

When supporters of democracy tried to organize political parties, they were arrested and jailed. Human rights groups criticized abuses in China. The government, however, rejected such pressure for change.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Karl Marx, (b) People's Republic of China, (c) Deng Xiaoping.
- 2. Define:** (a) proletariat, (b) totalitarian state, (c) propaganda.
- 3.** (a) What goals did Mao support? (b) How did these goals appeal to different groups of Chinese?
- 4.** Describe two ways in which the Communists restored order in China.
- 5. Making Inferences** How did Communist propaganda about Mao Zedong help to unite China?
- 6. Writing Across Cultures** List three examples of propaganda about a person or event that you have seen on television or in a newspaper or magazine.



**Free Enterprise in China** Under Deng Xiaoping, citizens were allowed to operate small businesses. Many Chinese earned extra income by selling products at city market stands such as this one. **Choice** Why might people prefer to buy things from private businesses?

## 2

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### FIND OUT

What obstacles stood in the way of the modernization of China?

What were the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?

How did economic policies change after Mao's leadership ended?

**Vocabulary** collective farm, commune, capitalism

**F**rom a street stall, Shang Jinxi (shahng jeen shee) sells tea broth to people passing by. "These last couple of years, while the nation's

been trying to rev up the economy, I've retired," Shang explained. "I thought about it awhile, then dug out this big old kettle of mine. . . . I can make over 100 yuan [\$20] a month from it, on top of my pension. I've got it made."

Under Mao, the government ended private ownership of land and businesses. People like Shang Jinxi worked at government-owned farms, businesses, and factories. During the 1980s, however, Deng Xiaoping introduced new economic policies. Some private businesses such as Shang's tea stall were allowed to flourish once more.

## Revolutionary Goals

As you have read, Mao proclaimed three main goals for China's Communist revolution. He promised a better life for the poor. He called for development of a modern economy. He pledged to restore China's position as a major world power.

When the Communists took over in 1949, many obstacles prevented them from achieving these goals. China's huge population needed to be fed, clothed, housed, and educated. Years of war had destroyed China's few industries and disrupted its farming. China's geography, too, limited the amount of land that could be used to produce food. Floods, earthquakes, and droughts had further hampered its agriculture. As for modernization, China lacked the technology and capital to industrialize quickly. China's isolation from the world community added to its problems.

For the Communists, economic and political goals could not be separated. To build a strong economy, they believed, they had to destroy the old class system. In the past, landowners and other wealthy Chinese had controlled the means of production—that is, land, labor, and capital. The Communists wanted to place the means of production under central government control. In this way, they hoped to end inequality and increase output. As output increased, China could sell its goods on the world market and use the income to invest in industry.

## Reorganizing Agriculture

Once in power, the Communists quickly introduced land reform. They took land from large landowners and divided it among landless farm families. Many landlords faced harsh punishments for their past mistreatment of the peasants.

During the early 1950s, the government set up new programs, ending private ownership of land altogether. The government forced peasants to pool their land, tools, and labor to form **collective farms**. The members of collective farms worked for the state and received a share of the harvest. The rest of the harvest went to the government. The government believed that collective farms would be more efficient and result in greater food production.

**Great Leap Forward.** In 1958, Mao introduced another program. He called on the Chinese to make a superhuman effort to achieve modernization through one "Great Leap Forward." As part of this program, he divided China into **communes**. A typical commune included several villages, thousands of acres of land, and as many as 20,000 people.

### Working on a Commune

Under Mao, all Chinese farmers had to live and work in communes. More than 50,000 communes were established to produce the nation's crops. By the late 1970s, however, the government had begun to move away from commune farming. Peasant families were then allowed to lease farms. Farm output nearly doubled in value between 1978 and 1985. **Change** Why did communes fail to produce enough food?



The commune controlled the land and peasants' lives. At first, families were split up. Men, women, and children slept in separate dormitories and ate in large dining halls. The commune assigned jobs to each worker. In turn, it provided all workers with food, clothing, housing, medical care, child care, schooling, and even recreation.

The commune system was a way to mobilize the Chinese people to build bridges, dams, irrigation systems, and other projects needed for a modern China. Mao expected to increase food output through large-scale farming.

**Effects.** The Great Leap Forward led to disaster. Peasants resisted the commune system, sometimes even destroying crops. Food production fell because the government assigned millions of farm workers to projects such as building schools and roads. Since everyone was guaranteed a living, many workers did not work very hard.

Floods and droughts added to China's problems. Millions of people died in the famine that swept China from 1959 to 1961. Finally, during the early 1960s, Mao had to abandon the Great Leap Forward in favor of less ambitious plans.

## Cultural Revolution

Many Chinese blamed Mao for the disaster that followed the Great Leap Forward, and a power struggle broke out among the top Communist leaders. Mao grew concerned about factions, or rival groups, within the Communist party. He also believed that China's new generation had to experience revolution firsthand. In 1966, to renew the revolutionary spirit, he launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

**Methods.** Mao stressed the class struggle. He urged young people to root out "capitalist roaders," or followers of capitalism, as he called his critics. **Capitalism** is another term for a free market economy, in which the means of production are owned and operated by individuals for profit.

Students and young factory workers responded to Mao's call by organizing the Red

Guards. The Red Guards held mass rallies to support Mao. They traveled around China attacking government officials and others who did not fully support the chairman.

Quoting the Little Red Book, Red Guards heaped abuse on people with "bad class backgrounds"—those whose families had been landlords, rich peasants, or supporters of the Nationalists before 1949. In public "struggle meetings," they forced teachers, factory managers, and even Communist party members to confess to "crimes" against Mao. Victims of the abuse were then sent to distant rural areas to do manual labor.

**Effects.** The Cultural Revolution created chaos in China. Schools closed. In factories, disputes between rival factions slowed production. Finally, in 1969, the Chinese army restored order, sending millions of young Red Guards to work in faraway rural areas. The emphasis on political struggle continued, however, until Mao's death. The Cultural Revolution left deep wounds. Many people had been tortured, imprisoned, or killed. The lives of millions of young Chinese had been disrupted. They never completed school. Many lost faith in their hero, Mao Zedong, and in the Communist party.

## Up Close

### A Doctor's Story

"I was not a Communist [in 1949]," the elderly Chinese man told a visiting journalist, "but I admired what they were trying to do. Old China was so backward, so poor, and so corrupt, there were beggars who starved to death in the streets every day."

In 1949, the man returned to China from the United States, where he had graduated from Harvard Medical School. Full of hope, he took a job in a Shanghai hospital.

The young doctor's optimism faded in the 1950s. In 1957, Mao encouraged people to freely express their suggestions for improvement. The doctor suggested that doctors themselves, not Communist party officials, should run the hospital. "I took Mao at his

word, I thought he was sincere," he explained. Mao soon changed his policy about openness, and the doctor was harshly punished.

Dragged before his colleagues, the doctor was beaten and accused of crimes against the revolution. "They called it a 'self-help meeting,' to help me improve my attitude," he said. The doctor was then sent to a labor reform camp, where he spent his time breaking rocks in a quarry.

After nearly 10 years, the doctor was released just as Mao launched the Cultural Revolution. The doctor was arrested again. His family suffered, too. Red Guards forced his wife, who was also a doctor, to sweep floors and clean toilets. They made his son leave medical school to work in a remote peasant village. His young daughter was expelled from junior high school because of her father's past.

Life improved for the doctor after 1976. He returned to his old job, where he worked with the people who had attacked him in the past. To the journalist, he confided:

“It's funny, some of them now fall asleep at political study sessions from boredom. For all of us, the revolution is over. What is left is doubt and disbelief. It is very sad for China.”

## Four Modernizations

After Mao's death in 1976, a power struggle took place. On one side was the "Gang of Four," Jiang Qing (jee ahng ching), Mao's widow, and her top supporters. They favored the radical policies of the Cultural Revolution. On the other side were moderate leaders. The moderates, who made up the vast majority, won. They had Jiang Qing and her supporters arrested and put on trial. ( See Connections With Literature, page 806, "Homecoming Stranger.")

By 1978, Deng Xiaoping had emerged as China's leader. Deng's goals were similar to Mao's—to help China achieve wealth and power. However, he stressed economic reform instead of class struggle as the way to achieve those goals. Deng named his program the Four Modernizations. It called for modernizing agriculture, expanding industry, developing science and technology, and upgrading China's defense forces.

Deng wanted to increase mechanization, or the use of machines, in farming. He also hoped to make China self-sufficient in food production. To help achieve these goals, Deng introduced the responsibility system. Under this system, each farm family was responsible for making its own living. The government leased land to peasant households.

**Study Groups** During the Cultural Revolution, people everywhere, in cities and on farms, had to attend meetings to study and discuss the benefits of communism. The government supplied the approved texts to teach correct Communist thinking. Here, groups discuss their "lesson."

**Citizenship** How were study groups an effective means of propaganda?



Each householder raised crops and sold a certain amount of the harvest to the government at a set price. Peasants could sell any surplus for profit—on the open market.

The new system used profits to encourage farmers to produce more goods. Private enterprise reappeared. Some peasants did well, and the standard of living in many areas rose. Although the profit motive replaced Mao's emphasis on moral goals, China had not adopted a capitalist system. The responsi-

bility system was simply a new program to raise production and strengthen the government's power.

Despite increased prosperity, the more conservative members of the government decided to restore some collective farming in 1991. They insisted that only collective farms could produce enough food for China's population. They also argued that only collectives could organize the work force needed to repair canals, dikes, and dams.

**The City of Shenzhen** The Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at Shenzhen, the largest in China, covers more than 130 square miles (337 sq km) near Hong Kong. Shenzhen spurred China's economy by bringing in foreign businesses. These businesses have invested more than \$2 billion in Shenzhen.

**Interdependence** How does China encourage foreigners to build businesses in SEZs?



## Building Industry

Under Mao, China poured resources into developing industry. At first, Mao stressed heavy industry, such as mining and military weapons. During the Great Leap Forward, he called on China to become self-sufficient. To meet this goal, communes built small factories to make farm tools, furniture, and clothing. Products made in these factories were often poor because managers emphasized quantity rather than quality. Many communes also set up "backyard furnaces" to make steel, but most of it was unusable.

Under Deng Xiaoping, China shifted its emphasis to light industry, such as manufacturing consumer goods. To make factory managers more efficient, Deng extended the responsibility system to industry. Managers were allowed to make decisions about what was produced, but they were also responsible for making a profit.

Although many factories remain inefficient, industrial output has grown. Today, China is one of the world's most rapidly developing countries. It has benefited from the discovery of new mineral resources. By developing its oil resources, China expects to increase economic growth and rival other major industrial powers. On the negative side, China faces serious pollution problems as it struggles to expand its industries.

## Opening the Door to Trade

Deng Xiaoping ended Mao's policy of self-reliance and isolation. He realized that China needed foreign technology and capital in

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order to modernize. He called for an "open door" to foreign trade and sent Chinese students abroad to study science and technology.

To attract foreign capital, Deng set up Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in southeastern China. In an SEZ, foreign companies enjoy tax benefits and private free enterprise flourishes. The SEZ at Shenzhen, near Hong Kong, has grown from a small fishing village into a modern city. There, foreigners have set up about 600 businesses, ranging from toy factories to hotels and banks.

After the 1989 crackdown on student protesters, foreign investment slowed. China, however, kept its doors open. In the early 1990s, some foreigners, especially the Japanese, seemed ready to renew investment in China. China's poor human rights record, however, continued to hold back others.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Great Leap Forward, (b) Cultural Revolution, (c) Red Guards, (d) Jiang Qing, (e) Four Modernizations, (f) responsibility system.
- 2. Define:** (a) collective farm, (b) commune, (c) capitalism.
- 3.** (a) List two economic goals that China has pursued since 1949. (b) What problems has China faced in achieving those goals?
- 4.** Describe two results of each of the following: (a) Great Leap Forward, (b) Cultural Revolution, (c) Four Modernizations.
- 5.** (a) Describe two ways in which the economic policies of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were similar. (b) Describe two ways in which they were different.
- 6. Applying Information** Deng Xiaoping responded to critics of his economic reforms with this traditional saying: "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice." What did he mean by this?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Jot down some ideas about how the economy of the United States differs from that of China.

## 3

### CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

#### FIND OUT

- How does Communist ideology differ from Confucianism?
- What social changes did the Communists introduce?
- What is China doing to limit population growth?
- What role does education play in China today?

"My main worry was getting into the Communist Youth League. It looks good if you can. . . . Universities will judge you by whether you're a member and whether you're a 'three-good' student. That means good health, good politics, and good marks."

In China today, as in the past, education is the path to advancement. As 17-year-old Wu Liyao (woo lee ow) points out, getting into a university takes more than good grades. Coming from a family of good Communists and supporting the Communist party are also key requirements. For the Chinese, education is an opportunity to help China, not the individual, to develop.

### A New Philosophy

When the Chinese Communists gained power, they tried to replace the old Confucian traditions with a new, revolutionary philosophy. That philosophy combined the ideas of Marx and Mao.

The new ideology, or official way of thinking, emphasized the values and goals of China's new leaders. *Quotations From Chairman*