For Mao Tse-tung, Chinese society like a series of contradictions

From the Dullesian days of Cold War caricatures painted from afar in almost solid blacks, Western observers - often the same ones - have switched to pure whites. A former Canadian political leader called his trip a visit to Utopia. A leading Australian banker and lay preacher returned with public exclamations that Mao had surely been appointed by God! The truth is that China, like all societies, covers the whole colour spectrum, in which for the most objective, and indeed the Chinese themselves, the predominant tones are various shades of grey.

To Mao, Chinese society, like history generally, is a series of contradictions, the resolution of which creates change. For the objective foreign observer, China is a host of contradictions the current meaning of which often eludes all but the most superficial or polemical comprehension, and whose ultimate resolution defies prediction.

Take, for example, the nature of Chinese politics, particularly since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). China is often defined as a "mass society" in which power and policy moves "from the masses, to the masses". There is much about the definition that is true. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the network of auxiliary organizations at the "grass-roots" level, the organizational structure of communes and factories and the decentralization of the economy generally, do provide a political structure through which the masses can influence policy implementation and thereby indirectly policy itself. The conception of hsiafang - sending urban élites down to the countryside to work with the peasantry is a revolutionary device for bridging the inevitable gap between the masses and their leaders.

Controlled society

Criticism and self-criticism, long enshrined as hallmarks of the Maoist political strategy, and mass campaigns do allow a unique kind of mechanism for reflecting the mood of the people, shaking up the bureaucracy and injecting a genuine element of mass "input" into the political equation. And yet each of these and other political techniques have their other side - have their risks and potential resentments. For at the base remains the fundamental contradiction - China is also a highly-controlled

The Shanghai student hopeful of attaining a higher education and capable of succeeding may well be sent instead to the distant frontiers of China as a peasant or worker. The Canton driver may be

directed to leave his family to work inde initely in Sian or Peking. When the state directs, the masses obey. When the he of yesterday suddenly becomes the villa of today, history is rewritten - the revisit accepted. Could it be otherwise? Are contradictions more apparent than real do they in turn create tensions as volati as the achievements they create are visible

Undoubtedly, the greatest contradi tion of all is the basic quest for rapi modernization and industrialization with out an erosion of revolutionary commi ment - the tension between "Red" ar "expert". Can ideological purity survive complexities of modern society? Can the Mao political perspectives of the ideologue of Repu exist with the administrative concerns at the the bureaucrat and the economic and tec Nation nical priorities of the manager? Is the h The man mind so malleable that the "Negress Socialist Man" can be created — at on appo patriot and producer, motivated only lative the selfless pursuit of the collective good Three Or is he inherently acquisitive and se seeking? Does modernization lead to thad fuller liberation of man, or does it inevit prom bly leave in its wake social injustice a by the waste? When revolutionary fervour fad sion can it be rekindled, or do revolutions, the l definition, ultimately die?

These and other fundamental pol delay ical, and indeed philosophical, questic impl remain basic concerns of Mao Tse-tuntione Conscious or unconscious, explicit or i Cult plicit, they, along with the power strug Chin of those who answered them in differenced ways, were at the root of the Culturthe Revolution. With education halted, piters duction disrupted and the Chinese Coit munist Party decimated, China emergnot. from the Cultural Revolution perhapthe having come dangerously close to nation but disintegration. China entered the Seve ties with a host of veteran leaders ditical missed or disgraced, a heavy military har Review in the new power structure, and a consof m tutionally-designated heir-apparent (I Mad Piao) bent on a Napoleonic venture tloluti attempted, we are told, the assassinatito it of Mao but was destined to failure, fligare and the plotter's own death. unli The

Scars were left

the If the Cultural Revolution succeeded than throwing out of power those who withe taking the "capitalist road" and led more revolutionary policies, particularly fore areas like medicine and education, it part its scars as well. Far from eliminatishor "bureaucratism", one of the leading exRev it attacked, the Cultural Revolution "point have created the danger of a critica trad indecisive bureaucracy. Policies and pow