**Topic 3: The Rise and Rule of Single-Party States**


**Major Theme: Origins and Nature of Authoritarian and Single-Party States**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Conditions That Produced Single-Party States</th>
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<td>• Mao’s death: who will be his successor</td>
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<td>- September 18 “People did keep calm”</td>
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<td>- More than a million people assembled in the square to commemorate Mao</td>
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<td>• “Act according to the principles laid down”</td>
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<td>- Jiang Qing claiming that her husband had laid down her choice of choosing her as being successor by writing this alleged letter.</td>
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<td>- The struggle for power: Gang of Four vs Hua</td>
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<td>• “With you in charge, I am at ease.”</td>
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<td>- Mao writing this to Hua on his deathbed</td>
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<td>- Mao pretty much told Hua to succeed him by being Chairman of the Party; this gave Hua a legitimacy behind Mao’s choice in choosing him to take over</td>
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<td>- Madame Mao argued that Mao had written these words for her, and not Hua.</td>
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<td>- She pretty much wanted to use Mao’s quote in order to gain power for the Gang of Four and rise to the title of chairman</td>
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<th>Emergence of Leaders: Aims, Ideology, Support</th>
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<td>• The Gang of Four</td>
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<td>- Bureaucratic clique who claimed to embody the spirit of Mao and the Cultural Revolution; focused on violence and force</td>
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<td>- Zhang Chunqiao; Maoist theorist</td>
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<td>- Yao Wenyuan; celebrated the opening of the Cultural Revolution</td>
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<td>- Jian Qing; Madame Mao who would be a cultural czar</td>
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<td>- Wang Honwen; now a high level Party member</td>
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<td>- Gang of Four opposed Den Xiaoping</td>
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<td>• Hua Guofeng: “weak and inexperienced”</td>
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<td>- After Mao’s death, he was appointed to manage the Party</td>
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- A loyal follower and supporter of Mao
- Mao appointed Hua due to his support of Mao: promoting agricultural collectivization in Hunun province in 1955
  
  Hua: the little shadow of Mao
  - Hua tried to mimic and cultivate the image of Mao in order to bolster his claim as rightful successor
  - He changed his physical appearance to look like Mao
  - He had portraits of himself in public places just like Mao
  - Hua really pushed Mao’s quote of “with you in charge, I am at ease”
  - Hua made a public declaration “to support whatever policy decisions were made by Chairman Mao” and “to unswervingly follow whatever instructions were given by Chairman Mao”; this was known as “the Whatever faction”

### Totalitarianism: the Aim and the Extent to Which it was Achieved

#### Historiography

- Yet Hua lacked the attributed of a strong leader, and he was unable to fill the powerful offices he inherited with real political substance.
  - Hua was a political cipher; his ideology was formless, he was boring, he was un-inspiration, he wasn’t loved or hated
  - He was not inclined to take the left or right position, which left him to take a middle position; this led to accusations of revisionism and capitulationism

### Major Theme: Establishment of Authoritarian and Single-Party States

#### Methods: Force

- Hua’s task: purge the Party and state leadership of the remaining Cultural Revolutionary radicals, especially the Gang of Four; this is to be done under a Maoist cloak

#### Methods: Legal

#### Form of Government, (Left & Right Wing) Ideology

#### Nature, extent and Treatment of Opposition

- General Xu Shiyu
  - Openly defied authorities by taking Deng Xiaoping under his protection
- Deng Xiaoping was purged as an unrepentant capitalist roader
  - The smashing of the Gang of Four
  - The fall of the Gang was plotted by Hua and the Minister of defense Ye Jianying
  - This Oct 6 coup was leaked and Hua took this information to arrest the Gang of Four members
  - Called upon an emergency Politburo meeting on the night of October 5
  - Zhang and Wang arrested when they arrived at the meeting; Jiang and Yao were arrested in their homes
  - On the morning of Oct 6, prominent followers were placed in solitary confinement

**Historiography**

- “But the power of the Four was largely illusory, mostly a product of the revolutionary rhetoric with which they filled the pages of the official press”
  - Mao’s death left the Gang of Four defenseless; while most held their high position in the Party and had supporters that matched the Minister of Culture, the Gang had a lot of opponents and people who did not like them
  - The Gang, mostly Jiang Qing, used the media in order to try and launch assaults on Hua and portray him as a rightist
  - Pretty much everything that they tried to do, failed because no one really liked and supported what they stood for or believed in
- “Few Chinese mourned the demise of the Gang of Four, who had earned reputations as political schemers, hypocrites, and opportunists”
  - No one liked the Gang of Four or what they believed in; they were bad people
  - The Gang of Four also did not have any significant popular following in the urban masses

**Major Theme: Domestic Policies and Impact**
### Economic Policies

- **The Four Modernizations**
  - Rapid modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology
  - this focus was so that China would become a “powerful, modern socialist country”

- **Hua: economic leader**
  - Hua emerged as an ardent advocate of the Four Modernizations and proposed a program for rapid economic development
  - Hua called for the full restoration of managerial authority in factories and material rewards for laborers.
  - Advocated large-scale importation of modern technology from advanced capitalist countries
  - He believed that the rapid development of the economy was all that was needed to make China both powerful and socialist

- **Hua’s actions in the economic realm**
  - Demand labor discipline in factories
  - Stressed the need for scientific managerial techniques and modern business methods
  - Launched a socialist labor emulation campaign
  - Stressed China’s need to learn from good and advanced foreign experience
  - Emphasized the importance of the role of profits
  - 10% wage raise in Oct, 1977

- **Hua’s actions in the agricultural realm**
  - Promoted “learning from Dazhai, Mao’s egalitarian rural model”
  - Called for mechanization of farming
  - Encouraged larger private family plots for subsidiary production, expanded rural markets, proposals for limiting the autonomy of communes

- **A Ten Year Plan 1976-1985** which ambitiously set forth the goals of the Four Modernizations
  - Agriculture being the foundation of the national economy
- Emphasized modern industrial sector with heavy industry
- Coal production was to double
- The output of major industrial products will approach equal or more than most developed capitalist countries
- Demanded increases in the importation of foreign capital technology
- Promised all material things to all the people; everyone was to benefit from the Ten Year Plan of the Four Moderniations

### Social Policies

- April Fifth Movement- thousands of people commemorating the death of Zhou Enlai
  - The government condemned the movement as being counterrevolutionary and a resistance
  - Citizens viewed it as honoring the memory of a beloved party member and a powerful symbol of popular resistance to an arbitrary state
- Political and military bureaucracies moved quickly to eliminate what remained of the Cultural Revolution group
- The cultural revolution decade 1966-1976, the ten lost years
  - Revolutionary culture: Jiang Qing imposed repressive policies which banned literature, art, plays, etc. these were thought of as antisocialist
  - 8 approved revolutionary operas

### Religious Policies

### Role of Education

- Early post-revolutionary years, there was a striking rise in literacy and rapid assimilation of modern scientific and technological knowledge
- Closed for three years or longer during the revolution, most reopened in the early 1970's
  - However, there was hella reduced enrollments, demoralized teachers, and students were not academically or emotionally prepared to resume their studies
- Open-door schooling”
  - The ideal of combing education with productive labor
  - Sending students to work in the surrounding society and the
recruitment of experienced peasants and workers as temporary or part time teachers; they were to offer instructions on the practical application of technological knowledge.

- Hua regime began to reestablish the elitist educational system - “respect the teacher” the old system of hierarchical ranks restored in colleges and discipline demanded in classrooms
- School entrance exams fully reestablished
- The requirement that middle school graduates needed to spend several years engaged in manual labor prior to higher education was abolished
- University enrollments increased; college curriculum expanded to four years, replayed the 3 year system introduced during the cultural revolution
- “key point” schools that focused on a small number of the most academically promising students into an elite education route from kindergarten to college

### Role of the Arts

- A new “hundred flowers”
  - Supported by a selective quotes from Mao’s 1957 speech
  - Portended something less than the birth of intellectual freedom, it stimulated a literary and artistic renaissance
  - Banned players, operas, musical etc reappeared
  - Literary and scholarly journals resumed publication
  - Bookstores reshelved with books of Chinese and foreign

### Role of Media, Propaganda

- Gang of Four, mostly Jiang Qing, used her influence in the media to try to portray Hua as a rightist leader under the influence of Deng Xiaoping; her tactic in the struggle for power

### Status of Women

### Treatment of Religious Groups and Minorities

### Historiography

- The Cultural Revolution had further created a situation where leadership claims were based almost solely on what were alleged to have been Mao Zedong’s personal benedictions, with hardly even the pretense of adhering to proclaimed Leninist norms of ‘inner-party democracy’
  - Both the Gang of Four and Hua Guofeng struggled for power by...
using Mao’s alleged deathbed wishes; by doing so, both ignored
the normal workings of how the Party functions
- Even after Mao’s death, the decision for who becomes successor
is made by “the ghost of Mao”; the Part follows what Mao would
have wanted and bases their decisions on Maoist principles
- “the Maoist reform of the school system had been loudly celebrated
as one of the major accomplishments of the Cultural Revolution, not
only in China but also abroad”
  - The open-door schooling was applauded by everyone
  - The principles were admirable for China who was a society that
  aspired to socialism
  - “Yet whatever benefits these measures may have brought to
  elementary and secondary education, Mao’s policies had
  paralyzed higher education and retarded the development of
  science and technology”
- “to retreat to familiar educational policies did serve to revive the
universities, but not without costs to the socially egalitarian ideals
Chinese Communist leaders still proclaimed”
  - What was given to the universities was taken away from the
  elementary or secondary schools
  - As college enrollment increased, the number of children
  enrolled in elementary or secondary declined
- The three poisonous weeds
  - The debate not focused on the issue of modernization, but on
  the methods that were to be employed in order to modernize
  China; the question of how the means of modern economic
development were to be reconciled with the ends of socialism
  - Deng Xiaoping believed that further social change would be
  followed by the further development of China’s productive
  forces which would produce a socialist system and guarantee
  the future transition to communism
- “a major report on the economy issued in September 1977
proclaimed that ‘revolution can never be substituted for production’
a statement with which Mao would have agreed if the order was
- Class struggle exhorting the masses to increase production and productivity
- Increasing campaigned against the egalitarianism
- Chen Yun who advocated the supplementary role for market forces in planned economy
- Sun Yefang, the law of value continued to operate in a socialist economy

- Hua and the Four Modernizations
  - The economic goals set forth by the 10 year plan was first applauded but then questioned by how Hua was going to finance everything
  - “Hua Guofeng’s grandiose version of the Four modernizations had been borrowed from the proposals set forth by Deng Xiaoping”
  - The ten year plan was based on Den’s here policy documents