

Mao's Consolidation and Maintenance of Power

General Information

Timeframe studied: 30 January 1930 (Hitler is appointed Chancellor) – 8 May 1945 (Capitulation of Germany)

Important Dates:

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Use of legal methods

Topic Sentence

CCP's creation of the legal system gave their rule legitimacy while still allowing a sense of democracy so as not to draw the ire of democratic states - i.e. US

Organic Law (1949-1954)

- Made it clear China was a "democratic dictatorship" led by CCP on the basis of a four-class alliance
 - Government imbued with a "democratic" character by coexistence of four classes
 - Unyielding attitude to counterrevolutionaries justified by Dictatorship
- Supreme power of state resided in Central People's Government Council
 - Council was comprised of party members and Mao became chairman of council
 - CCP dominated the government of the provinces and local administration in towns and villages
- For administrative purposes, country was divided into six regions, and each was governed by four major officials. Last two posts were filled by PLA officers, leaving China under military control
- Impact
 - Organic Law justified the authoritarian decisions of the Chinese government
 - Made the CCP a major portion of the government

National People's Congress and the 1954 Constitution

- Temporary arrangements for governing China replaced by formal constitution
 - Under the constitution, the highest organ of state was the National People's Congress
- 1954 - a formal constitution established China as a single-party state
 - The chairman of National People's Congress, Mao became head of government
- Impact
 - Created a system where CCP had major control
 - Counting of votes was handled by CCP

Legal System and Show Trials

- The state constitution of 1954 provided a framework for the development of a legal system in China, modelled on that of the Soviet Union
- A committee of the National People's Congress was given the power to appoint and dismiss judges and enact legal codes
- By the 1960s, the court system existed for public 'show trials' to judge counterrevolutionaries, class enemies and common criminals
- Impact
 - Allowed for the CCP to control the court system by controlling the NPC
 - Allowed for legal justification of the judgement

Evaluation

Much persecution of opposition was largely grassroots, legal methods may be limited in the extent to which they were able to control the population. Furthermore, they were useful in helping with foreign perception, yet were looked on unfavorably by the West as they were seen as dictatorial and communist. Looked upon more favourably by soviets, but fell apart at Sino soviet split.

Use of force

Topic Sentence

The use of force was useful for Mao in both the early years of the CCP as well as the Cultural Revolution in maintaining the prominence of the party

Secret Police

- Kang Sheng's secret police
 - Yunnan rectification - used Kang Sheng's secret police to imprison and execute counter-revolutionaries
 - Used again in GPCR
- Red Guards used to ruthlessly suppress opponents and destroy Chinese culture

Purges

- Used purges to remove multiple forms of opposition
- Strengthen control of party
 - Three Anti and Five Anti was useful in eliminating business owners, consolidating CCP control over businesses
- Remove opposition
 - Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957)
 - Half a million people were branded as 'rightists' and subject to persecution, imprisonment, labour camps, and public shooting
 - Mostly intellectuals and prominent thinkers
- Internal opposition
 - Purged Peng Dehuai in 1959 for criticising GLF at Lushan Conference
 - Purged Liu and Deng during GPCR for being pragmatists and repealing many Communist policies

Evaluation of purges

- Demonstrated that no party member was immune, even prominent leaders
 - Testament to Mao's absolute control over China
- Removal of opposition
 - Effectively removed opposition

Concentration Camps

- Theoretically setup to re-educate those who were misguidedly dissatisfied with the communist system
- Practically, used harsh means to dehumanise prisoners, who were forced to do humiliating and backbreaking work while being systematically starved
 - Built in the most inhospitable parts of China
 - Prisoners had to make a full confession of crimes to obtain food
 - Prisoners who claimed innocence were interrogated, deprived of sleep, held in solitary confinement, beaten and starved
 - Families were threatened
 - Prisoners resorted to cannibalism to survive

Evaluation of concentration camps

- Average number of prisoners held annually was 10 million

- Over 25 million prisoners died during the period
- Over 10,000 labour camps across China by Mao's death
- Lynch suggests that these camps had broader significance
 - Contributed to the economy by using the prisoners for dangerous or undesirable labour
 - Families were regarded as guilty by association and shunned
 - Were ultimately used to create a climate of fear and oppression
- Thus, they played a big role in creating a hellish environment for potential dissidents, quieting dissidence in Mao's China

Evaluation

- However, this was only possible as Mao managed to rally the masses
- Hsu suggests that Mao's use of force was sustained by the participation of the general population
 - Corroborated by Mao's reliance on mass-line campaigns
 - Peasant class participated largely in subjugating the bourgeois in the Agrarian Land Reform
 - Later on, the Red Guards would play a large role in the purges of the GPCR
- Actually harmed the development of the nation
 - Culture of repression caused engineers and party leaders to stay silent - eventually led to the loss of prominence Mao during GLF
 - Note: Mao never really faced open resistance from people, but simply was checked by the facts (GLF, failure of collectivisation, etc.)

Charismatic Leadership

Topic Sentence

Personality Cult

- Mao's personality cult gained momentum in the early 1960s
 - Learn from the PLA campaign
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Link

Thus, Hitler's charismatic leadership, while it did not afford him control over the day-to-day of the state, still resulted in his control over key facets through influence of the individuals who controlled these. The admiration of him as a God-like figure unified the people, elites and commoners alike.

Dissemination of Propaganda

Topic Sentence

Propaganda, though it had its limits, was of instrumental importance to the maintenance of Hitler's power. It maintained its ideology and totalitarian visions, and though not all pervasive and completely successful, was largely successful in creating an acquiescent public.

- Lei Feng's Diary:
 - o Maoist propaganda utilized the publication of "The Diary of Lei Feng" in 1963, presented as the daily journal of a devoted PLA lorry driver.
 - o Lei Feng's Diary was fabricated by the government's propaganda department.
- Mao's Yangzi Swim:
 - o In July 1966, Mao was depicted swimming across the Yangzi River, with widespread media coverage.
- The Great Rallies of 1966:
 - o Eight mass rallies in Tiananmen Square between August and November 1966.
 - o Lin Biao and Jiang Qing used the rallies to incite displays of loyalty towards Mao.
- Cultural Revolution & Jiang Qing:
 - o Jiang Qing was positioned as the key figure for defining new Chinese Culture.
 - o Creation of the "Eight Model Plays" with themes of proletariat triumph.
- Media Control:
 - o The CCP's Central Propaganda department controlled all official publications since the PRC's creation in 1949.
 - o The Chinese media served as the government's mouthpiece.
- Agit-prop Performances:
 - o Agit-prop troupes toured villages showcasing politically-inclined entertainment.
 - o Usage of vibrant trucks with Maoist themes, which could also serve as makeshift stages or screens.
- Little Red Book:
 - o Lin Biao and Chen Boda compiled "Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong" in the early 1960s.
 - o The book was distributed massively, becoming a staple in various educational settings.
 - o Lin Biao made the Little Red Book, the secular bible of China, the source of all truth. A copy was distributed to every soldier and became the basic text used in the study sessions which Lin made a compulsory and daily part of military training. In this way the PLA, the institution with the highest prestige and proudest revolutionary tradition in Communist China, was politicised as a force totally committed to the support of Mao Zedong.

Elaboration (Analysis)

- Fabrication for Propaganda:

- The intentional creation of "The Diary of Lei Feng" underscores the lengths taken to fabricate an ideal communist citizen.
- Symbolic Gestures:
 - Mao's swim acted as a symbolic demonstration of his vigor and leadership.
- Mass Mobilization:
 - Rallies were meticulously organized to foster adulation and loyalty towards Mao and the party.
- Media's Role:
 - By centralizing media control, the CCP ensured a homogenized narrative across the nation.
- Rural Outreach:
 - Agit-prop performances indicate efforts to penetrate even remote areas with propaganda.
- Politicization of Knowledge:
 - The omnipresence of the "Little Red Book" transformed it into a singular source of truth, embedding Maoist thought in every facet of Chinese life.

Evaluation

- Propaganda's limitations in covering official narrative
 - Great Leap Forward
 - Despite the intensive propaganda efforts showcasing the Great Leap Forward as a success, the massive famine that it precipitated could not be hidden
 - Stark contrast between the reality of starvation and the propaganda of abundant harvests eroded trust in Mao's leadership for many
 - Cultural revolution
 - Despite the immense propagandic effort to portray it as Mao's effort to "revive revolutionary spirit"; movement's excesses — from public humiliations to widespread violence — made it clear to many that this campaign was not about building socialism but about consolidating Mao's power
 - Even within the party, there was resistance and concern, as seen with the ousting and persecution of leaders like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping

Link

Hence, propaganda played an important role not only in the rise of National socialism but also in maintaining its ideology and totalitarian visions and creating a largely acquiescent public, though its effectiveness declined during war-time.

Foreign Policy

Topic Sentence

Foreign policy in the Third Reich was the main factor which helped Mao maintain and consolidate power.

Sino-Soviet Relationship

- 1950 - Sino-Soviet Treaty signed to secure financial assistance for China's reconstruction
 - Provided \$300 million in aid
 - 80,000 Chinese allowed to go to Russia to study science and technology
 - Soviet planners and engineers initially developed 200 Chinese construction projects in 1950s - 1/3 of all projects
- Evaluation
 - The economic and military successes enjoyed by China from 1949-1958 largely stemmed from Soviet military and economic aid
 - Mao's
- Limitations
 - Lynch suggested that the relationship was one of exploitation rather than friendship
 - \$300 million was a loan that was to be repaid with interest
 - The upkeep of 10,000 Soviet economic and military advisors was to be paid for fully by China
 - China had to give the bulk of its bullion reserves to USSR
 - USSR had the rights to explore and develop natural resources in the Xinjiang region
 - Khrushchev would later admit that the treaty had been an "insult to the Chinese people"
 - China had to repay the USSR for the military equipment used in the Korean War
 - Lynch suggested that Stalin had deliberately prevented an early armistice to weaken the Chinese
 - After Stalin's death in 1953, Zhou Enlai was able to quickly negotiate a truce

Korean War (1950-1953)

- PLA was able to remobilise their soldiers for service in Korea
 - Useful in deployment to autonomous regions in Tibet and Xinjiang to quell riots
 - Also useful in quelling riots in the peasant population from 1954-5
- Gave PLA valuable experience in developing their army into a world class fighting force
 - Could learn to fight against a world-class mechanised enemy
 - Incorporate air power
 - Begin a program of military modernisation
- Army recruitment gave poor young men opportunities to escape from poverty and boosted unemployment rate
 - Increased the image of the CCP as a developer of China's economy
- Reinforced Mao's control over China
 - Mao used the "Resist America and Aid Korea" campaign to justify tightening economic and social control through the Agrarian Reform Law and the Antis mass campaigns
 - Mao's "correct" decision to enter the war strengthened his image as a military genius and reinforced the confidence of top CCP leaders in him

- Limitations
 - Thornton suggests that the Chinese were the biggest losers of the war
 - Lost over 1 million lives
 - CCP realised they could not rely on just manpower to win wars
 - Damaged relations with West
 - Increased reliance on Soviets for military and economic aid
- Evaluation
 - Chinese propaganda machine was able to conceal these issues from the populace
 - Gray suggests that the Korean War demonstrated the need for China to be self sufficient - fuelled popular support for the industrialisation policies

Taiwan Crisis (August 1958)

- Tensions began when US decided to provide Taiwan with modern missiles
 - Revived fear of war with GMD
 - USSR's policy of détente resulted in lack of support for China
 - USSR only willing to provide support in exchange for control of Chinese airspace and coastal waters
- To test USSR and US position, PRC began an intense bombardment of the Nationalist controlled Quemoy Islands off Taiwan
 - US reaffirmed support for Taiwan, but USSR did not do the same for China
- Created tension between US and PRC
 - Demonstrated a need for the Chinese people to be self sufficient
 - Rallied the Chinese people behind the government
 - Gray suggests it enabled him to gain popular support for the rapid industrialisation of the GLF

Sino-Soviet Tensions

- Growing tension with Soviet Union would undermine Mao's position during GLF
 - Soviet economic advisors and technicians advised against the GLF
 - 1959 - Soviets, having received from Peng Dehuai about the mass starvation of the GLF, called it "faulty in design and erroneous in practice"
- Sino-Soviet Split
 - Ended Soviet economic aid to China
 - Border disputes along Amur River
 - USSR armament of India during Sino-Indian War
 - Raised question of which nation was the real leader of the Communist world
 - Offered support to Albania after Russia withdrew their aid

Evaluation

- China's policy of "Leaning to One Side" managed to gain the support of USSR in the regime's fledgling years allowed for continued technological and industrial development that won over the popular support and kept the country progressing
- China's strategic participation in conflicts in Korea and Taiwan managed to maintain the prominence of the PLA, and ride off the portrayal of the US and later USSR as foreign and uncaring threats to foreground the development of China's self sufficiency
 - Gray suggested people were more willing to adopt aggressive industrialisation
 - Bring up GLF
 - Evaluation - How much was due to the success of the first FYP?

- Contrast with Hitler - how did military conflicts support his regime?
- China's deterioration in relations with the USSR resulted in the withdrawal of economic aid and the dissolution of a United Communist Front
 - Paranoia from de stalinization resulted in GPCR
 - Challenging of USSR resulted in enmity with both US and USSR
 - Shrewd in reconciling with the US under Nixon
 - US and China both used their détente as a way to undermine the USSR
 - Cooling of tensions
 - Ping-Pong Diplomacy
 - Zhou Enlai and Kissinger
 - Feb 1972 - Nixon visit to Beijing
 - Full diplomatic relations in 1979

Conclusion

While China managed to strengthen Mao's personality cult through military victories, and secure the economic and technical expertise needed to develop the nation, Mao's fears of destalinisation and inability to get along with Soviet leaders led to the ultimate collapse of Sino-Soviet relations. Despite this, China was able to shrewdly form connections with the US, saving them from becoming diplomatic pariahs.

Nature, Extent, and Treatment of Opposition

Topic Sentence

Domestic opposition to the Nazi Regime existed, but was low; the third Reich collapsed due to military defeat. However, that does not mean it was insignificant

Elaboration

- Successful policies, first economic, then foreign, made it hard to gain support for opposition activities
 - o Look at economic policy notes
 - o Look at foreign policy notes up^^
- The power of the police state, backed up by informers, was a major obstacle
 - o State security was placed under the purview of the Reich Security Main Office, led by Heinrich Himmler who controlled the state apparatus of the Gestapo-SS complex
 - o These organisations monitored civilians
 - Ensured conformity to Nazi authority and the stamping out of any oppositional groups
 - Infiltrated and exterminated by the state police who would later brutally execute the members of the groups
 - Communist Red Orchestra spy network
 - Student-led white rose movement
 - Military group led by Ludwig Beck
- Opposition groups were isolated and were unable to cooperate
 - o The projection of the Reich as an authority that was legally constituted, accepted, and upheld by national institutions and was supported by the broad public made resistance look like an act of an extremist
 - o Gestapo ensured that mass organisation was nigh-impossible

Significant Institutions that provided resistance

- Army
 - o Aristocratic officers generally remained suspicious of Hitler and Nazism
 - Cooperated initially, but relations broke down as concern grew that Hitler was too radical in foreign policy
 - General Beck's plan to arrest Hitler in 1938 ruined by Hitler's success at the Munich conference
 - Several officers were subsequently involved in failed assassination attempts, most notably in the July 1944 bomb plot
 - o Considerable opposition in the German military intelligence organisation
 - Admiral Canaris tolerated resistance activities and helped Jews leave during the war
 - Was absorbed into the SS in 1944 during a clampdown on opposition
- Church
 - o The church was more concerned with protecting their own position – did not pose a threat to the regime

- Remained an obstacle to a fully totalitarian state
- Some brave individuals resisted and hundreds of pastors and priests were imprisoned or killed

Evaluation

- Ineffectiveness of Gestapo
 - Gestapo only had 32,000 agents working to police and track down dissenters and resistance groups calling into question its effectiveness
 - However, atmosphere of fear it created, and other factors (that projected Nazi power – bring use of force in) prevented domestic opposition
- Persecution of hundreds of thousands of Germans by the Hitler regime serves to illustrate that the dissent and non-conformity must have been widespread
 - However, resistance as a sustained and organised attempt to destroy the government, was not – cite effectiveness of factors mentioned above^^
- Aside from assassination attempts, the Nazi regime was secure and was only brought down by a vast coalition of enemy powers
 - Assassination attempts – conducted by individuals and in isolation, motivated differently; Nazi state successful in breaking up most forms of organised resistance

Link

Thus, internal opposition to the Reich was dealt with using deathly efficiency, and posed little threat to the survivability of the Reich. Even when resistance ramped up around 1943, that was largely due to Germany's military failure compromising the legitimacy of the Reich; incited by military failure and outside pressure.