



REVISION MAO AND CHINA

Recovery and Consolidation of Power 1949-1952

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- **TRANSFER YEARS:** First caution – certain nationalizations but cooperation with the Chinese middle class
- **GOVERNMENT:** Provisional Government drafted a temporary constitution – the **ORGANIC LAW** (Allowed eight parties in China) Coalition government ruled “**People’s Democratic Dictatorship**”
- **SIX GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS – MILITARY CONTROL:** China was divided into six regions. Each one was governed by a bureau of four major officials: Chairman / Party Secretary / Military Commander (PLA) / Political Commissar (PLA) – By having two positions controlled by the Army (PLA = People’s Liberation Army) China was under military control (controlled by Mao Zedong).
- **COMMUNIST PARTY:** Central People’s Government Council (56 leading party members) / Mao Zedong undisputed Chairman / Six delegates vice-chairmen / Politburo (some 20 leading members) was the body of political power / The National People’s Congress rubberstamped the decisions made by the Politburo / “**Democratic centralism**” (this structure of the party became the standard of China when it became a one-party state in 1954)
- **MASS MOVEMENTS / THOUGHT REFORMS:** CPC - establish socialist culture and mindset through Mass movements / Rectification campaigns – Criticism and self-criticism / Mass Organizations – National Women’s Association; New Democratic Youth League (14-25); Children’s Pioneer Corps (9-14) / Thought Reform Movement - 1951
- **POLITICAL CONTROL – CAMPAIGN AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES 1950**
- **POLITICAL CONTROL – ANTI-MOVEMENTS:** (1951 Three anti-movement / 1952 Five anti-movement)
- **POLITICAL CONTROL – CENSORSHIP:** After 1949 journalists and editors went through “*re-education*”
- **CONTROL THROUGH VIOLENCE AND PURGES:** Terror; purges; mass campaigns; surveillance and control (informers set up of DAIZWEI – work/ neighborhood units)
- **CONTROL THROUGH REGISTRATION:** Three main types: Danwei (work permit) / Hukou (permit of accommodation) / Dangan (personal information)
- **DESTRUCTION OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS:** Aim at the end of this period - to destroy the bourgeoisie

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **ECONOMY – NATIONAL CAPITALISM:** Temporary economy based on both capitalism and state control (Economic progress both within industry and agriculture and a new controlled currency)
- **LAND REFORM 1950:** This was a first step towards the socialization of agriculture. CPC encouraged the peasants to pool their equipment and animals at certain times of the year – at harvest time (**Mutual Aid Teams**). Another aim: Destroy the power and wealth of the landlord – “*speak bitterness*” campaign (Death – 2 million landlords were killed. Land redistribution. The land remained private)

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

- **SOCIAL REFORMS:** Several social reforms were made – War on Crime / Education: Massive drive to increase literacy and expand educational provision / Marriage reform: improve for women in the Chinese society...

FOREIGN POLICY

- “**LEAN TO ONE SIDE**” – **RELATION WITH RUSSIA:** 1950 (February) – Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty
- **MAO AND TAIWAN:** Mao Zedong was furious when he had to abort plans for an invasion of Taiwan in 1950 – when the Korean War broke out. The rest of China was basically unified by the end of 1950 (Tibet (Xizang) / Xinjiang (Sinkiang) / Guangdong (Kwantung)) The missing parts were: Hong Kong (British) / Macao (Portuguese) / Outer Mongolia / Taiwan and a few small islands
- **KOREAN WAR:** Over one million Chinese died / The USA an enemy of Communist China but also – consolidation of Communist China’s power in mainland China / hardened China’s resolve to stand alone in a hostile world / China the defender of international Communism / National pride - undefeated fighting the US / China had to subordinate all its plans to the needs of the war / Justified the political and social repression in China / drained the Chinese economy
- **CHINA AND USA:** Mao's victory over Jiang Jieshi in October 1949 came as a shock to the US / Still US considered recognizing the PRC / US fear of the spread of Communism in South-East Asia / US influenced by the Friendship Treaty between USSR and China / Also the Red Scare and McCarthyism / USA refused to recognize the People's Republic of China until 1979 (though it allowed its admission to the UN in 1971)

Socialist Transition (1953-1961)

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- **SINGLE-PARTY STATE 1954:** In 1954 the temporary constitution – the Organic Law – was replaced by a new constitution that made China into a single-party state. The USSR – role model. Political authority was centralized to the People's Government Council – 56 leading party members. On top Chairman Mao Zedong. Under him was six vice-chairmen. The People's National Congress met a few days every year to vote on decisions made by the Communist Party Committees. Most important one of the committees was the Politburo (just like in the USSR).
- **ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS 1956:** Speech in the Politburo where Mao Zedong outlined how China would construct socialism different from the model of development undertaken by the Soviet Union...
- **THE HUNDRED FLOWERS CAMPAIGN (1957):** May 1956 “*Let a hundred flowers bloom. Let a hundred schools of thought contend.*”
- **ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN (1957):** A purge of intellectuals and other critics after the Hundred Flowers Campaign. Over 500,000 people were forced to undergo labor reform or were sent to the countryside to learn from the peasants. Many academics were dismissed from their university posts.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **COLLECTIVIZATION (SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE):** Aim: collectivize agriculture to increase the efficiency and fulfill the ideological aspects. METHODS: From private ownership with small number of households involved to collective ownership in big communes: Land Reform 1950 – Mutual Aid Teams. Land private / 1954 – Lower Level Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (APC's). Some private ownership remained / 1956 – Higher Level Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (APC's). Small allotments allowed / 1958 – Communes. No private plots or allotments were permitted.
- **INDUSTRIALIZATION:** First Five Year Plan (1952-56) Soviet model: ended National Capitalism / Nationalization of all private industries and businesses in China (Very good results within the industries – enormous expansion)
- **THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD (1958):** The first FYP had been inspired by the USSR model. In 1957 Mao persuaded the Central Committee to cancel the Second FYP and launch the Great Leap Forward... (balance between industry and agriculture – “*walk on two legs*” / ideological – take away the differences in wages between skilled and unskilled workers / China was short of money / Mao wanted a Chinese style FYP / Mao was impatient / Mao wanted to increase the revolutionary spirit). COMMUNES created. Backyard furnaces. **RESULTS – Industry:** China's GNI (Gross National Income) down / Steel production up but the steel was of poor quality - the programme was abandoned in 1959 / Rural industrialization – important for the future / Labor-intensive work became a role model for other countries – especially in the Third World. **Agriculture:** Inflated figures 1958 / Poor harvests 1959-1960 / Huge famine. 1959-61 are known as the '*Three Bitter Years*' when possibly 20 million people died in the famine. **FAILED: POOR MANAGEMENT DECENTRALIZED PLANNING / NOT ENOUGH INVESTMENTS / RUSSIAN EXPERTS WITHDRAWN / BAD AGRICULTURAL REFORMS / LACK OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS / LACK OF PERSONAL INCENTIVES / BAD WEATHER / INFLATED FIGURES IN AGRICULTURE / MAO...**
Great Leap Forward was terminated in 1961!

FOREIGN POLICY

- **TAIWAN (AND USA):** 1954 – USA signed a Defense Treaty with Taiwan (PRC threatened the islands of Quemoy and Matsu) / In 1958 – USA sent the 7th Fleet to patrol off Taiwan / On both occasions the PRC backed down, partly because the USSR was unwilling to support the PRC in this dispute
- **CHINA AND USSR:** Khrushchev's DeStalinization speech (1956) started the tension between China and the USSR / Mao strongly disagreed with Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence / The USSR saw Mao as dangerously reckless and Khrushchev decided to not help the PRC build an A-bomb / Sino-Soviet relations really deteriorated from 1958 when Mao felt that Khrushchev had not given the PRC sufficient support in the second crisis over the GMD islands of Quemoy and Matsu / Mao was also angered by Khrushchev's public criticism of the Great Leap Forward / In 1960 Khrushchev abruptly withdrew all Soviet engineers and technicians from China / In 1960 the split became public when the Chinese and Russian communist parties clashed at a congress of in Bucharest
- **CHINA – VIETNAM:** China supplied weapons to the Vietminh in their struggle with the French and later with the Americans

Power Struggle 1961-1966

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- **MAO – EARLY FORCED RETIREMENT?** Mao gave up his position as PRC Chairman in 1959...
- **CPC 1962 – PARTY SPLIT:** From 1962, serious divisions emerged between radical Communists (particularly Mao himself) and the “*pragmatists*” or modernizers who supported Liu and Deng's more ideologically flexible economic policies.

- **SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT 1962-63:** Mao started a mass mobilization called the “*Socialist Education Movement*” in 1962 – To reassert his control / To re-educate the masses / CCP officials should undergo self-criticism
- **MAO REGAINING POWER:** With the help of the army and the Chinese students Mao would regain power: Support from Lin Biao (Defence Minister from 1959) / Army support and the CULT of Mao: Lin Biao encouraged a cult of Mao within the People's Liberation Army. In 1963 Lin published Mao's “*Little Red Book*” / Propaganda – “*The Thoughts of Chairman Mao*” (“*The Little Red Book*”) and the *Diary of Lei Feng* became school set texts / Mao’s wife and the Shanghai Forum promoted the idea of a total transformation of the arts in China, so that all pre-1949 art and literature and all western culture were rejected / Silence of the opposition
- **OBSTRUCTION – PROTESTS:** Deng and Liu obstructed Mao's attempt to mobilize the masses. It would take Mao until 1966 to get a mass campaign off the ground; this became known as the “**CULTURAL REVOLUTION**”!

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **RECOVERY:** Economic collapse in the early 1960s / Revised economic goals (new set of economic policies to replace those of the Great Leap Forward) / Restore agricultural output / Centralized Planning (but not as much as before the Great Leap Forward) / Investment priorities reversed – agriculture receiving first consideration, light industry second, and heavy industry third
- **AGRICULTURE:** Smaller Communes / Private plots were officially restored to farm families / some private markets / agricultural taxes were reduced / prices paid for agricultural products were raised / substantial increases in supplies of chemical fertilizer and agricultural machinery (esp. small electric pumps for irrigation) / Ruralization (urban workers forced to move back to the rural areas / Some grain import / between 1961 and 1966, agricultural output grew at an average rate of 9.6 percent a year.
- **INDUSTRY:** A few key enterprises were returned to central state control (still relatively decentralized) / planning rather than politics once again guided production decisions / wage differentials – material rewards rather than revolutionary enthusiasm / major imports of advanced foreign machinery were initiated with Japan and West European countries / industrial output was increased at an average annual rate of 10.6 percent (1961-1966)
- **RESULTS:** By 1966 production in both agriculture and industry surpassed the peak levels of the Great Leap Forward period / the economic model that emerged in this period combined elements of the highly centralized, industrially oriented, Soviet-style system of the First Five-Year Plan with aspects of the decentralization of ownership and decision making that characterized the Great Leap Forward and with the strong emphasis on agricultural development and balanced growth of the "agriculture first" policy/ the basic system of ownership, decision-making structure, and development strategy that was forged in the early 1960s was not significantly altered until the reform period of the 1980s...

FOREIGN POLICY

- **CHINA AND USSR:** 1962 – Khrushchev publicly criticized the PRC's behavior in the Sino-Indian border war / China angered Khrushchev by their criticism of his conduct during the Cuban Missile Crisis / PRC denounced the Test Ban Treaty of 1963; a “*Soviet-Imperialist collaboration*” to deny the PRC the atom bomb / 1963 marked the end of formal contact between the two countries for 26 years / In 1964 the PRC detonated its first atomic bomb

The Cultural Revolution 1966-1970

- **BACKGROUND 1966:** Mao sought to reassert his authority over the CPC / to stop the CPC's movement towards developing an elite of officials and managers / to change cultural values and sought to attack “*bourgeois*”, western and traditional Chinese values / to restore the CPC's revolutionary zeal
- **THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION:** Universities/High Schools – organized into Red Guards Units / Mao physically fit. He staged his “*Great Swim*” in the Yangzi River in order to demonstrate his virility and that he was “**back**” / Red Guards spread all over China / Mass Rallies / Purges – attack the Four Olds (**old** thought, **old** culture, **old** practices, **old** customs) / Clashes between workers and students 1966-67 / 1967/68 – PLA called in to stop the Red Guards / 1968 (December) – Mao called on the Red Guards to leave the cities and go into countryside. Mao stopped them because of the violence went to far / risk of a split within the country / foreign problems – with both the USA and the USSR / Militaries became worried about purges within PLA
- **RESULTS – THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION:** Mao succeeded – Revisionists defeated (Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping) / Mao cult “*Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong Thought*” the guiding line of the CCP (Mao = The Great Leader - The Great helmsman - The Great Supreme Commander - The Great Teacher) / Death and punishment – about 500,000 people died (some estimates suggest millions). The main victims were intellectuals and officials. The prison camp system (laogai) expanded / Ruralization – 20 to 30 million urban inhabitants to the countryside 1968-70 / Re-education of party officials (May 7th Schools) / Higher Education disrupted – admission to university was based on 'political consciousness' rather than academic qualifications / Culture censorship and destruction of ancient art / Diplomatic isolation / Economic waste / Maoist indoctrination and domination which would last until Mao died

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **DISRUPTION:** The Cultural Revolution was primarily a political upheaval and did not produce major changes in official economic policies or the basic economic model. Nonetheless, its influence was felt throughout urban society, and it profoundly affected the modern sector of the economy.
- **AGRICULTURE:** Agricultural production stagnated / the rural areas experienced less turmoil than the cities
- **INDUSTRY:** Production halts due to political activity of students and workers in the mines and factories / Extensive disruption of transportation resulting from the requisitioning of trains and trucks to carry Chinese Red Guards around the country / Output at many factories suffered from shortages of raw materials and other supplies / the direction of factories was placed in the hands of revolutionary committees who often had little knowledge of either management or the enterprise they were supposed to run / In addition, virtually all engineers, managers, scientists, technicians, and other professional personnel were "criticized," "sent down" to the countryside to "participate in labor," or even jailed, all of which resulted in their skills and knowledge being lost to the enterprise / shortage of highly educated personnel caused by the closing of universities / China's ability to develop new technology and absorb imported technology limited for years by the hiatus in higher education / direct result – a 14-percent decline in industrial production in 1967 / After the PLA restored the order production returned to a fairly high rate of growth in 1969
- **TRADE:** Imports of foreign equipment, required for technological advancement, were curtailed by xenophobia

FOREIGN POLICY

- **CHINA – USA/USSR:** USA and USSR went through a period of “*thaw*” in the Cold War. PRC was isolated from the other superpowers and due to xenophobia, the Cultural Revolution brought along
- **CHINA – ASIA:** China provided aid for communist guerrillas in Malaysia, the Philippines and Burma but none of these movements proved successful
- **CHINA – AFRICA:** The PRC provided economic aid to several African countries, for example, helping build the Tan-Zam Railroad. Mao's brand of Marxism, with its emphasis on peasant revolution, had potentially great appeal to “*Third World*” countries

Mao’s last year’s 1971-76 – Power Struggle

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- **LIN BIAO DISAPPEARED:** Defence Minister Lin Biao was officially confirmed as Mao’s successor in 1969. In September 1971 Lin mysteriously disappeared...
- **RADICALS VERSUS PRAGMATISTS:** There was an on-going debate in the 1970s about the direction of economic policy; the radicals argued for maintaining centralized controls and emphasized the importance of mass mobilization and production focused on quantity and speed. The modernizers, led by Deng and, up to 1976, Zhou Enlai, stressed gradualism, quality production and the expansion of incentives and wage differentials. In 1975-6 this debate centered around Deng and Zhou's proposed “*Four Modernizations*” (to strengthen the fields of *agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology*). In September 1976 Mao died and, within weeks, Hua Guofeng (new Prime Minister – appointed by Mao) ordered the arrest of the radicals who were dubbed “*the Gang of Four*”. They were accused of planning a coup and were eventually put on trial in 1980.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **STABILITY:** A renewed drive for coordinated, balanced development was set in motion
- **AGRICULTURE:** Agricultural production declined somewhat in 1972 because of poor weather but increased at an average annual rate of 3.8 percent for the period as a whole / emphasized the mechanization of agriculture
- **INDUSTRY:** Increase in investments / Universities reopened / campaign carried out to return skilled and highly educated personnel to the jobs / foreign contacts expanded / Industrial output grew – average rate of 8 percent a year
- **1975-76:** The Gang of Four advocated the primacy of nonmaterial, political incentives, radical reduction of income differences, elimination of private farm plots, and a shift of the basic accounting unit up to the brigade level in agriculture. They opposed the strengthening of central planning and denounced the use of foreign technology / economic activity slowed, and the incipient modernization program almost ground to a halt / the interlude of uncertainty finally ended when the Gang of Four was arrested in October, one month after Mao's death

FOREIGN POLICY

- **CHINA AND USSR:** The low-point in Sino-Soviet relations came in 1969 with military clashes along their border at Damansky Island in the Ussuri River
- **CHINA AND USA:** In 1971-72, Mao, after years of denouncing the Russians' policy of peaceful co-existence, shocked the world by resuming diplomatic relations with the USA (this reflects Mao's concerns about the risks of war with the USSR) / General improvement in East-West relations (known as ‘*Detente*’) / Foundations for the huge growth in China's foreign trade... (led to China eventually becoming a global economic and political force)