

# Mao's life a story of struggles, marches, purges

TOKYO (AP) — Mao Tse-tung was a soldier, classical poet, historian and Marxist philosopher who placed his faith in China's peasants. A peasant's son himself, he put them in the vanguard of the Chinese Communist revolution.

His armies, raised and operating from rural bases, crushed the Nationalist forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in a bloody civil war, clearing the way for the proclamation in 1949 of the Chinese People's Republic.

In the tumultuous years which followed, Mao continued to build on the peasant base, pouring 500 million of them into rural communes. Two decades later he put them in the forefront of an ambitious program to industrialize China by the turn of the century.

Revolution in 1966. When it ended three years later, Liu and Teng were in disgrace and thousands of other senior Communists were out of jobs and undergoing re-education.

But when it became apparent later that many of those cashiered had been the victims of a personal vendetta by his designated successor, Defense Minister Lin Piao, and the radical wing of the party, Mao consented to have a number of them restored to their old posts. Among them was Teng Hsiao-ping, rehabilitated in 1973 and by the start of 1976 one of the most powerful men in China after Mao himself.

Teng had been the protege of Premier Chou En-lai, and when the latter died in January 1976 it was widely concluded that Teng would become premier.

party elders resisted. Intelligence chief Kang Sheng earned the couple's gratitude by backing the marriage.

Chiang Ching, 20 years Mao's junior, became the firebrand of the Cultural Revolution, leading the radical leftist faction. She became a member of the Politburo in her own right afterward but was passed over when the 10th party congress chose the party's vice chairmen and members of the Politburo Standing Committee. They had two children, both girls. Mao had no other surviving offspring.

Mao was born Dec. 26, 1893, in Shaoshan, Hunan province, to a moderately well-to-do peasant family. His father, a severe and demanding man, put him to work in the field at the age of 6, and his primary school teacher often beat him. In what he later called his first act of rebellion, the young Mao fled from these influences at the age of 9 and hid for three days in a mountain valley.

His mother was the dominant influence of these early years. Mild mannered, illiterate and understanding, she shielded him from her husband's ire.

His first contact with the grim realities of revolution occurred during a famine in Changsha, where he had gone to continue his studies. He saw a peasant rebel executed, and it left a deep mark on his young mind.

number of leftist periodicals at that time and engaged in a movement against the warlord governor of Hunan which made him, for the first time, a wanted man. His philosophy and politics ranged between liberalism and democracy — until he read his first books on communism — "The Communist Manifesto," Kautsky's "Class War" and a history of socialism.

After the governor died, Mao became a teacher in his native Hunan. In July 1921 he went to Shanghai to become one of the 12 founding members of the Communist party. His home in Hunan became the center of revolutionary activities and there he first met Liu Shao-chi, who would become president only to be disgraced in the Cultural Revolution 45 years later for opposing Mao.

Mao's life in the next few years was one of organizing laborers into Communist unions and of rebellion once more against the new governor of Hunan.

Fleeing to Canton, in South China, he became involved in the Kuomintang. Communists were admitted as members on an individual, rather than a party, basis.

Stricken ill, Mao returned again to Hunan clandestine, there he organized more than 20 peasant associations. Three years later Mao wrote his first major work on the peasants, in which he recognized

rapidly weakening, the party decided to break out from its east coast "soviets" and join forces with other Communist armies in the west.

By then Mao was again in the dog house, dismissed as chairman of the Chinese "soviets" government. The young Turks were in com-

postwar mediation mission of Gen. George C. Marshall of the United States, and Chou En-lai participated. But it broke down in 1947, and China's civil war flared up once more.

The Communists were driven out of Yanan in that same year, but the well-

plans for the great industrial leap forward of 1958 backfired and critics sprang up, among them Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, who resented using the army for construction work. Peng lost his job, but Mao also followed, giving way to the party realists headed by Liu Shao-chi.

in international communism. This was the beginning of the ideological war between the two Communist giants.

Mao's feelings about Moscow were reinforced in 1960 when the Chinese-Soviet quarrel neared a flashpoint and the Russians withdrew thousands of technicians and large industrial projects.

Natural calamities that produced bad harvests, combined with the mistakes of the great leap forward, plunged China into recession. Yet Mao persisted in organizing the rural communes which, he later insisted, had proved their worth.

Concerned about the possibility that the Russians might attack, Mao encouraged development of nuclear weapons. The first Chinese atom bomb was exploded in the Takla Makan Desert of Sinkiang province in October 1964.

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mand. In January 1934, the first movement began in what is now known as "The Long March." It ended in Shensi province in the winter of 1935 after an 8,000-mile fighting trek through some of the most forbidding terrain in China.

A year after the start of the march, led by the youthful Central Committee into frontal attacks which cut the Red Army's 120,000-man strength in two, Mao regained control of the party at Tsunyi, in Kweichow province.

From Yanan, the cave city next to the Gobi Desert which became the Red capital, Mao organized a united front campaign to persuade Chiang Kai-shek that all Chinese should bury their differences and form a common defense against the invading Japanese.

This policy culminated in December 1936 at Siang, where Chiang had been taken captive by Chiang Hsueh-liang, pro-Red Kuomintang commander of Manchurian forces. Chiang Kai-shek agreed to the united front and the Communists entered another period of cooperation with their old enemy.

Cooperation with the Kuomintang government, which had its wartime capital in Chungking, lasted only a few years. A Kuomintang attack on the New Fourth Communist Army ended the honeymoon in 1941. By the end of World War II in 1945, the ties between the two were tenuous. Mao approved the

trained armies of Lin Piao in Manchuria turned the tables and in 1949 the Nationalists were driven from the mainland.

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On a second visit to Moscow in 1957, Mao perceived that the Soviet-induced thaw inside Russia and among its satellites would lead to crisis

although Kissinger said the Washington-Peking link would likely survive any "mysterious" upheavals.

U.S. political leaders lavished praise upon Mao reminiscent of the tributes accorded Winston Churchill or a Charles DeGaulle or other giants of modern history.

"Chairman Mao was a most remarkable and a very great man," said Ford. "He had the vision and the imagination to open up the doors so the United States and the People's Republic of China could do things in a new era and a new day."

"It's tragic, of course, that a man of this great, remarkable ability and skill and vision and foresight has passed away."

Secretary Kissinger called Mao "an historic figure who changed the course of events in the world. He had a tremendous impact on the present and the future of his country."

Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield said "the last major figure of World War II has departed this earth ..."

"Who was Mao Tse-tung? He was the man who led the long march ... He was the man who created the Peoples' Republic of China ... who exterminated warlordism, begging and prostitution."

**Mao's role in old age was oracular, composing new directives for the faithful to interpret and put into practice. His obsession persisted: to keep the party pure and selflessly dedicated to communism.**

Chairman of the Communist party from 1945, symbol of state and father of the republic, Mao regarded himself primarily as a teacher. He felt it was his tasks to lead the Chinese masses into a life free of hunger, disease and ignorance. Beyond that, he dreamed of creating a new Marxist man, one of many parts able to till the land, work in the factories, bear arms and grasp political thought.

Mao lived to see many of his dreams become reality. By the 70's, China appeared to have made long strides in its ageless battle against famine, disease and unemployment. Its 800 million people, while still poor, superstitious and largely illiterate, had enough to eat, were adequately if modestly clothed, and had a roof over their heads. Opportunities in education, industry and agriculture had been opened up to many of peasant, worker or soldier origin.

Though he was virtually enshrined by the Chinese as a Marxist demigod, Mao made many enemies within his own party and in international communism during his lifetime.

He quarreled with the Russians over ideology and split the world Communist movement. He sought to bring China overnight into the industrial age with a great leap forward in 1958 and aroused the ire of the pragmatists. A believer in the theory of continuing revolution, he carried out a series of massive purges which shook up the army, government and party and raised a new crop of foes.

Yet he also displayed on several occasions the Chinese genius for compromise. When it suited the Communist party, and the nation, he actively cooperated with Chiang Kai-shek.

And in the 1970's he ended two decades of Chinese-American hostility, welcoming President Richard M. Nixon to Peking as if he were an old friend rather than the man identified in Chinese propaganda as an arch-villain.

Mao was able to unite China under a single political entity, the Communist party. The emperors who preceded him had never accomplished anything similar.

For Mao, the party, which he helped establish in 1921, was everything. But he did not hesitate in the mid-60's to tear it apart when he believed it had taken a wrong course toward capitalism.

Partly to correct this trend, partly to recover the personal power he had lost to President Liu Shao-chi, party General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural

But with Chou gone, Maoists began attacking Teng as a "capitalist roader" — one who sought to bring capitalism back to China — and a campaign of criticism was launched against him in February and March 1976, after a surprise announcement that Hua Kuo-feng had been named acting premier.

Despite demonstrations in Peking supporting the late Chou — and hence Teng — the announcement came that the Maoist radicals had won out: Hua, then 56, was named premier and first vice chairman of the Communist party — second only to Mao himself. The 72-year-old Teng was stripped of all his government and party posts but allowed to keep his membership in the party "to see how he will behave himself in the future," Peking radio said.

Mao had just completed the remaking of the party, government and army in January 1975, six years after the Cultural Revolution and four years after the unveiling of a new heresy, led by Lin Piao. Lin was accused of plotting to overthrow Mao and the government. Shortly after that Lin was killed in a plane crash in Mongolia in 1971.

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His oldest foe, Chiang Kai-shek, died at 87 in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1975, without having accomplished his vow to reconquer the mainland. But in death he denied Mao the full fruits of the 1949 Communist victory. Chiang's son and successor, Nationalist Premier Chiang Ching-kuo, insisted he would never compromise with Mao over the future of Taiwan, the 30th and last Chinese province still free of Communist control.

One of Mao's failures was an inability — some said an unwillingness — to settle the Chinese-Soviet conflict. Relations between the two Communist giants broke down over ideological differences only seven years after the Chinese Communists came to power. They deteriorated steadily, sometimes convulsively, in the two decades which followed.

Mao married three times. His first wife was killed by a Nationalist general, the second accompanied him on the 8,000 mile "Long March" in the 30's, and the third and last was a Shanghai movie actress named Chiang Ching. To marry her he had to divorce his second wife — then recovering from illness in Moscow — a move the

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All these events contributed to his revolutionary make-up. At the age of 15, he worried about the threatened partition of China by foreign powers.

In 1911, carried away by the fervor of revolution — the emperor had been overthrown and a republic established — Mao joined the new army for six months, and spent his spare time reading newspapers and radical books.

Now adrift, he wavered between becoming a policeman, a soap maker, a lawyer and a businessman. He passed them all up to plunge into more reading: Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations," Darwin's "Origin of Species," and the writings of John Stuart Mill, Lincoln, Washington and Jefferson.

For the next five years, from 1913 to 1918, Mao studied at the Hunan No. 1 provincial normal school, where he rebelled against the principal, whom he accused of being too conventional.

He promoted a group called the New People's Society, a number of whose members became influential later in Chiang's Kuomintang Nationalist party, or the Communist party.

He went to Peking in 1918, intending to join a work-study group going to France, but got a job instead as a library assistant at Peking University, where he audited classes. There he met Li Ta-chao, the chief librarian, and later a founder of the Communist party. He fell in love with and later married Yang Kai-hui, daughter of his old middle school teacher, Yang Chang-chi. Later to be executed by the Nationalists, she was said to be his first and dearest love.

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their revolutionary potential.

The party center, crushed in the Kuomintang bloodbath of 1927, held little enthusiasm for Mao's peasant views.

Led by youths educated in Moscow, among them Chou En-lai they placed their faith in the worker proletariat of the big cities. Mao for a time fell from favor.

Ignoring these strictures Mao established the first Chinese "soviet" on the border of Hunan and joined forces with 2,000 men led by Chu Teh to form the first red army and become its political commissar. Chu, an old Szechuan warlord, became its commander-in-chief.

Unable to operate underground in Shanghai, the young members of the party Central Committee moved to "soviets" in Hunan and Kiangsi which Mao had set up. There the new Red Army fended off a series of offensives from the vastly superior forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

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