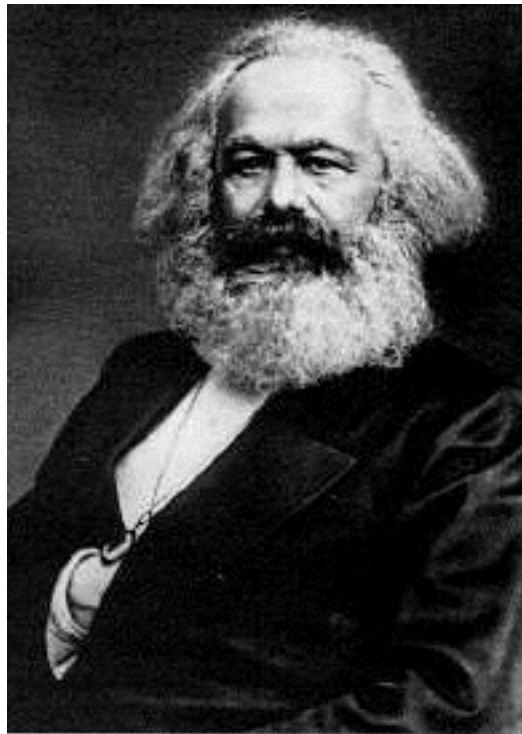


To what extent was Karl Marx responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society?



'Communism is the riddle of history solved, and it knows itself to be this solution.'

- Karl Marx in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*

(Picture: <http://www.historyguide.org/images/marx-bio.jpg>)

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Abstract

The aim of this essay is to understand to what extent was Karl Marx responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society. This essay explores the ways in which Marxism and Maoism differ regarding their views on society, and how close was the Maoism reflected in Mao's domestic policies to the principles of Marxism. The deviation of Maoism from Marxism is used to decide if Marx should hold responsibility for the social outcomes of Maoism.

Apart from the introduction and the conclusion, the body of the essay is structured into two chapters. The first chapter investigates Marx's views on society, and it covers the following social aspects: class and society, individual freedom, education, arts and culture, women's rights and religion. The second chapter is divided into two sections: Maoism in the society before 1949, and Maoism in the society after 1949, as this shows a clearer deviation of Maoism from Marxism. In the second chapter, Mao's views on society, and the effects of his policies on society, are categorized into the same aspects as chapter one. The second chapter features constant comparisons between Marxism and Maoism, and a detailed evaluation of the origin, purpose, values and limitations of two sources: Jung Chang and Jon Halliday's *Mao: The Untold Story*, and Ding Ling's questioning of Mao's participation in female emancipation mentioned in Michael Lynch's book *Access to History: The People's Republic of China 1949-76*.

The conclusion reached in the investigation is: Mao himself was mainly responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society because his ideology deviated from authentic Marxism. However, Mao used the influence of Marx to implement policies of his deviated ideology, therefore it is further concluded that Marx was also responsible for Mao's policies on the society to some extent.

Word Count: 295 Words

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	4
Investigation.....	5
• Chapter 1: Marx’s Views on Society.....	5
• Chapter 2: Maoism in the Society.....	8
• A) Maoism in the Society: Pre-1949.....	8
• B) Maoism in the Society: Post-1949.....	11
Conclusion.....	16
Bibliography.....	17

Introduction

Karl Marx (1818-83), the German political philosopher and economist, is known for his evaluations of the economic problems prevalent in capitalism, however, Marx is even more well known for his invention of modern communism. When former Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong, inaugurated his domestic policies, their negative impacts on the society were conceived as the effects of Marxism, as Mao was a communist who manifested his beliefs 'in a brand of Marxism that had deep roots in Chinese nationalism'¹. However, historian Terry Eagleton argued that Mao's ideology substantially derailed from Marxism.² Therefore, it is often disputed that Marx should not be blamed or held responsible for Mao's failures, since Mao betrayed the principles of Marxism.

Marxism was the fundamental and pivotal source to the growth and forming of ideologies including Leninism and Maoism. Countries whose leaders were communists had Marx to credit for their communist establishments. Conversely, the 'terror, tyranny and mass murder'³ that happened when Marxism was 'put into into practice'⁴, overshadowed the few successes that came with Marxist ideology, and communist leaders had Marx to blame for the setbacks. Therefore, there is a significance in the attempt to justify Marx's position.

Resolving the issue of Marx's role in the failures of Mao's domestic policies has still got its significant relevance today, because Marxism is an underlying force in today's combat against exploitation and the unfair distribution of wealth in capitalist societies.⁵ Furthermore, historian Robert Service had written that Marxism 'looks unlikely to return in the form it had in the USSR or in Maoist China'⁶, therefore, it would be critical for Marxists and communists to learn if Mao's ideology derailed from genuine Marxism, with the purpose to understand if catastrophes are inevitable in a Marxist society.

¹ Shaun Breslin, *Mao* (Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 19.

² Maoism was, in Eagleton's words, 'botched, bloody experiments which made the very idea of socialism stink in the nostrils of many of those elsewhere in the world who had most to benefit from it.' (Cited in Terry Eagleton, *Why Marx Was Right* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 15.)

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵ Gill Hands, *Marx: The Key Ideas* (London: Hodder Education, 2007), 185.

⁶ Robert Service, *Comrades! A History of World Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 481.

Investigation

Chapter 1: Marx's Views on Society

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' collaborative work, *The Communist Manifesto*, is considered to be the authoritative book of modern communism. Although Marx and Engels mainly focused on the issues prevalent in capitalist economies and the abolishment of the bourgeoisie, *The Communist Manifesto* contains material that called for social emancipation and equality. This chapter will provide information on Marx's views on society in the following aspects: class and society, individual freedom, education, arts and culture, women's rights and religion.

Class and Society

Marx identified the different classes in a capitalist society which included the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the lower middle class, and the 'social scum (Lumpenproletariat)'⁷. He claimed that prior to a communist society, the lower middle class, the social scum and the rest who cannot be placed in any of the classes, will 'adopt that (the standpoint) of the proletariat'⁸, and 'be swept into'⁹ the revolution led by the proletariat. When the bourgeoisie is abolished, the complete transformation to an ideal communist society 'demanded a "*social revolution*"'¹⁰, carried within the proletariat, and the eventual capitulation of private property. In the course of development, class distinctions will disappear while all production will be 'in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation'¹¹. When this stage of the continual revolutions is achieved, political power will become non-existent.¹² As a consequence, there would be 'no inequality and no need for further class struggle'.¹³

Individual Freedom

Marx believed that individuals were prevented from reaching their true potentials in capitalist societies.¹⁴ He asserts that individuality is necessary in communist societies to advocate the freedom of expression, which would then terminate 'destructive competitiveness'¹⁵. According to

⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: International Publishers, 1948), 19-20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰ Colin Barker et al., eds, *Marxism and Social Movements* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2013), 42.

¹¹ *Op. Cit.* Marx and Engels, 31.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

¹³ *Op. Cit.* Hands, 135.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

historian Gill Hands, Marx 'did not think that greed and envy were intrinsic to human nature'¹⁶, therefore, if people were to work in a communist environment, gratified by the equitable labor divided among them, they would not develop the greed and envy that would put them into capitalist competition.

Marx allowed the essential rights of freedom (influenced by the proletariat, who were battling for their freedom)¹⁷, and declared that the 'freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, equality under the law, [and] equal rights to vote'¹⁸ should be promoted in an ideal communist society.

Education

Marx's view on children's rights and education, was remarkably influenced by the proletariat of the 19th century Industrial Revolution. During the Industrial Revolution, the growth in machinery meant greater demands for manufactured goods. Therefore, proletarian families 'took it for granted that a family would not be able to support itself if the children were not employed'¹⁹. At the same time, there was no free schooling in the UK (not until the 1876 Elementary Education Act when elementary education became compulsory)²⁰. Consequentially, only 20% of children in London received proper education in 1840.²¹

Marx revealed in *The Communist Manifesto* that children should not be targets of capitalist labors, and argued that children of families were 'transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor'²² when they should be educated in schools. The tenth measure in the second section, 'Proletarians and Communists', of *The Communist Manifesto*, summarizes Marx's view on children's rights and education; the tenth measure supported 'Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.'²³

¹⁶ Ibid., 143.

¹⁷ Ibid., 144.

¹⁸ Ibid., 144.

¹⁹ "Child Labor," The Victorian Web, Last modified December 10, 2008, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/hist8.html>

²⁰ "Key Dates in Education Great Britain 1000-1899," Education Resources, Last modified unknown, <http://www.thepotteries.org/dates/education.htm>

²¹ Op. Cit. The Victorian Web.

²² Op. Cit. Marx and Engels, 27.

²³ Ibid., 31.

Arts and Culture

As Marx encouraged the freedom of expression in communist states, he believed that art and culture were just as important, for ideas are explicit through art, and art is reliant on culture. Moreover, Marx believed 'an appreciation of these (arts and culture) is vital for everybody in a society, for they help us to understand our society as well as ourselves'²⁴. Marx himself was an artistic philosopher who was 'very fond of using quotations from Greek literature and Shakespeare in his works'²⁵, which is evident in Marx's other work, *Das Kapital*.

Specifically, members of the society, especially artists, writers and musicians, should contradict to traditional art forms in order to 'subvert bourgeois prejudices that prevail in a capitalist society'²⁶. Marx believed that art was represented and dominated by the high ideals of the bourgeoisie, and it would be the artist's duty to reveal social pragmatism in various art forms.²⁷

Women's Rights

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx criticized the way women were treated in capitalist societies. He and Engels identified women as another oppressed social group, and wrote, 'The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to women'²⁸. Although Marx did not specify the rights women should receive in particular, his advocacy of equality and abolishment of the bourgeoisie suggests that he is supportive of emancipating women.

Additionally, Marx's ideas contributed considerably to the growth of socialist-feminist movements in the late 19th century. Historians Susan Ferguson and David McNally mentioned in Lise Vogel's book, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*, that socialist feminists were committed to 'understanding women's oppression as grounded in socio-material relations intrinsic to capitalism'²⁹, in which they 'turned to theoretical approaches associated with Marx's materialist conception of history'³⁰.

²⁴ Op. Cit. Hands, 142.

²⁵ Ibid., 142.

²⁶ Ibid., 143.

²⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Marx Engels On Literature and Art* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), accessed November 22, 2014. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/subject/art/index.htm>

²⁸ Op. Cit. Marx and Engels, 27.

²⁹ Lise Vogel, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013), XVIII.

³⁰ Ibid., XVIII.

Religion

As an atheist, Marx famously said, 'Religion is the opium of the people'³¹. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx mentioned that the survival of religion in capitalist societies proves it is a product of bourgeois exploitation.³² Coming from a Jewish family,³³ Marx had witnessed how religion created 'illusory happiness'³⁴ for those who followed their religious beliefs. In an ideal communist society, religion should be abolished.

To conclude this chapter, Marx's views on society evolved from the social problems inherent in capitalist societies, and his beliefs generally encouraged the emancipation of many social groups, such as the proletariat, children, unorthodox artists and women.

Chapter 2: Maoism in the Society

A) Maoism in the Society: Pre-1949

Mao was initially attracted to liberalism, not Marxism.³⁵ He was fascinated with the messages liberalism carried, which disapproved imperialism and China's feeble government. Mao was finally introduced to Marxism 'during his time in Beijing and Shanghai in 1918-20'³⁶. When the Treaty of Versailles gave Shandong Province to the Japanese, Mao and many Chinese felt betrayed by Western countries as it was thought that China would gain back Shandong Province from Germany after Germany's defeat in World War I. This inspired the May Fourth era, and Mao's interest in liberalism weakened.³⁷ When the Chinese version of *The Communist Manifesto* was published formally in November 1920,³⁸ Mao began to thoroughly interpret Marx's ideology, and envisioned China to revolutionize like Russia had done in 1917.

Class and Society

Marx's theory of overthrowing the privileged bourgeoisie involved the uprising of the proletariat. However, Mao's theory differs in this aspect. Due to China's agrarian state, Mao believed the

³¹ Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (Paris: Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, 1844), accessed November 27, 2014. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>

³² Op. Cit. Marx and Engels, 29.

³³ Austin Harris, *Modern Social Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 41.

³⁴ Op. Cit. Marx.

³⁵ Op. Cit. Breslin, 20.

³⁶ Ibid., 22.

³⁷ Ibid., 20.

³⁸ Jonathan Spence, *Mao* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1999), 52.

peasants would be the ones to overthrow the bourgeoisie.³⁹ In Mao's influential writing, "On New Democracy", Mao believed the revolution would have two stages. The first stage involved the eradication of the bourgeoisie, the second stage would 'bring about the collectivization and nationalization of property and economic resources and remove remaining elements of the bourgeoisie'⁴⁰. Marx's revolution is similar in terms of the eventual capitulation of private property, but Marx did not put his communist revolution into stages. Nevertheless, both Marx and Mao agree that the bourgeoisie would have to be abolished for the welfare of the people.

Marx believed the proletariat who succeeds in the uprising, will become more powerful in due course, therefore it is important to have continuous social revolutions until the need for political power gradually disappears. In Mao's communist state however, there would be a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'⁴¹, because Mao believed anarchism simply 'would not work'⁴².

Individual Freedom

In Marxism, individuals deserved the freedom of expression. Similarly in Maoism, a report published in 1945 called "On Coalition Government", proposed the demands of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which included the revocation of 'all reactionary laws and decrees aimed at suppressing the people's freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, political conviction and religious belief and freedom of the person, and guarantee full civil rights to the people'⁴³. This indicates that Mao's views on individual freedom conformed to Marxism.

Education

Marx advocated free education. Similarly for Mao, education was vital in the construction of a communist country, as the agrarian state needed specialists to expand the industry and revive the economy sectors of China.⁴⁴ In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Mao wrote, 'In our country today there are so many illiterates and yet the building of socialism cannot wait until illiteracy is eliminated'⁴⁵. Although Marx did not specify the content that should be taught to children, he was an advocator of new ideas that break free from the dominance of the bourgeoisie, therefore Mao's

³⁹ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁰ Allan Todd and Sally Waller, *History for the IB Diploma: Authoritarian and Single-Party States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 127

⁴¹ Ibid., 127.

⁴² Op. Cit. Spence, 53.

⁴³ Tse-tung Mao, "On Coalition Government," in the *Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (Yan'an: Publisher unknown, 1945).

⁴⁴ Robert Whitfield, *The Impact of Chairman Mao: China, 1946-1976* (Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes Ltd, 2008), 55.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 56.

views on education before 1949 conformed to Marxism as he rejected orthodox education which produced elitists and alienated the people.

Arts and Culture

Marx thought highly of the arts and the culture of the people. Mao also thought highly of them as means of propagandizing communism for the obtainment of popular support.⁴⁶ This shows that, Mao advocated art that showed the ideals of communism, which would be approved by Marx as Marx himself knew the importance of propagandizing communist ideals in art.

Women's Rights

Mao conformed to Marx's ideas regarding the advocacy of women's rights. Since young, Mao had been active with groups that opposed to the feudal marriage traditions in China. In 1919, he wrote an article about the suicide of a young woman named Miss Chao in which he attacked the oppression of women.⁴⁷ In 1945, Mao promised that the Communist Party would 'ensure freedom of marriage and equality as between men and women'⁴⁸. In Maoism, women deserved equal footing with men. Maoism and Marxism have similar stances in regards to the oppression of women. Both feel that there should be an end to the problem, however, Marx was vague on the rights women deserved, whereas Mao promised marital and other social rights for women clearly in his writings.

Religion

Marx believed religion created illusory happiness for those who were religious. Mao was an atheist like Marx, however, Mao did not promote the abolishment of religion, instead, in the document "On Coalition Government", Mao wrote, 'All religions are permitted in China's Liberated Areas, in accordance with the principle of freedom of religious belief. All believers in Protestantism, Catholicism, Islamism, Buddhism and other faiths enjoy the protection of the people's government

⁴⁶ An example would be the CCP's propagandizing of the events that happened on Dadu River, during the Long March (1934-1935), in which the CCP claimed that the Red Army survived miraculously from Nationalist surprise attacks.

⁴⁷ "The circumstances in which Miss Chao found herself were the following; (1) Chinese society; (2) the Chao family of Nanyang Street in Changsha; (3) the Wu family of Kantzuyuan Street in Changsha, the family of the husband she did not want. These three factors constituted three iron nets, composing a kind of triangular cage. Once caught in these three nets, it was in vain that she sought life in every way possible. There was no way for her to go on living ... It happened because of the shameful system of arranged marriages, because of the darkness of the social system, the negation of the individual will, and the absence of the freedom to choose one's own mate." (Cited in "Mao on Women," Marxists Org, Last modified: date unknown, <http://sfr-21.org/mao-women.html>)

⁴⁸ Ibid.

so long as they are abiding by its laws. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe; neither compulsion nor discrimination is permitted'⁴⁹.

To conclude this chapter, Mao was initially influenced by liberalism promoted in the West, and turned to Marxism when he witnessed the continuation of unjust imperialism fostered by Western countries. Regardless of the little contradictions between Marxism and Maoism, the impact of Marx's writings on Mao's development of his own ideology was significantly huge, therefore Mao's ideology on society before 1949 conformed to Marxism to a great extent. As a result, judging solely on Mao's ideology on society before 1949, Marx was responsible for influencing Mao and could be guilty for the fiascos of Mao's domestic policies.

B) Maoism in the Society: Post-1949

After the CCP claimed victory in the Chinese Civil War, the People's Republic of China was formed with Mao as its leader, or Chairman. Maoism was supposedly the ideology that would be imposed in China, however, now that Mao had expelled his largest opponent, the Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-shek, from China, Mao had the absolute power to control China. In this chapter, Mao's domestic policies launched after 1949 will be analyzed to examine if Mao's ideology significantly altered, thereby answering whether Maoism deviated from authentic Marxism, and would this deviation be great enough to justify that Marx was not responsible for the effects of Mao's policies on China's society.

Class and Society

The four mass campaigns of 1950 to 1952 marked Mao's betrayal to Marxist ideology on class and society.⁵⁰ Marx stressed that only the eventual disappearance of political power will there be a true, communist state, and the disappearance of political power relied on the continual revolutions of the people. However, Mao's four mass campaigns showed that Mao did not pursue the path of continuous revolution, but rather used the mass campaigns to declare his authority. The four mass campaigns aimed to persecute those that were accused of 'corruption, waste and obstructionist bureaucracy'⁵¹, 'bribery, tax evasion, the theft of state property, cheating on government contracts

⁴⁹ Op. Cit. Tse-tung Mao.

⁵⁰ The four mass campaigns were, the Resist America and Aid Korea campaign, the Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries campaign, the Three-Antis campaign, and the Five-Antis campaign. (Cited in Op. Cit. Whitfield, 46-47)

⁵¹ Ibid., 47.

and economic espionage⁵², and consequentially, the people who were persecuted, were forced to undergo humiliating self-rectifications, or executed. Mao used the campaigns as a tool to eliminate threatening internal dissidents, for example, he used the second campaign, the Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries campaign, to purge 3 million people that had had connections with the Nationalists.^{53 54} This indicates the possibility that Mao wanted power by 'purifying' his country of opponents who, he thought, could have challenged his authority. Due to this, Mao's power became more absolute. Moreover, through the four mass campaigns, Mao had successfully declared that he 'was always right'⁵⁵ and convinced his people that they 'could find the solution to any problem if they studied his thought sufficiently'⁵⁶. This is evidence that Mao did not intend to lose his power, therefore it seemed that Mao's idea of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was not temporary. If Mao did not intend to give up his authority, it would contradict Marxism because there should not be a government to rule in a communist society. In view of this, Maoism derailed greatly from Marxism.

Individual Freedom

The Hundred Flowers campaign which 'bloomed' in 1957,⁵⁷ was an 'open rectification' of the CCP and government. The Hundred Flowers campaign was proof for Mao's advocacy of the freedom of speech, but Mao could not accept the 'intense outpouring of criticism'⁵⁸ the party, government and he himself received from dissatisfied intellectuals. This resulted in his disloyalty to Marxism and his own ideologies set before 1949, as he initiated the anti-Rightist movement which was a, in Chang and Halliday's words, 'persecution machine'⁵⁹. The anti-Rightist movement labelled 550,000 intellectuals as 'Rightists'⁶⁰, and they were either denounced, arrested, executed, or all of the above. Maoism had clearly deviated from Marxism; it no longer supported the freedom of expression as Mao had used the anti-Rightist movement to demonstrate his capability of annihilating anyone who spoke against him, and to threaten the people not to challenge his position.

⁵² Ibid., 47.

⁵³ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁴ Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 318.

⁵⁵ Op. Cit. Todd and Waller, 127.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 127.

⁵⁷ Nick Knight, *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 225.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 225.

⁵⁹ Op. Cit. Chang and Halliday, 412.

⁶⁰ 'Rightist' was the name given to people whose political stance was of the right.

Nevertheless, the main source used to identify Mao's Hundred Flowers campaign and the anti-Rightist movement, *Mao: The Unknown Story* by Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, has limitations that might have overstated the derailment of Maoism from Marxism. The origin of *Mao: The Unknown Story* came from Chang's interviews with eyewitnesses of Mao's ruling, and Chang's personal experience as well. This could have limited the source, as the eyewitnesses Chang interviewed reported details from a few decades ago. This length of time between events and recollection could have led to loss or change of information, and the same unreliability goes for Chang's personal experience. The purpose of Chang's book was perhaps to manifest the severe reality of Mao's tyranny, or to claim justice for Chang's parents. In Chang's *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, she mentioned how her parents (who were Party cadres) were publicly humiliated and denounced for criticizing Mao for the failures of the Great Leap Forward.⁶¹ By publishing *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Chang possibly served her vengeful spirit in publicizing and criticizing the monstrous image of Mao. Therefore, the purpose of Chang's book limits it due to Chang's personal affiliation to Mao. However, the book is still valuable in terms of its exceptional capturing of Mao's ruthlessness.

Education

Although Mao encouraged education reforms, they were slow to take place because the government 'did not make spending on education a high priority'⁶². Historian Robert Whitfield argued that 'education in the new China did not entirely break away from the traditional Chinese model of education'⁶³, because schools were mostly occupied by the 'children of high-ranking party and government officials'⁶⁴. Furthermore, the heavy emphasis on examinations did not change in Maoist China.⁶⁵ Mao's reforms for education did not prove to be as effective as Marx had planned for a communist state. Moreover, Marx believed that education should be free and that the opportunity is equal for everyone, however, Mao's actions did not justify Marxism because the privileged received more education opportunities. In short, the effects of Maoism on education shows Mao's separation from Marxist beliefs.

Arts and Culture

In 1966, Mao declared the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution marked a significant deviation of Maoism from Marxism, as the arts and culture which Marx viewed so highly

⁶¹ Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (London: HarperPress, 2012).

⁶² Op. Cit. Whitfield, 56.

⁶³ Ibid., 56.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 56.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 56.

of, were extinguished. The Cultural Revolution aimed to rid China of the four olds, 'old culture, ideas, customs and habits'⁶⁶. The eradication of culture gives grounds for Maoism's derailment from authentic Marxism, because Marx celebrated culture as the key to helping people understand their society. The revolution involved the emergence of the Red Guards, who were 'people in their teens and 20s'⁶⁷ and 'free to humiliate, beat and kill'⁶⁸. The Red Guards targeted 'intellectuals, university and school teachers, members of non-communist parties'⁶⁹, and the victims were frequently denounced and humiliated publicly. Although continuous revolutions, which were recommended by Marx, were somewhat evident in the Cultural Revolution, Chang and Halliday argued that the cult of Mao from the Cultural Revolution was a trap for the Red Guards to surrender Mao's opponents,⁷⁰ therefore the revolutions were insincere and cannot correlate with Marxism.

Women's Rights

Marx was in favor of emancipation, and Mao's policies which ameliorated the lifestyles of women in China, showed that Maoism on women's rights conformed to Marxism. The Marriage Law of 1950 banned extreme forms of female subordination and oppression by giving women the rights to make their own marital decisions. Mao also banned foot binding in 1949, and launched campaigns in the 1950s to eradicate prostitution. Additionally, the trafficking of women became severely punishable by law. Women were also given health care rights, and the Maternal and Child Care Law granted mothers and their children protection.⁷¹

In spite of this, Ding Ling, a feminist writer, described Mao and the CCP as hypocrites in an article she wrote for the Party paper, because she felt that women who worked for them were exploited. Ding believed that 'Mao's brand of socialism did not truly include female emancipation'⁷². However, this source is limited because the origin is a history book by Michael Lynch, not the article in which Ding published her questionings in. Ding's works were banned in China after she was persecuted during the anti-Rightist movement. As a result, the article she wrote is unavailable to be viewed. This incomplete information demonstrates the lack of reliability in the source. The purpose of the source was to reveal Mao's real views on women's rights, therefore emotion could

⁶⁶ Ibid., 99.

⁶⁷ "China's Communist Revolution," BBC News, Last modified: date unknown, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/special_report/1999/09/99/china_50/red_guard.htm

⁶⁸ Op. Cit. Whitfield, 104.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 104.

⁷⁰ Op. Cit. Chang and Halliday, 503-516.

⁷¹ Michael Lynch, *Access to History: The People's Republic of China 1949-76* (London: Hodder Arnold Publication, 2008).

⁷² Ibid.

also have affected the way Ding Ling or Lynch felt about Mao's participation in female emancipation. Nevertheless, there is still value in the source as it was referenced by a historian. Historians study lots of sources to reach their thesis, therefore Lynch's suggestion that Mao did not truly supported women's rights could be an authentic result of hindsight.

Religion

Religious people were immediately condemned after the launching of the Cultural Revolution. Religious relics, churches and sites were destroyed by the Red Guards,⁷³ and Mao ordered this because Marxism advocated the abolishment of religion. This shows how Mao's ideology towards religion changed; before 1949, Mao permitted religion in China! However, this shows that Maoism did deviate but came back to conform Marx's views on religion.

To conclude this chapter, Maoism in the Chinese society after 1949 was very different from Maoism in the society before 1949. Inferring from the campaigns, movements and policies he adopted, Mao became increasingly aware of his public impression. He believed in order to protect his image, he needed a cessation on the criticisms he was receiving. Consequentially, Mao had altered his ideology to gratify his desperation for absolute authority and popular support. This is evidence that Maoism deviated from Marxism in almost every way. Not only did Mao's communist-claimed policies become unauthentic, he deliberately prohibited the freedom of expression of the people. This implies that the Mao himself should claim the effects Maoism had on China's society, not Marx.

⁷³ Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 119.

Conclusion

This investigation had sought to answer to what extent was Karl Marx responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society. The conclusions reached from the analysis of the evidence suggest that, although Mao himself was responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society, Marx also need to hold responsibility for allowing Mao to shape and change Maoism.

The outcomes of Mao's policies, notably the ones that met with failure, are often blamed on Marx because he was the founding father of modern communism. However, domestic policies implemented by Mao after 1949 reflected obvious deviations of Maoism from genuine Marxism. For example, Mao's pursue of a communist state showed an absence of sincerity, as his puts himself in the highest-ranked position and preserved his authority through the removal of his opposition. Mao had broke the basic principles of Marxism, and that is the eventual abolishment of the government. Judging from Mao's policies, he never intended to surrender position, and used Marxism as the excuse for his radical, left-wing policies which helped him purge more than a few million Chinese who criticized him. Therefore, Mao himself was responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society.

On the other hand, Marx's influence on Mao was undoubtedly profound. Mao also found ways to integrate his plans to eliminate opposition with Marxist theory, for example, Mao used Marx's views on religion as a reason for the Cultural Revolution. This suggests that even if Mao should be responsible for the effects Maoism had on China's society, Marx still played a role in contributing to Maoism alterations involuntarily. As a result, Marx was responsible for Mao's policies on the society to some extent.

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