

# THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

—The Image of Socialist Man—

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## INTRODUCTION

THE OPENING OF THE Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1969 brought to an end the disruptions caused by the Great Cultural Revolution which had lasted for more than three years. Although China's alert attitude for a possible war and the tense situation that followed still persist after the Ninth Congress, China seemed to have succeeded in stabilizing its internal affairs considerably as evidenced by the increased self-confidence of the Chinese diplomacy which culminated in the Sino-American rapprochement, and in the favorable development of the national economy brought about by the rapid growth beyond anticipation of industrial production. According to figures cited by Edgar Snow from his interview with Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese food production in 1970 reached 240 million tons, and industrial production amounted to approximately \$60 billion.<sup>1</sup> In addition, 40 million tons of food were reportedly held in reserve, and several million tons were exported to North Vietnam. These figures reportedly show the fruit of the Great Cultural Revolution. This would seem to indicate the establishment of a new socialist order under the Mao-Chou leadership (Lin Piao might also be included at this time) and mark the end of the period of disruption. In the draft revision of the Constitution to be introduced at the forthcoming National People's Congress, the following statement was reportedly made in praise of the Great Cultural Revolution:

For these twenty years, the Chinese people have progressed along the lines indicated by Chairman Mao and have won a great victory in constructing socialism and especially in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our country is a great and vigorous socialist state. [2]

Even a cursory glance at this passage reveals the remarkable assurance and confidence the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai has in its ability to reconstruct China. One cannot

<sup>1</sup> See [3, pp. 38-39]. According to Snow, the total quantity of cotton fabric produced was 8,500 million meters; the amount of chemical fertilizer produced was about 14 million tons; crude oil production amounted to over 20 million tons; and steel production was between 10 and 18 million tons (the approximate figure from 1966 to 1970).

help feeling that the Mao leadership has established itself firmly in China and that the Great Cultural Revolution was indeed a "great victory."

The problems that address us today, two years after the disruptions have subsided, are, first, what exactly was the "great victory" won by the Cultural Revolution which in such a short period of time could effectively bolster the confidence of the Mao leadership and spur the rapid recovery of confidence in both domestic and diplomatic policies? Secondly, what is the real significance of the Cultural Revolution? Who did Mao defeat and how did he manage to consolidate his power? What made victory possible? Not all of these questions can be answered simply, and there are a variety of interpretations to be considered. However, if the Cultural Revolution is thought of from the beginning, as essentially a revolution in education, then the victory of Mao can be viewed primarily as the victory of educational reform, and the essential problem confronting them, then, becomes that of thoroughly grasping the "mentality of 700 million people." In this light, I would like to clarify some notions about the "superstructure" of socialism on which base the Mao leadership rests by examining in some detail the current problems in education that arose between the inception of the Great Cultural Revolution and the Ninth National Congress and elaborate on some of the trends toward reform which appeared at various times during this period.

### I. MAO TSE-TUNG'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

As is well known by now, the Cultural Revolution was a conscious attempt to "remold the human mind," and its central slogan was "eliminate egotism." The Cultural Revolution was set in motion for the purpose of fundamentally remolding human beings through educational reform. There is ample evidence to support this assertion. For instance, after the recruitment of new students was stopped due to the accusation by middle school students in June 1966 that the examination system was in reality a new form of the old *k'ochü*, a number of major events followed which were to change the course of Chinese history. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was opened, the Red Guard Movement made its appearance, and the functions of all cultural and educational institutions were suspended indefinitely. According to the resolutions concerning the Great Cultural Revolution adopted at the Eleventh Plenary Session, in addition to the newly established "overthrow of the four olds" campaign (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits), educational reform was enumerated as one of the major guidelines of the Cultural Revolution and summarized by the following slogan: "To reform the old educational system and old educational principles and methods is one of the most important duties of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

It appears, then, that more than the existence of an anti-Mao faction (the "ruling faction"), Mao and the CCP feared the reactionary and bourgeois tendency of the younger generation. The following is an excerpt from Mao Tse-tung's interview with educators from Nepal in early August 1964. Though rather long, I have cited it here in order to clarify the real problem confronting Mao.

There are a number of problems in our educational system. The main problem is dogmatism in our educational principles. We are now in the process of reforming the educational system. In our present system, the learning period is too long, the subjects to be studied are too many, and the teaching methods cannot be said to be good ones. When students study textbooks, they learn only what the textbooks say, and when they learn conceptually, they become concept-oriented and do not know other things at all. They do not know how to use two hands and legs, do not recognize the five cereals, and a lot of students cannot tell the difference between a cow, a goat, a horse, a dog, a pig, paddy, kaoliang, millet, barley, broomcorn millet, or barnyard millet. If they wish to study, they can do it and graduate from school when they are about twenty years old. The teaching method used now in which there are so many courses is the method of cramming and not enlightenment. Looking upon students as enemies, the examination method is to make a surprise attack on them [laughs]. Thus, I recommend you never to trust the Chinese educational system. Do not even consider it good. At present, in spite of many reforms, the educational system still has many internal difficulties. *An extremely small number of people are in favor of the new reform and there are presently few people who would agree to a new methodology. Those who do not agree with it are many.* (italics added) [8, p. 28]

Here is a very clear exposition of the problems caused by deviating from socialist educational principles and an example of the backwardness of students and young people under the educational system that developed in China, which drove Mao to despair over the situation. That this situation had long prevailed in China and the perverse influence it had on the nation's youth became clearer from the great amount of materials made public during the ensuing period of disruptions. The situation proved more serious than expected.

Although I do not intend to touch upon the problem of the ruling faction directly, we cannot entirely neglect the "great number of people" opposed to reform mentioned by Mao who so kindled his indignation. The backward state of the educational system was far from Mao's idea that "education should contribute to the politics of the proletariat and must be tied to productive labor" [7], and made a mockery of the socialist principle of education during the "period of transition" which aimed at eventually eliminating the difference between physical and mental labor. Since it takes many generations to educate human beings, Mao believed that the task of transforming men from bourgeois capitalists into socialists and communists, which entails the fundamental recreation of mankind, depended ultimately on the educational system and the way in which the younger generation is educated. Of course, "a great number of people," then, referred to the ruling faction.

In this light, then, the Great Cultural Revolution was a challenge directed against the reactionary, bourgeois-oriented, and out-moded system of Chinese education and aimed at the complete transformation of the conditions affecting young Chinese at that time. In the extraordinary situation that arose as the functions of cultural and educational institutions from universities and research institutes to primary and middle schools were brought to an abrupt halt, it was only natural for Mao to execute his policy of educational reform by returning to the principles of socialism and to use the Red Guard Movement as a base from

which to expand his reforms and carry them to the younger generation. In terms of the conditions that obtained at that time, the measures taken by Mao were neither "abnormal" nor "anarchist." He mobilized the Red Guards only in order to unify Chinese socialism which is not a contradiction of Lenin's principles but, on the contrary is seemingly consistent with them. Lenin wrote:

The training of the communist youth must consist not in giving them sentimental speeches and moral precepts. This is not what training consists in. When people saw how their fathers and mothers lived under the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, when they themselves experienced the sufferings that befell those who started the struggle against the exploiters, when they saw what sacrifices the continuation of this struggle entailed in order to defend what had been won, and when they saw what frenzied foes the landlords and capitalists are—they were trained in this environment to become Communists. . . . We would not believe in teaching, training and education if they were confined only to the school and were divorced from the storm of life. [6, p. 487]

Lenin's exposition, of course, was not written with the Red Guard Movement in mind. Some of Lenin's criticisms, however, such as "sentimental speeches" or "moral precepts" sound familiar, and the idea that a true Communist emerges from the melting pot of the class struggle is without a doubt consistent with Mao's own ideas on education. Mao hoped to reinstate socialist principles of education by mobilizing the Red Guards as indicated above. It was a mistake, then, for the Japanese at the beginning of Red Guard activity to interpret this movement as the "abolition of culture" or the "abolition of education" and to evaluate the significance of this movement negatively due to its anti-modern orientation. In order to understand Mao Tse-tung's ideas on education under socialism, it should first be understood that in Mao's mind education and struggle, i.e., real life, are the same. The Red Guard Movement alone was sufficient to mobilize 100 million young Chinese, and they destroyed every vestige of bourgeois culture they could find under the slogans, "overthrow of the four olds" and "destruction first, reconstruction later." Even the intervention of the military and their occupation of the schools which began on January 1967<sup>2</sup> failed to make the movement lose momentum. This fact graphically demonstrates the appeal that Mao's concept of educational reform held for young people and students. Needless to say, Mao was able to consolidate his position in his struggle against the ruling faction and regain power after the successful conclusion of the Red Guard Movement.

Mao's concept of educational reform extended not only to the Red Guards. Certainly the Red Guard Movement was the core of the reform movement, but in Mao's mind its main function was to remold the "mentality" of the young Chinese and to reconsolidate power. The real problem, however, consisted in expanding the new concept of education throughout the country by means of the Red Guards and in seeing the concept solidly accepted in socialist circles. This was indicated

<sup>2</sup> *Liangchiün* policies were enforced at this time. The schools were run by the military, and military training became mandatory for all students.

explicitly in Mao's response on May 7, 1966 to Lin Piao, known now as the Directives of May 7.<sup>3</sup>

## II. THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND THE DIRECTIVES OF MAY 7

The Directives of May 7 turned the People's Liberation Army into a large classroom. This should not be surprising when one considers that the Directives were addressed to Lin Piao, a military man and leader of the People's Liberation Army. Mention of the Liberation Army in the Directives and Mao's comments on the ideal proletarian, peasant, and student indicate the direction Mao wanted the educational reform to move in. This assertion is substantiated by Kuo Mo-jo who stated that "the Directives of May 7 were the guiding principles of the proletarian educational reform."<sup>4</sup> Mao Tse-tung pointed out in the Directives:

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will for ever be at one with the masses. They should also participate in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie whenever they occur. [9, Aug. 5, 1966, p. 6]

The military that Mao speaks of is a concrete reality whose significance surpasses our ability to understand it. One can detect clearly here Mao's intention of returning to the tradition of Yen-an and beginning the Revolution anew with the People's Army and the Revolutionary Army of the old days. This view is consistent with the provisions made for the Liberation Army in that Mao directed the creation of new organizations for both students and proletariat using military training as the nucleus of his program and strengthening the combination of industry, agriculture, and education around it. Mao also led the critique of bourgeois thinking. For example, on the ideal student Mao's instructions are as follows:

Students are the same. They mainly study the subjects given to them but in combination study some other things as well. That is, not only do they attain a certain level of culture, but they must also study industry, agriculture, and military affairs. Furthermore, they must criticize the bourgeoisie, shorten the number of years needed to complete their education in the educational system, and revolutionize the instruction and learning process. We cannot allow our schools to remain in the hands of the bourgeois intelligentsia any longer. [1, May 20, 1971]

It is more correct to view the basis of the educational reform envisaged in the

<sup>3</sup> The Directives of May 7 were made public for the first time in *Jênmin jihpao*, August 1, 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Statement made by Kuo Mo-jo to the Japanese Mission on Educational Affairs in August 1969.

Directives of May 7 as the transformation of society into a large classroom, or as the concept of all human beings living in society as both soldiers and productive workers. The type of man expected to emerge from the Directives is one who, while having a speciality or profession, can, at the same time, engage in military operations, perform productive labor, and pursue the class struggle. A man who, in words of Marx, is a "fully developed human being," or in Chinese terms, "a man of one speciality but many talents," or again, a "specialist-communist." Mao envisaged a community in which every man participates and which combines manual labor with class struggle and formal learning.

The mobilization of the military to slow the pace of the Red Guard Movement and the subsequent establishment of proletarian management at various levels of the educational structure which began with the intervention and stationing of propaganda teams of Mao's thought in Ch'inghua University in July 1968 are all direct consequences of the Directives of May 7.

For example, the propaganda team that intervened at Ch'inghua University and was stationed there lived with students, and, by organizing study groups, reading Mao's books together, and with the help of their own movement, effected the union of proletariat, peasant, and military, and, at the same time, became aware of the necessity of combining productive labor with learning and clarifying the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, the reform of the university structure itself progressed very rapidly, the school term was shortened, and the educational curricula were revised. The six-year school system was reduced to a two- and three-year system, and each curriculum or department established its own farm and factory. Of all the students 85 per cent were proletariat and peasants and 15 per cent from the Liberation Army.

The reform at Ch'inghua University reflected the general reforms being carried out over the entire educational structure though each case was somewhat different. For example, semi-conductor plants were established under the joint management of proletariat and peasant in the Department of Physics at Nangk'ai University in Tientsin, and a "linear integrated circuit with semi-conductors" was subsequently developed. A new rational accounting system of village communes in cooperation with poor and lower-middle class peasants was set up at the Shantung Institute of Finance in Shantung, and a "three thirds system" was established at Futan University in Shanghai.<sup>5</sup> The three thirds system divided students and teachers into three groups, each group assuming responsibility for its own affairs following the Directives of May 7. While one group studies mathematics, for example, another group is engaged in the "three revolutionary movements (class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experiment)," and the third group is training in factories, villages, or the Liberation Army. In Futan University, this system was adopted as a permanent feature of the school curricula. Furthermore, the opening of schools to the peasantry and the proletariat and the establishment of various short-term training groups and research teams in universities were

<sup>5</sup> Countless articles were published in the special edition of *Jênmin jihpao* and *Hungch'i* concerning the educational reform in universities.

direct outcomes of the Directives of May 7 with the stationing of propaganda teams in schools. *Jênmin jihpao* and other newspapers were full of articles at this time extolling the virtues of the new human being who did not exist prior to the Cultural Revolution. The educational reform progressed more rapidly and penetrated deeper than Mao had expected. This was due in part to the new tendency for schools to be run by factories and in part to the educational reforms in farm villages based on production brigades of people's communes established on a scale never equalled before. For example, the slogan, "Follow the lead of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant,"<sup>6</sup> was used to train factory workers. In another instance, after an investigation report entitled "It is Essential to Rely on the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants in the Educational Revolution in the Countryside: Report of an Investigation into the Experience Gained by the Shuiyüan Commune in Ying-ko'u County in Carrying Out the Revolution in Education,"<sup>7</sup> was published, there followed a succession of reports concerning local conditions in the villages. One of these, entitled "Draft Program for Primary and Middle Schools in Chinese Countryside" drawn up by the revolutionary committee of Lishu County in Kirin Province was made public with national repercussions [5, May 12, 1969] [10, pp. 9-15]. The problem in the villages revolved around reforming the peasantry whose population stands at 500 million, making the matter one of great urgency. We shall look next at the reactions of the peasantry to the Directives of May 7 and examine the development of the educational reform in the countryside.

### III. THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN THE VILLAGES

For the peasantry, as for the proletariat and students, the Directives of May 7 stressed the combination of military and industry (the management of small-scale factories) and encouraged a thorough critique of bourgeois thought. When propaganda teams were stationed in city schools and educational institutions, similar teams composed of representatives from the People's Militia, revolutionary teachers, and poor and lower-middle class peasants were organized in villages throughout China in conformity with the themes set forth in the Directives. However, the Shuiyüan study suggests that between the time the Directives of May 7 were promulgated and the time the propaganda teams were organized, education in the villages was definitely under bourgeois control even though the bourgeoisie had already been "baptized" by the Great Cultural Revolution, and the peasantry was not able to move smoothly along the path indicated by the

<sup>6</sup> The experiment of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant shows that most new techniques and products developed there were not made by specialized engineers but by those chosen from the proletariat and assigned to technical departments. The details of this experiment were published along with an article entitled "The Road for Training Engineers and Technical Personnel Indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant" published in [5, July 22, 1968]. Translated in [9, Aug. 2, 1968].

<sup>7</sup> See [5, Sept. 11, 1968] [4, 1968, No. 3]. Translated in [9, Sept. 27, 1968]. In addition, as this article became a turning point in the reform, more than one hundred special editions on education appeared in *Jênmin jihpao* by the end of 1970.

Directives. This is clearly indicated by the school attendance rate for one production team of the 81st brigade of the Shuiyüan Commune. In this team, although there was only one wealthy peasant family out of twenty-nine, most children going on to middle school came from this family, and only one child from poor and lower-middle class peasant families advanced to the secondary level. Furthermore, of thirty-eight students who entered primary school in another production team of the same brigade, only five could complete the six-year terms, and those five were all reportedly children from wealthy peasant families. Children from lower and middle class peasant families were obliged either to withdraw from school or to repeat the same term again. This is clear evidence that control of the school system was in the hands of the bourgeois, i.e., the wealthy peasant class. This situation was not typical of Yingk'ou County alone. According to accounts published in *Jênmin jihpao* and *Hungch'i*, in a commune in the Peking suburbs, only ninety out of two hundred lower and middle class peasant families sent children to the middle school level. In contrast, fifty-four children from the families of twenty-eight landlords and wealthy peasants entered middle school. It was also reported that fifteen out of twenty-three school children in this commune between the ages of seven and sixteen were illiterate or semi-literate.<sup>8</sup> In general, the rate of school attendance for female students is less than half that of male students, and it was reported that in one brigade no female student entered primary school at all [4, 1970, No. 8].

The inevitable result of these reports was to direct the educational reform in the villages toward the take-over of school management, i.e., the transfer of power from wealthy peasants to poor and lower-middle class peasants. In the Yingk'ou County report which stressed the need for turning the management of schools over to lower and middle class peasants, it was emphasized that the seizure of power was the educational aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that without this seizure, reform in the villages in accordance with the Directives of May 7 would become an impossibility. After the organization in each region of propaganda teams, the Management Committee of Schools by Poor and Lower-middle Class Peasants was established under their guidance. For example, committee representatives were stationed in schools for long periods of time during which they lived with their teachers, directing or supervising their activities backed by the decision to "struggle against the children of wealthy peasants and prohibit their further studies according to the principle of struggle-criticism-reform" which was made at this time.<sup>9</sup> These examples give proof that the peasantry, especially the lower and middle class peasants, acted vigorously in response to the guidance of the propaganda teams under the Directives of May 7.

The significance of the seizure of the management of schools by lower and middle class peasants was not merely the act of stationing representatives of these peasants in the schools. As the development of the movement from Yingk'ou reform to the "Draft Program for Primary and Middle Schools" by Lishu revolu-

<sup>8</sup> Case of a commune named "China and Albania Commune." See [5, June 18, 1969].

<sup>9</sup> See the example of Heilungkiang Province [5, Nov. 18, 1968].



tionary committee showed clearly, propaganda teams and the Management Committee were the turning point in the reform movements. The result was that management of primary and secondary schools in the villages, including political direction, financing (school expenditures), and control over teachers, was turned over to the production brigade in each commune. This was the real meaning behind the seizure of power. Schools, then, were no longer independent of the daily lives of peasants or far removed from productive labor, and the educational system became an integral part of the social order. Not only was the vertical structure of the educational system dismantled from the county Education Bureau through middle and primary schools to various part-time classes such as agricultural middle schools, but a fundamental reform of the entire system and type of schools it included was undertaken according to the local conditions that prevailed in the villages. For example, teachers' salaries were no longer paid by the Bureau of Education. Instead, teachers were paid by the production brigade in accordance with the same labor point system adopted by the peasantry. The "Draft Program for Primary and Middle Schools" reads:

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching in the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class. The middle school should establish "three-in-one" revolutionary committee which comprise poor and lower-middle peasants, who are the mainstay, commune and brigade cadres and representatives of the revolutionary teachers and students. Such committee should be placed under the leadership of the party organizations and revolutionary committees of the commune and the production brigade. The primary school should be placed under the unified leadership of the brigade's leading group in charge of education. Representatives of the school who are members of the leading group are in charge of the routine work of the schools. [10, p. 10]

In setting up such primary and middle schools, the principle of "make it convenient for peasants' children to go to nearby schools" should be followed and the confines of administrative areas should be broken. The primary school should be run by the commune, or branches of it set up in several villages, or run jointly by brigades, or run solely by a brigade where conditions permit. The commune or the brigades will cover the school expenses, plus state aid. [10, p. 11]

This, then, is the content of the revolutionary educational reform. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe in detail all aspects of the draft program. As far as the policy of utilizing production brigades as the point of departure for this reform is concerned, however, the Chinese peasants were certainly not lacking in the confidence and zeal necessary to undertake the sweeping reforms aimed at by the Directives of May 7. Even before the program was announced and up until 1969, a number of important experiments in educational reform in each region took place such as the shortening of the school term and greater flexibility in entering school; effecting the union of formal education and productive work embodied in the policy of "half-work, half-study"; enforcing the practice of military training in primary schools and the formal introduction of Mao's military thought into the school curricula; the abolition of entrance examinations and the establishment of admission by recommendation (where political beliefs are the chief criterion); flexibility in the selection of teachers (by ability); and the practice

of using young intelligentsia as teachers in their native districts upon their return home. Needless to say, the number of children with lower and middle class peasant backgrounds who entered primary and advanced to middle schools increased dramatically.

In Tuch'ang County in Kiangsi Province, the previous rate of school attendance by such students in one primary school was 43 per cent, but after the take-over of school management by the production brigade, the rate increased suddenly to 97 per cent [5, Feb. 21, 1969]. In *Jênmin jihpao* of March 24, 1969, there was a headline which read, "Small Girl Becomes Teacher." This small girl was a factory worker in Huaichi County in Kwangtung Province. Although she was raised a semi-literate poor peasant, she gave an outstanding lecture on Mao's thought illustrating the agony of the class struggle from her own experience which moved her students very much.

The following is a summary of the reorganization of primary and middle schools in the villages after the seizure of school management by lower and middle class peasants:

(1) School organization and the period of school attendance.

(a) Under the direction of the School Revolutionary Committee, the management of schools is in the hands of lower and middle class peasants, the cadres of commune production brigades, and teacher and student representatives.

(b) School attendance is from four to six years, but there is some flexibility here, and certain schools offer middle school curricula.

(2) School programs and teachers.

(a) Half-study, half-work methods are adopted depending on the situation of poor and lower-middle class peasants (middle school students are considered a part of the production brigade's labor force).

(b) Teachers are selected on the basis of ability (those able to teach become teachers). Educational background and experience are not obstacles, and sometimes poor peasants or young intelligentsia are selected as teachers. Little teachers method is also practiced (mutual instruction among students themselves).

(3) Teaching materials and curricula.

Required subjects: Mao's thought (his works and analects), basic agricultural courses (including mathematics, physics, chemistry, and economic geography), military affairs, military training, and manual labor. Textbooks and materials needed for hygiene are developed according to the needs of each area.

(4) Tuition and examination.

(a) No tuition is required. Occasional participation in the work of the production brigade will supplement school expenditures.

(b) The entrance examination is abolished in principle. Admission is by recommendation. However, students over six years of age are admitted to primary schools automatically.

(5) Other information.

Schools are open to all peasants, and the short-term technical groups and adult study groups for Mao's thought are the nucleus of Cultural Revolution activities in the villages.

In the summer of 1970 with the opening of Ch'inghua University, universities all over the country were transformed into socialist universities and opened their doors to new students most of whom were peasants and proletariat educated under the reforms enumerated above. The revolution in education which began with the appearance of the Red Guards and ended with the opening of the Ninth National Congress brought these reforms to fruition.

### CONCLUSION

I have described here in general terms the major events of the Great Cultural Revolution from the beginning of Red Guard activity to its denouement at the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. I have taken the new perspective of Mao's ideas on education and his concept of man for my analysis. One thing that becomes clear from our analysis is that the idea of man and society which the Cultural Revolution and Mao strove to realize radically negates the established concepts held by capitalist society. The type of schools set up in China may be considered an example of this. Although schools were established in concert with military training and manual labor in Soviet Russia immediately after the October Revolution, this program did not appear under socialism later, and the Chinese reforms are new in the experience of mankind. The "many-sided man," or the "man of one speciality but many talents" is a counterpart to the "specialist" or "brainworker" of capitalist society.

Mao Tse-tung envisaged the embodiment of Chinese socialism as the birth of a man who is a student as well as a worker and a peasant or a man who, being a student as well as a peasant and worker, is also an intellectual. The appearance of people's communes and the Great Leap Forward seemed to assure the realization of this ideal and the coming of communist society. The "educational revolution," as today, was, in fact, spoken of as one of the symbols of the Great Leap Forward. However, the Great Leap Forward was unsuccessful, and the educational reform was interrupted as China was faced with major difficulties in its domestic affairs and international relations thereafter.

At the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, Mao again raised high the banner of educational reform, and the reform continues to progress steadily today. Can the Great Cultural Revolution, then, be properly considered an extension of the Great Leap Forward of 1958? To the extent that both policies at least professed the same goals and strove to realize the same transformation of mankind, it is possible to speak of the Great Cultural Revolution a continuation.

The Cultural Revolution was, of course, far broader in scope than the Great Leap Forward in that it gave rise to the Red Guards and enlarged the role of the Liberation Army considerably. However, the similarity between the two movements is striking in the combination of education with productive work and the extension of this principle to schools at a practical level. It is therefore understandable that Mao's expectations about the 1958 experiment and his indignation at its failure were great. The cause of the confidence and assurance displayed by Chinese leaders at the Ninth National Congress can be attributed to the feeling

that the "dream" of 1958 had at last been brought to fruition through the Cultural Revolution by mobilizing the Liberation Army which affirmed the Yen-an tradition. More important, however, with the exception of the ruling faction, Mao's thought won the overwhelming sympathy of the vast majority of the Chinese people. More than anything, the take-over of the educational system by lower class peasants which restored the sovereign right of education to the poorest and most oppressed class of people is proof of this acceptance. The right of education does not merely mean the right to receive education as it does in capitalist society, but it also means the right to *practice* education. The educational reform and the Great Cultural Revolution were the affirmation of the democratic impulse in socialism, i.e., the transformation from passive recipient to active participant and ultimately prime mover. This is because when man is respected as man and the exercise of his sovereign rights are guaranteed, he moves and acts without the need of material stimulants and inducements thereby making possible for example, the promotion of production and the ongoing class struggle. This is perhaps the point where the slogans "eliminate egotism" and "the realization of miracles" are united.

This interpretation is, of course, subject to question because the situation is still in flux and a number of contradictions have since become clear. From a theoretical point of view, there are still a number of uncertainties and fine points that want of further investigation. The significance of the Red Guards and the intervention of the military in the field of education are particularly subject to different interpretations. However, the role of the Red Guards and the Liberation Army in the educational reform are at the same time typically Chinese and highly original. The concept of a society where men are treated as men and where the young are treated as the children of men arose out of the Chinese revolution and, for the modern Chinese, has been effectively put into practice only in the army of the Communist Party, i.e., the Liberation Army.

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