

**Chapter 1 : Mao's War Against Nature (è±†ç“£)**

*Mao's War Against Nature argues that the abuse of people and the abuse of nature are often linked. Shapiro's account, told in part through the voices of average Chinese citizens and officials who lived through and participated in some of the destructive campaigns, is both eye-opening and heartbreaking.*

I was overwhelmed by this display of human intelligence. Had they learned from our mistakes and taken a higher path, or had their culture taught them to respect life? I was living in Kalamazoo, where the streets were a nightmare, jammed with impatient nutjobs in speeding wheelchairs. The air was thick with methylene chloride, and the river was a PCB cesspool. If only our leaders were Chinese! sigh! Like I said, I was young. In 1949, Mao Zedong led a revolution that overthrew the Chinese government. China had suffered from a long era of exploitation by foreign powers. Mao was eager to create a prosperous industrial utopia as rapidly as possible, by any means necessary. In 1972, Richard Nixon visited Mao and reestablished relations between the U.S. and China. Judith Shapiro was among the first Americans allowed to work there. The outside world knew little about Red China, but Shapiro soon learned that the Maoist era had been a turbulent freak show. Every environmental history book is a horror story, describing how clever humans survived by using technology and aggression to devour nonrenewable resources, deplete renewable resources, ravage ecosystems, and leave the bills for their children. Maoist China repeated the classic mistakes of other civilizations, but in fast forward mode. He wanted to produce more steel than Great Britain within 15 years. Peasants rapidly constructed several million primitive backyard furnaces. A hundred million people worked day and night melting tools, pots, and scrap into blobs of useless metal. Most of the furnaces were wood-fired, and deforestation was widespread. In those days, the peasants still believed the dream that their heroic efforts would bring a new era with powerful tractors and railroads. At the same time, there was a huge drive to increase grain production via bone-headed strategies. They were told that if they planted ten times as many seeds in a field, the yield would be ten times higher. Sadly, the densely grown plants rotted. But local leaders were deeply engaged in a competition to report astonishing gains in grain production, and their claims were far in excess of reality. Because it would have been impossible to store all the grain reported, folks were ordered to make steel. The crop largely rotted in the fields, while the steel-making peasants consumed their grain reserves. In 1960, drought arrived, and the Great Famine began. Between 35 and 50 million died by the biggest manmade famine in history. The war on nature had another front, the Four Pests rats, sparrows, flies, and mosquitoes. Sparrows were an enemy of the people because they ate too much grain. Schoolchildren ran around the countryside, destroying their nests and smashing their eggs. They banged pots whenever a sparrow landed. Before long, there were far fewer sparrows, and far more of the insects they used to eat. Farmers soon realized that sparrows were great allies. The birds were removed from the pest list, and replaced by bedbugs. A core component of the Mao era was disregard for expertise. Mao hated intellectuals, scientists, and anyone else who questioned his fantasies. Knowledgeable people who voiced doubts about stupid ideas were promoted to exciting new careers in breaking rocks, exterminating forests, or worse. When the president of Beijing University warned about the danger of rapid population growth, he was denounced and relieved of his responsibilities. Overpopulation could only be a problem in evil capitalist societies never in a socialist paradise. China was already overpopulated in 1949, and it grew with spooky speed. Mao refused to believe the census numbers. In 1963, family planning programs were ended, and not resumed until Mao died in 1976, and in 1980, the one-child policy was implemented. When a respected engineering professor at Qinghua University warned that the planned Sanmenxia dam on the Yellow River was stupid, and would promptly fill with silt, he was denounced and relieved of his responsibilities. The dam was built, and the reservoir filled with silt two years later, flooding a nearby town. Mao rushed to build thousands of dams, of which 2, had collapsed by 1976. Many were built with soil alone, by untrained peasants. Floods caused by two dam failures in 1975 killed an estimated 200,000 people. Rubber was a strategic resource, and Mao did not want to rely on imports from capitalists. During the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of thousands of educated urban youths from bad families in the south were sent to the north. This region was too far north for rubber, but the experts understood it was dangerous to protest. So, ancient forest was cleared, and planted with rubber.

Much of it died during the winter of . They replanted, and the trees died again. They replanted a third time, with the same result. The only news the peasants got came from government sources – propaganda. The culture had a long tradition of obedience to superiors. Free speech and dissent were not cool. How much of our news stream is truthful? What stories are missing? Why do we disregard the warnings of climate scientists? The Chinese were manipulated to pursue an ideology, and the program resulted in enormous environmental harm. It seems like consumer societies are manipulated via advertising and peer pressure to cause enormous harm via lifelong competition for status. We must continually acquire more impressive homes, cars, televisions, and on and on. A couple years ago, it was awesomely trendy to wear clothing printed with skull motifs. The following year, the skulls vanished, and the trend robots rushed to fill their wardrobes with the latest new fashions. Mao is dead, and so is his ideology. The new game is the high speed pursuit of personal wealth. She mentions a few signs of hope, but it seems clear that the post-Mao era is causing far more environmental harm. The population is still growing. The pollution is horrendous. In every nation, the war on nature is winning. What would intelligent people do?

**Chapter 2 : Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China by Judith Shapiro**

*She described this period in her book, Mao's War Against Nature. Every environmental history book is a horror story, describing how clever humans survived by using technology and aggression to devour nonrenewable resources, deplete renewable resources, ravage ecosystems, and leave the bills for their children.*

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China. Cambridge University Press, She demonstrates quite effectively the interaction of state-sponsored political repression, environmental degradation, and scientific and technological concerns. Shapiro stresses broad themes and explores the degree of environmental damage inflicted on nature and the Chinese people during these years. Furthermore, Shapiro uses case studies that illustrate not only the environmental harm created by Mao and his decisions, but also the political violence experienced by those who opposed his state-led campaigns and projects. The first chapter focuses on the Anti-Rightist [End Page ] Campaign and the silencing of intellectual criticism. Shapiro next examines the case of Huang Wanli. Huang, a hydraulic engineer, opposed the construction of the Sanmenxia Dam on the Yellow River. In particular, Huang was vehemently against the application of the Soviet engineering model, which called for a large, grandiose dam of questionable usefulness. The stories of Ma and Huang illustrate not only the disastrous outcomes for those who dissented from a despotic government, but also the long-term costs of suppressing honest dialogue. China today is still dogged by overpopulation and ill-conceived dams. She recalls the efforts of Mao and his colleagues to mobilize the population into a utopian frenzy in order to surpass the industrialized West. This campaign resulted in one of the worst famines in history, leaving more than thirty million dead. The government encouraged farmers to organize into larger collective units and to undertake questionable water conservation projects. In addition, officials instructed farmers to pursue deeper tilling and closer planting methods to bolster crop yields. These ill-considered schemes failed to increase harvests significantly and led only to greater land degradation. The government further contributed to the growing environmental catastrophe by directing people to construct primitive backyard furnaces to produce iron and steel. These operations produced unusable, low-quality metal and resulted in the denuding of the countryside of trees and shrubbery. According to Shapiro, the Great Leap Forward generated a lasting obsession with grain security among elites and the masses. She underscores this point by explaining the campaign to "Wipe out the Four Pests," another component of the Leap. Obsessed with grain production and crop yields, officials conducted a nationwide, military-inspired operation to exterminate rats, sparrows, flies, and mosquitoes, with a particular emphasis on sparrows. The campaign proved too successful. Farmers learned too late that sparrows were their greatest ally in insect control. In the immediate post-famine search for grain self-sufficiency, the village of Dazhai served as the national model. Instead the peasants turned nearby hills into fields and promised to contribute grain to the state. During the Cultural Revolution, Dazhai became the ideal all others strived to imitate. Unfortunately, as Shapiro explains in her third chapter, the campaign to learn from Dazhai led to many ill-conceived cropland reclamation projects. While pursuing the goal of grain self-sufficiency and following Dazhai, peasants destroyed wetlands, filled in lakes, leveled You are not currently authenticated. View freely available titles:

**Chapter 3 : mao s war against nature | Download eBook PDF/EPUB**

*Topic: Judith Shapiro's Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China examines the geopolitical, domestic, and socioeconomic contexts of China's Great Leap Forward and its forced industrialization.*

Cambridge University Press book review by Alice Friedemann The main thesis of this book is that when free speech is squelched, the consequences can be dire for the environment. Mao was a military leader. He saw that he could defeat the technologically superior Japanese by sheer force of numbers. In the fifties, demographers and other scientists became alarmed at the quickly expanding population and started speaking and writing about the need to practice birth control. Mao saw people as being extremely expendable. He shocked Nikita Khrushchev in while visiting him in Moscow when he said: As for China, if the imperialists unleash war on us, we may lose more than three hundred million people. This came about because of various campaigns. One of them was to make China a steel-producing nation within five years. The implementation was a surreal nightmare: Firewood was used to melt the gathered metal. This resulted in the devastation of forests across China as millions of trees were cut to fuel the forges. Simultaneously there was a campaign to rid China of the Four Pests: Sparrows, Rats, Flies, and Mosquitoes. Schoolchildren were the main actors in the anti-pest drive. Mao thought sparrows were eating grain. The crops were devastated. Not all of the crops were harvested because people were too busy finding steel to melt and chopping trees down to melt the steel. Much of the crop that was harvested was appropriated for city dwellers. The resulting famine lasted for three years. This disrupted the ecological balance of many of the agricultural areas. As people starved across china, in labor camps and interior villages, any creature that moved, mice, lizards, birds, rats, deer, moles " anything alive was hunted and eaten. Plants were decimated as people ate tree bark, seeds, roots, and anything else that was remotely edible. Dazhai was place where miracles occurred in growing grain. Miracles indeed, this was a carefully staged Miracle that millions made pilgrimages to and tried to copy in their own villages. By growing grain everywhere famine would be overcome. In Dazhai, famous fruit orchards were cut down to grow grain. Across China, lakes were completely or partially filled in to grow grain. Trees, tea plantations, medicinal herb gardens, grazing land, all types of crops were torn out and landscapes planted with grain, only grain. Deserts were planted with grain. Not only was grain planted, it was over-planted, and expected to produce fold over what had grown before. Farmers, plant nutritionists, soils engineers, and many other people knew this was insane, but could do little to stop it. The filling in of lakes resulted in microclimate changes, increased flooding, and vast filling of wetlands. In some places, hills were built on flat land so they could be terraced. Millions of acres have been permanently turned to desert, there are now sandstorms so severe that Beijing is brought to a halt. Zhang Xianliang writes of his time in a labor camp in barren Ningxia province: On the land before me abandoned fields stretched in all directions. Now covered with a thick layer of salt, they looked like dirty snow-fields, or like orphans dressed in mourning clothes. They had been through numerous storms since being abandoned, but you could still see the scars of plough tracks running across their skin. Man and nature together had been flogged with whips here: Mao thought China could conquer nature. In addition he would remold their souls. In launching an attack on nature, this great revolution promoted a new leap in each line of revolutionary production. In all Kunming District there occurred a leap like that of 10, horses rushing forward, its greatest lesson being: Acres of farmland, we also built a brand new proletarian world in ourselves. From to , the annual rate of death was 5. Their placement often was such that they polluted vast rivers downstream below them, and the cities around, the air choked with pollution because the plant was in a valley surrounded by mountains or other poor geographical locations. Then and now those brave enough to speak out against these projects are silenced, usually by being sent to prison camps. The Three Gorges dam is nearing completion, sure to wreak more environmental harm on vast areas of China. Mao left a horrible legacy that is felt to this day. But even now China is not able to move in an environmentally sound direction. Greed has replaced revolutionary fervor. Vast unresponsive bureaucracies make change almost impossible. Corruption, lack of information, and the inability of environmentalists to communicate problems to the public from suppression of free speech continue to make progress difficult. Claims reached the fantastic. In Shaanxi, a

rooster was made to bear chicks; at Northwest Agricultural University, a pig was created without ears or tail. A sheep was caused to bear five lambs instead of the usual one to three. A bean was weightat more than 50 grams, a pumpkin grown as heavy as a man. Persimmon trees bore grapes, pear trees yielded apples. Rabbits were bred with pigs and pigs with cows. Millions of young people were ripped from their homes and sent to the countryside. City born and bred, they unintentionally wreaked further havoc on the environment as they desperately tried to survive in alien places. The Last Testament, translated and edited by Strobe Talbott, , p.

**Chapter 4 : How China's Feng Shui forests survived Mao's "war against nature".**

*Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China by Judith Shapiro is about Panzhihua and a number of other examples of Mao-led destruction of nature. The book begins in the late/earlys and goes over Mao's systemic attacks against nature through the end of his life in the mids.*

Not all environmental degradation is human-induced: However, we human beings are far more effective than other species in altering our environments in an effort to satisfy our needs, and our very success often makes us a danger to others and to ourselves. Unlike other species, moreover, we make conscious, contestable choices about how resources are used, who uses them, and how we understand ourselves in relation to nature. Maoist China provides an example of extreme human interference in the natural world in an era in which human relationships were also unusually distorted. The period illustrates the relationship between political repression and environmental degradation, demonstrating the tragedy of this interface under extreme conditions. The environmental dynamics of the period suggest a congruence between violence among human beings and violence by humans toward the nonhuman world. When the Chinese people mistreated each other through suppression of intellectual freedoms, tyrannical utopianism, political labeling, ostracism, punishment, terror, and forcible relocations, they also treated nature badly. The political dynamics of the Mao period as they affected nature are complex, however; they do not simply involve coercion of political victims from among the urban intellectual or Communist elite. While local values, knowledge, and practices ought not to be demonized or romanticized, their importance cannot be ignored; they made an important contribution to complicity in, and resistance to, Maoist development projects. Few social experiments in history have had the scope and penetration of Chinese socialism. From 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party defeated the Guomindang, to 1976, when Mao died, Mao and the Communist Party sought to reengineer Chinese society by remolding human nature. Less well known is their effort to reshape the nonhuman world, with severe consequences both for human beings and for the natural environment. Numerous campaigns suppressed elite scientific knowledge and traditional grass-roots practices concerning the physical world, stifling dissent through political labels, ostracism, and labor camp sentences. In the early 1950s, Soviet-style plans for rapid development of heavy industry started the country down a path of environmental problems. He thus created conditions for later coercive birth control policies and intensified struggles over land and resources. Huge hydropower projects removed millions from their 2 Introduction homes but were useless or caused disastrous floods when poorly constructed dams broke. During the Cultural Revolution, projects and campaigns affecting the environment were driven less by utopianism than by coercion and chaos. In the leadership vacuum that followed Red Guard attacks on Party officials, natural resources became fair game for all. Involuntarily resettled into wilderness and sparsely populated areas, disoriented urban relocatees were induced to carry out reclamation activities that often degraded land toward which they had little sense of connection or stewardship. Trained scientists who uttered words of dissent or caution were often exiled or persecuted to death. Class struggle, which created such adversity in human relationships, thus also created severe environmental damage. The Maoist adversarial stance toward the natural world is an extreme case of the modernist conception of humans as fundamentally distinct and separate from nature. If it is true, as some environmentalists argue, that a core cause of contemporary environmental problems is the human failure to see ourselves as part of nature, seeing nature rather as something external to be harnessed or overcome, then this period provides a significant warning about the dangers of such schismatic views and the policies they generate. To conquer nature, the power of ideas was unleashed through mass mobilization in political campaigns, often accompanied by the use of military imagery. The Mao era was nearly three decades long; China is vast and variegated, and its human population huge. As a means of explaining the dynamics of anthropogenic environmental degradation for such a great time span, space, and populace, four core themes can be used as analytical tools and organizing devices. These characteristics and their environmental impacts, chronologically represented through a focus on successive political campaigns, provide the analytical and narrative structure for this book. Each of the coming chapters emphasizes one theme and one destructive

political campaign. It should be noted, however, that the themes occur throughout the Mao period, with varying prominence, as will become clear. Social reorganization along military lines fueled much of the Mao-era drive to realize utopian socialism. With varying degrees of intensity, people were made to work collectively, eat in public dining halls, and sleep in dormitories. Civilians were often organized into detachments, regiments, platoons, brigades, and teams; even nonmilitary leaders were sometimes referred to as commanders, colonels, and lieutenants. During the Cultural Revolution, civilians and soldiers alike often wore olive green military uniforms. In major cities, underground rivers were diverted to provide tunnels for use in war. During the height of the cult of Mao, there was strong social support for this state-led reorganization, with virtually no room for dissent. The notion was propagated that China would pick itself up after its long history of humiliation by imperialist powers, become self-reliant in the face of international isolation, and regain strength in the world. Since China lacked modern technology and wealth, the vehicles for its transformation were to be brute labor, defeat of internal enemies through class struggle, collective remolding of human nature through self-criticism, and study of Marxism—Leninism—Mao Zedong Thought. The militarization of society had multiple purposes. Finally, militarization was a coercion mechanism. Over the course of the Mao years, the enemy shifted: The contrast between the militarized Maoist approach toward the conquest of nature and traditional Chinese values of harmony and sustainability is sharp. Historically, wise leaders were considered to be those who conducted the human—nature relationship well, and legal codes from the Qin B. These themes represent only the best-known examples of Chinese nature philosophy. In traditional China, there were at least three major schools of thought about how humankind should behave in nature: Of the three, the anthropocentric Confucian tradition, which leans toward mastery of nature, has been by far the dominant one. Vulnerability to the forces of nature helped establish the importance of water conservancy projects and granaries to ward against famine as primary responsibilities of imperial administrators. Early successes of engineering and coordination in the struggle against nature can be seen in massive waterworks projects such as the Dujiangyan irrigation works, built during the Qin dynasty, and the Grand Canal, built in the seventh century to link North and South China. A powerful national drive toward expansion, mastery, and resource exploitation, fueled by population growth and new technologies, has contributed for millennia to widespread destruction of nature and ecosystems. From west to east, and east to west, along both river margins, Dykes are constructed, strand by strand, the way they re-weave hawsers. Extinctions and pressures on rare species were already common. By the early eighteenth century, for example, tiger attacks were no longer recorded in Lingnan in southern China, as the tiger habitat had been destroyed. The Mao-era effort to conquer nature can thus be understood as an extreme form of a philosophical and behavioral tendency that has roots in traditional Confucian culture. Many of the themes sounded in this book — including state-sponsored resettlements and waterworks projects, extensive and excessive construction of dikes for land reclamation, political campaigns to change agricultural practices, and environmentally destructive land conversions in response to population shifts — can be found in imperial times. Maoism rejected both Chinese tradition and modern Western science. The effort to conquer nature was highly concentrated and oppositional, motivated by utopianism to transform the face of the earth and build a socialist paradise, and characterized by coercion, mass mobilization, enormity of scale, and great human suffering. Maoism strengthened problematic aspects of Chinese tradition, such as the tendency to see nature through a purely utilitarian lens. At the same time, through suppression of local knowledge, it undermined aspects of traditional practice that fostered sustainable relations with nature. In these respects, the Mao era represents a sharp departure from what came before and from what followed with the economic reforms. A Chinese scholar from Yunnan province, a man in his sixties whose life has been buffeted by the numerous political campaigns of the Mao years and who has observed their environmental consequences at close hand, spoke in confidence to me about the role of Mao. He voiced what many thoughtful intellectuals of his generation say in private but cannot publish in the current political climate. His comments, as follow, are worth quoting at length, for they touch on many of the themes that will be treated in depth in the coming pages: Under the influence of the Soviet Union and his own peasant background, Mao adopted a series of unsuitable policies. Mao was always struggling in war, so he continued to struggle after the war ended. Class

struggle — everything was a struggle. His whole philosophy was that of struggle. Not everyone in the Party thought as he did. Zhou Enlai opposed the population policy. Peng Dehuai opposed the Great Leap Forward. But Mao took another view: To improve the lives of the poor, nature should be defeated [zhansheng ziran]. This struggle mentality was there from the beginning, with Marxism. Marxism rests on struggle. Although Mao was supposedly a peasant, he had little farming experience. It influenced China for decades. Population policy and national construction were influenced by his military mentality. Mao wanted to catch up with Great Britain in steel production, and many trees were cut down to fuel furnaces. By 1960, the people had no grain, and in 1961 there was a great famine. The forests were cut without restraint so as to plant grain in the mountains. During the Cultural Revolution, there were even more crazy things. Everything was collective and nature belonged to the country, so there was no individual responsibility to protect nature. Officials were ordered to cut down fruit trees. If they resisted, it was terrible. Some cut down trees with tears in their eyes. The farmland that had been state-owned was contracted out to families, as were the forests. As this experienced and thoughtful Chinese intellectual indicates, the changes in attitude toward nature of the pre-Mao, Mao, and post-Mao periods can be conveyed, in broadest outline, by the set phrases of which Chinese are so fond. In reform-era China, both have been largely supplanted by the popular saying, Yiqie Xiang Qian Kan [Look Toward Money in Everything], as commercialization and the market have become predominant. This war continued in altered form after the death of Mao, as the market replaced ideological mobilization as a driving force for the transformation of nature. As we will explore further in the final chapter, a vacuum in shared public values left people eager to seek meaning in material consumption and the pursuit of wealth. This story is not, therefore, merely a cautionary tale of historical significance, but also an exploration of the social and historical roots of behavior patterns that affect environmental health today, not only of China but of the world. Since this book often stresses public discourse and Maoist philosophy, it must be cautioned that attitudes and values do not translate directly into policy or behavior. Other powerful influences such as geographic conditions, the inertia or activism of institutions, enforcement capabilities, population pressures, and economic incentives also shape the human–nature relationship. However, values, attitudes, behaviors, and policy do interact and influence each other over time, even as they are constrained by the institutional structures and cultural frameworks within which they arise; behavior and policies can be indicators of attitudes and values, and vice versa. Environmental degradation under Mao can be linked to such problems as population explosion, arable land limits, poverty, misguided policies and mistaken beliefs, and irrational price structures due to state ownership. However, the underlying dynamics of such degradation lay in a nationwide war against nature expressed through a pattern comprised of the four motifs described above: This militarization included reorganization of society through attacks on traditional culture and the family structure. Factors that allowed Maoism and political struggle to take root included a traditional culture of patronage and obedience to authority, a coercive organizational apparatus, the aspirations of the Chinese people to end their suffering at the hand of man and nature, and the disproportionately influential decisions and actions of a few individuals, particularly Mao and his loyalists. At the same time, in many parts of China, clan-based village institutions provided the foundation for a complex and personalized range of local and regional power centers that sometimes promoted and sometimes resisted the dictates of a center that was itself often wracked with dissension. A fear of lagging in political fervor worked in concert with belief and hope that Maoist development ambitions would at last raise China out of its poverty and achieve socialist paradise. These were key elements in a complex set of interactions between humans and the natural environment during which Mao-era utopian modernization projects were variously contested, implemented, and distorted by the Chinese leadership and people.

## Chapter 5 : Mark's China Blog: Mao's War Against Nature

*MAO'S WAR AGAINST NATURE* In clear and compelling prose, Judith Shapiro relates the great, untold story of China in the Mao years - the devastating impact of Maoist politics on China's envi-

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: Technology and Culture Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China. Cambridge University Press, The cases presented include debacles like the construction of dams that soon silted up, failed efforts to reclaim farmland from lakes and wetlands, widespread deforestation, the annihilation of sparrows and a consequent surge in the insect population, the construction of a steel mill in a place manifestly unsuited for it, and a misguided attempt to plant rubber trees in a pristine rainforest. All of these projects had a number of features in common. First, they [End Page ] stretched or defied economic logic. Second, they brought grave environmental consequences in their train, and third, their conceptualization and implementation were driven by an authoritarian political order that brooked no opposition. In regard to the latter, Shapiro makes the important point that "abuse of people and abuse of nature are often interrelated" p. Underlying the abuse of both people and nature was a massively repressive political apparatus, ideological dogmatism, a conviction that a socialist utopia could be created through force of will, and a willingness to sacrifice tens of millions of people to the economic and social visions of one man. One prominent feature of Maoist ideology was a deep distrust of technical experts and a consequent denigration of expert knowledge. This had consequences that China is still living with today. The eclipse of Maoism and the rise of a "pragmatic" leadership has not put an end to assaults on the environment. A proclivity for grandiose "great leap" schemes endures, most notably with the ongoing construction of the Three Gorges Dam across the Yangtze, an economically and environmentally dubious project that has already necessitated the relocation of hundreds of thousands of people. At the same time, a rapidly expanding private sector is generating environmental injuries that eventually may exceed the damage done during the Maoist era. While taking this into account, Shapiro closes on a cautiously optimistic note. In a brief concluding section, Shapiro notes how aspects of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist thought might contribute to the emergence of an environment-sustaining consciousness. More concretely, encouragement can be taken from the environmental protection efforts of recently established private and governmental organizations. Their task will not be an easy You are not currently authenticated. View freely available titles:

## Chapter 6 : Mao's War against Nature - Judith Shapiro - HÃ¸ftad () | Bokus

*Nature, then, was the enemy to be conquered, but it was not the only one; anyone who disagreed with Mao was an enemy as well, and could be banished, imprisoned or killed.*

## Chapter 7 : What Is Sustainable: Mao's War Against Nature

*Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* by Judith Shapiro. Cambridge University Press (book review by Alice Friedemann) The main thesis of this book is that when free speech is squelched, the consequences can be dire for the environment. Mao was a.