

1: MBEAW: China: Maoist Era

Uncertain Passage: China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era Paperback - August 29, by Arthur Doak Barnett (Author) Be the first to review this item.

At the time of his death, China was in a political and economic quagmire. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and subsequent factional fighting had left the country much poorer, weaker, and isolated than it had been in . Scores of capable party officials, bureaucrats, intellectuals, and professionals were languishing in prison or laboring in factories, mines, and fields. Many schools had been closed, and an entire generation of young people were unable to obtain an education. They mourned him, but not in the more emotional way they had mourned the late Premier Zhou Enlai. Hua was a bit surprised, but he agreed, and in October the Gang were arrested. The demise and arrest of the Gang of Four prompted nationwide celebrations, including parades in the streets of Beijing and other major cities. The Gang of Four symbolized everything that went wrong during the ten years of chaos of the Cultural Revolution, and their demise, the general populace had expected, would mark the beginning of a new era. In late and early , the state propaganda machine was working overtime to promote Hua Guofeng. He stated that "in order to honor Chairman Mao, we should govern in accordance with his wishes. It was now being said that he was a great leader and thinker, but not an infallible god and that the revolution had been the work of many people and not just him. The Cultural Revolution was said to have been a well-meaning idea that got out of control, and Hua declared that a second CR might be necessary in a few years. Nuclear weapons testing, missile, and space launches continued apace. To provide for distinct identity, Hua attempted his own change of the Chinese written language by further simplifying characters. A small number of these Hua-era simplifications continue to be in use informally, as there was no formal sanction of their legitimacy after Hua left office. In early , the National Anthem was changed to reflect pure communist ideology rather than revolutionary drive, inserting lyrics exclusively dealing with Mao Zedong Thought and building an ideal socialist nation, as opposed to the wartime patriotism reflected by the original lyrics. At the time Deng Xiaoping was still living in seclusion because of "political mistakes," and the issue of his return to politics was yet again put on the table. In February , a new constitution was adopted. This was the third one used by the PRC, after the original document which was not followed to any meaningful extent after and the short-lived "Gang of Four" constitution. The new one was patterned after the constitution and attempted to restore some rule of law and mechanisms for economic planning. In regards to the latter, Hua Guofeng wanted a return to the Soviet-style economics of the mids. He drew up a ten-year plan which emphasized heavy industry, energy, and capital construction. In regards to foreign policy, Hua made his first trip abroad in May . Deng reportedly expressed his displeasure at how the aid money given to North Korea by China over the years was being spent on statues and monuments honoring Kim. The North Koreans appeared to have gotten the message, for the gold plating was quietly scraped off the Kim statue in Pyongyang afterwards. Trying to crawl out of its international isolation, China mended fences with Yugoslavian leader Josip Tito , who visited Beijing in May after having been long denounced as a revisionist traitor. While Japan and China had in fact opened diplomatic relations in , the peace treaty took nearly six years to negotiate, one major sticking point being Chinese insistence on Tokyo including a clause that denounced Soviet "hegemony" in Asia. There was little sign of improved relations with the Soviet Union , and Deng Xiaoping declared the Sino-Soviet friendship treaty to be null and void. Relations with Vietnam suddenly turned hostile in . These two countries had once been allies, but in Mao Zedong told Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong that they should stop expecting Chinese aid and that the old historical feud between the two countries would erupt again. China also gave its support to the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime that took power in Cambodia during , provoking the hostility of the Soviet-backed Vietnamese government. In February, a full-scale Chinese attack was launched on the Vietnamese border. The PLA lost over 20, men due to weapons and equipment that were outdated, poorly made, and in short supply a side effect of the disruption caused by the Cultural Revolution ,

maps that were decades old, the continued use of human-wave tactics from the Korean War, and the fact that the army had no system of ranks. Diplomatic relations with Taiwan were terminated, but unofficial and commercial ties remained. Deng Xiaoping visited the U.S. Meanwhile, Hua Guofeng headed to Europe in May. He first stopped in France, reportedly because it was the first western nation to recognize the PRC, and made a fierce attack on Soviet expansionism and hegemony. Later in Germany, he displayed more restraint and decided against making what would have been a highly provocative visit to the Berlin Wall. While the Soviets could not condemn this, they were deeply worried about Sino-US collusion against them. North Korea also congratulated "our brotherly neighbor for ending long-hostile relations and establishing diplomatic ties with the US" while Cuba and Albania openly denounced Beijing as traitors to the cause of world socialism. Albanian relations with China had been deteriorating since and the announcement of economic reforms by the new leadership caused the tiny country to sever all contact completely. Deng becomes Paramount Leader [edit]

Although Hua continued in his leadership role, his power began waning the moment Deng Xiaoping returned to Beijing. The two continued to co-rule for a time, but the latter was rapidly gaining power. Hua was quickly seen as being nothing more than a vacuous party hack with no ideas of his own. This was reflected in the constitution, which still contained references to proletarian internationalism and continuous revolution. As Vice-Premier in charge of Technology and Education, Deng restored the University Entrance Examinations in 1977, opening the doors of post-secondary education to nearly a generation of youth who lacked this opportunity because of the Cultural Revolution. He elevated the social status of intellectuals from the lows of the Cultural Revolution to becoming an "integral part of socialist construction. By then Deng was poised to make a final political move to grab power. This article was reprinted in many newspapers across the country, and echoed widespread support amongst party organs and the general populace. The 81 year old Yeh Jianguang was forced to step down as defense minister in for health reasons and even with the death of several party elders during the 1970s, the average age of the Central Committee was still around 60. In April, Deng began the political rehabilitation of those who were formerly labeled "rightists" and counter-revolutionaries, a campaign led by Hu Yaobang that pardoned the wrongly accused, restoring the reputation of many party elders and intellectuals who were purged during the Cultural Revolution and other campaigns going all the way back to the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957. Liu Shaoqi was given a large state funeral in May 1981, when the country was asked to mourn the former president eleven years after his death. During this time, the CCP also established rules for an orderly succession of state and government leaders. Deng Xiaoping proposed mandatory retirement ages despite some protests from party elders and also guidelines were put in place that CCP members who lost their posts or were removed from office could not be jailed or subjected to physical harm. To that end, CCP figures such as Hua Guofeng were merely demoted to unimportant posts, but otherwise retained their party membership and state pension. In 1982, the CCP made a pledge to the nation that it would never again embark on mass campaigns like the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, the Gang of Four went on trial in on charges of counterrevolution, attempting to overthrow the state, and plotting to assassinate Mao. Only Jiang Qing tried to defend herself, repeatedly interrupting the proceedings with hysterical outbursts and sobbing. Whoever he told me to bite, I bit. The others were given life in prison, but Jiang was sentenced to death. She hanged herself in a Beijing hospital in 1991 while undergoing treatment for throat cancer. After a decade of turmoil brought about by the Cultural Revolution, the new direction set at this meeting was toward economic development and away from class struggle. The plenum endorsed major changes in the political, economic, and social system. Hua renounced his "Two Whatever's" and offered a full self-criticism. Replacing the old focus of class struggles was the new policy focused on economic construction. It also instituted sweeping personnel changes, culminating in the elevation of two key supporters of Deng Xiaoping and the reform program, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. In contrast to previous leadership changes, Hua would resign his posts one by one, although he remained on the Politburo until 1989. The post of chairman was abolished to ensure that no one person could ever dominate the party as Mao Zedong had done. Meanwhile, Li Xiannian was appointed to the post of President, vacant since 1982. Li was a believer in central planning, and his appointment to this largely ceremonial

position was a compromise move to appease conservative elements in the party. In the original plan, the Party would develop policy, and the state would execute it. The new emphasis on procedure, however, seemed largely undermined by Deng himself, who assumed none of the official titles on the grounds that they should go to younger men. After , the Chinese leadership moved toward more pragmatic policies in almost all fields. The party encouraged artists, writers and journalists to adopt more critical approaches, although open attacks on party authority were not permitted. The Chinese government repudiated the Cultural Revolution. A major document presented at the September Fourth Plenum of the Eleventh National Party Congress Central Committee, gave a "preliminary assessment" of the entire year period of Communist rule. At the plenum, party Vice Chairman Ye Jianying declared the Cultural Revolution "an appalling catastrophe" and "the most severe setback to [the] socialist cause since []. This stated that "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the "cultural revolution", but, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary. In late , many emboldened people began staging rallies and protests in Beijing. All these were tolerated because of being more-or-less in line with official positions, but some began calling for democracy and open elections. This was more than the authorities were willing to tolerate and they quickly stressed that the party would continue to hold power and guide the nation towards socialism. While greater freedom of thought would be allowed, loyalty to the party and socialist thought would still be required. Nonetheless, writers began criticizing corruption, privileges enjoyed by party officials, and unemployment, all things that supposedly could not exist under socialism. It was now officially admitted that 20 million Chinese were unemployed and million did not have enough food to eat. Canada and China established resident diplomatic missions in , and it led to a series of diplomatic successes in the west. Although both sides intended to establish diplomatic relations quickly, this move was delayed until due to the Watergate scandal. Deng traveled abroad and had a series of amicable meetings with western leaders, traveling to the United States in to meet President Jimmy Carter at the White House. This "one country, two systems" approach has been touted by the PRC government as a potential framework within which Taiwan could be reunited with the mainland. Deng, however, did not improve relations with the Soviet Union. He continued to adhere to the Maoist line of the Sino-Soviet Split era, which stated that the Soviet Union was a superpower equally as "hegemonist" as the United States, yet even more threatening to the PRC because of its closer proximity. Deng brought China conflict with Vietnam in , following the Vietnam War , under this subject of border disputes, and fought in the Sino-Vietnamese War. The term was first used, before the establishment of the PRC, in the late s during the Chinese Civil War , to describe the Communist side, [4] [5] and saw great prevalence in the s, s, and early s. Since the early s, however, the term remains in use in some circles, particularly right-wing or conservative political discourse and publications; nonetheless, some, including some conservatives, feel the term is not applicable to China in the contemporary period as the country is no longer a "monolithic political entity whose subjects march in lockstep with an all-powerful Communist regime. Sino-Vietnamese War of [edit] Main article: Incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border increased in frequency and violence. In February China attacked along virtually the entire Sino-Vietnamese border in a brief, limited campaign that involved ground forces only. The Chinese attack came at dawn on the morning of 17 February , and employed infantry, armor, and artillery. Air power was not employed then or at any time during the war.

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Early years[edit] Barnett was the son of Eugene and Bertha Barnett. The young Barnett graduated summa cum laude from Yale University in , with a degree in international relations. He chronicled the devastating conflicts of the Chinese Civil War. Beginning in , he spent four years as an associate of the American Universities Field Staff writing accounts of current developments in China from a base in Hong Kong. At that time China was regarded primarily as an enemy, particularly for its support of North Vietnamese expansion. China was feared as a revolutionary force seeking to topple democratic governments, which would fall like a row of dominoes. Fairbank , and Richard L. Walker to organize the National Committee on U. He also served on the editorial board of *China Quarterly* from to In an interview with the *New York Times* shortly before his death, Barnett recalled a private meeting he attended between Richard Nixon and China scholars in I am not sure the Democrats would have been capable of taking a major step toward China because of the fear of being clobbered". In the early s he advised against the sale of modernized jet fighters to the Republic of China on Taiwan , a position that was followed in the presidency of Ronald Reagan. William Skinner had "remarkable staying power" and "continued to shape the research agenda and analytical vocabulary of the field. They tended to a high level of generality without considering variation from place to place, and focused on formal structures and official policies rather than how those institutions worked in practice or how they affected the lives of ordinary citizens. The lecture is sponsored by the National Committee on U. Her father, John S. Badeau , also a missionary, was president of the American University in Cairo. They married in Hong Kong in Barnett was a United States diplomat who served as deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific from to *Challenge to American Policy* New York: The Early Years, New York: Praeger, *China After Mao: Reischauer A New U. Policy Toward China*, Washington, D. Brookings Institution, *Frontiers of development administration* Durham, N. Structure and Process Boulder: Westview Press; [Washington, D. Post-Mao reform and development Boulder: Four Decades of Change Boulder:

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