

The East is Red

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Why the title?



The east is red, the sun is rising
China has brought forth a Mao Zedong.
He works for the people's welfare.
Hurrah, He is the people's great savior.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GndAiU2qoDI&ab_channel=Joaquin2123

From Imperial China to the People's Republic

The end of Imperial China, I

- 1911 Revolution: end of Imperial China and proclamation of a Republic.
- Proximate cause: revolt against the Qing government's plan to nationalize two local railways (Sichuan-Hubei and Hubei-Guangdong) with the help of foreign loans.
 - Private investors in Sichuan organize the Railway Protection Movement (*Baolu yundong*), demonstrate, and clash with authorities.
 - Cadets in Wuchang uprising (Hubei) on October 10, 1911 ("Double-ten day"). Military Government under Li Yuanhong.
 - Revolt spreads to others provinces all across China.
 - Yuan Shikai and 46 other generals ask the Emperor Puyi to abdicate.
 - Sun Yat-Sen plays a very small role.



商辦
 四川省漢陽鐵路有限公司
 第百零壹號

光緒
 年
 月
 日

本公司蒙 督部 奏准商辦先集股
 兩股票分大小兩宗大票計伍拾萬股每
 兩小票計貳百萬股每股庫平銀伍兩員

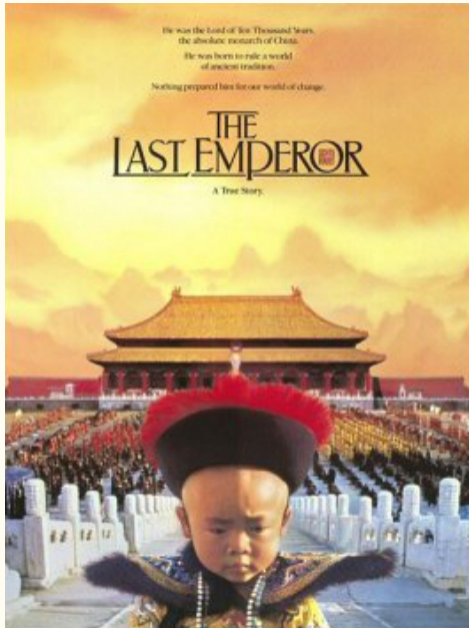
股東萬事通 係

駐川辦
 駐京
 駐宜

總理
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The end of Imperial China, II

- Ultimate cause: the inability of the Qing government to modernize China.
- State with low capabilities:
 1. Lingering ethnic resentment against Manchus.
 2. Lack of economic growth.
 3. Defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).
 4. Weakness with respect to foreign powers: concessions and “unequal treaties” (however, revisionist view by many contemporary historians).





CHINA'S FOREIGN PLACES

The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943

ROBERT NIELD

GHASSAN MOAZZIN

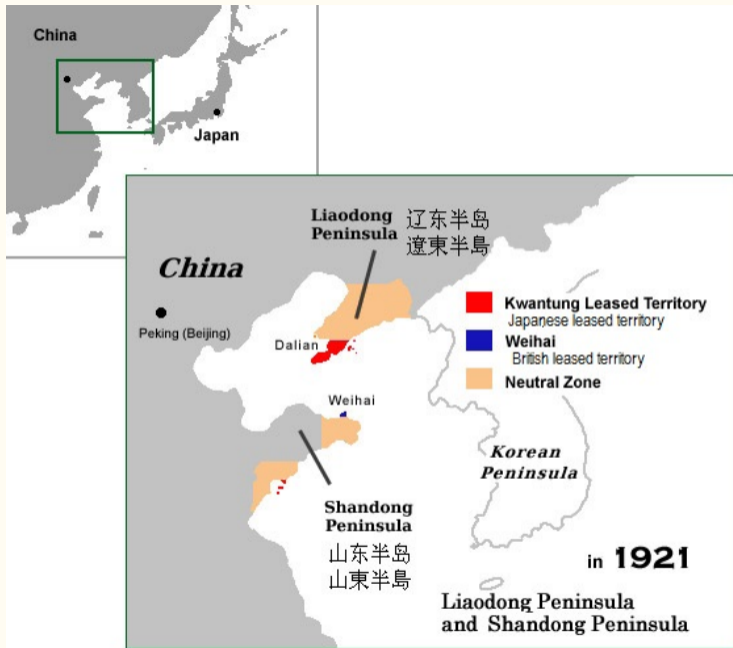
Foreign Banks *and* Global Finance *in* Modern China

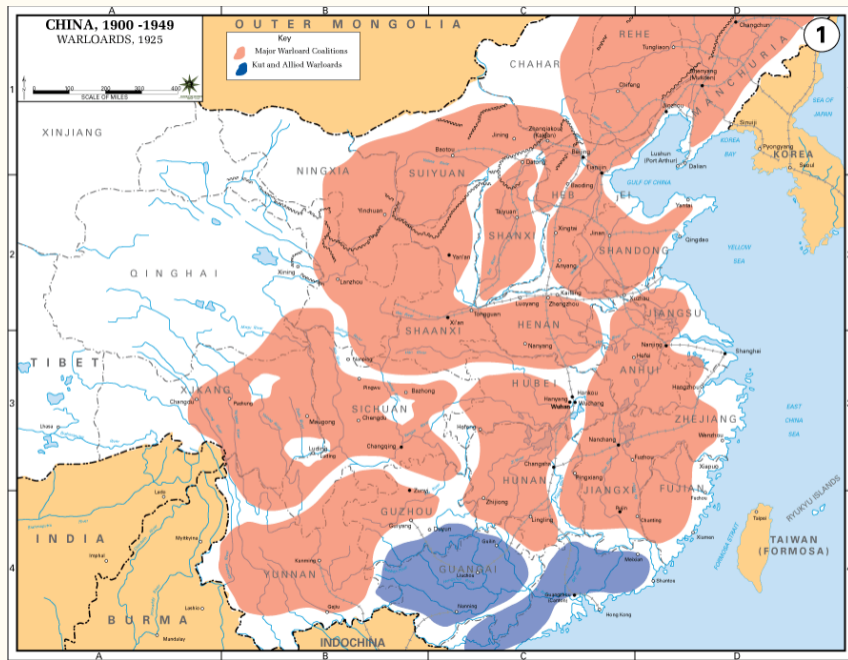
BANKING ON THE
CHINESE FRONTIER,
1870-1919

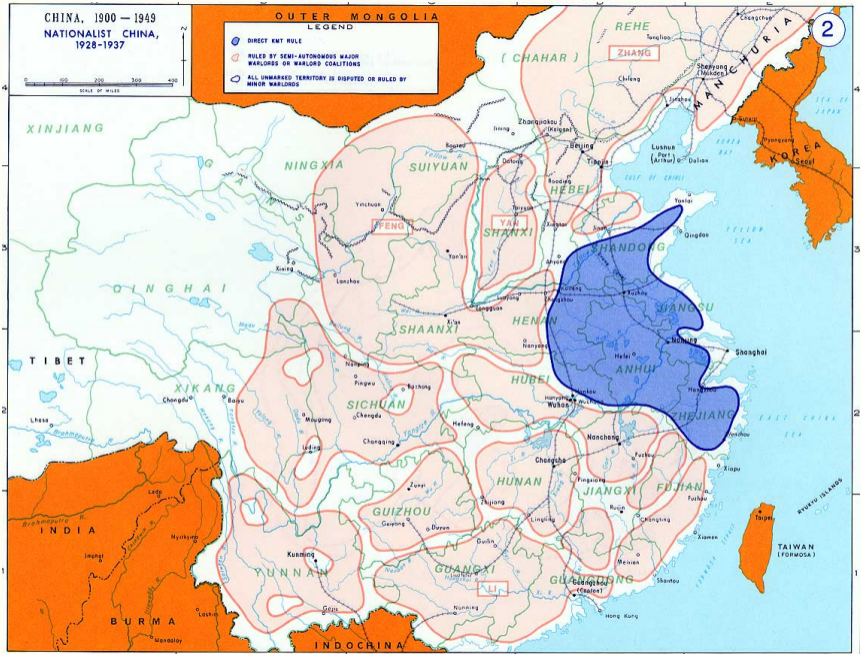


Decades of instability

- Elections to National Assembly in 1912 (4-6% of the population can vote): KMT wins but only with a plurality under the leadership of Song Jiaoren (assassinated soon after by Yuan Shikai).
- Presidential elections in 1913: Yuan Shikai wins by a large margin.
- Yuan soon disregards the republican institutions and proclaims a short-lived new empire.
- Yuan is opposed by provincial governors and China is fragmented into Warlord states.
- May Fourth Movement (1919) after Shandong Province is awarded to Japan at Versailles: revival of nationalism.
- Chiang Kai-shek takes over the KMT in 1925 and starts unifying China around Nanjing and the successful Northern Expedition: the “Nanjing decade” (1927-1937).









Economic outcomes

- High economic growth. GDP might have grown as much as 9% a year.
- Shanghai becomes an important economic center:
 1. Manufacturing capital of China.
 2. Shanghai had a larger foreign population than any other world city except New York.
 3. The second largest film industry after Hollywood.
- Post Office becomes an efficient organization that also handles small savings and remittances from Chinese diaspora as a Postal Bank.
- However, progressed hit by Great Depression and collapse of international trade.

Table 1. Net Domestic Product by Sector of Origin for China and the Lower Yangzi Province in 1933 (in Billion Yuans)

	Net Value Added		Lower Yangzi Province Share (in %)
	China	Lower Yangzi Province	
Agriculture	18.76	2.81	15
Factories	0.64	0.37	57
Handicrafts	2.04	0.71	35
Mining	0.21	0	negligible
Utilities	0.13	0.059	45
Construction	0.34	0.1	30
Modern Transportation & Communication	0.43	0.09	21
Old-fashioned transportation	1.2	0.29	24
Trade	2.71	0.76	28
Government administration	0.82	0.1	12
Finance	0.21	0.14	65
Personal services	0.34	0.082	24
Residential rents	1.03	0.25	24
Net domestic product	28.86	5.75	20
Per Capita NNP (yuan)	57.36	94	164%
Population (millions)	503.1	60.4	12
Land Area (10,000 square kms)	966	21	2
Cultivated Area (million shi mou)	1543	143	9.3

Sources: Ma 2005.

Table 2. Per capita NDP and Structural Composition in East Asia in 1914-1918 and 1931-1936 (in 1930s Chinese Yuan)

		China	Lower Yangzi		Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manc h-uria
			Province	Region				
1914- 1918	Agriculture	71%	57	52	29	48	66	
	Industry	8	15	17	20	29	7	
	Services	21	28	31	51	23	24	
	Per Capita NDP	52.44	80	90	161	102	64	
	As % of China	100%	153	172	305	195	122	
1931- 1936	Agriculture	65	49	43	19	44	53	36
	Industry	10	19	22	28	27	13	20
	Services	25	32	35	53	29	34	44
	Per Capita NDP	57.36	94	107	203	132	77	69
	As % of China in	100%	164	187	354	230	134	120
Annual per capita NDP Growth rate between 1914-18 and 1931-36		0.57	0.94	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.1	
Population (million) in 1931/36		503.1	60.4	45.33	67.2	5.1	21.2	38.7

Source Notes: Ma (2004).

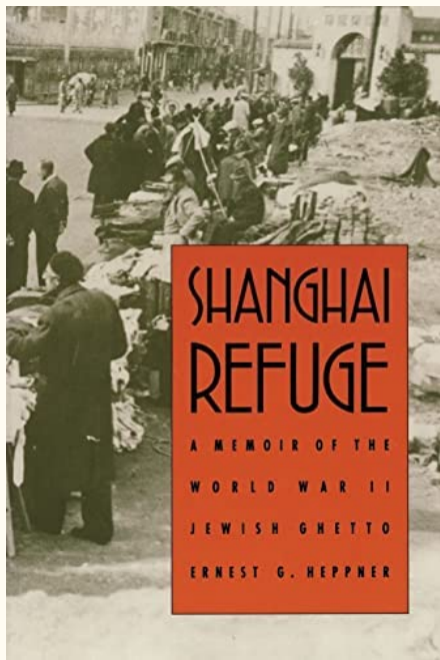


Table 3.3 *China's foreign trade, 1910–36 (million US dollars)*

	Imports	Exports
1910	649	503
1920	997	614
1925	1,242	876
1929	1,620	1,070
1930	1,723	944
1931	2,002	915
1932	1,524	569
1933	1,345	612
1934	1,030	535
1935	919	576
1936	941	706

Source: *China Year Book* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1936), p. 57.

Japanese aggression

- Japan's Kwantung Army invades Manchuria on September 18, 1931, after the Mukden Incident (a false flag operation).
- In February 1932, the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchukuo and appoint Puyi as the Emperor.
- Japan continues pushing into the interior of China.
- After the Marco Polo Bridge incident (July 7, 1937), open war starts: Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).
- It leads to between 15 to 20 million deaths and particularly gruesome Japanese war crimes (the Nanjing Massacre, December 1937-January 1938, Unit 731).



THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

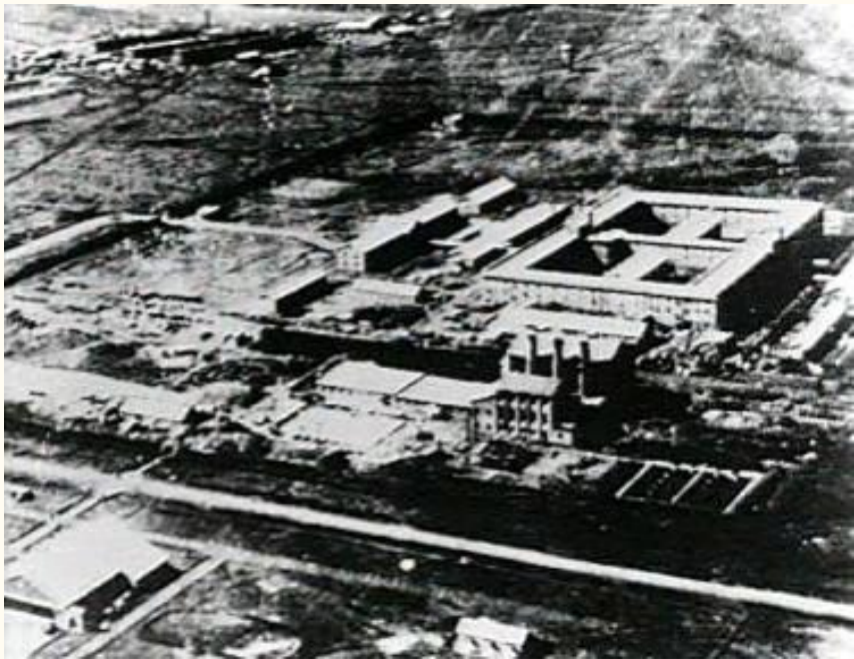
"A powerful, landmark book, riveting in its horror." —Richard Rhodes

THE
RAPE
OF
NANKING

THE FORGOTTEN
HOLOCAUST OF
WORLD WAR II



IRIS CHANG



**CHINA'S
WORLD WAR II
1937-1945**

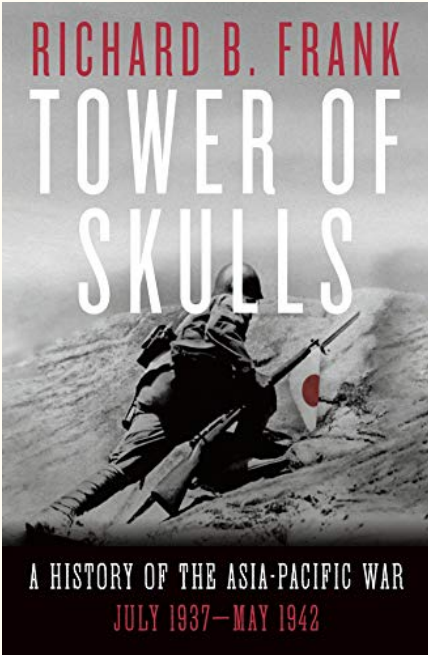
"IMPORTANT AND COMPELLING." - WALL STREET JOURNAL

FORGOTTEN ALLY

RANA MITTER



RICHARD B. FRANK
**TOWER OF
SKULLS**



**A HISTORY OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC WAR
JULY 1937—MAY 1942**

The Chinese Communist Party

- The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is founded on July 23, 1921 in the Shanghai French Concession. Small group of around 50 people.
- Moscow orders the CCP to infiltrate the KMT and control it from inside: First United Front (1923-1927).
- However, on April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and the right wing of the KMT purge the communists: the Shanghai massacre.
- Left wing of KMT and CCP organize the Nanchang uprising on August 1, 1927.
- Civil War between the KMT and the CCP.



FROM REBEL
to RULER



ONE HUNDRED YEARS *of the*
CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

TONY SAICH

THE
CHINESE
COMMUNIST
PARTY

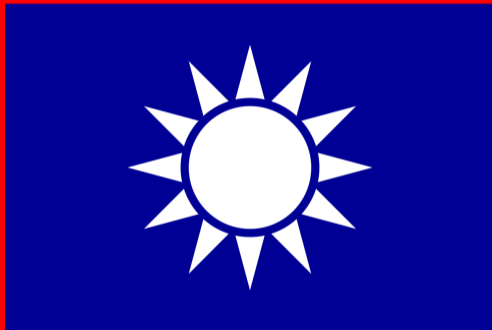
A CENTURY IN TEN LIVES



EDITED BY Timothy Cheek
Klaus Mühlhahn AND Hans van de Ven








The people's war

- Uprisings in urban centers fail in the 1920s. Stalin orders the CCP to move into the countryside.
- “Red bases” in the south.
- By 1934, the Red Army has to retreat to the north: the Long March. Mao Zedong (1893-1976) becomes the Chairman of the Politburo. He survives all purges and power struggles.
- The Xi'an Incident leads to the formation of the Second United Front (December 24, 1936).
- Red bases in the north survive thanks to the Second United Front.
- Civil War restarts after the Japanese are defeated in 1945.





Guèrra Civil Chinesa de 1946 a 1950.

-  Zònas comunistas en 1946.
-  Conquistas nacionalistas en 1947.
-  Conquistas comunistas en junh de 1948.
-  Conquistas comunistas en decembre de 1949.
-  Conquistas comunistas en 1950.
-  Zònas de resistència nacionalista importanta.
-  Zònas tengudas per lei nacionalistas en 1950.

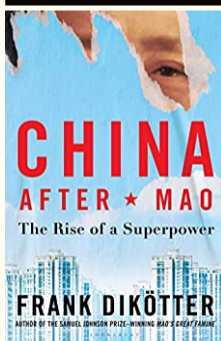
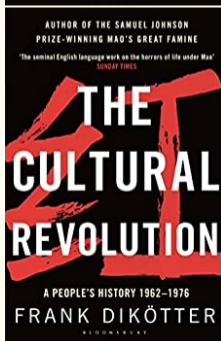
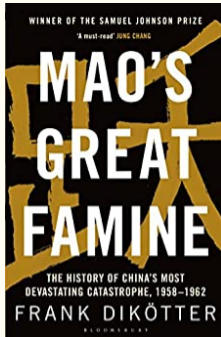
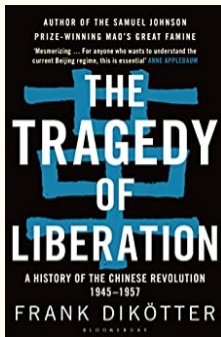


A People's Republic?



The CCP takes power

- October 1, 1949, Mao proclaims the People's Republic of China.
- A few weeks later, the effective end of the civil war and unrest that had plagued China for decades:
 1. Warlord Era, 1916-1928.
 2. Civil War, 1927-1936.
 3. War against the Japanese, 1936-1945.
 4. Civil War, 1945-1949.
- However, Kuomintang survives in Taiwan, and minor combat operations continue for years (for example, *Guanbi* policy until 1979).
- Civil War more at a pause than at an end.



A neo-Stalinist people's republic, I

- Communist party copies the political model of High Stalinism:
 1. Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance signed on February 14, 1950.
 2. Large number of Soviet advisors and Russian becomes compulsory in schools.
 3. Dictatorship of the CCP (although other eight “political parties” officially exist as part of the United Front).
 4. Top leadership enjoys large privileges.
 5. End of a free press, religious freedom, and other civil and political rights.
 6. Constant revolutionary “campaigns” (e.g., the campaign against the ‘five pests’: flies, mosquitoes, fleas, bedbugs, and rats).
 7. Great Terror to eliminate political enemies. By the end of 1951, close to two million “enemies of the party” are killed, often just to fulfill a quota of executions at the provincial level.

中蘇友好同盟互助

促進世界持久和平



A neo-Stalinist people's republic, II

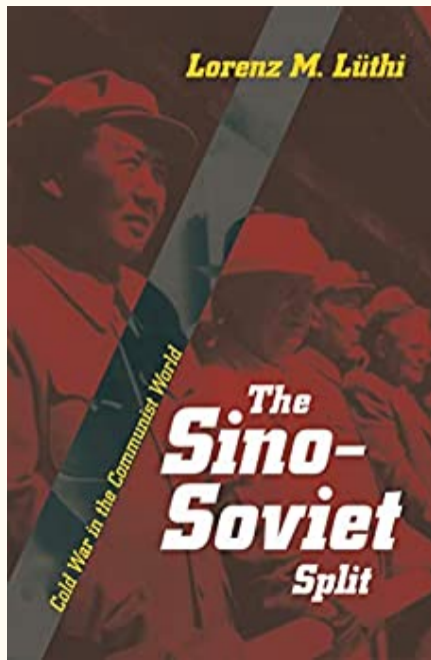
- Continuation:
 7. Large system of concentration camps (“laogai,” short for “reform through labor”), public supervision, and conscripted workers. Physical and mental torture (thought reform).
 8. Millions more are subject to reeducation (“everyone is learning the right answers, the right ideas, and the right slogans”) and “struggle sessions”: they are asked to write confessions, admit their personal faults in front of audiences, and promise to do better. Others are encouraged to “speak bitterness.”
 9. Most foreigners are either expelled or sufficiently harassed/taxed that they leave voluntarily.
 10. Artistic objects from the past are destroyed or damaged. Modern forms of art are prohibited (e.g., Jazz) and writing characters are simplified.
 11. Colonization of non-Han areas by Han: probably the largest colonization program in modern times.
 12. Huge expenses on national defense.



- When the Soviet Union moves away from High Stalinism in the late 1950s, China's orthodoxy will lead to a fight with the Soviet Union.
- Festering wounds from the 1920s, the Soviet invasion of Manchuria in 1945, treatment of Mao and Zhou when they visit Moscow, the Korean War, Soviet abuses in trade, and the Gao Gang affair.
- Close to open war in 1969: leadership leaves Beijing convinced the Soviet Union is about to start a massive war.
- Split among communists worldwide.
- Later, Albanians, under Enver Hoxha, will break with Mao for not being "Stalinist" enough.



人不犯我.我不犯人.人若犯我.我必犯人。

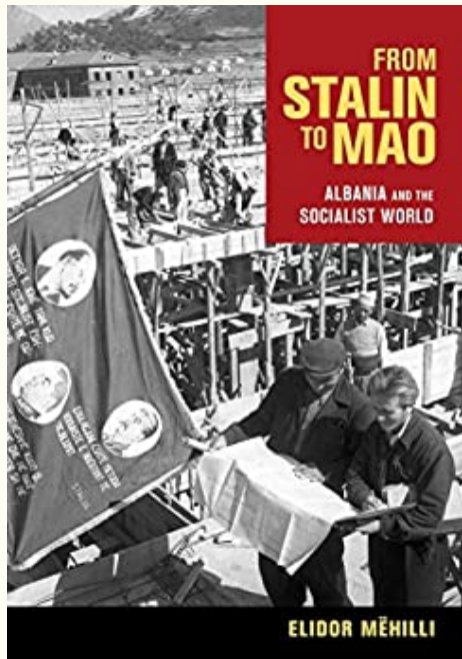
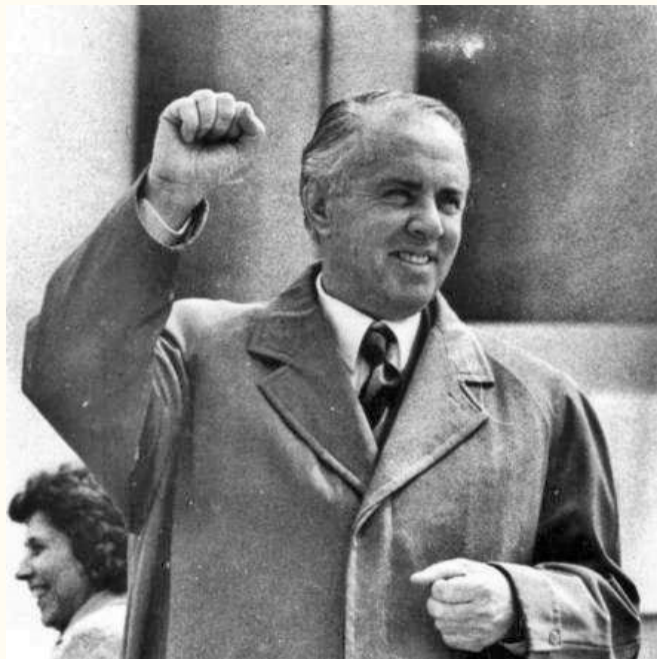


Mao and the
Sino-Soviet Split,
1959–1973

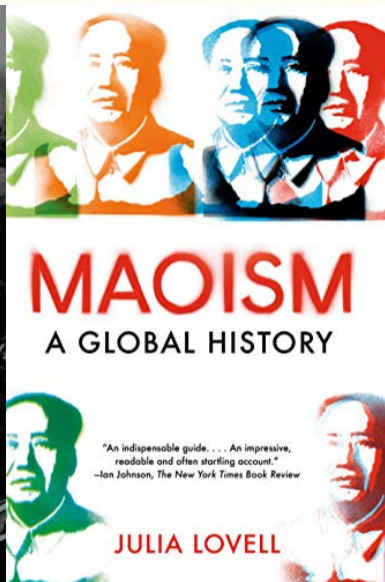
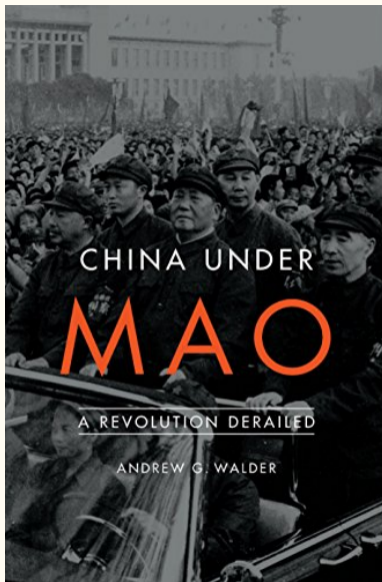


A New History

DANHUI LI
AND YAFENG XIA



- Mao is not well-versed in Marxism. But he has deep political instincts and has read Chinese classics.
- Maoism becomes its own “brand”:
 1. Predominance of the peasantry as a revolutionary force through guerrilla warfare (“Revolution is not a dinner party”).
 2. Tenderness for rebellion against authority (“Practice is the sole criterion of truth”).
 3. Veneration of political violence (“Power comes out of the power of a gun”).
 4. Anti-colonial resistance (“Imperialism is a paper tiger”).
 5. Thought-control techniques (“Expose errors and criticise shortcomings”).
- Influential among urban guerrillas in Western Europe and insurgents in Latin America.



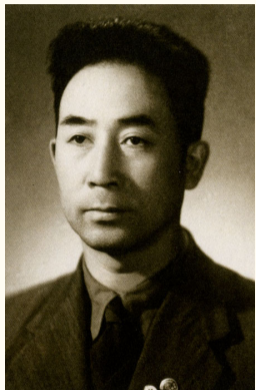






- Economic policy also follows Stalin's template.
- Main economic managers: Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai (Mao lacks knowledge of even elementary economics and interest in administrative details).
- Below them: Bo Yibo, Chen Yun, Li Fuchun, Gao Gang, Li Xiannian, and Deng Zihui.
- Maze of bureaucratic organizations with overlapping responsibilities.
- Over the following years, economic managers that express doubts about Mao's goals would be bullied and swept aside.





Agrarian collectivization

- Land reform: At least (another) two million “landlords” are killed, often rather gruesomely (including children or “little landlords”).
- Grain monopoly in 1953 (“unified sale and purchase system”).
- Mutual-aid societies → cooperatives → collective farms → people’s communes.
- Large irrigation and flood control programs (e.g., the Three Gate Gorge).
- Household-registration system (*Hukou*): population divided between city dwellers (*jumin*) and peasants (*nongmin*). Status passed by the mother.
- Reinforced by food rationing coupons.

毛主席语录

领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党。

指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义。

千万不要忘记阶级斗争。

户口簿

中国人民
解放军 北京市公安局军事管制委员会



北京市粮票
贰佰伍拾克
(半市斤)

1986

Socialization and central planning

- Monetary reform. A new currency (renminbi) is introduced in December 1948, and the use of other currencies prohibited.
- Large firms are nationalized nearly right away.
- But even small firms are expropriated in 1956: the “Socialist High Tide.”
- Five-year plans started in 1953 and coordinated by the State Planning Commission.
- Strong emphasis on basic industries, in particular steel, to the detriment of consumer industries.
- A key difference, though, with respect to the Soviet Union: much of the planning is done at a regional level, not national.
- Massive loan from the Soviet Union plus advisors (also, at a smaller scale, East Germany and other East block countries).

我國第一個五年計劃主要工業建設分佈圖

我國第一個五年計劃開始建設的有六百九十四個大建設單位，其中一百四十五個是蘇聯幫助我們設計的。



鋼鐵工業是一切工業的基礎

鋼鐵是做各種機器和國防武器的主要材料，五年內我國要新建和改建十五個大的鋼鐵廠，其中包括鞍山、武漢和包頭三個鋼鐵基地。



五年內生鐵年產量的增長

一九五二年 年產一百九十萬噸
 一九五七年 年產四百六十七萬四千噸
 年產量增加約一倍半

五年內鋼年產量的增長

一九五二年 年產一百三十五萬噸
 一九五七年 年產四百一十二萬噸
 年產量增加二倍多



在蘇聯偉大的援助下，我們將盡最大的努力，逐步地實現國家工業化！

Table 1: Imports from the Soviet Union, with Major Commodity Groups and Items (million rubles)

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
China's imports from Soviet Union (total)	556	576	881	761	262	190
Trade	183	292	370	301	183	140
Petrol and petroleum products	(80)	(81)	(104)	(99)	(107)	(71)
Equipment for plants	245	174	310	283	55	9
Military equipment	121	78	79	72	12	11
New technology	7	31	122	104	12	30

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing, 6 Sept. 1963, 109-3321-2, pp. 66-7 and 88-9; although rates varied constantly, 1 ruble was roughly equivalent to 2.22 yuan and US\$1.1. Figures may not add up perfectly because of rounding.

**Table 2: Exports to the Soviet Union: Major Commodity Groups
(million rubles)**

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
China's exports to Soviet Union (total)	672	809	1006	737	483	441
Industry and mining	223	234	218	183	140	116
Farm and sideline processed products	227	346	460	386	304	296
Farm and sideline products	223	229	328	168	40	30

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing, 6 Sept. 1963, 109-3321-2, pp. 66-8; figures may not add up perfectly because of rounding.

**Table 3: Exports of Grain and Edible Oils to the Soviet Union
(thousand tonnes and million rubles)**

	1957		1958		1959		1960		1961	
	value	weight	value	weight	value	weight	value	weight	value	weight
Grain	77	806	100	934	147	1418	66	640	1.2	12
Rice	(25)	(201)	(54)	(437)	(88)	(784)	(33)	(285)	(0.2)	(1.8)
Soybeans	(49)	(570)	(45)	(489)	(59)	(634)	(33)	(355)	(0.9)	(10.4)
Edible oils	24	57	23	72	28	78	15	41	0.4	0.4

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing, 6 Sept. 1963, 109-3321-2, pp. 70-1; figures may not add up perfectly because of rounding and selection of commodities.

A moment of transition

- Large demonstrations and strikes in 1956-1957 (triggered by Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign).
- Eight CCP Congress deletes references to “Mao Zedong Thought” removed from its statutes and cult of personality is denounced.
- Mao responds with a surprising campaign: “Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend.”
- In economic policy: pledge to a more balanced growth toward light industry and agriculture.
- But, after a few months: return to a hard-core position.
- Embedded in the Second Five-Year Plan from 1958 to 1963 and confirmed by the Lushan Conference in 1959, after which Peng Dehuai is purged.
- Usually known as the Great Leap Forward.

The Great Leap Forward

The Great Leap Forward

- Stated goals (“walk on two legs”):
 1. Food production: “Launching satellites of wheat.”
 2. Steel: “Exceeding the UK, catching the USA.”
- Total mobilization to substitute labor for capital: “Everyone is a soldier.”
- High degree of improvisation and “outdoing” of previous targets.
- Faith in the “intuitive knowledge” of the masses instead of experts’.
- Increase in exports of commodities to import capital goods.
- Big construction projects (e.g., The Ten Great Buildings in Beijing).
- Also, the split from the Soviet Union also leads to all soviet advisors leaving by 1960.



农业大跃进社社放卫星



鋼

以鋼为綱. 全面跃进

YI GANG WEI GANG QUAN MIAN YUE JIN

Bureaucracy,
Economy, and
Leadership in China

THE INSTITUTIONAL ORIGINS OF
THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

David Bachman

China's Road to Disaster

Mao, Central Politicians and
Provincial Leaders in the Great Leap
Forward, 1955-59

Frederick C. Teiwes and
Warren Sun

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Mao's Crusade

Politics and Policy Implementation
in China's Great Leap Forward



Alfred L. Chan

STUDIES ON CONTEMPORARY CHINA

The Origins of the Great
Leap Forward

The Case of One Chinese Province

Jean-Luc Domenach

R

The rural program

- Amalgamating rural households into large-scale collective units or people's communes:
 1. As many as 20,000 households, with communal dorms, kitchens, and kindergartens.
 2. Some communes try to get rid of money and substitute it with a system of points.
 3. Tight control of access to food through collective canteens.
- Promotion of rural industrialization: small furnaces.
- Massive destruction of existing dwellings, tombs, and ancestral monuments.
- Increase use of fertilizers. Even human bodies!



公社新邨图



Mao's war on nature

- Wishful rejection of nature's constraints and environmental considerations:
 1. Close cropping and deep plowing.
 2. As many as half of all the trees in some provinces were cut down.
 3. Small plots adapted to the terrain are substituted by large square plots.
 4. By January 1958, one in six people in China is digging earth.
 5. Sparrows are considered a pest and attacked everywhere.

Mao's Speech at Supreme State Conference, January 28-30, 1958

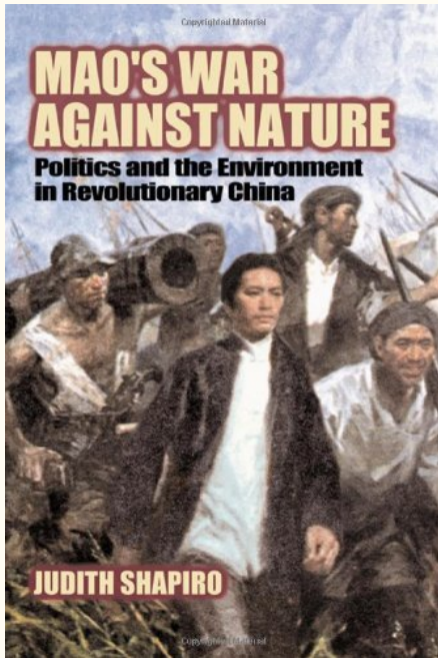
"There is a new war: we should open fire on nature."

- High cost in terms of floods, fires, soil erosion, alkalization, salinization, pollution, insect infestation, etc.

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MAO'S WAR AGAINST NATURE

**Politics and the Environment
in Revolutionary China**



JUDITH SHAPIRO

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The death toll

- Economic outcome is truly awful.
- Industrial output collapses (lower quality goods, inflation,...).
- Large construction projects are left unfinished or barely completed.
- High corruption and shadow double-dealing.
- Terrible famine in 1959-1961. Many cases of cannibalism.
- 45-60 million deaths. At least 2.5 million of those deaths were due to beatings and torture and between 1 to 3 million suicides.
- Perhaps the worst human-caused disaster in history.

(a) Province-level Mortality Rates—Mean and Cross-Province Standard Deviation

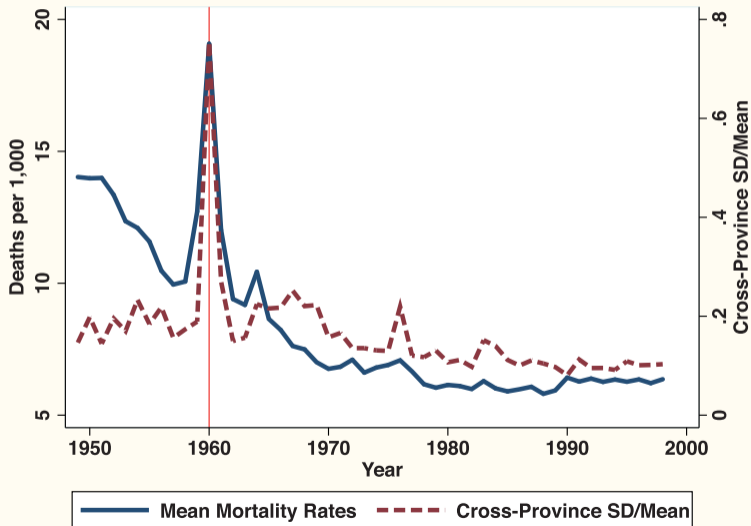
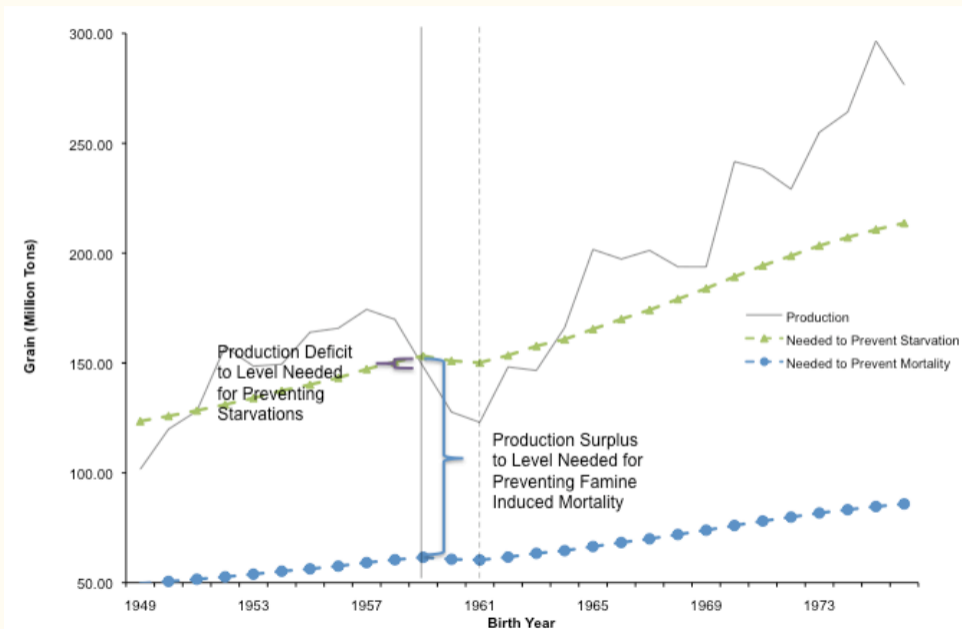


Figure 1: Population and Aggregate Production 1949-76

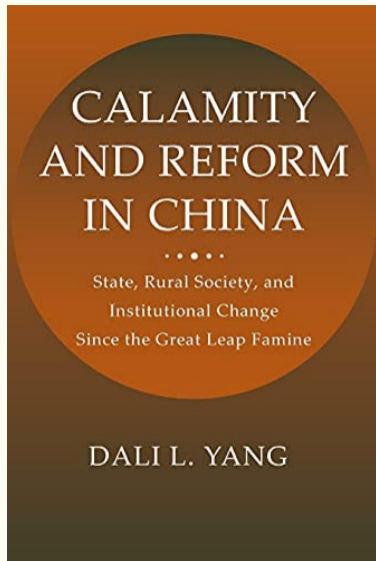
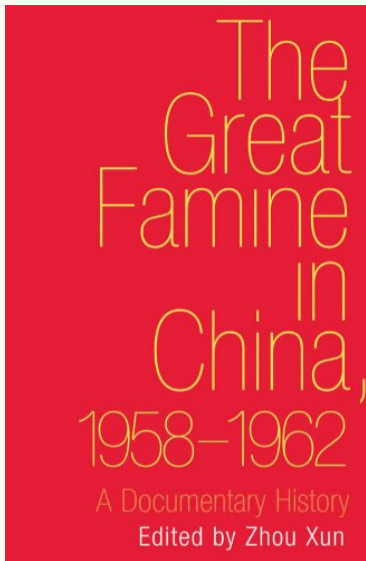
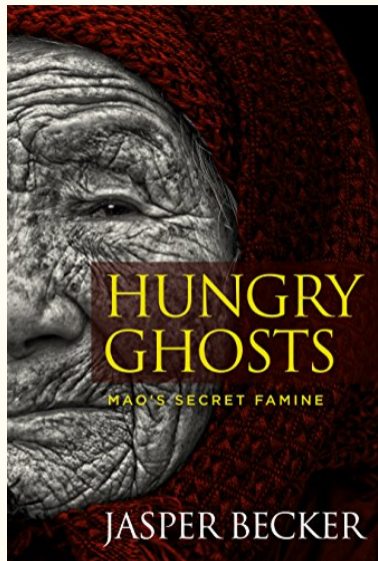


Why?

1. Poor incentives.
2. Massive misallocation of labor and food wasted in storage and transportation.
3. Falsified reports.
4. Exports of agricultural goods are continued (foreign donations from China even increase!).
5. Trade is reoriented from the Soviet Union to the West.
6. Food used as a political weapon against “enemies.”
7. Lack of concern of authorities.

Chen Yin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, November 1958

“Casualties have indeed appeared among workers, but it is not enough to stop us in our tracks. This is the price we have to pay, it is nothing to be afraid of. Who knows how many people have been sacrificed on the battlefields and in prisons [for the revolution]? Now we have a few cases of illness and death: it’s nothing.”



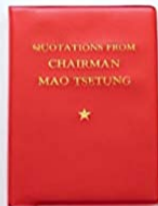
The end

- The end comes with the Seven Thousand Cadres Conference in January 1962.
- Liu Shaoqi recognizes the importance of “man-made disasters” (*renhuo*).
- Mao takes semi-retirement, although he promotes the idea: “never forget class struggle.”
- Some of the most radical economic policies are ended and some shadow economy reopens.
- Still:
 1. CCP is purged (around 77,000 deaths).
 2. The Socialist Education Movement (*Shehuizhuyi Jiaoyu Yundong*) aims at eliminating the last vestiges of private markets.
 3. Little Red Book is printed in 1964.
- Also: China detonates its first nuclear weapon on October 16, 1964.



MAO'S LITTLE RED BOOK

A GLOBAL HISTORY



EDITED BY ALEXANDER C. COOK



The Cultural Revolution

THE ORIGINS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

1: CONTRADICTIONS AMONG
THE PEOPLE 1956-1957



RODERICK MacFARQUHAR

THE ORIGINS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

3: THE COMING OF THE
CATAclySM 1961-1966



RODERICK MacFARQUHAR

THE ORIGINS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

2: THE GREAT LEAP
FORWARD 1958-1960

RODERICK MacFARQUHAR

MAO'S LAST REVOLUTION

Roderick MACFARQUHAR ★ Michael SCHOENHALS



The Cultural Revolution

- Mao announces his desire to have a Cultural Revolution to the Politburo in January 1965:
- But, it is only launched in earnest in the Spring of 1966:
 1. May 16 Notification dissolves the top level of the party's cultural apparatus due to the controversy surrounding Wu Han's Beijing Opera play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*.
 2. The (Central) Cultural Revolution Group is formed in May 1966 to replace the Central Committee Secretariat and the "Five Man Group." Chen Boda and Jiang Qing particularly prominent.
 3. Editorial on June 1, 1966, on the *People's Daily*: "Sweep Away All Monsters and Demons."
 - <https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/1966/PR1966-23c.htm>
 4. Mao swims the Yagtze River on July 16, 1966 (after many months away from public life).
- It lasts, more or less, until 1976, when Mao dies.

橫掃一切牛鬼蛇神

《人民日報》社論

一个无产阶级文化大革命的高潮，正在占世界人口四分之一的社会主义中国兴起。

在短短的几个月内，在党中央和毛主席的斗争号召下，亿万工农兵群众、广大革命干部和革命的知识分子，以毛泽东思想为武器，横扫封建主义在思想文化陣地上的大堡垒牛鬼蛇神。其势如暴风骤雨，迅猛异常，打碎了多少年来剥削阶级强加在他们身上的精神枷锁，把所谓资产阶级的“专家”、“学者”、“权威”、“祖师爷”打得落花流水，使他们威风扫地。

毛主席教导我们，在我国，在所有制的社会主义改造基本完成以后，阶级斗争并没有结束。“无产阶级和资产阶级之间的阶级斗争，各尽阶级力量之间的阶级斗争，无产阶级和资产阶级之间在意识形态方面的阶级斗争，还是长期存在的，曲折的，有时甚至是很激烈的。无产阶级要按照自己的世界观改造世界，资产阶级也要按照自己的世界观改造世界。在这一方面，社会主义和资本主义之间谁胜谁负的问题还没有真正解决。”我国解放十六年以来，无产阶级和资产阶级在意识形态领域内的阶级斗争，一直是十分激烈的。目前的社会主义文化大革命，正是这个斗争的继续发展。这场斗争是不可避免的。无产阶级和一切剥削阶级的意识形态是根本对立的，是不借和平共处的。无产阶级革命，是要消灭一切剥削制度、消灭一切剥削制度的革命，是要逐步消灭工农之间、城乡之间、脑力劳动和体力劳动之间的差别的最彻底的革命，这不能不遭到剥削阶级最猛烈的反抗。革命的根本问题是政权问题。上层建筑的各个领域，意识形态、宗教、艺术、文化、法律、政权，最中心的是政权。有了政权，就有了一切。没有政权，就丧失了一切。因此，无产阶级在夺取政权之后，无论有着怎样千头万绪的事，都永远不要忘记政权，不要忘记方向，不要失掉中心。忘记了

政权，就是忘记了政治，忘记了马克思主义的根本观点，变成了经济主义、无政府主义、空想主义，那就是修正派。无产阶级和资产阶级之间在意识形态领域内的阶级斗争，归根到底，就是争各领导权的斗争。剥削阶级的枪杆子被缴械了，却把子被人夺过来了，但是，他们脑袋里的反动思想还存在着。我们推翻了他们的统治，没收了他们的财产，并不等于没收了他们的反动思想。剥削阶级统治了劳动人民几千年，他们垄断了由劳动人民创造的文化，反过来用以麻痹、愚弄、麻醉劳动人民，巩固他们的反动政权。几千年来，他们的思想是统治的思想，在社会上就不能不有广泛的影响，他们的反动统治被推翻以后，他们是不死心的，总是企图利用他们过去这类的思想，为资本主义在政治上、经济上的复辟进行舆论准备。解放十六年来思想文化领域上的连续不断的斗争，直到这次大大小小“三家村”反党反社会主义恶毒的诽谤案，就是一场复辟和反复辟的斗争。

在资产阶级革命时期，资产阶级为了夺取政权，也是首先从意识形态上进行准备，搞资产阶级的文化革命。资产阶级革命是由一个剥削阶级推翻另一个剥削阶级，并且要经过多次反复，经过多少次的革命、复辟和反复辟的斗争，资产阶级革命从思想准备到夺取政权，在欧洲的许多国家，都进行了几百年之久。无产阶级革命是彻底结束一切剥削制度的革命，更不能幻想把意识形态简单地任由无产阶级剥夺他们的一切特权，而不想恢复他们的统治。他们人还在，心不死，必然要策划于所居的政权，以十倍的力量，来企图夺回他们失去的天堂。翰哈呢修正主义集团在苏联篡党，篡军，篡政，这个事实，对全世界无产阶级说来，是一个非常严重的教训。目前中国那些资产阶级代表人物，那些资产阶级“学者权威”，

他们所做的，就是资本主义复辟的梦。他们的政治头脑麻木了，但是他们还是要拼命维持所谓学术“权威”，制造复辟舆论，同我们争夺群众，争千年青一代和将来一代。

资产阶级进行反封建的文化革命，到夺得政权的时候就停止了。无产阶级的文化革命，是反对一切剥削阶级意识形态的文化革命。这种文化革命的性质，同资产阶级的文化革命是截然不同的。这种文化革命，只有在无产阶级夺得政权以后，取得了政治的、经济的、文化的先决条件，才能为这种文化革命开辟最广阔的道路。

无产阶级文化革命，是要彻底破除几千年来一切剥削阶级所形成的毒害人民的旧思想、旧文化、旧风俗、旧习惯，在广大人民中，创造和形成崭新的无产阶级的新思想、新文化、新风俗、新习惯。这是人类历史上空前未有的移风易俗的伟大事业。对于新建国家和资产阶级的一切遗产、风俗、习惯，都必须用无产阶级的世界观加以无情的批判。在人民生活中清除旧社会的恶习，是需要时间的。但是，解放以来的经验证明，如果充分发动了群众，走群众路线，使移风易俗成为真正广大的群众运动，那末，是就能够很快起来。

资产阶级的文化革命，是为少数剥削阶级服务的，它只能由少数人参加。无产阶级的文化革命，是为广大劳动人民服务的，和最大多数劳动人民的利益是一致的。所以，它必须动员和团结广大劳动人民参加。资产阶级总是要，总是鄙视群众，把群众当作恩惠，把自己看成是人民的天然支配者。无产阶级思想革命同他们根本相反，是全心全意为人民服务的，目的是唤醒劳动人民群众的自觉，为最广大的人民群众的利益而奋斗。

资产阶级的卑鄙的自私自利，管制不住自己

对于人民群众的仇恨心。马克思说：“政治经济学所研究的材料的特殊性质，会把人心中最残酷最卑鄙最恶毒的感情，代表私人利益的仇视，召唤到战场上来反对它。”被推翻了剥削阶级还是这样。

目前，我国无产阶级文化大革命的风暴和声势，在人类历史上还不曾有过，它的威力之大、来势之猛，在运动中所未曾发出过的劳动人民无限的智慧，远远超过了资产阶级老者的想象。事实雄辩地证明，毛泽东思想一旦掌握群众，就能成为威力无穷的精神原子弹。这一场文化大革命，正在大大推动中国人民社会主义事业的前进，也必将为世界的现在和未来，发生不可估量的深远影响。

我国轰轰烈烈的文化大革命，引起了帝国主义的现代修正主义和各国反动派的惶惶和混乱。他们一会儿想入非非，说什么我们的文化大革命，表明了“中国下一代”和平演变“已经有了希望”；他们一会儿又想现实失望，说什么一切幻想表明，共产党的统治还是十分巩固的；他们一会儿又表现无限迷茫，说什么要对“中国所发生的事情随时中益地判断的真正的‘中国派’是永远不可能有的”。亲爱的先生们，你们的胡思乱想总是同历史的发展背道而驰的。人类历史上空前的这一场无产阶级文化大革命的发展和胜利，敲响了帝国主义和修正主义势力灭亡的丧钟，也敲碎了帝国主义的现代修正主义和一切反动派的迷梦。你们的日子不会长了。

让我们伟大的毛泽东思想的光辉照耀下，将无产阶级文化大革命进行到底。这一场文化革命的胜利，必将进一步巩固我国无产阶级专政，保证我们在各个战线上把社会主义革命进行到底，保证我们将由社会主义胜利地过渡到共产主义！

（一九六六年六月一日）



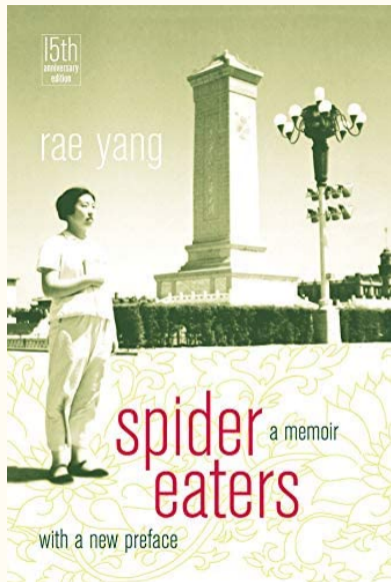
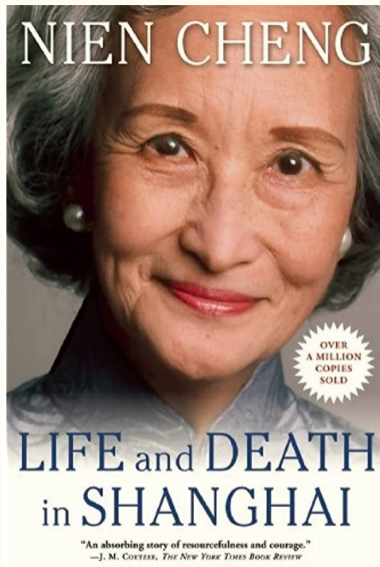
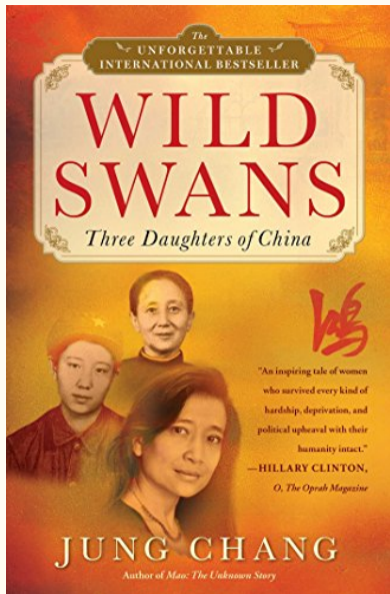
The Goals

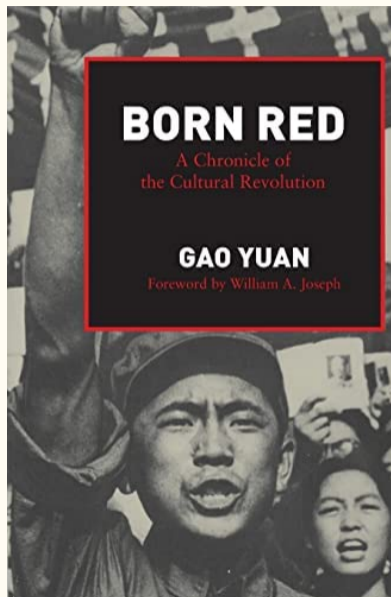
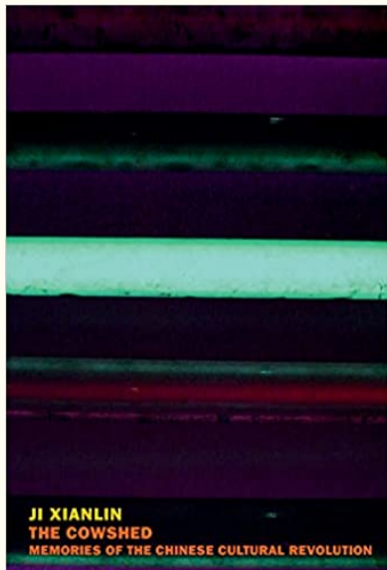
- After the economic revolution (socialization of ownership), China needs a cultural transformation to eradicate the old bourgeois culture, prevent the victory of revisionism, and ensure the transition from socialism to communism.
- While the first revolution changed institutions, the Cultural Revolution needs to change private thoughts:
 - In Mao's view, this is as important as the October Revolution in 1917.
 - Since the Soviet Union did not undertake a Cultural Revolution, revisionism has triumphed there.
 - In particular, the Cultural Revolution needs to eliminate "capitalist roaders."

Actions, I

- Mao cannot trust the CCP since wants to purge the top leadership he feels has betrayed him.
- So, he unleashes radical, self-righteous students, the Red Guards, against the CCP: “Bombard the headquarters” and “to rebel is justified.”
- Tremendous chaos and anarchy:
 1. Open civil war in Shanghai between “Red Workers” and the “Scarlet Guards.” Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen take over the city and create a “commune.”
 2. Embassies in Beijing sieged. The British one is burned down.
 3. Spillover to Hong Kong. Lam Bun, a popular radio commentator, is burned alive.
- That means that Mao may not be in control, but he is always in charge ([Dikötter, 2016](#)). He toasts on his birthday in 1966, “to the unfolding of a nationwide civil war!”







Actions, II

- Purging the enemies of communism by eliminating the four olds: old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas:
 1. Temple of Confucius, Buddhists Monasteries, Mosques, and Churches are destroyed or damaged.
 2. Millions of books are burned.
 3. Tens of thousands of commercial brands (e.g., “Golden Pagoda”), streets, and buildings are renamed.
- Bloodline theory: class position is hereditary (“reds,” “blacks,” and “greys”).
- New “forms” of proletarian culture. Example: The Eight Model Operas.
- Mao’s cult of personality. Surprisingly, many young activists (and some not so old) in the Western world “buy it.” Also, quite popular in Latin America and Africa.
 - A particularly bizarre variation: cult of mangoes.

打碎旧世界
创立新世界





chinese posters.net

革命现代京剧
智取威虎山

MADE IN CHINA

MADE IN CHINA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CsPAHrTMvxw&ab_channel=WuTangCollection

Daniel Leese



MAO CULT

Rhetoric and Ritual in
China's Cultural Revolution

CAMBRIDGE



a Pelican Original

The Cultural Revolution in China

Joan Robinson



• RICHARD WOLIN •

With a new preface by the author

French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution,
and the Legacy of the 1960s



the wind from the east



我們伟大領袖毛主席永远和羣众心連心

在紀念毛主席《炮打司令部》大字报和《中国共产党中央委员会关于无产阶级文化大革命的決定》发表两周年的大喜日子里，伟大領袖毛主席亲自把外国朋友贈送的珍貴礼物——芒果，轉送给首都工农毛澤东思想宣傳队。毛主席說：“我們不要吃，要汪东兴同志送到清华大学給八个团的工农宣傳队的同志們”。



伟大領袖毛主席亲自贈送给首都工农毛澤东思想宣傳队的珍貴礼物——芒果

Political outcomes

- Cultural Revolution leads to struggles within the CCP:
 1. Different fractions of Red Guards fight among each other (e.g., “royalists” vs. “rebels”).
 2. Constant reversals of fortunes regarding who is a “revisionist” and crippling factionalism.
 3. The People’s Liberation Army intervenes in January 1967 supporting the “true proletarian left.” Clashes within the People’s Liberation Army and against different groups of the Red Guards.
 4. By the summer of 1968, Revolutionary Party Committees (*geming weiyuanhui*) have taken control of the CCP, the state, schools, and firms.
 5. Heavy influence of military officers: in practice, China becomes a military dictatorship.
- Exact details remain unknown; e.g., the Lin Biao’s incident in 1971.
- Total deaths: between 1.5 and 2 million. Many examples of cannibalism.

THE BEIJING
RED GUARD
MOVEMENT



FRACTURED
REBELLION

ANDREW G. WALDER



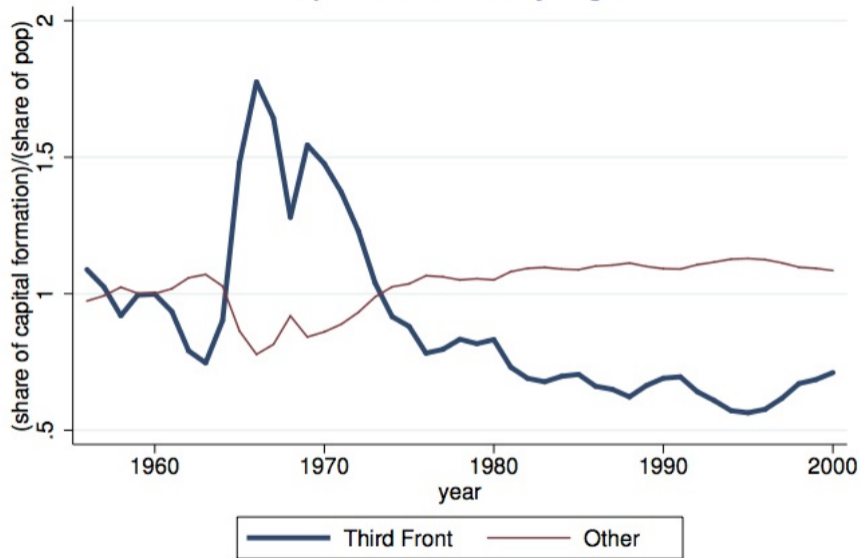
革命委员会好



Economic outcomes, I

- Material incentives are eliminated and substituted by propaganda.
- Private plots of land (given after the Great Leap Forward) are often taken back.
- Insistence on self-reliance: “Learn from Dazhai in agriculture” (fraudulent results).
- Third front of defense industries deep in the interior absorbs as much as 2/3 of industrial investment.
- Tremendous disruption of economic life: universities are closed, urban youth are sent to rural communes, and manufacturing industries cannot produce properly.
 - Young people sent to rural areas, in part, because of capital shortage and a lack of job opportunities in the urban sector.
 - Self-reliance and no advanced technical education is particularly damaging as the world is experiencing fast technical change in the late 1960s. Mao is suspicious of electronics.

Capital formation by region





Economic outcomes, II

- Many provinces are pushed into autarky as trade collapses.
- Concrete loss of output is hard to measure: statistics are highly unreliable. But all evidence points out to huge loss.
- Food rations were lower in Beijing in 1979 than in 1955 and, in 1976, at least 20% suffers from malnutrition.
- Also, big drop in the quality of manufactured goods.
- At the same time, the destruction of the power of CCP in rural areas due to infight leads to the abandonment of many aspects of central planning in rural areas by 1976, sowing the seeds of later growth.

Food rationing in urban China in kg/month/head

	Shanghai		Beijing	
	1955	1979	1955	1979
0-3 years of age	3.5	3.5	4.0	4.3
10+ years of age	12.5	12.5	13.8	15.0
University students	16.0	16.0	17.5	17.0
Office clerks	14.0	14.0	15.1	15.0
Heavy physical workers	20.0	20.0	22.0	22.5

The Gang of Four and Deng Xiaoping

- Mao dies on September 9, 1976 (Zhou Enlai had died on January 8, 1976).
- Short interregnum under Hua Guofeng, a minor figure but one fiercely loyal to Mao: “Two Whatevers” policy.
- Gang of Four (Yao Wenyuan, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Wang Hongwen): leaders of the radical side of the party that led the last years of the Cultural Revolution.
- Hua Guofeng quickly defeats the Gang of Four and they are arrested on October 6, 1976 (role of the People’s Liberation Army?).

Gang of Four at trial, 1981.



Yao Wenyan



Jiang Qing



Zhang Chunqiao



Wang Hongwen

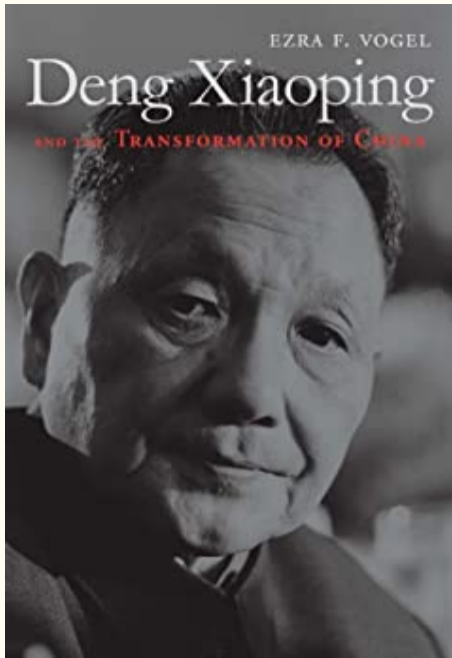
Deng takes power

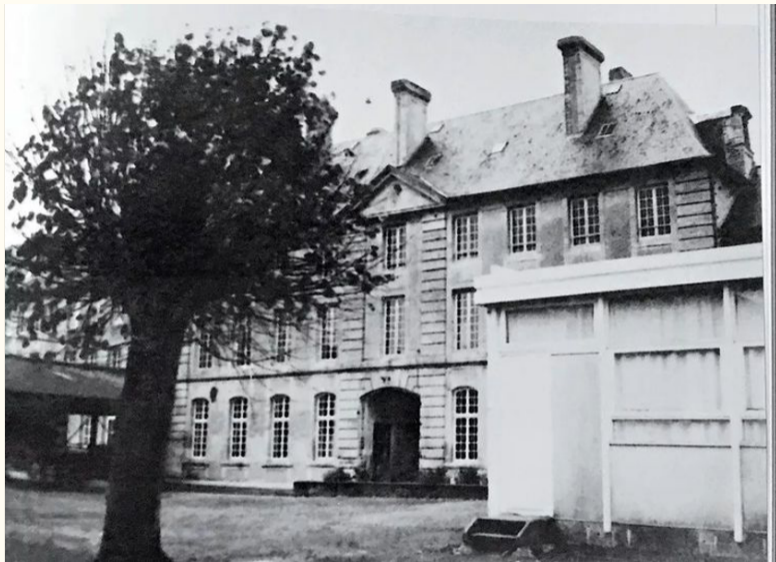
- Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) is, perhaps, the most successful politician of the 20th century.
- During his youth, he spends time in France and the Soviet Union (still, he always misunderstood much of how Western countries worked in practice).
- In 1962, he helps China's economic policies out of the Great Leap Forward: early opponent of collectivization and proponent of returning the land to peasants.
- Also, Deng sees the Soviet Union as the real long-run threat of China and the U.S. as a country in decline.

EZRA F. VOGEL

Deng Xiaoping

AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINA







Deng Xiaoping, II

- Victim of Mao's purges:
 1. Early cultural revolution: Sent as a worker to the Xinjian County Tractor Factory in rural Jiangxi from 1969 to 1973.
 2. Mao appoints Deng back in 1974 as a deputy of Zhou Enlai to counterbalance the more radical faction within the CCP.
 3. After Zhou dies, new camping: "Criticize Deng and Oppose the Rehabilitation of Right-leaning Elements." After the Tiananmen Incident on April 5, 1976, he is again removed from all his positions.
- Despite his personal experiences, Deng never hesitated to use force himself when needed.
- Finally, Deng takes power in the 3rd Plenary Session (December 1978), even if Hua Guofeng remains nominal Chairman of the CCP until 1981. In fact, Deng never becomes the "official" leader of the CCP.



Photo 14 – Deng, that unrepentant “capitalist roader,” is on the road again.

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A mixed balance

- Deng Xiaoping looks at China's performance since 1949 in mixed terms.
- On the one hand, there have been improvements in literacy, school attendance, maternal and infant survival rates, public health, and life expectancy (with some reversals due to the Cultural Revolution, in particular in health and education).
- On the other hand, China has fallen well behind other countries in East Asia. In particular, Singapore (he visits it in 1978), South Korea, and Taiwan.
- China fails to accomplish its strategic goals in the Sino-Vietnamese War of 1979: the campaign is considered a debacle.
- Population is exhausted of “revolution.”
- Deng gets to the conclusion that China needs a sharp change of direction.
- Chinese official line for assessing Mao: a wishy-washy 70-30 split.

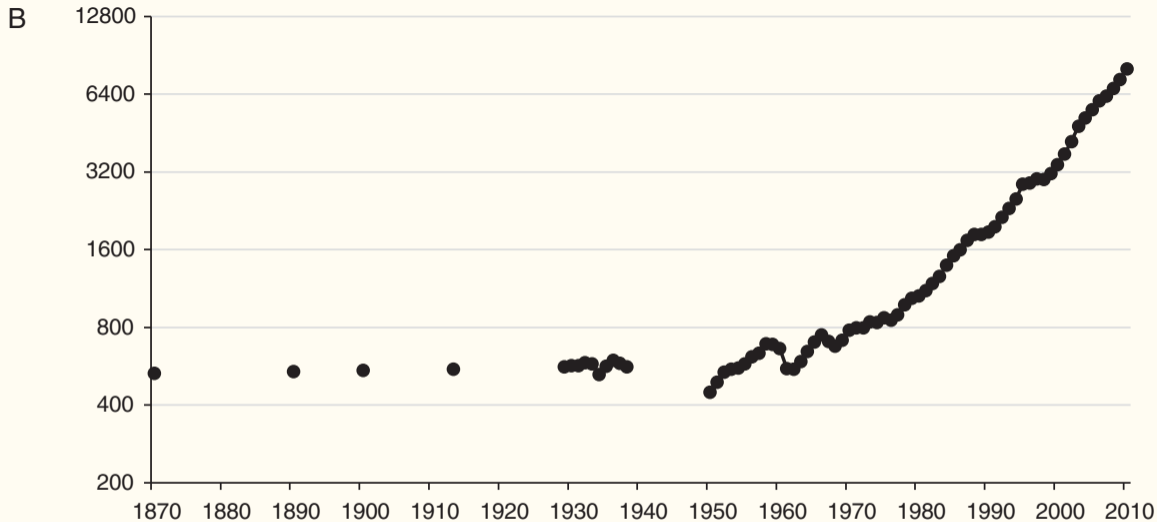


Figure 5.1 Chinese GDP per capita, 980–2010 (1990 international \$)

Source: A: Broadberry et al. 2018; B: Maddison Project Database, version 2013.

Table 2. Period Capital Investment, % in Total, 1953-75

Period	A	B	A/B
1953-7	36	7	5.1
1958-62	54	7	7.7
1963-5	46	4	11.5
1966-70	51	4	12.8
1971-5	50	6	8.3
Average	47	6	7.8

Source: Based on Lan Xia, “1957-1976 Nian Woguo Jingji Jilei Yu Fenpei Zhuangkuang” (Capital Accumulation and Distribution in the Chinese Economy, 1957-1976), *Chengdu Daxue Xuebao* (*Bulletin of Chengdu University*), 1 (2000), pp. 21-3.

Note: A = Heavy industry, B = Light industry.

Table 4. Employment Shares, % in Total Population

Case	All sectors	Agriculture	Non-agriculture
China, 1978	100	71	29
Japan, 1872	100	72	28
Russia, 1914	100	75	25
India, 1901	100	65	35

Table 7. Food Surpluses and Deficits, x 10⁴ Tons, 1953-78

Period	South China	North China	China's total
1953-5	+688.5	+204.3	+892.8
1956-60	+1950.5	-472.0	+1478.5
1961-5	+669.5	-2013.5	-1344.0
1966-70	+942.0	-796.5	+145.5
1971-5	+952.5	-1159.0	-206.5
1976-8	-22.8	-1106.4	-1129.2

Source: Rural Economy Institute, Ministry of Agriculture (ed.), *Dangdai Zhongguo Nongye Biange Yu Fazhan Yanjiu (A Study of Agricultural Reforms and Development in Contemporary China)* (Beijing: China's Agriculture Press, 1998), p. 251.

Note: Positive values = food surpluses; negative values = exports due to food deficits.

Nominal and real urban wage in the
state sector in yuan/year

	Nominal wage	Index	Real wage (1957)	Index
1957	637	100	637	100
1961	537	71	493	77
1965	652	93	539	85
1970	609	88	429	67
1976	605	86	327	51
1978	644	88	310	49

Decline in dependent-supporting capacity
per urban waged worker

	Average family (persons)	Dependents (persons)
Pre-1949	6.9 (100)	4.0 (100)
1957	4.5 (65)	3.3 (83)
1964	5.8 (84)	3.4 (85)
1970		2.5 (63)
1977	4.5 (65)	2.1 (53)

Living standards: worse off in calorie intake

	Daily calorie intake	Index
China (1930s)	2,537	100
...Beijing	2,670	105
...Shanghai	3,008	119
...Wuhan	3,500	138
China (1955-79)	2,009	79

Deng Xiaoping, 1979

“Modernization does represent a great new revolution. The aim of our revolution is to liberate and expand the productive forces. Without expanding the productive forces, making our country prosperous and powerful, and improving the living standards of the people, our revolution is just empty talk. We oppose the old society and the old system because they oppressed the people and fettered the productive forces. We are clear about this problem now. The Gang of Four said it was better to be poor under socialism than to be rich under capitalism. This is absurd.”

Deng and China's returns to the world

- Deng builds on forces already on movement.
- For instance: arrival of China to world stage.
- In some sense, it only returns to its natural place given its size and population.
- Four eras:
 1. First contact: 1972-1979.
 2. Reform in the countryside: 1979-1990.
 3. City-biased growth: 1990-2013.
 4. Xi's leadership: 2013-2022.



JOHN ADAMS

NIXON IN CHINA

LIBRETTO BY
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Reforms

The first reforms, I

- Zhou Enlai had already mentioned “four modernizations” (agriculture, industry, defense and science and technology) in January 1975.
- Deng adopts the slogan.
- End to Mao’s “class war” and “continuous revolution.”
- Law and order are restored.
- Universities are reopened in 1977 and science is promoted. *The Third Wave* becomes a mandatory reading among top officials.
- Restore efficient central bureaucracy but much power is returned to local authorities.
- Some of the old economic managers are restored to power: Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, and Yang Shangkun.



ALVIN TOFFLER

Author of POWERSHIFT and FUTURE SHOCK

THE
THIRD
WAVE

THE CLASSIC STUDY OF TOMORROW

The first reforms, II

- Rural liberalization: private farming and small rural enterprises.
 1. In fact, much of rural liberalization is spontaneous: 18 farmers in Xiaogang (Anhui) signed a secret contract in 1978 to break away from the commune.
 2. Agricultural requisition prices are increased.
 3. Communes are officially dissolved in 1982, although in practice they had been moribund for years.
 4. Land productivity triples in a few years.
 5. Rural small firms and factories.
- Expansion of foreign trade (for growth) and investment (to transfer technology):
 1. China gets Most Favored Nation status on February 1, 1980.
 2. Yuan is devalued: “internal settlement rate” of 2.80 yuan/dollar on January 1, 1981 (from 1.50 yuan/dollar). Later devaluations will lead to official exchange rate of 3.71 yuan/dollar.

Agrarian Radicalism in
China, 1968–1981

David Zweig

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PEASANT
POWER
IN
CHINA

The Era of
Rural Reform,
1979–1989

Daniel Kelliher

1978年12月

地委 平主华歌

村的小田到户。原户主签字盖章。如以后路干。原户保比。完收原户的当年
 上交给公粮。不立向国家伸手要钱。要粮。如不交。我们干部作斗争。
 也平心。大家社员也保比。把种的的。孩。养活到十八岁。

平主华歌 

周更珠

吴德

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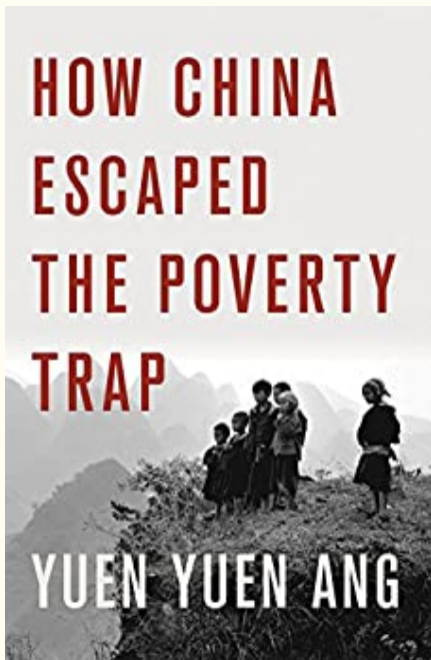
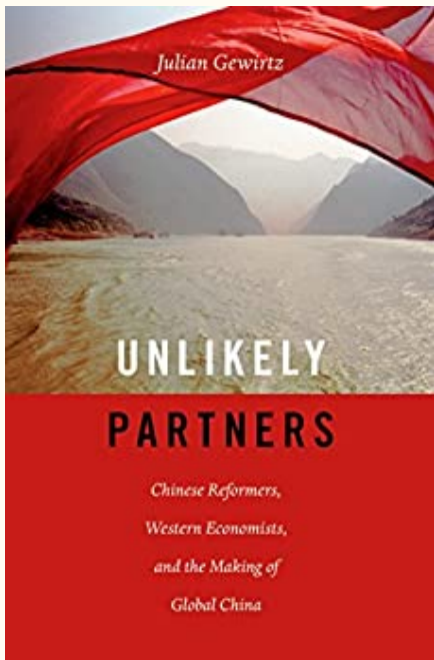
The first reforms, III

- Special Economic Zones.
- Policies aimed at 'enlivening' state-owned enterprises. First, dual-price system; later price liberalization.
- Fiscal decentralization: control of state enterprises is passed to local governments, which can keep a share of profits.
- State banks increase lending.
- Population growth control. Often violent.
- Food rationing is ended.



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- Economic growth returns but the transition is not smooth. For example: policy of retrenchment until 1982, reversals of price liberalizations in 1988.
- Links with Hong Kong and overseas Chinese revived. For example, some homes are returned.
- High inflation.



1989 Tiananmen Square protests

- 1989 is a central point in China's political and economic life.
- Students start protesting in April 1988 after the death of Hu Yaobang, who had been ousted from power in 1987.
 - Strong influence of reform movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
 - Impact of inflation on urban residents.
- General Secretary Zhao Ziyang wants to negotiate with students. Deng opposes any concession.
- People's Liberation Army cleans Tiananmen Square on June 3-5. Death figure?
- Zhao is put under house arrest, and Jiang Zemin becomes General Secretary.





Louisa Lim



THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF AMNESIA
TIANANMEN REVISITED

THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

PRISONER
OF THE
STATE

THE SECRET JOURNAL OF
PREMIER ZHAO ZIYANG



"A RARE FIRST-PERSON ACCOUNT OF CRISIS POLITICS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY." —ERIK ECKHOLM, *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY Bao Pu, Renee Chiang, and Adi Ignatius
WITH A FOREWORD BY Harvard University Professor Roderick MacFarquhar

The second reforms

- Regime worries its power might collapse.
- Example of the Soviet Union is interpreted in two ways:
 1. Khrushchev annihilated Stalin (mistake 1), Gorbachev loosened up control too fast (mistake 2) ⇒ policy response: tighten up control (represented by Chen Yun).
 2. Soviets did not improve people's lives fast enough ⇒ policy response: focus on growth. Jiang was not sure what to do, but Deng's 1992 southern tour made the choice for this option.
- After 1992, China switches to a policy of export- and city-oriented growth.
- Large foreign investment; stock markets open; tax reform in 1994.
- The political-economy of growth.



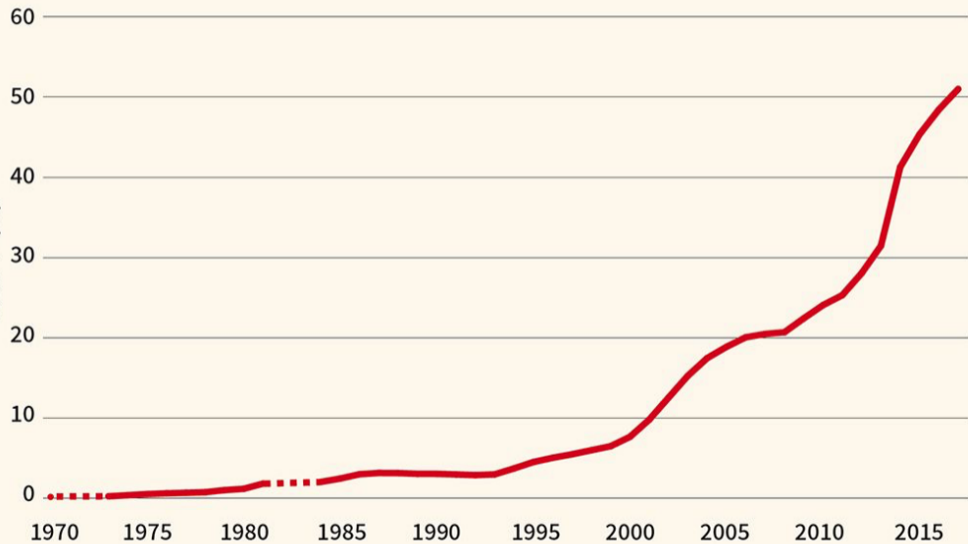
COMRADE DENG XIAO-PING IN HIS SOUTH INVESTIGATION TOUR TO SHENZHEN

邓小平同志南巡深圳

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China's university enrollment



Picking national champions

- Starting in 1998, 512 state enterprises are selected to become large conglomerates.
- Firms are merged and listed abroad.
- China becomes a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on December 11, 2001.
- Large trade surpluses 2003-2012 (8.68% of GDP in 2008).
- Large investments abroad (mainly Central Asia and Africa) and commodity price push.
- Serious concerns about intellectual property and pollution.



THE CHINESE ECONOMY

ADAPTATION AND GROWTH

SECOND EDITION

BARRY NAUGHTON

A new view?

- Main points:
 1. Strong state at home.
 2. Regain control of the economy.
 3. More aggressive position abroad: Multipolar world.
- Main designers:
 1. Deng Liqun: chief of propaganda and ideology during the 1980s.
 2. Wang Huning: fourth-ranking member of the Politburo since 2022.

