Reforms after 1978

China in the World Economy, autumn 2024

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- What is the doctrine of "democratic centralism?"
- Name the most important institutions of the Chinese Communist Party.
- What are the supposed advantages of central planning?
- Which sector of the economy did Communist governments typically tried to develop at the expense of which other sector?

How were prices created under central planning?

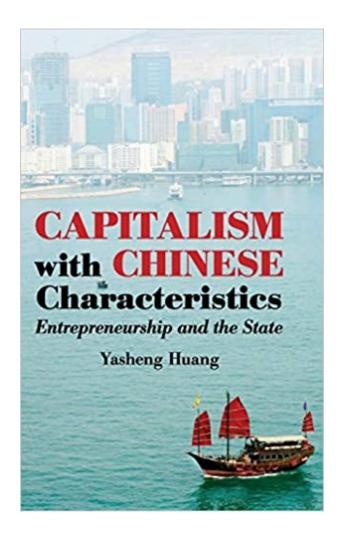
- How were prices created under central planning?
- How did China conduct trade under central planning?

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- How did China conduct trade under central planning?
- Which types of industries or sectors are typically neglected under central planning? Which ones are heavily supported?

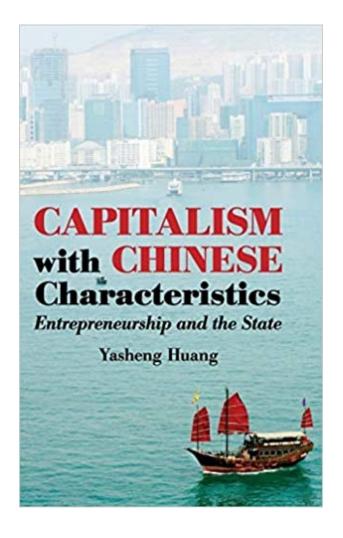
Today

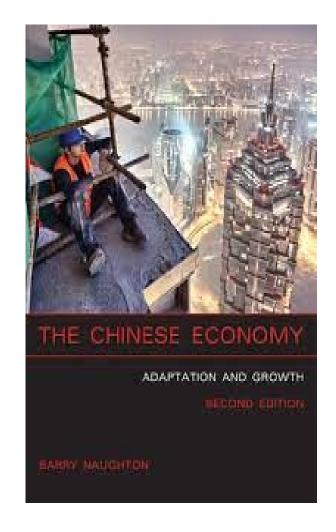
- Brief run through the Maoist period
- Reforms in the late 1970's and 1980's transition towards a market economy
- The Tiananmen interlude

Literature













• Massacre of landlords > circa 2 million victims

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- Industry **slow nationalization** of companies
- Agriculture independent farmers pressure to form cooperatives not collective ownership

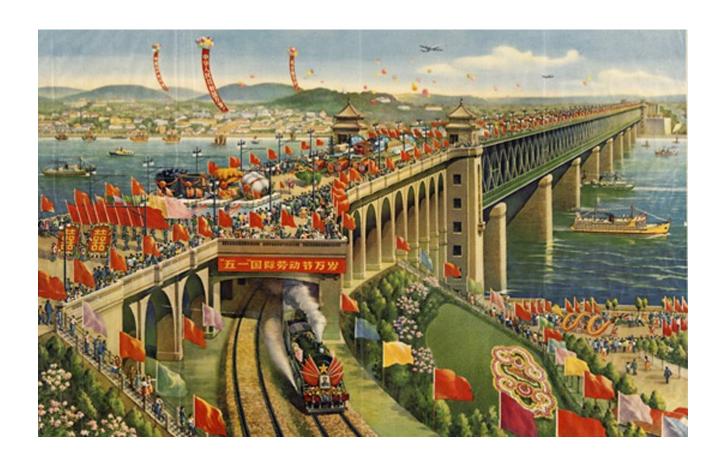
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 Participation in Korea > the CCP was not strong enough to control all of the economy

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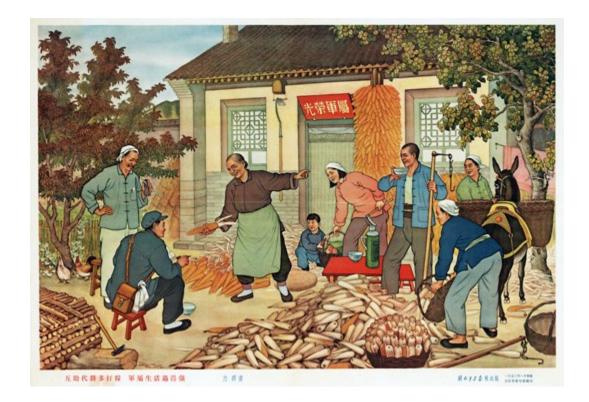
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- Full nationalization of industry, collective farming







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- Hundred Flowers Campaign "you can criticize us without fear"
- Anti-Rightist Campaign another purge; full one-party state; led by Deng Xiaoping!

"Great Leap Forward" (1958-1962)

• Basic idea – simultaneous progress in cities and the countryside

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- 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

Unrealistic production quotas > all the food was forcibly confiscated

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- Biggest famine in China's history 30 million deaths

• The program had to be called off in 1962

• 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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- Attempt to turn Mao into a mere figurehead and create a more technocratic and collective leadership
- Abroad deconstruction of Stalin's cult of personality, more "boring" and less bloody rule in the USSR

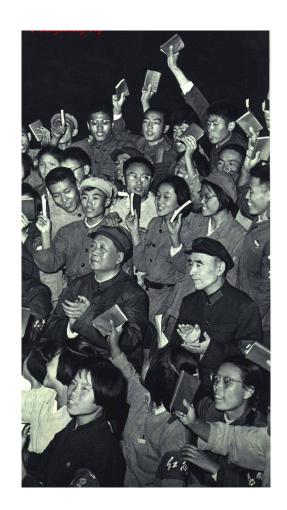
Cultural Revolution – attack on intellectuals and party bureaucrats

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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

 Officially no major change to the economic model – but omnipresent chaos and radicalism

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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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- "Gang of Four" blamed for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution so that Mao himself could be absolved of all responsibility



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- Overpopulation

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- > 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
- = not centers of commerce but bastions of the Party

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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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- "Double air-lock" tight control of both currency and the movement of goods
- 12 monopoly state trading-enterprises bridges between China's regulated prices and the world market

Need to import technology

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- It would be ideal to purchase whole assembly lines etc.
- Problem need for foreign exchange (dollars, yens, pounds)

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- Oil production didn't work out > need to 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

China's situation in 1978

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Similar in other East Asian countries

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- How does a country gain foreign exchange?
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- Loans > dangerous debt denominated in a foreign currency
- Exchanging money in currency markets weakens the domestic currency

• Trade surplus

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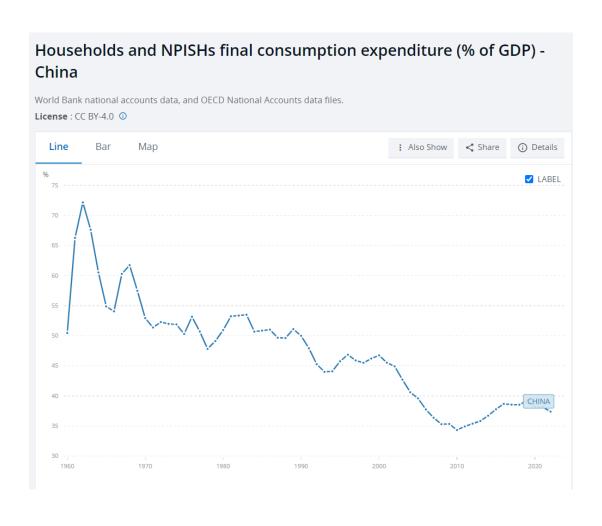
- Trade deficit > the opposite > the country typically goes into debt
- = "double deficit"

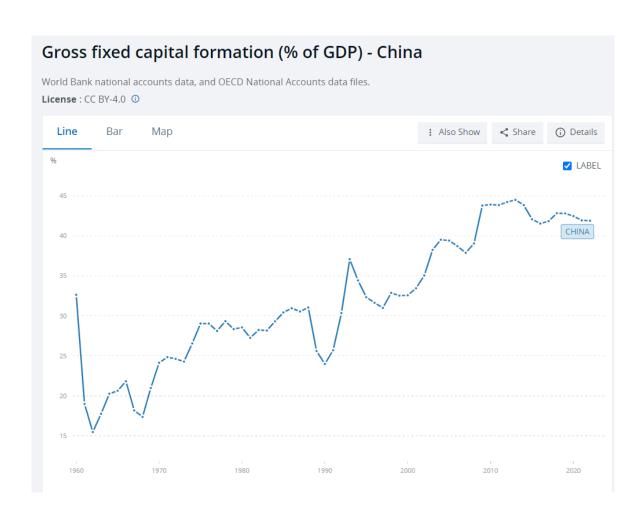
• Formal terminology: current account and capital account

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• NX = NFI

• GDP = C + I + G + NX





- United States:
- I = 18 %
- C = 68 %

Reforms

- 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

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- Few privatizations the private sector grew next to the state sector

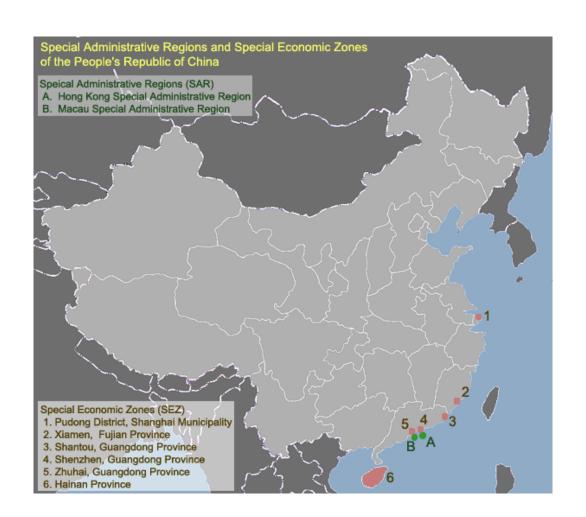
Increased motivation and production

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

Reforms – foreign trade

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

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- FDI, export

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- "Canalization" if you want to import something, a firm with foreign trade rights must do it for you

• 1980s- discussion about political reform

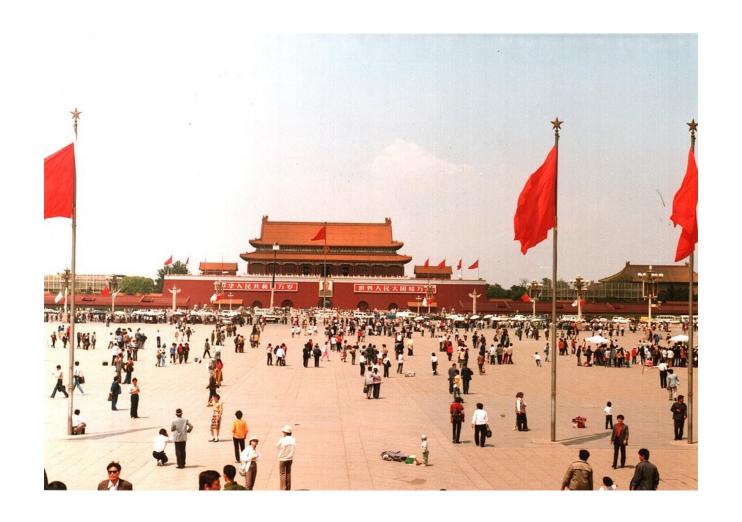
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- Deng "party elder" **informal influence**
- Desire to separate the Party and the state, introduce term-limits for officials

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- Desire to separate the Party and the state, introduce term-limits for officials
- CCP leadership was meant to be collective (x Mao)
- Feud between reformists and "conservatives"
- 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