

MAO-TSE-TUNG

New Democracy and National Culture

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Mao Tes-Tung was the most important figure in the history of communist china. Although he cannot be regarded as the founder of the communist party of china, he gave it life and philosophy.

Mao started his life in 1919 as a petty clerk in the library of national peking university, and came under the influence of chen Tu-hsin and li Ta-chao, who were then the dean of arts faculty and the librarian respectively in the same university. It may be mind and philosophy we finally shaped, that in 1919 the Versailles peace conference completely disregarded china's rights and interests, even though china was an ally of the victorious powers. China's disillusionment came suddenly and unexpectedly, so that when Russia, then a young communist republic only two years old, made its declaration to china, voluntarily abolishing all unequal treaties contracted by the tsarist government and offering to retrocede all territorial concessions. The Chinese intellectuals flocked into the open arms of the soviets. On July 25, 1919 the soviet government addressed its first declaration "to the Chinese people and the governments of south and north china" renouncing all the conquests and special privileges acquired by the tsarist government in china. The soviet government urged the Chinese people to enter into official relations with them.

"if the people of china want to become free like the Russian people and be spared the lot prepared for them by the allies at Versailles, which would make of china a second Korea or a second India, let it understand that its only ally and brother in its struggle for national freedom are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army"

Such a policy of the new soviet government attracted the Chinese scholars, particularly the late Tsai Yuan-pei, the head of the National Peking University. He was a great educationist and philosopher of his time and, being impressed by Chen Tu-hsin, Li Ta-chao and Mao Tse-tung, employed them in the university. As such the National Peking University served as a base for spreading the communist ideology and propaganda in china.

In 1920 Chen Tu-hsin and Li Ta-chao founded a society for the study of Marxism in Peking. Contemporaneously, another society of the same nature came into existence in Shanghai, known as the "Young Socialist League". Both societies attracted large numbers of intellectuals and young people, and were the forerunners of Chinese communist party.

Chen Tu-hsin had established contact with Moscow as early as 1919 and sent representatives to the soviet capital to solicit Chinese membership in the third international, known as the communter. Mr. Marling, a representative of the communter, arrived at shanghai in 1920 and arranged to organize a shines communist Party. Chenthen called a conference of all sympathizers the following May, and the communist Party of china was inaugurated chen Tu-hsin was elected chairman of the party: and Mao Tse-tung, chang Kuo-Lin Po-chu and others were members.

The main object of these books was to show that communism in the ultimate aim of china, although it well take some years. China has to remain under the type of state called new Democracy' for a number of years before in can be sovietized.. 'New Democracy' according to Mao Tse-tung means to thins first democracy for the people, and second, dictatorship for the reactionaries. These two things, when combined, constitute the people's democratic dictatorship. Under the leadership of the working class and the communist party in 'New Democracy' various classes unite to create their own state and elect their own government so as to enforce their dictatorship over the henchmen of imperialism-the landlord class and bureaucratic, capitalist class, as well as the reactionary clique of the the people's government well suppress such persons. It well only permit them to behave themselves properly. It well not allow them to speak or act wildly. Should they do so they well instantly curded and punished. The democratic system is to be carried out within the ranks of the people, giving them freedom of speech, assembly and association.

The new democracy' is based on a compromise: it does not go in for the immediate application of lining-Stalinist principles. It means welding the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie into a united front under the leadership of the working class, and from this proceeding to the creation of a state of the people

S democratic dictatorship. A state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. Mao Tse-tung wrote: " Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus-meaning principally the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts-thereby safeguarding national defense and protecting the people's interest. Given these conditions. China, under the leadership of the working class and the communist Party, can develop steadily from an agricultural into an industrial country and from a New Democratic into a socialist and eventually, communist society, eliminating classed and realizing universal harmony"

Mao's definition of 'New Democracy' is based on the Leninist idea of practical democracy. At the end of his vista is communist china- not china free to seek and find her independent national self-expression a society not growing in the organic way of growth but forcibly shaped in a mould. He described three stages by which the Marxist aim was to be accomplished in china.

1. Placing the country under the political leadership of the communist party and working through the party regime.
2. Carrying through a socialistic revolution by means of policies operated by the state : and
3. Producing the soviet pattern in Chinese life and society through the practice of socialism.

While sun Yat-Sen's aim was to train the people in the ways of democracy and self-government. Mao Tse-tung's aim was to restrict democracy and freedom and place the people of china under the communist Party's leadership.

Communist party's supremacy remains fundamental in communist democracy, which Mao, later on, called 'the people's democracy'. This party is supposed to be the vanguard of the working class in its Marxian struggle towards dictatorship. It is to guide and lead the people. The communist concept of it is not Abraham lincoln's government by the people, of the people. And for the people. They think of the people in terms of classed and perceive in all exiting forms of society an inherent class conflict. This conflict divides society into two vertical sections. Some classed are regarded as being of the people and other enemies of the people. The communist state recognizes only the former-the rest being separated from them under distinctive labels as 'bourgeoisie' ' capitalist', 'reactionary', etc.

A ' People's Democracy' is democracy with regard to those classes of society only which it recognizes healthy for its own life and progress. The classes which it considers reactionary and unhealhy, are suppressed. Mao Tse-tung wrote.

“ We definitely have no benevolent policies toward the reactionary or the counter-revolutionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our benevolent policy does not apply to such deeds or such persons who are outside the ranks of the people it applies only to the people.

“The people's state is for the protection of the people. Once they have a people's state, the people then have the possibility of applying democratic methods on a nationwide and comprehensive scale to educate and reform themselves so that they may get rid of the influences of domestic and foreign reactionaries. Thus, the people can reform their bad habits and thoughts derived from the old society so that they well not take the wrong road pointed out to them by the reactionaries but well continue to advance and develop toward a socialist and then communist society”.

And for those belonging to reactionary leaders use, are claimed to be democratic. They claim to use the methods of persuasion and not of compulsion. If the people break the law, they well be punished, imprisoned or even sentenced to death. But these well be individual cases, differing in principle form the dictatorship imposed against the reactionaries as a class.

As for those belonging to reactionary classes or groups, after their political power has been overthrown, Mao Tse-tung remarked, land and work well be give. They well also be permitted to make a living and to reform themselves through labour into new pwesonrs-but only on condition

that they do not rebel, sabotage or create disturbances. If they do not want to work, the people's state will force them to do so. Furthermore, Mao wrote, "the propaganda and educational work directed toward them will be carried out with the same care and thoroughness as the work already conducted among captured army officers. This may also be spoken of as a 'benevolent policy, but it will be compulsorily imposed upon those originally from enemy classes. This can in no way be compared to our work along self-educational lines among the ranks of the revolutionary people'".

This job of reforming the reactionary classes, according to Mao Tse-tung, can be handled only by a state having a people's democratic dictatorship. When the work has been completed, China's major exploiting classes—the landlord class and the bureaucratic capitalist class, i.e., the monopoly capitalist class—will have been finally eliminated.

In fact, the foundation of the people's democratic dictatorship is, according to Mao, the alliance of the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. It is essentially the alliance of the workers and peasants, because these two classes comprise eighty to ninety per cent of China's population. In overthrowing imperialism and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang, these two classes are the major force. The transition from 'New Democracy' to socialism also depends primarily upon the alliance of these two classes. Mao ranks of the people, giving them freedom of speech, of assembly and of convocation. The right to vote is given to the people only, not to dictatorship over the reactionaries combine to form the democratic dictatorship of the people. Our present task is to strengthen the apparatus of the popular state. This applies principally to army, the police, and the judiciary. The army, the police and the judiciary are the instruments by which class oppresses class. Towards hostile classes the state apparatus is the instrument of oppression; it is violent and not benevolent.

The people's democratic dictatorship Mao strongly delivered must have the leadership of the working class. This is because the working class is the most far-sighted class, most impartially just and most filled with revolutionary thoroughness and consistency. The entire history of revolution proves that "without the leadership of the working class, a revolution will fail but with the leadership of the working class a revolution will be victorious." Mao firmly believes that in an era of imperialism, no other class in any country can lead any genuine revolution to victory. Proof lies in the fact that China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie have led revolutions on many occasions that "all ended in failure"

The communism in China is said to be fathered on Dr. Sun Yat-sen and presented as a 'national programme'. Mao Te-tung said:

"Sun Yat-sen had a different outlook from us, and started out from a different class standpoint in observing and dealing with problems, but the twenties of the 20th century, on the problem of how to struggle against imperialism, he arrived at a conclusion which was fundamentally in agreement with ours".

Yet in Dr. Sun's *San Min Chu I*, the stages for the progress of the Revolution as described by him decidedly do not lead towards anything like proletarian dictatorship.

Mao Tse-tung, like a staunch Marxist, believed that communism stood ultimately for a classless society without which democracy and socialism, in real sense, could not be established. He stated that in a classless society in the joint efforts of each person, acting as a member of the society, together with the remaining members of the society, together with the remaining members of the society, "definite productive relations were established and productive activity was carried out directed towards solving the problems of the material life of people." In various class societies definite productive relations are also established in various forms between the members of the various class societies and "productive activity is carried out directed towards solving the problems of the material life of people. This is the basic source of the development of human cognition."

The social practice of people is not limited to productive activity alone, but has also many other forms: the class struggle, political part in all spheres of social practical life. Hence, in the process of their cognition human beings get to understand, besides material life, various relations between people in the process of political and cultural life (closely connected with material life). An especially profound influence on the development of human cognition is exerted by various forms of the class struggle. In class society each person occupies a definite class position; on the contrary, Marxist philosophy, as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung, believes in the broad social and political culture which the people themselves evolve through trial and error and by using their practical common sense. Mao condemned dogmatic philosophy, and stood firmly for a philosophy that adopts scientific methods of Marx and Engels with a view to understanding the various processes of evolutionary change to develop a democratically and scientifically based New Democracy. Mao was of the opinion that New Democracy could be maintained without this new culture. He said:

"The popular scientific culture of the broad masses of the people is anti-feudal - is the culture of New Democracy or of New *San Min Chu I* it is the new national culture of the Chinese people.

"The economy of New Democracy wedded to the New Culture with which it shall work in unison will provide the groundwork for the establishment of the New Democratic Republic which not only shall exist in name but also in fact, as this shall be the New China that we are creating."

Mao Tse-tung called for a 'national culture', but what follows from his description is that 'national' does not mean in this context that it should be the reflection of the nation's mind but a part of the world-culture of communism. "It is the cultural," Mao said, "of and for the Chinese

people which, although possessing characteristics and peculiarities of its own, yet seeks also to interlink and fuse itself with the national socialist culture and the New Democratic culture of other lands, so that they mutually become the component part of the new world culture.” It is therefore, essential to bring about radical changes in china’s old culture, which, Mao felt, cannot fit in the New Democracy and new socialist culture, “Without the overthrow of these reactionary cultures, new culture can never be overthrow of these reactionary cultures, new culture can never be established, nor extended, if the other is not stopped or crushed. The struggle between the two is a struggle of life and death.”

Hence the communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, had carried out a determined assault on the aspects of chinese traditional and society which had been the foundation of chinese civilization. The family had always been the basis of the social order in china: society was bound together by ties of kinship. The chinless family system, in fact, was a community of kindred. Each family had its own surname and its law of succession. In every family, there was a temple for ancestor-worship. Ancestor -work ship cultivated a sense of unity in that all things are rooted in heaven and that all men derive themselves from their forefathers. There was a spiritual community between the living and the dead. Confucius said: “ In serving his parents, a son may remonstrate with them, but gently, when he sees that they are not inclined to follow his advice, he shows an increased degree of reverence but does not abandon his purposes: and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur.” It may be said, in short, that the family system with ancestor-worship and several other rites strengthened the ties of each member of the same kin, and through this, united the people of the whole country. The necessity of each family having a successor had a great effect on the growing size of population. The communists had denounced these customary relationships as ‘feudal’, and normal ties of affection had been termed ‘reactionary’.

Communes were in part, intended to weaken the family. Members were fed in mess halls, children were taken from their parents and placed I communal nurseries, and husbands and wives were separated during the day for work in labour brigades. Older people, the focus of influence and respect under the traditional system, were sent off homes for the aged where they were required to do as much work as their strength permitted. Peasants had been ordered to tear down family shrines and allow the communes to plough up grave plots. It was an attitude contrary to the tradition of china: it could conduce only to disruption, tension between the old generation and the new, and unhappiness in family life on a countywide scale.

Also, the Chinese communists had attempted to scrap all Chinese religious faith completely and confine the Chinese mind to the philosophy of ‘Dialectical and Historical Materialism’. Socially the communists regarded religion as the ‘opiate of the people’. Christianity especially had served as an instrument of supporting the capitalistic social order, while Confucianism had served for the ruling class of the last 2500 years in china. Mao Tse-tung declared in his New Democracy: “ chineses communists may form an anti-imperialist united front politically with

certain idealist and disciples of the religions, but can never approve their idealism or religions teachings.” The leaders of religious groups had been required to serve communist ends and many had been imprisoned, executed, or forced to make public confessions of alleged crime. A steady effort was made to obliterate the local traditions and customs of china’s various regions and minority nationalities along with the chinese people, they were being absorbed into a vast, conformist mass culture. It was the party centre in peking which dictated the form and content of life in ‘New China’.

The communist elite had taken advantage of china’s tradition of political centralization. Every by nastynast attempted to centralize all power in the capital and eliminate the counter-tendency toward provincial and regional autonomy or semi-autonomy. The communists had gone further in this respect than any earlier regime. Modern techniques of communications and totalitarian political methods had made it possible for the communists to regiment the chinese people to an unprecedented degree.

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