

Aims+Results of Mao's Policies

General Information

- Timeframe: 1949 to 1976, from when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) won the Chinese Civil War (CCW) to Mao Zedong's death.
- Key Periods
 - Pre GLF (1950-1957)
 - GLF (1958-1961)
 - Post GLF (1962-1966)
 - Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)
- Notes
 - Lynch claims that "during the first few months of existence of the PRC, Mao adopted what in retrospect appear relatively restrained domestic policies"
 - Landlords and bandits were seen as challenges to their success to the common Chinese, perhaps were conflated? - perception carried over into literature of Chinese era

Domestic - Political

Topic Sentence

Political methods of control were ultimately employed to control the political climate of China, as well as the general population. They were largely successful in keeping China as a single-party state, as well as the population in check.

CCP placed at core of China's government

- Leading members of Party held all key posts in both government and PLA
- All important debates about policy and key decisions were approved by Politburo
 - NPC served as a "rubber stamp"
- CCP dominated government of provinces and local administrations
- Impact
 - Party and government became intrinsically intertwined
 - Other parties were allowed to exist, but had little to no influence

Tightened control over industry

- Three Antis campaign
 - Aimed at controlling party and industry
 - Directed against internal corruption
 - Targeted mainly party members, bureaucratic officials, and managers
 - Impact
 - Thorough investigation of many offices and enterprises
 - Humiliated and expelled many senior figures who were unwilling to cooperate
 - Strengthened government control over labour
 - Mobilised workers to turn against bosses and join state-supervised labour organisations
- Five Antis-Campaigns
 - Justified by the Korean War
 - Targeted bourgeoisie in China
 - Identified as Chinese industrialists and businessmen, representative of capitalist class
 - Results
 - Group mobilisation
 - Meetings between employer and workers
 - Self criticism
 - Confessions and denunciations
 - Mass suicide and torture of businessmen
 - Resulted in drop in trade with HK, rising unemployment and declining production
- Impact of Antis campaigns
 - Turned against the classes earlier tolerated in the period immediately after Communist takeover
 - Killed few victims
 - Terrified, humiliated or fined them
 - Ended protection of private businesses
 - Exerted government control over worker organisations

Purging of CCP leaders

- 1954 - Mao purged Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, claiming they had abused their positions
- 1959 - When Peng Dehuai criticised GLF, he was placed under house arrest and dismissed as Defence Minister
- GPCR - Greater purges, with prominent pragmatists like Liu and Deng being purged

- Impact
 - Purges created a volatile party situation where party members were afraid to speak out lest they be purged
 - Increased obedience to Mao and curbed possibility of internal dissent against Mao
- Evaluation
 - Largely successful - Mao stayed in party prominence till his death in 1976
 - Initial purges not wholly successful - Peng and Liu spoke up against the GLF, implying that the fear factor of the purge was not significant enough of a deterrent

Registration as a political weapon

- Use of registration system to implement control over population
 - danwei - permit to hold a job
 - hukou - certificate that entitled a family to obtain
- dangan - dossier held by local party officials containing personal details and record of every individual
- Impact
 - Had strong control over employment and housing rights
- Limitations
 - dangan was created when individuals entered school system
 - Millions of peasants in countryside thus had no dangans registered

Link

Ultimately, political measures were largely successful in keeping the CCP in power and in control of the population. In 1952, opposition parties were eliminated in all but name. The registration system was also effective in controlling rural-urban migration, particularly during the years of the GLF. However, political purges were only mildly successful in keeping Mao in power, as seen by how critics like Peng and Liu emerged in light of the GLF, with Mao passing Chairmanship of the party to Liu in 1961

Domestic - Economic

Topic Sentence

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Economic Context

- 1949 - Chinese infrastructure was shattered
 - Chinese currency was valueless
 - Floods affected 30-40% of arable land
 - Industrial and food output had plummeted to 56% and 70% of prewar peak
 - Only 5% of population worked in industries
- Aims
 - To help the recovery of the economy
 - To revive agriculture and make it socialist
 - Facilitate the industrialisation of China
- Challenges
 - Industrialisation
 - China needed to industrialise rapidly to match the world's most advanced nations
 - Provide better living standards for the people
 - Wished to avoid many of the problems of industrialisation
 - Exacerbation in socioeconomic divide
 - Historical experience indicated the more rapid the progress, the more rapid the divide
 - Chinese desire for social stability was a constraint on rapid industrialisation
 - Egalitarianism vs Economic gain
 - CCP had to balance equality and prosperity
 - In practice, the two often clashed
 - Mao tended to favour the former
 - Mao's economic policy characterised by fluctuations between the two
 - Initial commitment to equality resulted in dampening incentives to produce, leading to downturn
 - Party reacts to increasing scarcities by relaxing equal distribution of resources
 - Boosts production, but increases income differentials

Economic Recovery

- Focus was on restoring economic stability
 - Bringing inflation from the late 1940s under control
 - Rebuild country's war torn infrastructure and production facilities
- Financial measures
 - Nationalised the banking system
 - Reduced currency in circulation
 - Harshly punished those indulging in currency speculation
 - RMB introduced in May 1949
 - Banned the circulation of foreign currencies as a medium of exchange
 - Abolished regional and variant currencies
- "Wage-point" system
 - Tied the wages of workers to prices of commodities
 - Helped to standardise the purchasing power of workers
 - Similar methods used to safeguard savings and bank deposits
- Centralisation of economy
 - Consumer goods were deliberately kept in short supply to ensure savings were further stimulated
 - Prices were fixed at what party and government considered a fair level
 - Penalties were imposed on those who violated these rules

- Trading cooperatives established to bring food back to cities and control black markets
- Government spending was tightly controlled
- New taxation system involving agricultural, industrial, commercial, sales and income taxes was introduced
- Evaluation
 - Largely successful
 - Inflation was controlled, went from 1000% in 1949 to 15% annually
 - Authoritarian control - centralisation of economy

Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

- Context
 - CCP revolution was ultimately an agrarian revolution
 - Communists had spent 1920s-40s working in rural areas
 - Mao understood that addressing the plight of peasants was crucial
 - Focus on curing the problem of landlordism
 - Additional goals of developing agriculture
- Agrarian Reform Law (1950-1952)
 - Aims
 - Abolition of land ownership system
 - Confiscation of land for redistribution to peasants
 - Theoretically
 - Landlords land was confiscated - lands given to middle and poor peasants
 - Rich peasants allowed to keep their land
 - Struggle sessions were held
 - Denunciations of landlords AND rich peasants
 - Carried out by overzealous party cadres and vengeful peasants
 - Many lost property, were publicly humiliated, and shot after a brief public trial
 - Results
 - Redistributed land to 300 million peasants by 1952
 - Tended to favour poor peasants and hired hands at the expense of landlords and rich peasants
 - Middle peasants impacted the least
- Collectivisation (1953-1957)
 - Aims
 - Raising production
 - Preventing re-emergence of rich peasants
 - Achieving greater agricultural specialisation
 - Three stages
 - Mutual Aid Teams
 - Peasants pooled and loaned implements
 - Worked jointly and seasonally
 - Semi-socialist Cooperatives
 - Peasants pooled implements, labour AND land
 - Theoretically retained individual ownership
 - Fully socialised cooperatives
 - All members had collective ownership of land, implements and resources
 - Results
 - 1956 - 96% of peasants were part of semi-socialist cooperatives
 - 1957 - Total of 760,000 to 800,000 cooperative farms
 - Saw an increase in agricultural production
 - Roughly 20% increase in grain production per capita
 - Improved position of peasants

- Technically held titles to land contributed to the collectives
 - Allowed to keep private plots for their own use (5% of cooperative area)
- Limitations
 - Surge in private production in the rural sector
 - “unified purchase and sale” policy
 - Government purchased all surplus grain in summer and autumn to be redistributed in spring
 - Quantity of grain per individual was 13-16 kilos a month - insufficient
 - Peasant resistance emerged from 1954-5
 - Individual resistance demonstrated by low morale and productivity
 - Violent resistances in areas like Songjiang
 - Government undertook policy of non-violent resistance
 - Mass urban migration ensued
 - urban population of China had grown from 58 million in 1949 to 99 million by 1957
 - Agriculture production outpaced by population boom
 - Almost no change in wheat per capita
- Great Leap Forward (1958-1961)
 - Aims
 - To develop a peasant-led revolution -> Maoist ideology
 - Simultaneous development of agriculture and industry
 - “Walking on two legs”
 - Creation of People’s Communes
 - Private ownership was abolished
 - All houses were forced into state-operated communes
 - Combination of multiple cooperatives
 - 1 commune
 - 30 cooperatives
 - 5000 households
 - 25000 people
 - Organised work on the basis of production teams
 - Military lines such as platoons and brigades used
 - Payment was to be a share of the profits made by team and calculated on basis of work done
 - Result
 - By Nov 1958, there were 26,000 communes making a total of 98% of the farm population
 - Lysenkoism
 - Close planting of crops led to soil exhaustion
 - Sparrowcide
 - Elimination of sparrows led to collapse of ecosystem
 - Sharp increase in pest population
 - Gorged themselves on grain
 - Exacerbated by droughts in North and floods in South
 - Exaggeration of production figures
 - Continual raising of production targets
 - Continued increase in grain exports to USSR to pay for heavy machinery
 - Result
 - Peasant morale plummeted
 - Peasants were imprisoned as “rightists” for disagreeing with Mao’s new regulations

- Landowners reacted poorly to the possibility of losing property and animals again
 - Higher-level cooperatives separated productivity from reward
 - Lynch suggested that peasants became defeatist in the face of impending doom
- Great Famine (1959-61)
 - 16-20 million deaths
 - Prostitution, banditry and cannibalism emerged
 - PLA was deployed to put down armed rebellions amongst civilians⁴
- Post GLF (1962-1966)
 - Marked a shift to more capitalistic principles and abolishment of GLF policies
 - April 1961 - communal canteens were abandoned
 - Incentivisation of labour
 - Three guarantees and one reward system
 - Guaranteed output, time and cost levels
 - Bonus if team exceeded targets
 - Three privates and one guarantee
 - All communal land was redistributed among households as “responsibility land”
 - Rural fairs and markets permitted
 - Communes broken up into smaller communes
 - June 1961 - Private farming and markets implemented
 - Political liberalisation
 - Brief, but Zhou and Liu rehabilitated many ‘rightists’ that were purged
 - Results
 - 1965 - Agricultural production was back to pre-GLF levels
 - Evaluation
 - While successful, it marked an admission of the failure of communism
 - Both the failure of communist agriculture and the success of capitalist reforms undermined collectivism
 - Many of the changes would be reversed during the CR
 - Mergers to increase size of communes
 - Private plots confiscated
 - Rural markets closed
 - Resulted in rural unrest and agricultural stagnation
 - 1970 draft constitution acknowledged the failure of absolute egalitarianism
 - Agricultural system resembled that of post-GLF
 - Agricultural growth still unable to keep up with population growth
 - Political impact
 - Mao lost prominence in the party
 - Liu and Deng took center stage, would later be purged in GPCR for undermining Mao’s authority

Evaluation

While the initial Agrarian reform law and collectivisation was largely successful in combating landlordism and developing agriculture, the tension between these two goals was already becoming prominent with the failure of the unified purchase and sale policy. The GLF pushed these tensions to the breaking point, and the subsequent collapse marked an utter failure in agricultural production, which was only reversed by a deconstruction of the communal system. Thus the agricultural policy was largely a failure due to its contradictory aims, and had deep political ramifications

Industrial Policy during Maoist Era

- Aims
 - Rapid industrialisation
 - To reform Chinese economy from agrarian to industrial
 - Keep up with major powers
- Consolidation of Industry
 - Modern industry
 - Previously largely owned by GMD
 - Took over modern sector in Manchuria and coastal cities
 - Control of enterprises
 - Other enterprises taken over, owners were charged as war criminals or collaborators
 - Private enterprise pressured through taxes, credit rationing, capital levies, etc
 - All personnel and equipment retained after acquisition
 - Avoided sabotage
 - Participated in joint control of means of production
 - Non-government figures appointed by government
 - Development of heavy industries
 - Over 700 major industrial plants were built
 - Heavy industries were located inland
 - Avoid coastal regions susceptible to attack
 - Challenges
 - Plagued by inexperience
 - Large pool of peasants unprepared for factory work
 - Minimal cooperation among industries
 - Unofficial stockpiles of goods caused bottlenecks
 - Over-exaggeration of achievements
 - Evaluation
 - Largely successful - pre-war industrial peaks met
- First FYP (1952-1957)
 - Largely dependent on Soviet aid
 - 694 industrial projects
 - 156 plants to be built with Soviet aid
 - Prioritisation of industry
 - 58.2% of budget assigned to industrial construction
 - Evaluation
 - Largely successful
 - Steel and coal production exceeded the quota
 - Annual growth rate around 16-18%
- GLF (1958-1961)
 - Aims
 - To rival UK's industrial capacity
 - Bridge gap in city and countryside by industrialising countryside
 - Focus on steel and iron production
 - Labour-intensive and low level prioritised
 - Small and medium factories built in countryside
 - Backyard furnaces
 - Household metal items were burnt down
 - July 1958 - 50,000 furnaces built
 - October 1958 - 1,000,000
 - 7 of 11 million tons of steel produced in 1958 was useless

- Engineers did not speak up due to pressure of intellectuals in Anti-rightist campaign
- Creation of urban communes
 - Collective living in factory area
 - Neighbourhood service units created
- Results
 - Coal and steel double
 - Oil increased 50%
 - Electricity increased by 40%
- Evaluation
 - Somewhat successful
 - Undeniable industrial success
 - Breakdown of machines
 - No synchronisation between production and demand
 - Lack of experience and expertise
 - Soviet aid withdrawn in 1960 (SSS)
 - Many metal tools like pots and pans were melted down for useless steel
 - Mass waste of resources
- Post-GLF
 - Aims
 - Pragmatic approach to restoring economy
 - Steel production in backyard furnaces
 - Reversal of GLF policies
 - Central bureaucratic control replaced decentralised planning of communes
 - Experts and technical knowledge were valued
 - Production targets reviewed on annual basis
 - Reintroduction of financial incentives to encourage workers to work harder
 - Results
 - Output of light industry expanded by 27%; heavy industry 17%
 - Oil production increased by 1000%; Natural gas by 4000%
 - Freed China from dependence on USSR for energy supplies
 - Evaluation
 - Largely successful in developing China's industrial production

Evaluation

Largely met economic goals, by freeing the Chinese economy from foreign domination and crushing the problem of inflation. Furthermore, the state had a strong control of the economy through RMB. Government large scale purchase of food, textiles and other necessities made possible effective rationing and distribution. Government revenue and accumulation also increased. Industrialisation was a massive success.

However, there was a poor standard of living, and inefficiency plagued industrialisation. Furthermore, there were slow agricultural developments. With entrepreneurship being discouraged, high skilled individuals worked below their pay grade. Ultimately, Mao's economic policies were unable to escape the shadow of egalitarianism, particularly in agriculture.

Domestic - Cultural

Topic Sentence

Mao saw culture as a means of influence, as well as a reflection of society. Western culture was seen as capitalist and degenerate, while traditional Chinese culture was seen as feudal.

Mao's cultural policies were aimed at the total reform of Chinese culture to suit the party's socialist agenda. Particularly, they focused on the elimination of Western and traditional Chinese elements and the simultaneous promotion of socialist designs.

Aims

- Eliminate Western and traditional Chinese culture
- Promote socialist culture

Main

- Art was often very polarising, socialist realism meant absolute good and bad
- Image of Mao - Yangtze river swim, image distributed widely
- During Anti-Rightist Campaign - Intellectuals (artists) sent to the rural areas to perform manual labour to learn from the peasants - reality, to punish for speaking out
- Glorification of the amateur and denigration of expertise during GLF
 - Peasants urged to create art
 - Quotas were set for the production of songs stories and artwork
- GLF was less critical of music, attacked art as a potentially seditious element rather than art itself? - Western and folk music orchestras persisted, as GLF focused on collectives, therefore collective music was congruous and rallied people
- Subtle resistance through metaphorical critique
 - Hai Rui Dismissed
 - "You Go Ahead, I Follow" - painting that was the back cover of the China Youth in November 1964
 - Had hidden elements that spelled Kill Mao Zedong
- GPCR
 - Attack on Chinese traditions itself
 - Classical Chinese literature castigated
 - Foreign works vilified
 - Anna Karenina
 - Shakespeare, etc
 - Musicians threatened with violence
 - Contradictions
 - Instruments still used to perform revolutionary operas
 - Jiang Qing favoured the piano, despite communist ideology saying otherwise
 - "We have liberated the piano" - Jiang Qing
 - Ideology was somewhat contradictory with Jiang Qing's actions?
 - OR could be a repurposing of Western technical knowledge
- Unification of art under Mao
 - Mao was the sole approved author of books
 - Troupes performed same eight revolutionary operas
 - All art essentially being consolidated to promote Mao, all artists created images of Mao
- Some level of resistance through the creation of art
 - Maker of a classical bamboo flute was adorned with a protest poem in Tang Dynasty style, then exported to the West
 - Amateur authors produced their own works
- Engendering of politics in art
 - Zhou Enlai and Jiang Qing using art to criticise one another

- Mao challenged premodern Chinese traditions, while Hitler who actually venerated classical arts and architecture (Holy Roman Empire!) -> belief in a Germanic spirit, and a return to classical Greece and the Middle Ages
- Arts in CCP China was mainly for politics, Nazi Germany for entertainment

Art

- Aims
 - To create socialist and propagandistic art
- 1950s - Artists encouraged to adopt Soviet-style of Social Realism
 - Overtly didactic art style that promoted socialist ideals
- GPCR
 - Forced to adopt revolutionary romanticism
 - Workers, soldiers and peasants replaced traditional subjects

Theatre and Opera

- Aims
 - Opera and culture should portray class heroes
- Jiang Qing developed her own revolutionary operas and plays
 - Opposed by Ministry of Culture
 - Succeeded in 1964
 - Set up a Five-Man Group to coordinate work on cultural reform
- Agit-prop performers put on mandatory rural shows
 - Performed tales of cruel landlords, and the wisdom of Mao and CCP
- GPCR
 - Theatres only allowed to put on revolutionary plays

Cinema and Film

- Aims
 - Make propagandistic film
- 1949 - efforts made to rebuild Shanghai film industry
 - Private studios later subsumed under Shanghai Film Studio
 - Filmmakers sent to USSR to study Soviet film-making techniques
 - Film Steering committee established to oversee film industry
- Chinese filmmaking flourished from 1949-1965
 - 603 feature films and 8342 documentaries and newsreels produced
 - Many animated films aimed at children were produced
 - CCP sponsored mobile projection units to bring films to countryside free of charge
- Evaluation
 - Successes
 - Cinemas put on revolutionary films during GPCR
 - Aug 1966 - Mao's Yangtze swim movie
 - Failures
 - HFC saw a few films that were critical of the regime
 - Limited impact
 - Was swiftly brought back under state control

Music

- 1950s - Thought Reform campaign
 - Severe crackdown on traditional and Western cultural influences
 - In Shanghai, nightclubs were closed, and jazz was banned
- GPCR
 - Musicians sent to labour camps without tools
 - Made to till ground with hands so they could never perform again
 - Chinese orchestras forbidden from performing music

Literature

- Thought Reform Campaign
 - Mass burning of traditional and western novels
 - All book publishers forced to register with CCP

- Little Red Book
 - 1963 - Chen Boda and Lin Biao collated Little Red Book
 - Became prescribed reading in schools and universities
 - Over 750 million copies distributed
- Scholars, writers, intellectuals and teachers were killed
- Sale and possession of traditional and foreign literature was banned
- Libraries and museums pillaged by Red Guards

Yan'an period - Leftist writers and artist made it to Yan An after the Xi An incident
 Lu Xun academy founded

Evaluation

- Successes
 - Literature and Music were effectively purged of Western and traditional Chinese influence
 - Theatre and Opera were reformed into tools for controlling the population
 - Sculptures helped promote Mao as a quasi-religious figure
- Failures
 - Destruction of a unique Chinese culture
 - Accounts of China's opera and ballet criticise its tedium and lack of originality. Thus, it can be seen that the population was indeed sceptical of the heavily censored culture
- HOWEVER, it achieved its aims to a frightening extent. The backlash of destruction of culture was not largely significant as it did not influence the control the Chinese had over the population. Ultimately, achieved its goals of destroying foreign and traditional culture, but questionable if it had the people's buy-in

Domestic - Social

Topic Sentence

Mao's social policies were ultimately aimed at developing and controlling the Chinese population. Education and health were prioritised to facilitate the development of Chinese society, yet were often at odds with anti-intellectualism sentiments brought about during the Anti-rightist campaign and GPCR.

Religion

- Aims
 - Communism portrayed religion as a tool for the exploitation of the masses
 - Mao expressed strong personal antipathy toward religion
 - Buddhism
 - Large following in Tibet
 - Desired a complete elimination of Buddhism to crush the rebels
 - Islam
 - Similar following in Xinjiang
 - Targeted, but to a smaller extent than the Buddhists
 - Christianity
 - Seen as a form of Western imperialism
- Attacks on religion
 - Christianity
 - Christian churches forcibly closed
 - Property seized or destroyed
 - Foreign priests and nuns expelled
 - Slogan-ridden campaigns
 - Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity denounced as worthless superstitions
 - 1950 - sustained campaign launched to eliminate religion from the rural areas
 - Priests and monks prohibited from wearing distinctive dress
 - Police encouraged bystanders to participate in humiliating clergy
 - Places of worship closed down or turned into offices and public buildings
- Attacks on Chinese customs and traditions
 - Many traditions were eliminated under the banner of collectivisation
 - Traditional wedding and festival rituals were prohibited
 - Work chants and wandering poets forbidden
 - Instead replaced with political meetings and party discussions
 - Agit-prop performers provided propagandistic plays and entertainment for the peasants
- Religious persecution during GPCR
 - Crackdown on religion
 - Religion decried as one of the four olds
 - Public worship and ceremony prohibited
 - All clergy rounded up and imprisoned
 - Results
 - International faith bodies criticised the CCP's response as inhumane
 - Chinese response to the declamation was hardliner, maintained that these were anti-capitalist
 - Mao replaced religion as a quasi-religious figure
- State control of religion
 - Patriotic churches
 - Some churches were allowed to exist as long as they adhered to CCP ideology

- Had to profess open support for Communist regime
 - Authorities were allowed to dictate doctrine and appoint clergy
- Gave the appearance of tolerance from the CCP
- State regulation of religion
 - Bodies like Chinese Islamic Association set up
 - Chinese Taoist Association established, Taoism regarded as one of China's five main religions
- Evaluation
 - Successes
 - Succeeded in installing Mao as a quasi-religious figure
 - Exhorted as the Great Helmsman
 - Succeeded in regulating religion through institutions like Chinese Islamic Association, Chinese Taoist Association, and Patriotic Churches
 - Succeeded in preventing the breakaway of Tibet and Xinjiang
 - Failures
 - Failed in eliminating religion
 - Significantly reduced Christian numbers
 - Christian population had roughly halved from 1949-1954
 - Prevalence of underground churches
 - Religious tensions in border areas remains a problem
 - Dalai Lama remained an inspiration to Tibetan independence
 - Tension persists between Uighur Muslims and Han Chinese, as well as Tibetans and Han Chinese living in Tibet

Education

- Aims
 - Major spread in Communism
 - Sharp decrease in illiteracy
- Literacy campaigns
 - By mid 1950s, national system of primary education had been set up
 - National literacy went from 20% in 1949 to 70% in 1976
 - Language Reform
 - 1955 - Putonghua was created
 - Adopted by 80% of Chinese people
 - Creation of pinyin system to make Chinese more learnable
- 1952 Higher education reform
 - Hsu points out that higher education was also reformed with a greater focus on technical education
 - Due to rising Soviet tensions and rapid industrialisation
 - Technical institutes created at expense of general universities
 - Favoured greater specialisation over diversification
 - 1960 - China graduated 75% of US engineers
 - 1960 - 90% of engineers and scientists were trained from 1949-1960
- Lack of educational progress during GPCR
 - 1966-1970 - 130 million youths stopped attending school or university
 - Deliberate encouragement of students to ridicule teachers
 - Reject curriculum and traditional learning
 - Result
 - 70% of universities shut down during GPCR
- Evaluation
 - Successes
 - Largely successful in increasing basic levels of literacy and education
 - Successful in standardising language
 - Failures
 - GPCR resulted in the collapse of higher education

- 1982 - less than 1% of working population had university degree
- Only 35% received schooling after the age of 12
- Mao's China was thus partially successful in raising basic standards of education, but had completely failed in creating a system of secondary and tertiary education

Health

- Aims
 - Providing general population with greater healthcare knowledge
 - Communal efforts to eliminate pests and swamps
 - Train a greater number of doctors and nurses
- Patriotic health movements
 - Terms of party workers went to countryside to explain general hygiene
 - Communal efforts undertaken to drain swamps and eliminate pests and endemic diseases
- Anti-Intellectualism
 - Antis and GPCRs saw doctors come under attack
 - Doctors were portrayed as overly academic, and privileged exploiters who spent their money on a selfish bourgeois lifestyle
 - Doctors began to submit to political considerations
 - Surgeons would cancel operations to show solidarity with workers by sweeping floors and cleaning toilets
 - Abandoned the use of anaesthetics as pain was a sign of revolutionary purpose
- Barefoot doctors
 - Mao was aware of the significance both practically and propaganda wise of effective health provision
 - Wanted to make medical treatment a basic right
 - Barefoot doctors trained in short, 6-month practical courses
 - Immediately deployed to work among peasants
 - Impact
 - By 1973, 1 million new doctors trained
- Evaluation
 - Successes
 - 1950s - large numbers of Chinese treated by a qualified doctor for the first time in their lives
 - Large number of barefoot doctors trained
 - Failures
 - Anti-intellectualism undermined many of the efforts to improve the healthcare in China
 - Sparrow code resulted in the increase in pests and subsequent increase in disease in the countryside
 - Barefoot doctors were largely ineffective as they were still general practitioners
 - Were not an appropriate replacement for a full national medical service

Impact on Women

Topic Sentence

Women in Mao's China gained many rights under Mao, who not only believed in egalitarianism, but had great support for women. While it was generally implemented, it was often sidelined in favour of more important components of CCP ideology (e.g. militarism, collectivisation)

Social Context

- Early struggle for women's rights
 - Suicide committed in Changsa over arranged marriage
 - Mao argued the rottenness of the marriage system and the darkness of the social system was to blame
 - Mao managed to subsume his fight for women's rights into Communist egalitarianism

Aims

- Give women equal status as men, and break down feudal social relationships of women as property
- Women should contribute to society and state through productive labour

Initial Feminist Sentiments

- Jiangxi and Yunnan soviets saw equal position of women and man
 - Denounced the foot binding practice
- Tensions between ideology and actions
 - Mao tended not to treat woman as equals personally
 - CCP was a mainly male-dominated system
 - Women were invariably relegated to domestic roles

All-China Women's Federation (ACWF)

- 1949 - CCP established ACWF to promote policies toward women
- By the mid-1950s, the ACWF had about 40,000 staff working in 83 cities and had also established a presence in rural areas by sending cadres to live and work among the peasants.
- Limitations
 - Hampered by lack of funding and status

Marriage Reform in 1950s

- The Marriage Law (1950)
 - Implemented by the ACWF
 - Concubinage was abolished
 - Arranged marriages were to be discontinued
 - Dowries and bride-prices were forbidden
 - Right to inherit property
- Misogynistic practices forbidden
 - Child marriage
 - Polygamy
 - Killing and selling of children
 - Binding feet of girls
- Results
 - Women used new freedom to divorce and remarry
 - ACWF worked together with CCP to combat resistance to divorce
 - Women in workforce went from 8% to 32% under CCP rule
 - Opened positions of importance in the state and party to women

- Lynch - when women entered the workforce, communal support systems helped alleviate the homemaking role of women, allowing them to participate more actively
- Limitations
 - Special clause was added to PLA regulations to give soldiers the legal right to overrule their wives' plea for divorce
 - Army was to be prioritised over women's rights
 - Party interests often superseded social rights
 - Property rights were largely overridden by collectivisation
 - Under Mao's China, women only made up 13% of CCP
 - Less than 25% of National Party Congress was women

Disadvantages of Women

- Inappropriate work assigned
 - Work was often focused on physical labour
 - Women were forced to do heavy physical labour jobs
 - Qualitatively challenging for women
- Social Challenges to Women's rights in Mao's China
 - China was a deep-seated patriarchal society
 - Women had to compete with ingrained notions of male superiority
 - Birth Control from 1963-1966
 - Clearest in female infanticide
 - Chinese couples desired to have male children
 - Desire derived from both social and economic interest
 - Boys brought honour, and economic benefit

Impact of Collectivisation

- Collectivisation
 - Deliberate and direct assault on traditional Chinese family
 - Prohibition of ancestor worship, damaged family as a social unit
 - Women were dissatisfied as they felt their role as mothers and raisers of families were now being written off as unnecessary
 - Commune system set up such that men and women were made to live in separate quarters
 - Only allowed to see each other during conjugal visits
 - Official party statement in 1958
 - regard People's Commune as family
 - replace traditional family unit
 - Denounced the role of maternal love
- Rapid social change
 - Not very consistent
 - While it may be considered liberating since women might be freed from the familial ties that restricted them
 - Chinese became disoriented with attack on family value

Impact of GLF

- Great Famine (1958 - 1962) Women in particular were disadvantaged by hunger culture
 - Old and young were willingly sacrificed
 - Daughters were left to starve
 - Attempt to shrink family unit
 - Divorce became more common
 - Gansu region - divorce rate was 60%
 - Wife/daughter selling
 - More economically practical method of shrinking
- After famine, family disruption remained
 - Women refused to return to husbands

- Rural areas like Hebei Sichuan Ganchu
 - Husbands appealed for decisions that would return their former wives to them
 - Court ruled in favour
- Child abuse
 - Motherless children were sold into slavery or abandoned

Impact of GPCR

- Similar destruction of the family
- The youth incorporated into the Red Guard were told to attack the nuclear family, which was one of the four olds
- Women's role as the caretaker of the family was once again challenged, similar to collectivisation

Final Evaluation

- Successes
 - Women were given civil liberties that put them on par with men
 - Collectivisation offloaded homemaking duties to commune, which was largely handled by elderly
- Failure
 - CCP did not include women politically
 - Many of the economic rights women had were erased by collectivisation and GPCR
 - The social position of women, particularly in the rural areas, was never really corrected
- Ultimately, attempts for gender equality were often undercut by party ideology, with the economic equality women had being stripped away by collectivisation, and women remaining disadvantaged politically and socially. However, they were successful in integrating women into the labour force.

Impact on Minorities

Bourgeois

- Aims
 - To eliminate the bourgeois class entirely
- Agrarian Reform Law (1950)
 - (see economic)
- Five Antis
 - (See political)

Ethnic Minorities Context (1949-1956)

- Significant land control
 - Made up 6-7% of population
 - Inhabited over 60% of landmass
- Ethnic minorities
 - Referred to all non-Han Chinese
- Constitution officially marked these minority groups as equal and prohibited discrimination
- 1954 - allowed autonomous governments to administer their own local finance within legal limits
 - Develop their own regulations in light of their conditions
 - Possess their own military of local forces
- Most populous of groups like Tibetans, Mongols and Uighur given levels of autonomy
 - Allowed to develop their own culture, but placed under military supervision

Radical Ethnic Policies (1957-1976)

- 1957 - Moderate ethnic policies came under attack of political radicalism from Mao
 - Shifted emphasis to forced and rapid integration of ethnic groups
- Anti-Rightist Campaign
 - Moderate demands for ethnic autonomy were branded as rightist and condemned.
 - Rebellions in Tibet in 1959 and Xinjiang in 1962 resulted in harsher crackdowns
 - Exacerbated by GPCR
 - State agencies in charge of nationalities and religion were abolished
 - A number of prominent political and religious leaders of autonomous regions, including Ulanhu of Inner Mongolia and the Panchen Lama of Tibet, were branded traitors or revisionists
 - Many nationality autonomous areas (NAAs) were abolished.
 - Culture, diet and customs of ethnic minorities were deemed backward and prohibited
 - Ethnic minorities-led administration of autonomous regions was also undermined by the growing dominance of the Party Committee and the Party Secretary from 1958 to 1965, and then by the radical Red Guards from 1966 to 1976

Tibetians

- Independent since 1913
- Ruled by Dalai Lama
- Forced into PRC in 1950
 - Suppression of Buddhist Culture
 - Renamed Xizang
 - Severe measures taken to eradicate all traces of Tibetan language and culture
 - Tibetans moved to other parts of China, and Han Chinese moved in
 - 1959 - Measures to outlaw Lama Faith and Tibetan culture provoked national uprising

- PLA sent in, brutally crushed
 - Speaking of Dalai Lama became a criminal offence
- Xizang became an autonomous region in 1965
- Tibetan Famine
 - Forced to abandon growing of barley and oats, and rearing of yaks and sheep
 - Mao's techniques forced them to grow wheat and maize
 - Indigestible, resulted in mass diarrhea
 - Destroyed Tibet's arable food production
 - Khampas made to farm high ground
 - Prohibited from letting yaks roam pasture lands
 - Cut supplies of milk, cheese, meat and yak hair
 - Provoked a famine where 25% of population was wiped out
- Lynch claims that Tibet was a man-made disaster
 - Panchen Lama sent Mao a report in 1962 accusing him of genocide
 - Imprisoned by Chinese from 1962-1977 for trying to start a rebellion
 - Zhou Enlai later admitted that these policies were unsuitable

Muslims

- Millions of Muslims lived in China in 1949, particularly in Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang in the northwest, and Hunan in the central
- Early 1950s - Muslims were persecuted, armed rebellions broke out
 - PLA reinforced local militias and put them down
- 1952 - relaxation of religious persecution
- 1953 - Chinese Islamic Association regulated and controlled Muslims
- Management of Xinjiang
 - 1953 - designated as Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous region.
 - Some degree of local control over legislation and internal affairs
 - Many families preferred their children educated in Uighur language.
 - Uighurs who did not speak Mandarin faced discrimination in employment
 - Tension between Uighurs and Han Chinese
 - Muslim children forced to attend state school
 - Prevented them from receiving education at mosques
 - Han Chinese settlers moved to the north western provinces to alter their population balance

Evaluation

China was successful in altering the population balance of the Uighur Muslims and Tibetans. However, they were largely unsuccessful in controlling these minorities, as they continued armed risings and resistance. For Xinjiang, the establishment of the Chinese Islamic Association was somewhat successful in retaining control over Muslims. However, in Tibet, there was continual resistance up till 1977, with the region needing to be suppressed by force. Thus, Chinese repression of Tibet was unsuccessful, while the control and regulation of the Muslims was successful.