

Crisis Committee: The Death of Mao: China 1976

The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

The May Fourth Movement

The May Fourth Movement began in China in the late 1910s, sparked by university students in the aftermath of World War One. This movement pushed for a complete break from Chinese traditional culture and for the popularization of Western ideals of science and



democracy in the country.¹ China had been weakened by a series of internal problems, including the decline of the Qing Dynasty, foreign invasions, and the humiliating treaties signed with Western powers, such as the Treaty of Versailles following World War I.² These factors led to a deep sense of national humiliation and a desire for change; many of the younger generations began to read papers such as the “New Youth” (Xinqingnian), helping to grow and spread the new ideals.

On May 4th, 1919, over 3,000 students from Beijing held a massive demonstration against the Treaty of Versailles giving the German territories in China (part of the Shandong province) to Japan rather than China. The Chinese government did not resist the decision, sparking the protesters to burn the house of the Minister of Communications and assault the minister to Japan (both of whom were viewed as pro-Japanese officials). Demonstrations continued across the country over the next few weeks, leading to several deaths and over 1,000 arrests.³ Beginning on June 5th, Shanghai merchants and workers went on strike in support of the students. Facing the tide of unfavorable public opinion, the Chinese government dismissed several Pro-Japanese officials, the cabinet resigned, and China refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany.⁴ Out of this movement came two major groups that would dominate Chinese politics for the next three decades: The successful reorganization of the Kuomintang (a more conservative, nationalist party also called the KMT) and the birth of the revolutionary Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921.

Two figures vital to the formation of the CCP were Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu. Dazhao, born on 29 October 1888, was an editor of the Xinqingnian journal and an economics professor at Peking University.⁵ Influenced by the success of the Russian Revolution, he began to teach Marxism to

¹ Chow, Tse-tsung. "The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China." Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.

² "The fall of the Qing dynasty." *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/znmk4xs/articles/zds2qfr>.

³ "May Fourth Movement 1919." *The National Archives--United Kingdom*.

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/may-fourth-movement-1919/>.

⁴ "Why is the May 4th Movement a Turning Point in Modern Chinese History?" *The Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs*. <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/explore-engage/classroom-resources/1919-the-year-of-the-crack-up/china-protests>.

⁵ "Li Dazhao." *Peking University Library*. <https://www.lib.pku.edu.cn/portal/en/bgk/bgjs/lishiyange/lidazhao>.

students who would later become critical communist leaders (including Mao Zedong). Chen Duxiu, born on 9 October 1879, bounced back and forth between Japan and China to study and avoid Chinese authorities. He refused to join Sun Yat-sen (leader of the KMT), because he did not accept Nationalism. After the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy, Chen became the secretary general of the military governor of Anhui. After a failed revolution against President Yuan Shikai, he was forced to flee to Shanghai then Japan, where he worked on the Jiayin (The Tiger) magazine calling for liberal Chinese political reforms.

For many of these years, China's national government was ineffective and various parts of China were ruled by warlords.⁶ In 1924, the KMT and the CCP entered an alliance against the varying regional warlords.⁷ While both sides claimed the alliance was aimed at the warlord threats, both sides held ulterior motives. The Communists wanted to take the opportunity to spread communism through the KMT ranks and the liberated provinces, while the KMT wanted to use the alliance to control the Communists. While the alliance was successful at first with the Northern Expedition campaign, by 1926 their ulterior motives led to the alliance's collapse, the KMT would then purge thousands of Communists in the Shanghai massacre, pushing the Communists underground.⁸

The Jiangxi Soviet and the Long March

After being pushed underground, the Communists abandoned their urban activities in favor of the rural regions. The Communists appealed to the rural peasants, allowing them to establish their own state, the Jiangxi Soviet, with Mao Zedong being elected as its chairman.⁹ The success of this state scared the KMT, who, from 1930 to 1933, launched four large-scale military campaigns to destroy the Jiangxi Soviet. All four of these campaigns were defeated by the Communists' tight guerrilla tactics. The successful use of these tactics would teach Mao Zedong how to effectively use guerrilla warfare; these tactics would be ones he would continue to use throughout the rest of the civil war. The CCP's central committee formally moved its headquarters to the Jiangxi Soviet in 1933, and with support from Moscow took control of the Soviet from Mao. With the new leaders of the Soviet using fixed-positional tactics, the Soviet was defeated in the KMT's fifth campaign. In late 1934, the CCP decided to leave Jiangxi and began its Long March.

The Long March was a grueling journey of approximately 6,000 miles undertaken by the Red Army, which was led by the CCP, to escape encirclement and extermination by the forces of the KMT, led by Chiang Kai-shek.¹⁰ The Long March was primarily a strategic retreat; The goal was to break out of the encirclement and find a new base of operations in northern China. The CCP began in the southern Jiangxi Province and concluded in the northern Shaanxi Province. The Red Army

⁶ "A Tale of Two Warlords: Republican China During the 1920s." *Association of Asian Studies*.

<https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/aaa/archives/a-tale-of-two-warlords-republican-china-during-the-1920s/>.

⁷ Schwarz, Vera. "The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919." Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

⁸ "The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926–1928." *University of Hawai'i Press*.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9zck3k>.

⁹ "Jiangxi Soviet." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jiangxi-Soviet>.

¹⁰ Salisbury, Harrison E. "The Long March: The Untold Story." New York: Harper & Row, 1985.

had to traverse rugged and inhospitable terrain, including mountains, rivers, and deserts. Over the first several months they faced constant bombing from the Kuomintang's air force, and by the time they reached Zunyi, Guizhou, they had lost over half their army.¹¹

Following a conference in January, Mao Zedong became the official leader of the party following his courageous rise to and de-facto place in leadership. Under his lead, the Communists moved Northwest towards the border with the Soviet Union. Along the way, another communist army under the leadership of Zhang Guotao joined Mao for a short time before a power struggle between Mao and Zhang led to them splitting up. Mao would arrive in Northern Shaanxi where Gao Gang and Liu Zhidan had set up a new base. Only 8,000 of the original troops would make it to Shaanxi. While some had split off to mobilize rural peasants, the majority had been killed or went missing during combat, disease, and attrition.¹² These casualties would include Mao's two children and his younger brother. This base served to play a crucial role in the later stages of the Chinese Civil War, which ultimately resulted in the CCP's victory and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.



WWII and Mao's Rise to Power

World War Two and the Second Sino-Japanese War

World War II, which completely restructured the international system in the mid-20th century, had profound and lasting implications for China, which had been caught in the throes of the Second Sino-Japanese War since 1937. The Sino-Japanese conflict originated from Japan's imperialist policy and territorial ambitions towards China.¹³ As China became an essential theater in the broader context of World War II, its role in the war and its outcomes have significant relevance to its subsequent position on the world stage.

The Second Sino-Japanese War started when Japan made a full-scale invasion of China in July 1937 after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.¹⁴ Despite Japan's superior military technology and organization, China put up a stiff resistance under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Clashes like the Battle of Shanghai, where the Chinese resisted for over three months, signified China's resilience in

¹¹ "The Long March." *History.com*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-long-march>.

¹² "Long March." *History.com*. <https://www.history.com/topics/asian-history/long-march>.

¹³ "Online Sources: 2nd Sino-Japanese War." *Florida Atlantic University Libraries*. <https://libguides.fau.edu/wars-conflicts/sino-japanese-war2>.

¹⁴ Peattie, Mark R., Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven, eds. "The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945." Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

the face of adversity.¹⁵ The infamous Rape of Nanking—in which more than 200,000 civilians and prisoners of war were executed—demonstrated the brutality of Imperial Japan's forces.¹⁶

As an Allied power in World War II, China's main contribution was to keep large parts of Japan's military force occupied on its soil.¹⁷ China's sacrifices were considerable. It lost millions of lives, not only soldiers but also civilians, whose deaths often resulted from war atrocities committed by Japanese forces, such as the aforementioned massacre at Nanking. Furthermore, in economic terms, the war disrupted China's economy and hobbled its progress, leading to inflation, famine, and other hardships for everyday citizens.

In the aftermath of World War II, China emerged as one of the victors but remained scarred from the brutalities of war. The conclusion of the Second Sino-Japanese War did not bring about immediate peace or stability for the nation. Rather, it marked the resumption of the Chinese Civil War, pitching the Nationalist KMT led by Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong. The struggle's outcome would ultimately define China's trajectory for the rest of the 20th century and beyond.

The Creation of the People's Republic of China

The Communist Revolution, also known as the Chinese Revolution, marked a turning point in modern Chinese history upon its culmination in 1949. This was a period of significant political upheaval, where Communist forces, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, forged a path of resistance against Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT. The repercussion of more than a decade of civil unrest, coupled with the wounds of the Pacific War, had weakened the KMT's position, setting the stage for the Communist forces to overturn the nationalist government.¹⁸ From the communist perspective, this revolution symbolized a revolt against imperialism and the birth of a new socio-political order dedicated to the cause of the proletariat.

The conclusion of the Second Sino-Japanese War did not bring respite but rather exacerbated existing divisions between the KMT and the Communists, resulting in the renewal of the Chinese Civil War. Despite initial advancements of the Nationalists, the tide soon began to turn in favor of the Communists. Reasons for the Communist's ascendancy ranged from their strategic military planning, effective land reforms that garnered the support of the masses, to the misgovernance, corruption, and loss of public support faced by the KMT.¹⁹ The Soviet Union also provided the CCP with valuable support during the Civil War, in terms of weapons shipments, funds, and other guidance.²⁰ By 1949, the communists had gained effective control of the mainland. With the military tide irreversible, the KMT decided on a strategic retreat, relocating the government, military forces, and about two million refugees to the island of Taiwan. The significant flight, known as "The Great Retreat," saved the

¹⁵ "Battle of Shanghai." *University of Washington*.

<https://depts.washington.edu/triolive/quest/2007/TTQ07032/yuen/battleofshang.html>.

¹⁶ "The Rape of Nanking." *History.com*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-rape-of-nanking>.

¹⁷ Mitter, Rana. "Forgotten Ally: China's World War II, 1937-1945." Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013.

¹⁸ Fairbank, John King, and Merle Goldman. "China: A New History." Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

¹⁹ "The Chinese Revolution of 1949." *U.S. Department of State*. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/chinese-rev>.

²⁰ "How Stalin Elevated the Chinese Communist Party to Power in Xinjiang in 1949." *The Wilson Center*.

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/how-stalin-elevated-the-chinese-communist-party-to-power-xinjiang-1949>.

remaining KMT forces from total eradication and allowed them to hold on to some sovereignty.²¹ This move did not, however, prevent the rest of China from falling under communist control. By October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong officially proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China, marking the victory of the communists in mainland China, while the KMT established the Republic of China in Taiwan.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China represented the dawn of a new era for China on the global stage, heralding a shift from semi-colonial semi-feudal society to socialist transformation under the leadership of the proletariat. The Communist Party embarked on dramatic reforms, characterized by nationalization of industry, collectivization of agriculture, and adoption of a planned economy, aiming to transform China into an independent and prosperous socialist state. However, the political reformation brought radical change, and every aspect of Chinese society was, in one way or another, profoundly impacted - a condition that would lay the foundations for contemporary China.

Maoism in Action

Defining Maoism

Maoism, also known as *Mao Zedong Thought*, is a political and ideological framework that emerged as a variant of Marxism-Leninism during the leadership of Mao Zedong in China. It represents a distinct interpretation of communist theory and practice, building upon the foundations of Marxism-Leninism but introducing several significant departures and innovations.²² Maoism places a strong emphasis on the role of peasants as a revolutionary force, in contrast to the traditional Marxist focus on the urban proletariat.²³ Mao believed that peasants in agrarian societies like China should play a leading role in the communist revolution. Additionally, Maoism introduced the concept of "protracted people's war," emphasizing guerrilla warfare and the mobilization of the rural population over an extended period. This strategy was instrumental in the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) victory over the KMT during the Civil War. Maoism also argues for the necessity of continuous revolution even after the establishment of a socialist state, as a means to prevent the emergence of a new bourgeoisie within the party.²⁴ Finally, unlike Soviet-style Marxism-Leninism, which often advocated for economic collaboration with capitalist nations, Maoism promoted self-reliance and the development of China's national industries.



The Sino-Soviet Split

The Sino-Soviet Split occurred in the late-1950s and had far-reaching consequences for the Cold War dynamics and global politics. Following two separate Communist revolutions, a rift emerged between

²¹ "Taiwan in Time: The great retreat." *Taipei Times*. <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2016/12/04/2003660529>.

²² Mao Zedong. 1966. Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Translated by Stuart Schram. Foreign Languages Press.

²³ "Q&A: Mao and Maoism." *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2006/9/4/qa-mao-and-maoism>.

²⁴ "The problema with Mao's 'continuous' Revolution." *The China Project*. <https://thechinaproject.com/2023/07/19/the-problem-with-maos-continuous-revolution/>.

the two largest communist powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, led by Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Zedong, respectively. One of the primary motivations behind the Sino-Soviet Split was ideological differences; despite both nations being communist, they had different interpretations of Marxism-Leninism.²⁵ The Chinese believed in a more radical, militant approach to world revolution, while the Soviets under Khrushchev advocated for a more peaceful coexistence with capitalist nations.²⁶ Additionally, territorial disputes along the Sino-Soviet border, particularly in areas like Xinjiang and the Russian Far East, added strain to their relationship.

This ideological and now literal split had profound effects on global politics and the ongoing Cold War. China pursued an independent foreign policy, distancing itself from the Soviet Union and forming alliances with other socialist and non-aligned nations. This shift influenced the global balance of power, as the United States saw an opportunity to exploit the division and engage in diplomatic initiatives with both China and the Soviet Union. The split also affected the dynamics within the communist world, leading to a proliferation of communist parties worldwide aligned with either China or the Soviet Union.

The Great Leap Forward

The Great Leap Forward, spanning from 1958 to 1962, represents a significant period in China's history. Instituted by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong, this campaign aimed to morph China's agrarian economy rapidly into an industrialized socialist society.²⁷ It was the second phase of the Chinese Communist Party's broader plan for economic reform, the "Second Five-Year Plan". The scheme called for the end of privatized farming, pushing instead for collectivized, communal living and included ambitious industrial production targets, especially steel creation.

However, the Great Leap Forward resulted in severe and unthinkable outcomes, the most notable being an extreme famine leading to millions of casualties.²⁸ Mao's decision to reorganize agriculture led to both a drop-in overall food production and a decrease in farm family incomes.²⁹ Also, forced collectivization of farms removed motivation for individual farmers to excel. The swift push towards heavy industry also failed disastrously with the establishment of backyard furnaces.³⁰ The intention was to bolster steel production, but the resulting product was low quality and unsuitable for industrial applications.

In the end, the Great Leap Forward is largely considered to be one of the greatest calamities of the 20th century. Its failure precipitated social and economic crisis on an unimaginable scale, leading to the death of millions and setting China's economic development back by many years.³¹ The

²⁵ "The Sino-Soviet Split." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/20th-century-international-relations-2085155/The-Sino-Soviet-split>.

²⁶ "The Sino-Soviet Alliance, 70 Years Later." *The Wilson Center*. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/sino-soviet-alliance-70-years-later>.

²⁷ Dikötter, Frank. "Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962." Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010.

²⁸ Yang, Dali. "Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since The Great Leap Famine," Stanford University Press, 2012.

²⁹ "The Great Leap Forward." *ThoughtCo*. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-great-leap-forward-195154>.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

catastrophe led to severe political repercussions for Mao Zedong, who was compelled to resign as the State Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Regardless, he retained his position as the leader of the Chinese Communist Party.³²

Interactions on the Foreign Stage

The stereotype of Mao's China is that it largely shunned the outside world. While Mao did seek to make China economically and militarily self-reliant—particularly after the Sino-Soviet split in 1960—Mao did seek to export Maoism to other countries. During the 1960s in particular, Chinese propaganda pushed the cult of personality internationally, especially in the global south.³³ Mao and the CCP helped turn Mao and Maoism into the go-to ideology for insurgencies, insurrections, and eventually governments from Malaysia, Indonesia, and Cambodia in China's periphery, to Tanzania, Zambia, and Ghana in Africa. Much of Mao's foreign activities at this stage focused on providing military advisers, spreading propaganda leaflets and the Little Red Book, and/or setting up pro-Mao/China radio networks. These efforts helped raise the profile of China and Maoism, but the true extent of their impact is rather limited.

Mao sought to make a greater impact in supporting Maoist movements and countries. China established international aid programs which helped win converts over to Maoism and China's political system. For example, in 1964, while still recovering from the Great Leap Forward, China provided \$64 million of aid to Tanzania alone.³⁴ Chinese aid often took the form of credits, very low-interest loans, and outright gifts; but 20% of the foreign aid budget during Mao's rule was spent on military training.³⁵ Mao's China provided military instruction to the military of nations as well as Maoist guerrillas trying to overthrow colonial or conservative governments. Between 1964 and 1985, China spent roughly \$200 million and trained 20,000 fighters from 19 African nations.³⁶ China was also an active supporter of the Communist government in North Vietnam. China trained North Vietnamese soldiers and provided crucial economic, financial, and ideological support to North Vietnam; some historians estimate that from 1950 to 1970 China provided North Vietnam with support worth \$20 billion.³⁷ However, the Communist-led now unified Vietnam has sought to distance itself from the Chinese and is increasingly at conflict with China over Chinese support for and activities in Cambodia.

This is all to say that China's international activities under Mao consisted of supporting anti-colonial or anti-conservative guerilla movements and supporting the anti-western and anti-Soviet

³² MacFarquhar, Roderick and Schoenhals, Michael. "Mao's Last Revolution." Belknap Press, 2006.

³³ "Maoism A Global History." By Julia Lovell. Page 125.

³⁴ "Maoism A Global History." By Julia Lovell. Page 193.

³⁵ "Maoism A Global History." By Julia Lovell. Page 194.

³⁶ "Maoism A Global History." By Julia Lovell. Page 195.

³⁷ "China and Soviet Union recognize Democratic Republic of Vietnam." History.com. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/china-and-soviet-union-recognize-democratic-republic-of-vietnam>.

governments in the global south. Mao, himself, put a special emphasis on the importance of military conflict in achieving national liberation, but China also provided economic aid such as food supplies, infrastructure development, and medical support. Some countries that have received aid and assistance from China are increasingly wary of China. China's emphasis on centering Maoism in their aid efforts has also become increasingly off-putting to many countries in the global south.



One of the most significant foreign developments near the end of Mao's tenure was the beginning of the thaw in relations with the United States. The United States and China have faced tense relations since the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. China and the United States fought during the Korean War and China helped support Maoist groups and governments against the United States and its allies during the 50s and 60s.³⁸ The United States also continued to recognize the Republic of China government on the island of Taiwan as the legitimate government of China. In 1972, after secret negotiations, President Nixon visited China, becoming the first American head of state to visit the country.³⁹ During the visit, Nixon met with Mao, but Nixon largely interacted with Premier Zhou Enlai. The visit allowed for some diplomatic, political, and economic cooperation between China and the United States. While it did not completely unthaw the relationship, it started the process and helped reduce tensions.

The State of China Today

The Cultural Revolution

In 1966 Mao Zedong announced the launch of the Cultural Revolution. He proclaimed the aim of this "second" revolution was to "root out and eliminate right-wing capitalists who infiltrated the party." As a result of deciding to take a less-leading role as Chairman of the CCP and more moderate figures endorsing economic reforms with individual incentives Mao slowly began to detest the Party's stray from what he deemed "pure communism." Even though these policies were the key to economic recovery following the failures of the Great Leap Forward, Mao became convinced that these moderate party officials were using their positions to enrich themselves over the Party.⁴⁰

One tenet of Mao's praxis was to always have open criticism and debate over disagreements within the CCP. Although a legitimate case for having strategic organizing debates, this process was abused to allow Mao to call on devoted Maoists to expose and punish the "capitalists" who had infiltrated the Chinese Communist Party to advance their Anti-Communist agenda. The leftist caucus of the Party believed that this campaign was truly a revolutionary moment; this was a battle for the soul of China once again, only this time the bourgeoisie were eroding the power of the proletariat more than ever before.

³⁸ "Chronology of U.S.-China Relations, 1784-2000." *U.S. Department of State*. <https://history.state.gov/countries/issues/china-us-relations>.

³⁹ "Nixon's 1972 Visit to China at 50." *The Wilson Center*. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/nixons-1972-visit-china-50>.

⁴⁰ "Introduction to the Cultural Revolution." *Stanford University*. https://spice.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/introduction_to_the_cultural_revolution.

Mao's closest allies sprang into action. Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, argued that artistic and cultural works were too critical of Communism and the CCP and must be reprimanded for not focusing on promoting a "revolutionary spirit" instead.⁴¹ Lin Biao agreed and organized hundreds of Mao's quotes into a piece of theory he called "Quotations from Chairman Mao" (also known as "The Little Red Book" colloquially).⁴² As head officer of the People's Liberation Army, he forced every soldier to read the book and adhere to the strict party line or face discipline. Mao held Biao up as a hero to the Party, demanding that other CCP members and the board Chinese population study the Little Red Book and do all in their power to purge right-wing infiltrators from society. With the passing of a directive called the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (a.k.a. the Sixteen Points) the Cultural Revolution began.⁴³

Fear spread across the population over being labeled a "reactionary" and facing abuse from their comrades. Paradoxically, there was no definitive definition of a "Communist" put forward in the Sixteen Points, leading to local communities all adopting different policies and inflicting mass violence across their communities—cadre, friends, and even family were at risk of their "discovery." During the Cultural Revolution, Mao's Red Guards, consisting mainly of students and young radicals, fervently propagated his ideology through mass rallies and campaigns.⁴⁴ They attacked traditional cultural symbols, intellectuals, and anyone perceived as a threat to the Communist Party's supremacy. The Red Guards' actions resulted in the destruction of countless historical artifacts, temples, and cultural heritage sites, leading to the loss of invaluable historical and cultural treasures. Individuals were subjected to public humiliation, forced labor, and brutal purges. Families were torn apart, and trust within communities eroded. The economic and educational systems deteriorated, as many intellectuals and professionals were either persecuted or sent to labor camps for their assumed beliefs and activity against the Chinese Communist Party.

The Cultural Revolution ultimately ended with Mao's death yesterday, December 9, 1976 –it is your job, as a high-ranking CCP officer who has so far survived these purges, to determine the future of the People's Republic of China immediately following the death of Great Chairman Mao.

⁴¹ "Jiang Qing and the Cultural Revolution." *University of Nevada Las Vegas Libraries*. <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4247&context=rtds>.

⁴² "Quotations from Mao Tse Tung." *Marxists.org*. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/index.htm>.

⁴³ "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." *Peking Review*. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/1966/PR1966-33g.htm>.

⁴⁴ "The Cultural Revolution: all you need to know about China's political convulsion." *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/the-cultural-revolution-50-years-on-all-you-need-to-know-about-chinas-political-convulsion>.