Reforms after 1978

China in the World Economy, autumn 2022

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- Why did Chinese Communists undertake the Long March?
- When did China attempt to copy the Soviet model with Soviet aid?
 What happened to their relations then?

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- Name some reasons why the Communists won the civil war against the Nationalists

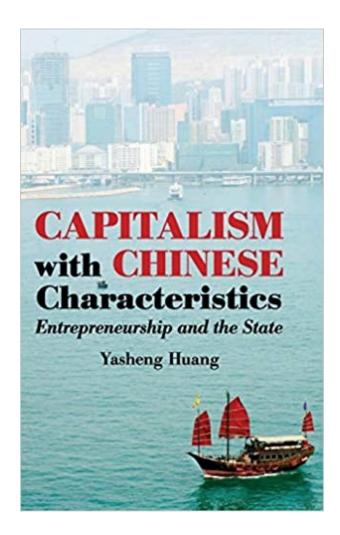
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- What was the CCP policy towards peasants until 1958?

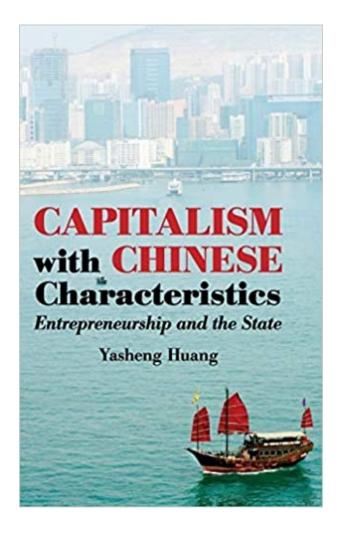
Today

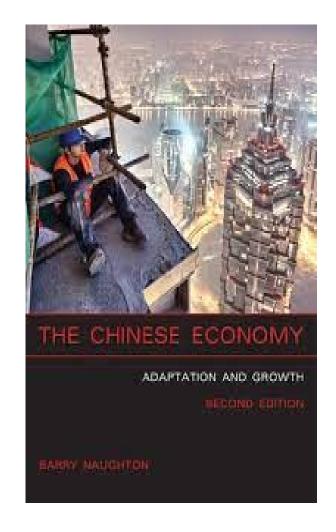
- Maoist social experiments
- Reforms in the late 1970's and 1980's transition towards a market economy
- The Tiananmen interlude

Literature













- 1957:
- Hundred Flowers Campaign "you can criticize us without fear"

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- Anti-Rightist Campaign another purge; full one-party state; led by Deng Xiaoping!

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- Abolition of private land ownership, farms to be fused into large scale "village communes"
- Small industrialization carried out by these village communes

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- "They probably have a lot of spare workers who aren't doing anything valuable, let's force them to work in manufacturing"
- People fulfilled their quotas by melting down tools and reforging them into useless, low-quality iron

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- Biggest famine in China's history 30 million deaths

• The program had to be called off in 1962

"Agriculture first" (1962-1966)

• Intermezzo - more pragmatic policies aimed at repairing the damage

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- Less ideology, more management
- Material rewards

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- Basic economic model until 1978

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• > opaque system, it is difficult to say who is in charge of what

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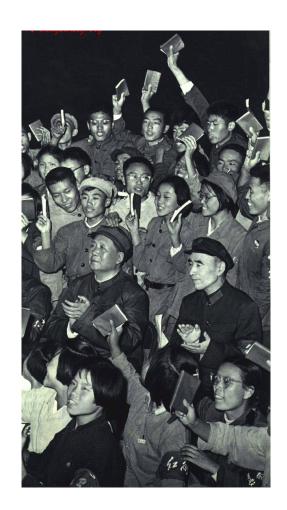
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- Abroad deconstruction of Stalin's cult of personality, more "boring" and less bloody rule in the USSR

Cultural Revolution – attack on intellectuals and party bureaucrats –
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 Mao's opponents
- Officially: attempt to prevent the Communist party from becoming a new elite – permanent revolution

• Red Brigades – groups of fanatical young comrades







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- "Self-criticism" public humiliation and torture





• 1968 – the army had to move in to rein in the Red Brigades

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- Mao's final years (1970-76) the situation slowly calmed down

• "Had Mao died in 1956, his achievements would have been immortal. Had he died in 1966, he would still have been a great man but flawed. But he died in **1976**. Alas, what can one say?"

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- Material incentives and focus on economic performance vs. ideological purity and revolutionary zeal
- Both Mao and Zhou died in 1976

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- Public celebrations and manifestations a start of a trend that continued into the 1980s



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- Great power status abroad

- GDP per capita similar to India and sub-Saharan Africa
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- The Party itself was ravaged by years of purges
- > bad economic data!
- Some excellent centers of learning and science but small, isolated, decimated by the Cultural Revolution

Unhealthy focus on heavy industry and military technologies

- Cities complete state ownership, zero room for enterprise
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- Rural areas somewhat looser rule, farmers were sometimes allowed to de facto own plots of land
- Most of the land was still collective, though

• Foreign trade – extreme isolation, focus on autarky

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- 12 monopoly state trading-enterprises bridges between China's regulated prices and the world market

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- Problem need for foreign exchange (dollars, yens, pounds)

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- Oil production didn't work out > need boost other exports

 "averted oil curse" – lack of oil production forced China into reforms that led to far more significant growth than oil could ever deliver

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- Currency markets weakens the currency

- Major overhaul of the rural economy
- Huang the most significant and drastic reform

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- Local banks and funds collection of savings, investment

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- Small-scale industrialization (what the Great Leap Forward hoped for!)
- Rural areas were no longer squeezed for cash by the state
- Some successful entrepreneurs moved into the cities

Reforms – urban areas

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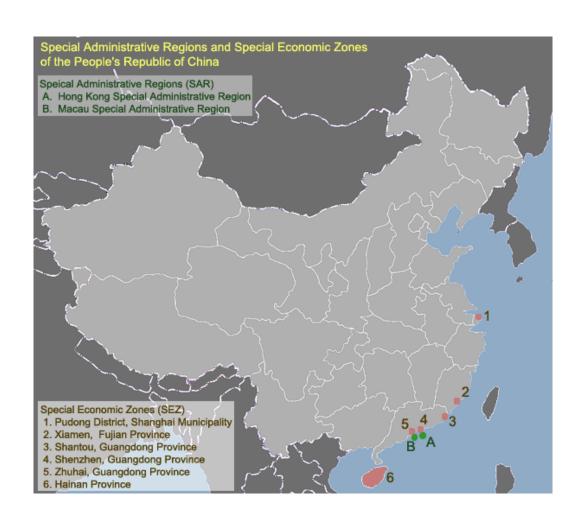
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- Typical style of reforms a university or research center can start an enterprises and commercialize some invention made there
- Far fewer true private enterprises than in the countryside!
- Few privatizations the private sector grew next to the state sector

Increased motivation and production

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- Significant corruption typical result of intermingling of private and public resources and interests

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- HK had bigger exports that all of China in 1978 (!)

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- FDI, export

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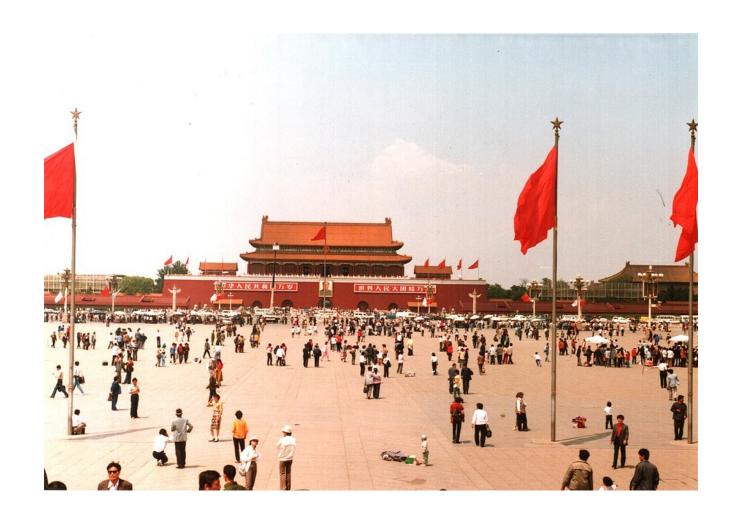
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- Desire to separate the Party and the state, introduce term-limits for officials
- Feud between reformists and "conservatives" unreconstructed Maoists over both economic and political reforms
- General Secretary Hu Yaobang, followed by Zhao Ziyang both favored some form of political liberalization

- Hu dismissed because of pressure of conservatives in 1987
- Died in early 1989
- **Demonstrations in large Chinese cities** calls for more political reforms (also economic demands lower inequality etc.)



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- > martial law, army units gathered around Beijing
- "June the 4th incident" massacre of protesters
- Followed by (less violent) crackdowns in other cities

- Party conservatives led by Li Peng seized power, Zhao dismissed –
 spent the rest of his life under house arrest
- Attempt to overturn the economic reforms central planning briefly reinstated!

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- Meanwhile demoralized Communist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed with barely a whimper...

Next time

- Continuing reforms in the 1990s
- The early 2000s China's most capitalist moment
- The fallout from the 2008 Financial Crisis
- Xi Jinping, China's technological ambitions