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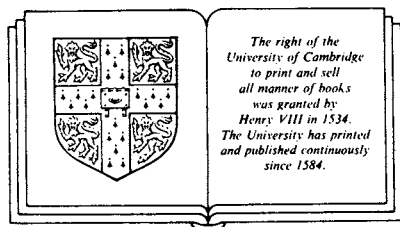
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PREFACE

The body of this book consists of my chapter on Mao Tse-tung's thought down to 1949, already published in Volume 13 of the *Cambridge History of China*, and my chapter on Mao's thought from 1949 to 1976, which will appear in due course in Volume 15 of the *Cambridge History*. Some minor editorial changes have been made, but it has not been possible, because of technical constraints, to modify the text at will, especially in the first half of this book. As a result, the account of Mao Tse-tung's thought which follows remains very largely a summary and analysis of his ideas. Though I sought wherever possible to relate these succinctly to the circumstances in which they were elaborated, it would not have been appropriate, in the original context, to deal at any length with historical facts covered in other chapters of the larger work, even in the case of events which decisively influenced Mao's own intellectual development.

It is the purpose of the Introduction and Conclusion, which have been written specifically for this book, to compensate for these omissions, and to situate the development of Mao's thought in a wider framework. The Introduction takes up, first of all, the problem of the nature of the process of revolutionary change in China in the twentieth century which Mao Tse-tung sought to master, and the factors which enabled him to play the role he did. It then examines the relation between phases in Mao's life, and turning points in his thinking. As for the Conclusion, its purpose is not to sum up yet again the main tenets of Mao Tse-tung's thought, but rather to assess its continuing significance in China, and its likely future place in a system, and a society, which some people argue has been undergoing 'de-Maoization'.

While I do not regard this book as an adequate, still less as a definitive account of Mao Tse-tung's intellectual development, it builds on work which I have done over the past quarter century. Whether or not it takes my interpretation a step further will be for others to judge. The fact that I have conducted research on Mao's thought for a number of years does mean, in any case, that I have accumulated many debts, and it is my very pleasant duty here to acknowledge these.

In so doing, it is appropriate to go back to the beginning. My earliest

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published monograph in this field, a translation and analysis of Mao's 1917 article 'A study of physical culture', benefited from the encouragement and criticism of Etienne Balazs, whose seminar I had the privilege of attending in Paris in the early 1960s. Thereafter, a year spent at the East Asian Research Center of Harvard University, supported by a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship, provided the opportunity to produce my first attempt at an overview of Mao's thought.

In the course of this work, I received assistance from many people and institutions, as noted in detail in the Acknowledgements to *The political thought of Mao Tse-tung*. Among them, three were pre-eminent. John Fairbank, the then Director of the Center, presided over the activities of those working there with his characteristic mixture of discipline and cordiality. Benjamin Schwartz provided, in the course of a year during which we shared the same suite of offices, exceptional intellectual stimulation and judicious comments on my ideas. Eugene Wu, as Curator of the East Asian Collections of the Hoover Institution, facilitated my initial encounter with the materials of the Yen-an period, thus helping me to open the door to research on Mao Tse-tung's intellectual itinerary based on the pre-1949 texts of his writings.

In the summer of 1962, as I read *Chieh-fangjih-pao* in the Hoover Library, I could not have imagined that I would subsequently become acquainted with leading members of its editorial staff such as Yü Kuang-yuan, Li Jui, Liao Kai-lung and Wen Chi-tse. This fact symbolizes the political changes which have subsequently taken place in the world, and the intellectual changes they have brought in their wake. Already in 1963 I was indebted not only to European and American, but to Japanese scholars and libraries for materials and for valuable exchanges of views. The role of Japan in research on Mao Tse-tung's thought was vastly increased by the compilation, in the early 1970s, of the ten-volume *Mao Tse-tung chi*, edited by Takeuchi Minoru. Very many materials were, however, simply not available outside China itself, and without the extensive publication of these since 1978, both in openly available and in internal editions, our knowledge of Mao's thought would be far more fragmentary and incomplete than is today the case. Indeed, the supplement to the Tokyo edition, comprising nine volumes of texts plus an index, published in the early 1980s, was derived in substantial measure from *nei-pu* collections produced in China.

Apart from the opportunity to consult printed documents, I have, as already suggested, obtained an entirely new perspective on Mao's life and thought thanks to the six visits which I have been privileged to make to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, where I was received by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought in June–July 1980,

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April–May 1982, September 1982, March–April 1984, and March–April 1986, and by the Institute of Philosophy in December–January 1987–88. The list of Chinese scholars and political figures with whom I have discussed such questions is too long to reproduce here. Some indications regarding particular points of fact or interpretation are contained in the notes to the body of this book.

Particular thanks are due to the successive Directors of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Yü Kuang-yuan (until May 1982), and Su Shao-chih (from then until 1987), and also to Liao Kai-lung and Feng Lan-jui, Deputy Directors until May 1982, as well as to the Director of the Institute of Philosophy, Hsing Fen-ssu. They and their colleagues have devoted many hours of valuable time to talking with me about issues relating to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to commenting on my own interpretation (including drafts of various portions of this volume), to organizing seminars, and to arranging meetings and access to materials. I have also benefited greatly from a number of conversations with Kung Yü-chih and his colleagues of the Research Centre on Party Literature under the Central Committee. Needless to say, none of those mentioned here bears any responsibility whatever for the views expressed in this work, but without these exchanges my interpretation would have been the poorer.

My gratitude for these opportunities also extends, as a matter of course, to the institutions which have provided the resources for my visits to China: the British Academy, and the Economic and Social Research Council, which have nominated me under their joint exchange scheme with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and financed my travel, and the Chinese Academy itself, which has provided generous hospitality and assistance during the periods I have spent in China. The National Endowment for the Humanities likewise contributed to the cost of my participation in the 'North American Delegation to Investigate Problems of the Chinese Revolution' in the summer of 1980, which marked the crucial first step in my contacts with Chinese scholars. I have also received financial assistance from the School of Oriental and African Studies for several brief visits to Japan, and to American libraries, to pursue my research for this volume.

Valuable as access to China has been during the past decade, the kindness I have been shown there, and the lessons I have learned there do not make me forget the constantly accumulating obligations I owe to friends and colleagues outside China, from whom I have continued to receive both stimulation and help in locating sources.

As regards materials, particular thanks are due in two quarters. On the one hand, Takeuchi Minoru, Nakamura Kimiyoshi, and the Japanese

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scholars associated with the *Mao Tse-tung chi* have given me copies of many important documentary collections on Mao's thought after, as well as before, 1949. On the other, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, which has recently collected many volumes of internal editions of Mao's writings, has allowed me to consult these, and to xerox some key texts. The unrevised text of Mao's speech of 27 February 1957 on contradictions among the people, as originally delivered, and his talks at the Pei-tai-ho Conference of August 1958, which (as will be seen below) play a central role in my interpretation of Mao's thought of the 1957–8 period, have been taken from this source. A volume of translations drawn from the same collection, accompanied by interpretative articles, will be published by Harvard University under the title *The secret speeches of Chairman Mao*. As the present book goes to press, I have not yet seen this collective assessment of Mao's thought of the Great Leap period, but I am grateful, once again, to Eugene Wu, now the Librarian of the Yenching Institute, for giving me the opportunity to incorporate these important materials into my own analysis.

My debt to the editors of the *Cambridge History of China*, for which the chapters making up the bulk of this book were originally written, is likewise considerable. Roderick MacFarquhar, joint editor of Volumes 14 and 15, has subjected my discussion of Mao's thought since 1949 to very careful scrutiny and criticism, and has made many helpful suggestions for improving it. John Fairbank, the general editor, sent me ten pages of witty, incisive and judicious comments on the chapter for Volume 13 before it was published, and has contributed substantially to the form and substance of the post-1949 half of the book as well.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of, and participants in, the many seminars and other meetings at which my interpretation of various aspects and periods in Mao Tse-tung's thought has been subjected to criticism, often searching but always useful as a spur to further reflection. Over the years, such occasions have taken place in Europe (from London, Edinburgh and Aberystwyth to Paris, Venice and Naples), in Asia (from Delhi, Beijing, Changsha and Hsiang-t'an to Tokyo and Kyoto), and in many parts of North America (from Berkeley, Stanford and San Diego to Boston and New York, and from Vancouver to Mexico City). The institutions and individuals involved are far too numerous to mention. Some of my interlocutors may regret that I do not appear to have learned as much as I might have from their observations. The fault for this must, of course, rest entirely with me, as does the responsibility for errors and shortcomings in general.