairs study groups and carry out PI activities.²

In order to establish close contact with the audiences and better organise collective listening, the Chinese communists employ activists and monitors. Organised by the broadcasting station concerned, the activists make speeches, hold discussions, give amateur performances and recount their experiences in PI struggle. They are also encouraged to write articles in connection with certain special programmes in order to stir up greater interest among the audiences. Radio programmes selected for this purpose are normally linked to a campaign or a central task which the Government wants the people to carry out. Thus, in 1950 when the nationwide study movement was in full swing, there was such programme as Questions and Answers in Political

¹. JMJP, 12 Sept. 1951, quoted in: Mass Persuasion in Communist China, 126.
². Ibid.
Study. Again, in 1955 when the agricultural cooperative movement was under way stories about socialist transformation in agriculture became a feature of the radio programme. The following analysis of a set of GPCR radio programmes shows how broadcasting has already become a major PI instrument for indoctrination.\(^1\)

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Time per Day</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thought of Mao Tse-tung</td>
<td>300'</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic News</td>
<td>270'</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary Literature</td>
<td>245'</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary Opera</td>
<td>165'</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International News</td>
<td>60'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLA Literature</td>
<td>60'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPCR Documents</td>
<td>60'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Guards Movement</td>
<td>50'</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Broadcast</td>
<td>30'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus (TMTT)</td>
<td>25'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary Song of the Week</td>
<td>15'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preview of To-morrow's Programmes</td>
<td>10'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,290' (≈21(\frac{1}{2}) hrs.)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BOOK PUBLISHING

Book publishing has always been a major concern of both the Party and Government. While the former is the highest decision-making and supervising body, the latter implements the policies agreed upon and exercises control in all matters from censorship, inspection to distribution, as the following chart shows.¹

Chart 2

Control of Publications

Party Propaganda Committee
Central Propaganda Dept., CPC

PUBLICATIONS SECTION, CPC

Committee of Cultural & Educational Affairs (Government Administrative Council, 1949-54)

Dept. of Culture
Publications General Administration
[Bureau of Editing & Censorship
Bureau of Translation

Bureau of Publications

Ministry of Culture (State Council, since Sept. 1954)
Publications Administrative Bureau
[Bureau of Translation

Bureau of Publications

People's Publishing House, etc.
New China Book Co. (Solo agent at home)
Local bookshops

Foreign Language Publications & Distribution Bureau (Since Sept. 1963)

Foreign Languages Press

China Publications Centre (Solo agent abroad)

At the First National Conference on Book Publishing held in Peking on 15-25 September 1950 the Publications General Administration worked out its first national policy, under which the whole industry was re-organised on three lines. First, the Hsinhua (New China) Book Company was appointed as the sole distributor at home, thus enabling the Government to plan and control the circulation on a national basis. Second, all publications plans had to be submitted to the Administration for approval, from both the economic and PI viewpoints. Third, publishers were grouped according to their specialities. Thus, there were the Commercial Press and Chunghua Book Company specialised in natural, pure and applied sciences, the People's Publishing House in political documents and readers, the Ch'iming and Joint Publishers Book Companies in social sciences, literature, history and reading material for general use, the Workers Publishing House in readers for the working class, the People's Education Press in school textbooks, the Youth Publishing House in reading material for the youth, the T'ung-lien and Lien-lien Book Companies in popular readers for the masses, and the Ta-tung, Erh-t'ung and T'ung-lien (different from the one above) Publishers in juvenile literature. In addition, the Foreign Languages Press and China Publications Centre act as the sole publisher and distributor of foreign publications respectively.

In dealing with PI matter the First National Conference also passed the Decision on Eliminating All Publications.
Influenced by the Reactionary and Feudal Ideas of the Capitalist Society. Acting on this decision the Chinese communists launched a large-scale book-burning campaign in 1950-55. Any book, if found inconsistent with Marxism-Leninism, was either re-written or simply set on fire. As a result the Commercial Press and Chunghua Book Company, the two largest publishing firms, were forced to reduce their stock to 9% and 7% respectively. On the other hand, plans were made to produce en masse books on Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought. As Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs, put it in 1951, the main task of the publishing industry was to purge old ideas and disseminate Marxism-Leninism-TMTT. Not surprisingly, the Chinese communists take a pride in such impressive statistics of publications as 27 million copies of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in 1949-56 or 150 million copies of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in 1966-68.

LITERATURE AND ART

The use of literature and art as a tool for propaganda and PI indoctrination is a Chinese communist tradition and


2. Chin Ta-k'ai. Chung-kung hsuan-ch'uan cheng-ts'e yu yun-yung (Chinese Communist Propaganda Policy & Its Operation), 64.

is governed by the theories, principles and policy put forward in Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. In order to serve the revolution and the workers, peasants and soldiers, literature and art must, in Mao's view, have class character and take the proletarian stand. In practice, they take various forms under such slogans as "integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in creative work," "bringing culture to the countryside," "letting a hundred flowers blossom" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new."

The first call was issued by Chou Yang, Vice-chairman of All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, in 1958. In his article, *New Folk Songs Blaze a New Trail in Poetry*, he quoted Mao as saying that

> the unity of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism is a scientific summing-up of the experience in the whole history of literature, and suggested that this should be the common task for all literary and art workers. Such a writing technique is in fact not a new thing in Chinese literature. Mao himself used to compose poems in this traditional style. His best poem, *Changsha* is a case in point. In praise of Mao's technique in this


regard Kuo Mo-jo went so far as to say that all Mao's poems were typical examples of the unity of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. This is an over-statement of the matter. Changsha, for example, has nothing to do with the revolution or the communist cause. It may be necessary to explain here what the Chinese communists mean by "revolutionary realism" and "revolutionary romanticism." The former is a description of revolutionary deeds and themes, which aim to arouse the people's revolutionary spirit. Revolutionary romanticism, on the other hand, has two sides, i.e. its romantic method and romantic spirit. While the latter lies in seeing what is new in life, reflecting it with success and helping it to grow, i.e. the ability to see the seeds of communism in life; the former tends to use more exaggeration, more flights of fancy and more mythological colouration. The Chinese communists therefore hold that there are three major elements in the synthesis of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. First, such a unity sees and reflects what is new, revolutionary and vital in life. Second, the artist or writer has the warmest enthusiasm for these things. Finally, the works thus produced have the immense power to inspire and encourage the people. The combination of these three elements is thus regarded as a manifestation of revolutionary romanticism. 

The following folk song may serve to illustrate the unity of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism in the Chinese communist fashion:

Sun, Sun, let me ask you:
Dare you not compete with us?
We have started working for hours,
Whereas you sleep lazily and get up late.
We finish work late at night,
Whereas you retire early.
Sun, Sun, let me ask you:
Dare you not compete with us?

The years 1963-65 brought about important reforms in literature and art in connection with the Three Great Revolutionary Movements. Under the call of bringing culture to the countryside "cultural work teams" and artist troupes were sent to live and work with the peasants for a period of several months. The purpose here was two-fold. Apart from bringing literature and art to the rural masses and collecting local materials for use according to the principle of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, the writers and artists were asked to reform themselves through productive labour. By doing so they lived up to "one of the important principles of Mao's thought on art and literature":

The key to art and literature serving the revolution and the workers, peasants and soldiers and correctly reflecting the life of the people lies in artists and writers

going into the midst of the masses, and in the course of so doing, remoulding their own ideology while tapping the source of creative works.

The need for ideological remoulding in literary and art circles was also emphasised under the party policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new." The Chinese communists believe that although the leadership of Marxism has been established in the realm of ideology, bourgeois views and class contradictions in ideology still exist among the people. The above policy therefore aims to bring these varying ideas into the open and solve them by means of criticism, discussion and persuasion rather than prevent the emergence of these "poisonous weeds." When such a policy is applied to literature and art, it would mean to let all flowers blossom first and then weed through them in order to bring forth the new. This resulted in the revolution of Peking opera in 1963-70 and mass criticism and repudiation of bourgeois literature and art under the GPCR.

As early as 1944 Mao already noted the need for the reform of the old opera which, in his view, presented the people as though they were dirt and dramatised such characters of bad influence as lords, ladies and their pampered sons and daughters.

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1. For the origin of this term vide: Chao Ta'ung. Chung-kuo ta-lu ti hai-ch'ü kai-ke (Drama Reform in Mainland China, 1942-67). Hong Kong: Chung-wen ta-hsueh, 1969, pp. 21-24.
In the early 1950s he started criticising feudal culture and bourgeois idealism, which had allegedly found their way into some works of art and literature such as the two films, The Life of Wu Hsun and The Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court and Yü P'ing-po's Studies of the "Dream of the Red Chamber." In spite some major attempts made to fight bourgeois ideology in this connection, the latter proved to be as persistent as ever. By 1963 Mao could not but admit that problems still abounded in all forms of art and very little had been achieved so far in promoting socialist art. This occurred, because, in his view, the organs concerned had not carried out the party policies, had not gone to the masses, and to make matters worse had slid right down to the brink of revisionism. All these criticisms prompted Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife and formerly a film star, to embark in the reform of modern drama generally and Peking opera in particular.

1. There were in the history of the PRC five major rectifications in literary and art circles: (a) criticism of "Wu Hsun" and feudalism, 1951; (b) criticism of Yü P'ing-po and bourgeois idealism, 1954; (c) criticism of Hu Feng and revisionism, 1954-55; (d) purge of Ting Ling in connection with the anti-rightist struggle, 1957; and (e) criticism of various films and historical plays and purge of the "black line of literature and art in the 1930s," 1964-GPCR.

The reform was based on the Maoist conviction that apart from serving socialism and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the modern drama of socialist era uses present-day life as its material and people's struggle its source of creative art. Moreover, as an important instrument to promote socialist revolution and construction, it educates the people in the Three Great Revolutionary Movements and exerts great influence on the upbringing of communist new men.¹ For these reasons, Peking operas were not only given contemporary revolutionary themes but also tackled by the method of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," i.e., to adapt foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music for Peking opera and to study critically old and foreign works so as to make them serve socialist art and literature as well as the Chinese revolution.² Thus, at the Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes sponsored by Chiang Ch'ing in 1964 there were such revolutionary Peking operas as Taking the Bandits' Stronghold, The Red Lantern, Shachiapang (opera and symphony), Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, Red Detachment of Women (opera and ballet) and The White-Haired Girl (opera and ballet). All of them, together with a later addition in 1965, On the Docks (Peking opera), became the "model plays on contemporary revolutionary themes" of Chiang Ch'ing.³

Among the above model plays Taking the Bandits' Stronghold is worth mentioning, because it provides us with a good example of how literature and art are tackled in the Maoist fashion. The opera was first adapted and performed in 1958, then transformed thoroughly by Chiang Ch'ing in 1963 for the purpose of presenting contemporary life through Peking opera, and finally revised in October 1969 under the new title, Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy. It was said that from 1963 onward this theatrical piece and the type of opera it represents have steadily embarked on the revolutionary road guided by Mao's thought and waged sharp struggles between adherence and opposition to Mao's proletarian line on literature and art, between the proletarian headquarters headed by Mao and the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i to win over the literary and art workers, and between insistence on the principles of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new" and on the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism on the one hand, and wrong tendencies such as preserving the old order and indiscriminate worship of everything foreign on the other.

In creative work the focus of acute struggle is said to be the creation of the leading character, the hero. It was on this last count that the 1969 version of Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy was made.


In creating the principal proletarian hero Scout Platoon Leader Yang Tzu-jung in the revised script the Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai in fact gave prominence to the image of the PLA. Through the media of Mao's thought and other characters, both negative and positive, in the play, Yang was depicted as a brilliant typical representative without parallel in the history of the arts, a communist fighter battling unflinchingly for the complete liquidation of all exploiting classes and the system of exploitation itself, a powerful weapon for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a mighty force to help the masses to propel history forward.

Or, in the words of his creator,

We must put our hero in a typical background of revolutionary class struggle in a given historical period, reveal completely and penetratingly and from various aspects the class traits embodied in his world outlook, thinking, style of work and moral fibre, show his high political consciousness, and bring out the rays of communism in his heart.

As judging from Lin Piao's rise of power following the adjournment of the Ninth National Congress of the Party, it is by no means a co-incidence that such an almost perfect communist in the revised model Peking opera turns out to be a PLA man. In

1. Ibid., p. 39.
2. Ibid.
the same vein The Red Lantern was revised in May 1970 to give prominence to its principal hero Li Yü-ho—this time, the image of an ideal Communist Party member and underground agent in Japanese-occupied north China during the War of Resistance. The creation of this image had reportedly been guided by "one red line," "one main stream" and "one important direction," i.e. to show unbounded love for and allegiance to Mao and the Party, to wage a sharp class struggle against the enemy, and to reveal the "flesh-and-blood class relations" between the masses and the hero. It is not clear whether Li wants to outdo or merely strives with Yang Tzu-jung in an ideological struggle between the two images of the PLA and the Party. But one thing seems certain. These two characters were deliberately polished up to serve the communist cause, each in his own way.

The above reform also led to a fierce assault on historical plays, which thrived in 1961-62 under Mao's policy of making the past serve the present. In this case the Maoists could not have chosen a more appropriate target to open their attack than Wu


Han's historical Peking opera, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. They see in this playwright a trio representing the "reactionary groups" in the political, ideological and cultural fields. Politically Wu Han was the Deputy Mayor of Peking and a member of the P'eng Chen group who opposed Mao and the party policy of the Three Red Banners, as shown in the celebrated Ch'ang-kuan Lou case. Ideologically, as a famous historian, he opposes the communist practices of studying history from the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and class analysis. Culturally *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* is a representative work publicising "dead characters" of the feudal age—something found unacceptable under Chiang Ch'ing's reform of Peking opera. Hence, the criticism of Wu Han was in a broad sense tantamount to that of revisionism and bourgeois ideology. As events have now proved, such a criticism soon developed into a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, involving people in all fields.


2. This is the Maoist reference to the secret meeting held by Teng T'o at Ch'ang-kuan Lou, Peking in Nov. 1961. Important people of the Peking Municipal Committee met there to censor all documents issued by the Central Committee to the County level and above during 1958-61, attack the Three Red Banners and Mao for his Leftist Line, and finally draw up a 13,000-word report to P'eng Chen, then Mayor of Peking.


PART IV

POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION UNDER THE
"GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION"
Chapter 10
Educational Reform

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which opened with the attack on Wu Han's historical play, Hai Jui Dismissed from Office, on 10 November 1965 and came to a temporary close with the adoption of a new party constitution at the Party's Ninth National Congress on 14 April 1969 was, from the Maoist viewpoint, the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two roads of socialism and capitalism and the two lines of Mao's proletarian revolution and Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism. These fierce struggles have resulted in drastic changes in communist education. The educational reform thus introduced is based on the educational theory and policy of the GPCR and put to experiment in the name of uniting theory with practice.

The theory of educational reform is based on the Maoist hypothesis that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of proletarian dictatorship, and that contradictions do exist in socialist society. These views give rise to the need for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat on a permanent basis.¹

Unfortunately, not all Chinese communists subscribe to the Maoist views. As early as 1956 Liu Shao-ch'i was reported to put forward his view that classes, class struggle and external contradictions (i.e. antagonistic contradictions between the people and the class enemy) had basically been eliminated in China.¹ This ideological difference between the Maoists and Liuists eventually led to the GPCR, under which the struggles between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines on the educational front have boiled down to the struggle between two schools of educational thought, i.e. Mao's concept of "intellectualising the proletariat and proletarianising the intellectuals" in the PI context versus Liu's compromise between "red" and "expert" education, made in May 1964 in the form of the party call of "two kinds of different educational systems and two kinds of different labour systems." The educational reform made under the GPCR therefore aims to root out all bourgeois influences in the educational circle as well as in society.

The first GPCR policy on educational reform dates back to 7 May 1966 and is known as Mao's May 7th Directive. Under this policy the students are urged to learn other things in addition to their studies, that is, industrial work, farming

¹ Editorial Departments of HC & JMJP. Take the Socialist Road or Capitalist Road? Hong Kong: San-lien shu-tien, 1967, p. 30. (Chinese text).
and military affairs, and to criticise the bourgeois ideology. Moreover, the period of schooling should be shortened, education revolutionised, and the domination by bourgeois intellectuals at school be discontinued.¹ This Directive was subsequently expanded and incorporated into the Decision of the Central Committee Concerning the GPCR, 8 August 1966. These two documents provide the basis for educational reform, which takes place at all levels of education: primary, secondary, higher and half-work half-study education.

In primary education reform takes place immediately following the resumption of classes in October 1967.² Even before the term started, primary school teachers in Shanghai were already organised into a one-month course to criticise the ideology and system of revisionist education and study Mao's thought. No sooner had primary schools opened again than teaching was re-organised under the slogan of "fighting self and criticising revisionism," and curricula were revised according to the May 7th Directive. In the main there are 18-24 periods per week, and the subjects taught are the Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, Chinese, Arithmetic, Common Knowledge, revolutionary Songs, Drawing, Military Physical Training,

¹. Creating A New, Proletarian Educational System, PR, 45, 1967, pp. 11-12.

and Industrial and Agricultural Labour. Textbooks have either been simplified or re-compiled. For example, the arithmetic textbooks for junior primary classes include such problems as: Work out the accounts of the landlords and capitalists who had exploited the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants. In addition, various schools write and edit their own supplementary teaching materials featuring Mao's thought, current events and analysis of pupils' ideological problems.1

The teaching reform in secondary school finds a good example in Peking's 23rd Middle School. Since the resumption of classes the teachers and students were reported to have raised high the "banner of Mao's thought" and conducted classes on the basis of "fighting self and criticising revisionism."

Subjects taught are Politics, Chinese, Mathematics, Military Training, Physics, Chemistry, Foreign Languages, Biology and Manual Labour. A school day normally begins with the study of Mao's works, followed by two periods of PI education and military training. In the afternoons there are another two periods of PI education, followed by some academic study. The evenings are devoted to cultural activities.2

It is in higher education that the unity of theory and

1. Primary Schools in Shanghai and Wuhan Resumed Classes One by One, JMJP, 22 Oct. 1967, p. 3.

practice is put to the fullest use. The resumption of classes sees the beginning of a series of revolutionary experiments of educational reform. The first of this kind is the May 7th Commune set up by T'ung-chi University in Shanghai on the basis of Mao's May 7th Directive. In August 1967 the University put forward the proposal of transforming itself into a May 7th Commune which would consist of a tuitional unit, a designing unit and a building unit and exercise the three-fold function of tuition, designing and building. Such a proposal was then lauded as a bold, revolutionary step to change the bourgeois phenomenon of education being divorced from production. The Commune therefore attempts to revolutionise higher education in the following ways: (1) To abolish the existing departments and "teaching research groups" and set up instead a number of specialised committees each composed of personnel from the tuitional unit, the designing unit and the production unit. (2) To implement two types of "three-in-one combination," i.e. the combination of revolutionary leading cadres, leaders of the revolutionary mass organisation and the militia, and the combination of tuition, designing and building. (3) To operate a rotatory system whereby a part of its teaching staff could be tempered and remoulded through practical participation in production at fixed intervals. (4) To set up political work

departments in its organisations and provide every specialised committee with political instructors and every class with political workers. (5) To shorten the period of schooling from four to three years and require all students to take part in productive labour. By so doing both the teachers and students wish to accomplish the following: establish proletarian leadership, combine education with productive labour, simplify the contents of teaching and study, remould intellectuals, and finally eliminate the difference between town and country, workers and peasants, and mental and manual labour.

The revolution at T'ung-chi was said to have pointed out a short cut to unite theory with practice. This is however not good enough. The method of selecting students for higher education ought to be changed at the same time. Mao therefore sees fit to suggest in a directive of 1968 that students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and should return to production after a few years' study at university. He further recommends colleges of science and engineering to take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers.¹

The road for training engineering and technical personnel as indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant was given

full publicity in a joint report of investigation of the NCNA and Shanghai's Wen-hui Daily. According to the report the workers and technicians of the Plant had put forward the following ideas in regard to educational reform: (1) Schools should train workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. (2) School education should be combined with productive labour. (3) Workers who are junior or senior middle school graduates and have had two or three years of practical experience in production should be picked from the grassroots units and sent to college to study. (4) All school-trained technicians and engineers should take part in "revolutionary mass criticism."1

The above proposal first won full support from the Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering which has been training technicians for the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant. Like the latter the Shanghai Institute has since its establishment in 1952 made great changes in its "sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, in which the bourgeoisie tried to stage a comeback and the proletariat opposed this." From its experience in waging struggle of this kind the Institute takes the view that the revolution in education in colleges of science and engineering should be carried

out in the following four steps: (1) Colleges of science and engineering must solve the problem of which class will exercise leadership according to Mao's Directive on Reforming Colleges of Science and Engineering before they can take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant. (2) The length of schooling in colleges of science and engineering should preferably be two to three years. Foundation subjects and basic technical and specialised courses should be integrated into an organic whole through the study of a typical machine and typical parts in the actual production process. The colleges of science and engineering thus transformed would be not only schools but also factories and scientific research units. (3) Colleges of science and engineering should also undertake the task of successfully giving spare-time technical education in accordance with the organisational principle of cooperating with factories and the teaching principle of "running whatever schools are needed, learning whatever actual work calls for, and providing whatever is wanting." (4) A contingent of proletarian teachers must be formed. In the future the ranks of teachers should be a three-in-one combination comprising workers with a high proletarian political consciousness and practical experience, worker and peasant students with practical experience and revolutionary intellectuals. ¹ Such an educational reform

as pioneered by the Maoists would no doubt completely change, for better or worse, the outlook of technological and science education.

The educational revolution in colleges of science and engineering also exerts considerable influence over a proposed reform of college of arts, which Mao did not mention in his reference to the need for universities. In early 1969 the JMJP and KMJP both held a series of discussions on "How to Run Socialist Universities" on the basis of Mao's 1968 Directive on Reforming Colleges of Science and Engineering. Apart from endorsing Mao's view on reforming technological and science education they also put forward the following ideas of running college of arts: (1) College of arts should be run after the pattern of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. (2) Students of liberal arts should use the society as their classroom and temper themselves in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle

3. First known as the Red Army College, established in Jui-chin, Kiangsi during the Chinese Soviet period, the College moved to Yenan shortly before the outbreak in 1937 of the Sino-Japanese War and was re-named as the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military & Political College. Under its educational policy of "cultivating a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work, flexible strategy and tactics" it trained youth into proletarian fighters.
for production and scientific experiment.\(^1\) (3) In the case of a comprehensive university its Departments of Literature, Philosophy and History should be merged into a separate "cultural revolutionary university," which would provide such courses as Mao's Works (with special reference to literature and arts), History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines Inside the Party, Basic Skills in Writing, Basic Knowledge of Industrial and Agricultural Production, and Military Training.\(^2\) All in all, a college of arts should be so reformed that it would become a big school for the study of Mao's thought, use Mao's thought to arm the teachers and students, carry out studies in the course of class struggle and make itself become an important instrument for class struggle.\(^3\)

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or sympathizers, carried out thought reform of students and taught Marxism-Leninism. In addition, the students were asked to acquire the sense of discipline and organisation, oppose anarchism and liberalism in organisation, make up their minds to go deep into the grassroots level to carry out work, fight against the tendency to slight practical work experience, contact and serve the workers and peasants. Vide Chairman Mao on Revolution in Education, Current Background, Hong Kong, No. 888, pp. 3-4.

1. Jen Ta-chiao. We Want to Run the University of Arts after the Pattern of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, KMJP, 1 April 1969, p. 1.

2. Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team & the Revolutionary Committee of Hopei University. We Propose to Separate Arts from Science and Merge the Departments of Literature, History and Philosophy, JMJP, 24 April 1969, p. 2.

3. Ibid.
Parallel to the reform of full-time education is that of half-work half-study education. A great feature of the latter is school managed by workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and linked to the people's commune and PLA. Two examples here will suffice to show how reform has been made in both urban and rural schools.

Acting on Mao's May 7th Directive the No. 5 Middle School in Lanchow, Kansu Province organises classes to study Mao's thought and carry out mass criticism and repudiation of the revisionist educational line under the direction of the Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team (q.v.). It also links to a nearby people's commune and a local PLA unit. While the commune provides the school with a base for learning farming, the PLA unit assists in running the TMTT class and gives the students military and political training. In the mean time the school is put under the leadership and management of the nearby Lanchow Casting Plant, where the teachers and students are sent to do manual labour. Such a practice has been widely publicised as "the factory runs school with two links." As a result, the period of schooling is shortened from 6 to 4 years, and courses are reduced from the original 17 to 5. The teachers and students are divided into two groups. One group does manual labour in the mornings and studies in the afternoons, while the other group does the other way round. In all, the two groups each do manual labour for two days (four half days) and study four
days (two whole days and four half days) each week. The weekly timetable runs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Study of Mao's thought</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic course in industry</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary literature &amp; art</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military &amp; physical training</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General use</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two working days

The Chinese communists claim that the educational reform introduced in the above school has resulted in the following changes:

1. The working class holds all-round leadership at school and uses Mao's thought to educate the teachers and students. (2) The teachers and students make the workers and peasants their mentors and cultivate profound feelings for each other. (3) The old phenomenon in which education was said to have been divorced from politics, the masses and practice has now been remedied. (4) The health of the teachers and students is generally improved.1

In the rural area the Wu-k'ou Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School in Wu-yuan County, Kiangsi provides another example for educational reform. When the school

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was founded in 1965, it was not clear which line (proletarian or bourgeois) or road (socialist or capitalist) should be taken. The leadership of the tea plantation and the school then held a number of meetings to discuss these questions with veteran workers and peasants, and decided that the school should not be divorced from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants and from labour and reality. The leadership also invited the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to take a direct part in the school committee. It was reported that under the leadership and management of the working class the school begins to transform itself. The general principle the school follows is to give prominence to politics, put Mao's thought in command of everything, have fewer and better courses and combine study with practice. As a result, both teachers and students pay great attention to the study of Mao's works and "class education," take firm hold of the struggle between the two lines, simplify teaching material and make it suit practical needs. They also make the workers and peasants their teachers, take part in production and study in the course of doing manual labour. All these changes earn the school the title, "a new-type school where theory accords with practice." ¹

Chapter 11
Educational Control

Educational control since the GPCR is effected through three major instruments: school revolutionary committee, the PLA and the Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team.

The school revolutionary committee is a product of the revolutionary great alliances. Organised on the principle of three-in-one combination, i.e. representatives of revolutionary cadres, the PLA and revolutionary masses it replaces the old dual control of the school affairs committee and school party committee, and is in fact an organisation specially set up for the purpose of seizing power from the bourgeois authority in school. Mao has made this point quite clear in his Directive on Establishing Revolutionary Committees:1

In every place or unit where power must be seized it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary three-in-one combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the revolutionary committee. In exercising its power the committee should observe the fundamental principle of keeping in touch with the masses, exercise unified leadership, do away with redundant or overlapping administrative structure, have "better troops and simpler administration," and organise a revolutionised leading group linked with the masses.2

Although the committee appears to be successful in seizing power, it brings fresh problems of new power struggle. It becomes clear that there is need for stronger support. The support, both military and political, now comes from the PLA and Workers' TMTT Propaganda Teams. The involvement of the PLA takes the form of "three-support, two military," i.e., support the Left, industry and agriculture, exercise military control and give military and political training at school. Such an idea had its origin in a fighting call issued by Mao on 28 January 1967 that the PLA should help the broad masses of the Left. In response to this call the PLA commanders and fighters are sent to the factory, mine, enterprise, government organ, school and countryside, where they protect and assist the broad masses of the Left in doing the following things: carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, form revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary three-in-one combinations, perform the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, grasp revolution and promote production. The PLA also learns to educate itself in the course of performing its duty. For example, from supporting the revolutionary masses and Left


2. Using the Great Thought of Mao Tse-tung to Help the Broad Masses of the Left—the PLA Made Great Contribution Last Year in Carrying Out the Tasks of "Three-Support, Two-Military" Assigned to It by Chairman Mao, JMJP, 28 Jan. 1968, p. 2.
organisations the PLA is able to witness the struggle between the two classes and the two lines, which exists not only in the society but also in the PLA units. Therefore, it should be possible for the participating units to expose their own ideological problems and raise their political consciousness.¹

In addition to carrying out the "three-support" tasks the PLA unit at school is also instructed to assume military control and give the students military and political training in accordance with Mao's Directive on the Great Strategic Plan for the GPCR, 7 March 1967—a directive issued to deal with the chaotic situation resulting from the resumption of classes.² While all these measures seem to have succeeded to some extent in resuming classes and bringing the rebellious students under control, they are powerless in solving ideological problems of students. This gives rise to the need for establishing the Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team at school.

As a part of Mao's Great Strategic Plan the first Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team was sent to Tsinghua University, Peking on 27 July 1968 for the express purpose of leading struggle-criticism-transformation on a permanent basis. The situation then at Tsinghua necessitated such a move, because the Red

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Guards there had already split into two hostile factions attacking each other, with the "three-support two-military" PLA unit either taking sides or standing by. The intervention of the Propaganda Team at this juncture would not only bring fresh hope for restoring peace but re-affirm the unified leadership of the working class at school.

No sooner had the team arrived at Tsinghua than the team members organised themselves into small detachments and went to the student hostels and family quarters to have "heart-to-heart" talks with the students and teachers. Moreover, they ran Mao's thought classes to bring the two antagonistic factions of Red Guards together. It was reported that within twenty days after the team entered Tsinghua the two factions had formed a "revolutionary great alliance" and become a red pair to help each other study Mao's thought. ¹

Shortly after the first Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team was formed Mao issued a directive in August 1968, emphasising that the working class is the leading class in a population of 700 million people and that it is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the GPCR and all fields of work. ² To further strengthen the leadership

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¹ Hsu Teh-hsiu. After the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team Entered Tsinghua University, China Reconstructs, Peking, Jan. 1969, pp. 4-6.

of the working class at school he made it clear in a subsequent directive that the propaganda team should stay permanently at school and that school in the rural area should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—"the most reliable ally of the working class."¹ By these two directives Mao officially re-affirms the leadership of the working class in school and in everything.

Organisationally, a Workers' TMTT Propaganda Team consists of veteran and young workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA officers and fighters and responsible persons from the factory, enterprise, people's commune and mass organisation concerned. Its channel of command has been defined as follows: (1) Mao is the supreme leader. (2) The propaganda team is led by the revolutionary committee at each level and the "revolutionary leading group" of the local PLA unit. (3) The school revolutionary committee should actively support the propaganda team and work under the latter's leadership. (4) A unified leadership should be formed if there is already a PLA propaganda team in the same school.²

As to school managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside, the following example gives us some idea


how this has been done. In a school run by the Shuiyuan Commune in Ying-k'ou County, Liaoning Province and managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants a 9-year course of primary and secondary education has been introduced. A child entering the school at the age of 6 or 7 will spend 5 years in the primary department and 4 in the secondary department. By the time he completes the whole course he should be ready for farm work. It was reported that such a period of schooling conforms to the actual condition in the countryside and is generally welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. In managing school of this kind the poor and lower-middle peasants are expected to grasp four major things as follows: (1) To grasp power and make school serve the children of poor and lower-middle peasants. (2) To be loyal to Mao and turn the school into a big class for the study of Mao's thought. (3) To revolutionise teachers and organise them to fight self, criticise revisionism and to take part in labour. (4) To bring up successors to proletarian revolution.


2. Li Chih-yin. Four Major Things to Be Grasped by the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants in Managing School, JMJP, 7 Nov. 1968, p. 3.
Chapter 12
Techniques

A number of PI techniques have been employed to carry out the GPCR and its unfinished tasks, but the most outstanding ones which exert far-reaching influence are the creation of public images, Mao's thought class and struggle-criticism-transformation.

Although the GPCR has been broadly defined as a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, it is still necessary to describe in practical terms the concrete objectives so as to guide the masses of workers and peasants in their struggle. The creation of the two public images of Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i seems to serve this purpose well. Whereas the former serves as a positive example and symbolises the proletarian revolutionary line, the latter is used as a negative example and stands for the condemned line of bourgeois ideology and revisionism. In creating the image of Mao Tse-tung the cult of Mao is brought into full play. Mao is lavishly adulated in the press and on

1. It is claimed that the victory of the GPCR has deprived the bourgeoisie of state power and capitalist ownership. But the long-term tasks of ideological struggle, re-education and transformation are carried into the 1970s. Vide PR, 12, 1970, p. 9.

2. The interim techniques used include the Red Guard Movement, revolutionary great alliances, revolutionary three-in-one combinations, revolutionary committee, PLA-Workers' TMTT Propaganda Teams, and "three-support, two-military."
all occasions as "the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman" or "the reddest red sun." In strong contrast, Liu Shao-ch'i has been accused of being "China's Khrushchev," "No. 1 Capitalist Roader in the Party," "No. 1 Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road," and since October 1968 "the renegade, traitor and scab."

But it is not enough to simply deify Mao and denounce Liu. The people have to be armed with Mao's thought so that they would be not only faithful to Mao and his line but able to solve all their problems, ideological or otherwise. The movement of organising TMTT classes up and down the country aims to meet these needs. It had its origin in the Decision of the Central Committee Concerning the GPCR which provides that:¹

In the course of the GPCR, it is necessary to hold high the great red banner of the TMTT and to place proletarian politics in command. The movement for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works must be launched among the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, cadres and intellectuals. The TMTT must be regarded as a compass to the GPCR.

In publicising this study movement the JMJP suggested in its editorial of 12 October 1967 that Mao's thought classes should be established throughout China so as to turn all factories, rural areas, government organs, schools and PLA units into

"the great red schools of Mao's thought."¹

The study of Mao's thought is not carried out at random, but has to follow certain approved methods, such as practice, mass line, class struggle, "erect the pole to see the shadow," and "help each other to make a red pair."

By practice is meant that a person sets out to study Mao's works from his practical needs and applies them to his work. His study is therefore closely united with practice and carried out in practice.²

By mass line is meant that in studying Mao's works a person should always be the little pupil of the masses and learn from them.³

By class struggle is meant that a person should learn from the masses of workers and peasants about their experiences in class struggle. For example, the masses are asked to compare their old days with their new life and talk about


their past bitterness and present sweetness. Stories of this kind are used to cultivate a person's class feelings.°

The method of "erecting the pole to see the shadow" had its origin in the Communiqué of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, which points out: 2

The method of studying Comrade Mao's works with problems in mind..., erecting the pole to see the shadow and stressing practice has proved effective and universally suitable, and should be further popularised throughout the Party and the country.

This also means to "use the arrow of Mao's thought to shoot at the target of revolutionary struggle practice." If a person learns Mao's thought well (i.e. "erect the pole"), he is able to see his problems (i.e. "see the shadow") and solve them accordingly. But the Maoists also hold that in order to learn Mao's thought well a person should "fight self" at the same time, otherwise he cannot possibly "see the shadow of the pole" in his study of Mao's thought. 3

The method of "helping each other to make a red pair" is used to unite two opposing groups with Mao's thought so that they can become a red pair and help each other in political

3. Study Mao's Thought by Combining Study with Practice and Erecting the Pole to See the Shadow, JMJP, editorial, 4 Dec. 1967, p. 2.
study. It has been described as a good form by which Mao's thought is used to handle the contradictions among the people, overcome various kinds of non-proletarian ideas, and develop and consolidate revolutionary great alliance.

The following example illustrates how this method works. In the First Cotton Textile Factory, Canton two opposing groups were brought together through such activities as Mao's thought class and meeting of "remembering past bitterness and thinking of present sweetness." Consequently many "red pairs" were reportedly formed. They "surrendered hearts" to each other, took initiative to make self-criticism and help each other untie their ideological knots.

"Struggle-criticism-transformation" is not only the central task of the GPCR but forms the main contents of PI education. It had its origin in the Decision of the Central Committee Concerning the GPCR, which reads:

At present our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticise and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic authorities and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of


the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

When applied to PE education this would mean to wage struggle against one's selfishness for the purpose of self-education, to criticise and repudiate the "revisionist educational line" of Liu Shao-ch'i and to transform the bourgeois educational system into a proletarian one on the basis of Mao's educational ideals. Broadly speaking, struggle-criticism-transformation in every factory, school, commune and unit should go through the following stages: Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the party organisation; simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops. It goes without saying that in the course of carrying out these tasks it is necessary to put the living study and application of Mao's thought above all work and place Mao's thought in command of everything. It is in this wider context that struggle-criticism-transformation becomes the most important technique in the GPCR.

2. Ibid., 43.
Chapter 13
Re-education of Intellectuals

The re-education of intellectuals has always been a major concern of the CPC, because intellectuals, when properly re-educated in Marxism-Leninism-MTTT, can be an invaluable asset to the Chinese communists. They hold that a question of major importance for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie in the period of socialism is uniting with, educating and remoulding the masses of intellectuals, bringing up new proletarian intellectuals and building a mighty army of proletarian intellectuals. Such is the strategic task in consolidating the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao himself also takes the view that the remoulding of intellectuals remains a question of major significance throughout the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. To him, re-education is applied not only to the large number of college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago (i.e. old intellectuals) but also to those who have just begun to work (i.e. new intellectuals).


3. Ibid., 4.
In the GPCR re-education assumes new significance. For intellectuals of the former regime this means that what they received in the past was bourgeois education and the education they are receiving now is proletarian. As to new intellectuals this means that

in the past, under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of China's Khrushchev they received education from bourgeois intellectuals whereas now, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they are being re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Re-education takes the following three forms: learning from the workers and soldiers, downward transfer for manual labour, and re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants. All of them had their recent origins in Mao's three directives issued between September and December 1968. Mao holds that although the majority of students trained in the old-type school and college can integrate themselves with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, they should learn from the latter the proletarian ideology by taking the mass line, i.e. to serve and work together with the masses. This also applies to cadres whose downward transfer to the countryside for manual work would give them an excellent opportunity to study once again. In a word, intellectuals should go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

1. Ibid., 5.
Apart from the official reasons given above the movement of re-education is a direct outcome of Mao's two other directives on the basic experience of revolutionary committee and struggle-criticism-transformation. In the former Mao urges the people to do away with redundant or overlapping administrative structures and have "better troops and simpler administration."¹ In the latter he wants to purify the class ranks, rectify the party organisation, simplify organisational structure and send office workers to grassroots levels in the course of carrying out struggle-criticism-transformation.² Although these two directives are primarily designed to reform the Party and administration as a part of the GPCR programme of transformation, it is precisely what they attempt to do that a new problem crops up—-that of redundant personnel as a result of "better troops and simpler administration," purification of the class ranks and party rectification. This is further aggravated by the need of disposing of the Red Guards and those cadres who are purged or have committed mistakes during the GPCR. It therefore appears that the movement of sending intellectuals to the countryside for re-education offers a suitable outlet for redundant personnel and undesirable elements. In any case, there is always a need for a large number of labour force in the vast countryside for rural construction. And there is no better place than the countryside for "reform through labour."

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² Quotation from Chairman Mao, JMJP, 28 Aug. 1968, p. 1.
In carrying out the re-education policy attention must be paid to the following methods approved by Mao. First, in order to remould the world outlook of intellectuals they should be encouraged to go among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, make them their teachers, and learn their stand, ideology, feelings, revolutionary spirit and practical experience. Only by doing so can the intellectuals\(^1\)

gradually overcome their inherent individualistic and subjective tendencies and their impractical thinking and irresolute actions and really get to breathe the same air as the workers and peasants, share their destiny and like what they like and hate what they hate.

Second, in order to come into direct contact with the worker and peasant masses the government workers, writers, artists, teachers and scientific research workers should seize every opportunity to go to factories or villages just to look around or to stay from a few months to two or three years or even longer. This may be called "looking at the flowers while on horseback," "dismounting to look at the flowers," or "settling down," as the case may be.\(^2\) Third, since ideological remoulding involves long-term, patient and painstaking work, persuasion, not compulsion, should be used in re-education.\(^3\) Fourth, it is essential to have faith in the vast majority of the intellectuals.

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As for those who have made mistakes, stress must similarly be put on educating and re-educating them, doing patient and careful ideological and political work and "helping more people by educating them, narrowing the target of attack, and giving them a way out." For those who have raised their political consciousness, they should be promptly "liberated" and assigned to suitable work. Finally, as for "the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities," they should be either criticised and put under surveillance, or criticised and given work to do, or criticised and provided with a proper livelihood.¹

The "success" of re-education may be seen from the great publicity given in the Chinese communist press since 1970. The following story about the re-education of the teachers and students of Tsinghua University is a case in point. Acting on Mao's directives on re-education and led by the Workers-PLA Propaganda Teams the revolutionary teachers and students of Tsinghua were reported to have for the past one year taken the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and made great achievements on both technical and ideological fronts. At the Peking Switches Factory they and the workers waged a struggle between the two classes and the two lines in revising the old Standard Wire Gauge and finally

¹. Ibid., 14.
worked out a new one in conformity with the practical needs of the factory. Wire selected from the new gauge is smaller in size, thus enabling the factory to save eight tons of copper and aluminium worth 70,000 Yuan a year. In an experimental farm run by Tsinghua University in Nanchang County, Kiangsi, the revolutionary teachers and students faced a severe test of their public spirit when the nearby Po-yang Lake was flooded by the Yangtze River in Summer 1969. Bracing themselves up with Mao's thought they braved the storm and formed a human wall to fight the flood day and night without a break. To them, protecting the people's interests is tantamount to defending Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They therefore yelled out the combat call, "Die with the lake banks!" It was said that incident like this helps them temper themselves in the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardships nor death."^1

1. Take the Road of Integrating with the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers--Story about the Revolutionary Teachers and Students of Tsinghua University Receiving Re-education, KMJP, 15 March 1970, p. 2.
PART V

POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION
IN PERSPECTIVE
Chapter 14

Adaptation to the Chinese Communist Situation

For over two thousand years China had followed the Confucian educational thought. Although the basic spirit of Confucianism remained unchanged, the educational system did change from one dynasty to another. Even during the period of the Nationalist Government on the mainland Confucianism was integrated with the education of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. To the traditional Chinese mind, Confucianism served well as a political and ideological guide. Politically the Confucian ideals of "grand union" and "small tranquillity" were looked up to as the Utopia China should seek after.¹ Ideologically the Confucian ethics featuring benevolence were accepted as the moral code of China and applied to everyday situation. It was on this basis that Confucianism took firm root in old China as the main educational thought.²

In spite of its strong influence on the Chinese people Confucianism began to give way to communism as soon as the Chinese communists came to power. Here we may ask: What went

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wrong with Confucianism? What makes communist education superior to Confucian education? These two questions cannot be answered without first looking into Confucian education and its PI concept.

In Chinese, the term, "education," has been rendered into two characters, chiao-yü. It first appeared as a term in the Book of Mencius. The individual meanings of these two characters also have been explained in various ways in the Chinese classics. According to the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu, a dictionary of words compiled by Hsu Shen of East Han dynasty, "chiao" means letting pupils learn what their master has taught, and "yü" educating the young to do good. In the Book of the Doctrine of the Mean Ch'eng Tzu explained "chiao" as "the regulation of the path of duty." Again, Hsun Tzu, a disciple of Confucius, said of "chiao" thus:

To lead the people according to the right is to give them teaching; to follow the right is obedience.

Apart from the etymological meanings of Confucian education its aim was also set out clearly in the Book of Mencius:

Let careful attention be paid to education in school—the inculcation in it especially of the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads.

In addition, Confucian education aimed to "illustrate the human relations." When they were thus illustrated by the superiors, kindly feeling would prevail among the people.\(^1\) Clearly, Confucian education supported feudalism. But it had its practical side too. To Confucius, education was also a political tool by which the rulers learned to govern the people and the people also learned how to be governed. He thus said:\(^2\)

> With the right men the growth of government is rapid.... Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence.

> If the people be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good.

Confucian education characterised by feudal loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and the feudal social system seemed to work well only when China remained an imperial and isolated power. It was not until the mid-19th century that Confucianism was challenged for the first time in the face of a series of diplomatic and military setbacks of the late Ch'ing Government.

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1. Ibid., II, 242-243.
2. Ibid., I, 146 & 405.
There were for example the Opium War in 1840, Sino-British-French War over the British flag and French missionary incidents in 1856-60, Sino-French War over Annam in 1894, Sino-Japanese War over Korea in 1894-95, and the Boxers Rebellion in 1900. Even on the home front peace was not maintained. There were at first the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in 1850-64, then the late Ch'ing reform movement in 1898, and finally the 1911 revolution. All these foreign and civil wars pointed to one thing insofar as Confucianism was concerned. The latter was found unable to meet the new needs of a fast-changing China—the needs for westernisation and democracy. Education had to be westernised in order to catch up with the West in both science and technology. It also should teach the people the principle of democracy on which the new China was founded. None were feasible under a Confucian educational system. It was obvious that Confucianism should be modified so as to adapt itself to the new situation. The first attempt was therefore made under Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles, i.e. SMCI.

What Confucianism lacked seemed to have been made up, at least in theory, by the introduction to China of SMCI. The latter was so designed that the principle of nationalism aimed to liberate China from foreign imperialist rule, both politically and economically while the principles of democracy and social well-being aimed to do away with internal political inequality and solve the problem of livelihood respectively.
Integrated with the moral teaching of Confucianism SMCI education at first appeared to be a much improved form of Confucian education. It nevertheless brought in fresh problems. In an endeavour to implement SMCI education the Nationalist Government failed to work out an original educational policy. For one thing, the various kinds of educational system borrowed from Japan, France, Germany and the U.S.A. at one time or another were not well adapted to the Chinese situation. For instance, too much emphasis was placed on full-time education at a time when neither education was made free nor the majority of people could afford to pay for it. Moreover, the subjects taught at school were not often related to real life. It was equally clear that SMCI education had in practice failed to meet the national needs and solve the educational problems of the masses of workers and peasants. It was for this reason that even before they came to power, the Chinese communists already launched attack on Confucianism and proposed to modify SMCI education in the name of "education of new democracy."

As early as 1919 Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who later became the founder and first Secretary General of the CPC, wrote in his periodical, Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth), an article attacking Confucianism and feudalism: 1

In order to advocate Mr. Democracy we are obliged to oppose Confucianism.... In order to advocate Mr. Science we must oppose traditional arts and traditional religion.

Democracy and science were then believed to be the two wonder drugs which could turn a weak China into a strong country, and were given full publicity in the May 4th Movement of 1919. The Chinese communists looked up to this Movement as a prelude to the Chinese Communist Movement, because they saw in the former their first attempt to overthrow imperialism and feudalism.¹

The cultural reform movement which grew out of the May 4th Movement was described as "one of the manifestations of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism," and took the form of new democratic culture and education, which were national, scientific and popular.²

In comparison, Chinese communist education aims to make up the drawbacks of Confucian and SMCI education on the one hand, and offers China a practical solution to her political, social and economic problems on the other. Politically, the people's democratic dictatorship would put political power in the hands of the proletariat. Socially, women would be treated equal under the law, and the traditional social distinction among the intellectuals, peasants, workers, tradesmen

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¹ The 50th Anniversary of the May 4th Movement, JMJP, 4 May 1969, p. 3.
and soldiers gradually eliminated. Economically, communisation would change China's appearance of being "poor and blank." All these tasks, however, cannot be accomplished without first educating the people in communism. And communist education in turn is adapted to the Chinese situation so as to meet the real needs of the country and the masses of workers and peasants.

It is in this respect that Chinese communist education differs from Russian or other communist education not as much in theory as in approach and practice. The extensive use of PI education in the People's Republic must be viewed in this perspective.
Chapter 15

Politico-Cultural Education

Politico-cultural education differs from its PI counterpart in that while the latter works through special media such as political study, TMTT class, class struggle, criticism and self-criticism, the former attempts to bring politics to the fore in all cultural and academic activities, thus considerably expanding the scope of PI education. They are complementary to each other in their common task of perpetuating the Chinese communist cause.

From the moment Mao put forward in 1942 the idea that literature and art must serve proletarian politics and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, cultural education has since been officially given a political role to play. For one thing, it is geared to all political campaigns and party policies and sees to it that they will be given full publicity. For another, it is instrumental in encouraging manual labour and the ideological remoulding of intellectuals. It also goes without saying that in all cultural lessons and classes politics must be brought to the fore. All these tasks, though overlapping some areas of PI education, characterise the nature of politico-cultural education in all spheres of Chinese communist society.

Politico-cultural education has since 1963 been playing an increasingly important role in a desperate attempt to counter the "revisionist line" of Liu Shao-ch'i in the political, economic and educational fields. We may recall here that it was the time when the Socialist Education Movement had just begun on the basis of the analysis made by the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the "struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads." Education of this type was then geared to this movement and generally took the form of "sending cultural work teams to the countryside" and "criticising academic circles." We have already discussed the effect of those cultural teams on rural society in Chapter 9. In the cities there was an upsurge of criticism of eminent professors of history and philosophy such as Liu Chieh, Wu Han, Chou Ku-ch'eng and Feng Yu-lan for their bourgeois views as expressed in their writings, How to Study History so as to Serve Contemporary Politics, Class Character and Moral Inheritance, and Methods of Studying the History of Philosophy. In the following year (1964) emphasis was laid on class education, and the youth and cadres were encouraged to go up the mountains and down the countryside as cultural workers. They were not only expected to publicise the Socialist Education Movement by teaching revolutionary songs,

telling revolutionary stories and setting up mobile libraries to serve the peasantry; but to remould themselves by raising high their class consciousness through manual labour. The influence on urban society was exerted through mass criticism of bourgeois ideology in such controversial cases as Yang Hsien-chen's philosophy of "combining two into one,"¹ Feng Ting's Communist Philosophy of Life, and criticism of Li Hsiu-ch'eng (a famous general of the T'ai-p'ing era, 1850-64).² By 1965 politico-cultural education had already taken root in both urban and rural societies, and according to the KMJP editorial of 1 October 1965, March on Victory and Strive for Greater Victory in the Cultural Revolution, had also become "a large-scale socialist cultural revolution of great significance." Such a revolution was reported to have as its basic objective the tasks of "letting socialist culture occupy promptly all stages and fronts and gradually transforming the old culture into a new one of the labouring people." In doing so the cultural workers were urged to "throw themselves into the fierce struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate themselves with the masses."³ By the time the GPCR

1. First put forward at the Higher Party School in 1961-64, Yang's view is meant refuting Mao's theory of "dividing one into two" (Vide: Mao, Four Essays on Philosophy, 125-127) on the ground of "the unity of opposites." (HC, 16, 1964, p. 8.)


was launched, politico-cultural education was further strengthened under the GPCR slogan of "smashing up the four-old and establishing the four-new." Consequently, the Maoists not merely made fierce attacks on bourgeois ideology and old culture (Read: culture prior to the GPCR) but purged ruthlessly many eminent figures in all walks of life. The nature of politico-cultural education has since undergone a drastic change, from the mild form of Socialist Education Movement to the frantic attempt to establish the supreme thought of Mao Tse-tung in all societies.

Since culture is now tackled and interpreted in the political context, there is always a danger that a cultural worker may be criticised for doing too little or too much, or not doing things in the approved manner, or simply making PI mistakes. All these misgivings have by mid-1969 given rise to some alarming views generally shared by cultural workers. They hold that "fine arts are dangerous," "it is easy to make mistakes in teaching social sciences," "it is hard to make a living out of literature and art," and "teachers are in trouble." Some even go to extremes and declare, "It is useless to study." All these views may be summed up, in the own words of Chinese communists, as the

1. The "four-old" refers to old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits whereas the "four-new" new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits. (Decision of the Central Committee on the GPCR, 8 August 1966).

belief that cultural work is dangerous.¹

In refuting this belief which would no doubt do more harm than good to the communist cause, the Maoists blame the bourgeois diehards² for putting forward such a view in order to hoodwink people, disintegrate their fighting will, fight with the proletariat for the intellectuals and obstruct the continued offensives mounted by the proletariat in this field.

They nevertheless admit that some people share this idea because they are driven by different ideological motives. In this case these people need help to make their thinking clear. According to the Maoists there are three categories of "comrades" who are prone to take this view. First, some people who have committed relatively more mistakes would say, "To engage in cultural work is to invite trouble. Once you make a mistake, you will be criticised. If you continue to engage in it, you will probably have your name ruined altogether." To the Maoists, the so-called danger is merely a complaint that is voiced after the bourgeois idea of becoming a famous scholar has been crushed. They therefore recommend


2. Ibid.
these comrades to widen their vision and look at the vigorous revolutionary scene on the cultural and educational fronts today. Second, some comrades have not made any big mistakes, but seeing that the set of bourgeois and revisionist ideas has spread poison extensively on these fronts, they are afraid that they too will be contaminated and will make the same mistakes as those before them and be similarly subjected to criticism. They therefore would say, "To engage in cultural work is too risky. It is better to leave this controversial place early." In the Maoist view, these people just want to evade struggle and seek a typhoon shelter--something they should not do at a time when the fierce struggles between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads are being waged. Third, there are also some comrades who, although they too realise the importance of the cultural and educational fronts and want to continue their struggle on these two fronts, are nevertheless irresolute and timid. Consequently, once they meet with difficulties or setbacks, they too will shout "danger" and say, "These are ideological things. It is difficult to tell fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds. If we make a mess of things, we ourselves will make mistakes without knowing what they are." Here, the Maoists advise them to be guided by Mao's thought and the broad revolutionary masses. They also take the view that these people can acquire the ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds only when they take part
in the practice of struggle-criticism-transformation and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In general, the Maoists criticise them for giving too much thought to personal safety but less to the success of the revolution. Specifically, they point out the great significance Mao has attached to revolutionary cultural work as follows: 

Revolutionary culture to the masses of the people is a revolutionary, powerful weapon. Revolutionary culture prior to the revolution is ideological preparation for the revolution; in the course of the revolution, it is a necessary and important front of the revolutionary general front.

No matter how the Maoists try to explain away their weakness, the belief that "cultural work is dangerous, and it is useless to study," is indicative of the grave problems that exist in politico-cultural education today.

CONCLUSION

In the past two decades or so both types of PI and politico-cultural education have played their important roles in the development of Chinese communist education. When they were first introduced to the People's Republic, they were clearly meant to be two principal media for educating the people in an entirely new ideology--socialism and communism. No one would then dispute the necessity of taking such a step if China had made up

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1. Ibid., 13-16.
as she did her mind to have a communist regime. The change of events in the intervening years however necessitates both education and culture to serve first as a stimulant for promoting all political, economic, educational and social campaigns and reforms, then as an instrument for creating the cult of the individual. At present, both are made to serve proletarian politics in general and Mao's thought in particular. They even go to ridiculous extremes so as to turn the people into ideal communists overnight of the highest virtues: 1 completely selfless, renouncing all material comforts, incredibly heroic, boundlessly dedicated to the revolutionary cause and extremely faithful to Mao in word and deed. Besides, Mao's thought is placed in command of everything, from personal matters such as marriages to politics, economy, education and culture. 2 It is not surprising that all achievements, whether relevant or not, have been attributed to the victory of Mao's thought, including the launching in 1970 of the first satellite. Such an abuse of education and culture has already become a laughing stock in the eyes of Western observers. It is however not known whether the people actually believe in the omnipotence of Mao's thought.

1. Stories about ideal communists are too numerous to be cited here from the Chinese communist press. The most well-known ones are Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, together with what we believe to be their fabricated diaries.

or just play along until Mao runs out his time. In the former case we may say that both Chinese communist education and culture succeed in making the people look ridiculous. But in the latter case they would have adverse effect in the end when going to extremes.

There are two courses for PI and politico-cultural education to take in future. First, if the present trend of placing Mao's thought in command of everything remains unchanged, communist China would face a bleak future, not merely on the whole educational and cultural fronts but in her economy,¹ which is in Mao's own words the base of all superstructures. Second, if the present trend discontinues for one reason or another,² both types of PI and politico-cultural education would assume their proper roles in the sphere of communist moral education without being a barrier as they do now to the real progress of education and culture.

1. How the GPCR has affected economy is a case in point. Note the great efforts the Maoists have made to re-build their industry and agriculture since 1969.

2. For example, the situation may change after Mao's decease or when Lin Piao forms a coalition government with the Liuist and anti-Mao cliques. There is also a remote possibility for the return to power of the Soviet-backed Communist International Faction headed by Ch'en Shao-yü, formerly head of the CPC and now in exile in Russia.
GLOSSARY

Better troops, simpler administration. It refers to the retrenchment policy on personnel and administration during the GPCR and had its origin in an old directive of the Central Committee issued during the War of Resistance. (Mao, III, p. 99.)

Black line (Hei-hsien). The Maoist reference to the anti-Party, anti-socialist ideology as reflected in literature and art.

Class analysis (Chieh-chi fen-hsi). It means that the proletarians should always remember their own class stand and deal with persons or things from the viewpoint of the proletariat.

Class character (Chieh-chi hsing). The Marxist-Leninists hold that in a class society an ideology belongs to a given class and is a reflection of the practices, interests and demands of the class.

Class education (Chieh-chi chiao-yu). It is a part of PI education aiming to help the masses learn about the significance, history and stories of class struggle so that they can distinguish friends from foes and raise their political consciousness.

Collective class body (Pan chi-t'i). A collective body organised on the basis of the whole class at a school and characterised by common aims, joint activities, unified organisation, strict discipline and a healthy climate of opinion.

Departmentalism (Pen-wei chu-i). Care for the interests of one's own unit regardless of those of other units.

Economism (Ching-chi chu-i). It refers to the lenient economic measures taken by Liu Shao-ch'i following the failure in 1958 of the Three Red Banners policy.

Five-anti (Wu-fan). A campaign launched in 1952 against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of state assets and leakage of state economic secrets.

Four-clean (Ssu-ch'ing). See under "Socialist Education Movement."

General line (Tsung lu-hsien). In 1953 the Party put forward the General Line of the Transitional Period in connection with the 1st Five-Year Economic Plan so as to carry out the
fundamental tasks of gradually bringing about socialist industrialisation and transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce. This line was further extended into the General Line of Building Socialism in 1958, i.e. "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism," so as to carry out technical innovation and cultural revolution during the period of the 2nd Five-Year Economic Plan.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Wu-ch'an chieh-chi wen-hua ta ke-ming). "It is in essence a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, and an extension of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." (Mao's Directive of May 1968, FR, 19, 1968, p. 2.)

Hu Feng case. It refers primarily to the purge of Hu Feng in 1954-55 because of his "revisionist literary viewpoint" and stand taken in defence of Yu P'ing-po's Studies of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," and subsequently developed into mass criticism of bourgeois idealism of the Hu Shih School.

Kao-Jao anti-party alliance. It refers to the purge of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih in 1954-55 because of their attempt to seize power from the Central Committee and the State Council.

Leading cadre (Ling-tao kan-pu). It denotes top ranking executive and supervisory personnel at each level of the Party and state administrative structure.

Left. A party holding socialistic or radical political views. Hence, Left opportunism or Leftist line is meant advocating impetuosity in carrying out the party line regardless of both subjective and objective factors, e.g. the Li Li-san line. (Mao, II, 205-207.)

Liberation (Chieh-fang). This refers to the Chinese communist conquest of the mainland in 1949. Hence, the Liberation War was the Third Revolutionary Civil War against the Nationalist Government in 1945-49.

Life of Wu Hsun (Wu Hsun chuan). A historical film criticised in 1951 for its bourgeois and feudal contents on the basis of Mao's article, Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun," published as a JMJP editorial on 20 May 1951.
Mao's thought (Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiaang). It refers to Mao's application of Marxism-Leninism to solving the practical problems of Chinese revolution.

Mass viewpoint (Ch'ünn-chung kuan-tien). The viewpoint of serving the people wholeheartedly, believing in the creativity of the masses and self-emancipation of the masses, assuming responsibilities to the masses and learning from them.

Masses (Ch'ün-chung). Except the enemies, all who take sides with the Chinese communists and fight for the communist cause are called the masses. In an organisation, the led are the masses. In the Party, all non-party members are the masses. Insofar as an individual is concerned, all other people except himself are the masses.

New five-anti (Hsin wu-fan). See under "Socialist Education Movement."

P'eng Te-huai case. This refers to the purge of Defence Minister P'eng Te-huai in 1959 because of his candid criticism of the Three Red Banners policy at the 8th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee.

Poor and blank (I-ch'iung erh-pai). Mao's reference to China's backwardness in both economy and education. In his view, "poverty and blankness" are not a bad thing, because poverty gives rise to the desire for change and on a blank sheet one can draw the most beautiful picture. (HC, 1, 1958, p. 3.)

Red and expert (Hung yü chuan). "Redness" means politically firm and ideologically correct, while "expertise" well trained in a profession.

Revisionism (Hsiu-cheng chu-i). According to Mao, revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology, and the revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, and between the proletarian and bourgeois dictatorships. (PR, 29, 1968, p. 2.)

Revolutionary committee (Ke-ming wei-yuan hui). There are three elements in the basic experience of the revolutionary committee. It embraces representatives of the revolutionary cadres, the armed forces and the revolutionary masses, and exercises unified leadership. (PR, 26, 1968, p. 2.)

Right. A party holding conservative or reactionary political views. Hence, "Right opportunism" is meant advocating conservatism or taking the retreatist line in carrying out party policies, e.g. the Chang Kuo-t'ao's organisational
line; "anti-Rightists" carrying out a struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and "anti-Right opportunism" waging a struggle on the question of "insisting on the socialist general line or revising or even abandoning it," as in the P'eng Te-huai case.

Socialist Education Movement (She-hui chu-i chiao-yü yun-tung). It was primarily a rural movement launched by the Party in 1962-66 on the basis of Mao's directive issued at the Pei-taiho Conference in August 1962 in relation to class, situation and contradiction. In the countryside the movement took the form of "four-clean," i.e. cleaning up account books, granaries, properties and work-points. In the cities it took the form of "five-anti," i.e. opposing bureaucracy, departmentalism, specialisation, embezzlement-waste-theft, and speculation-profiteering. Since January 1965, all these activities under the Socialist Education Movement had been simplified as (new) "four-clean," i.e. cleaning politics, economics, organisation and ideology.

Subjectivist attitude. Mao refers to this attitude as "working by sheer subjective enthusiasm and studying Marxist-Leninist theory in the abstract and without any aim." (Mao, III, 21-22.)

Three-anti (San-fan). A campaign carried out in 1951-52 against corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

Three red banners (San-mien hung-ch'i). It refers to the 1958 party policy of the General Line for Building Socialism, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes. "Red" is the colour of the national flag of the PRC.

Ting-Ch'en anti-party group. This refers to the purge in 1955-57 of Ting Ling and Ch'en Ch'i-hsia, editor and deputy editor of the Wen-i pao (Literary Gazette) respectively. In its 16th Session held in August 1955 the Union of Chinese Writers criticised them for rejecting the Party's leadership and supervision, expanding their anti-party group, breaking up the unity, creating the cult of the individual and disseminating the idea of bourgeois individualism. Again, in its 27th Session held on 6 June-17 September 1957 the Union renewed their attack. Chou Yang, Deputy Director of Central Propaganda Department, then pointed out in his speech that the struggle in the literary and art circles this time was that between the two lines, i.e. whether literature should serve socialism or individualism, and whether or not should
it be led by the Party. These two purges were in fact linked to the Hu Feng Case of 1954-55 and the anti-rightist struggle of 1957. (Wen-i pao, Peking, No. 25, 1957, pp. 3-4.)

Work team (Kung-tso tsu). It refers to the large number of work teams Liu Shao-ch'i sent to various schools and government organs in Peking at the beginning of the GPCR for the purpose of prohibiting demonstrations and parades and restricting the activities of the masses to their own units. The work teams carried out their duties for 50 days, between 1 June and 18 July 1966 and were disbanded upon Mao's return to Peking from Shanghai.
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