The History and Political Economy of the Peoples’ Republic of China (1949-2012)

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Outline of Lecture 3

1. Political consequences of Moderate Retrenchment
2. Origins of the Cultural Revolution
5. Phase III: Rise & Domination of The Gang of Four
7. President Nixon’s Visit to China 1972
1. Political consequences of Moderate Retrenchment

1. Entrenchment of Moderates
2. Return to Soviet Modeled Policies & Programs, and re-building of Sino-Soviet Alliance, with aide
3. Change in Titular and de facto leadership
4. Mao is “kicked upstairs” into retirement
5. Ascendancy of Liu, Zhou, & Deng: 1st line, 2nd line
6. No Party Congress held since 8th PC in 1956 (9th PC to be held in 1969, Height of Cultural Revolution)
   Indicative of “behind scenes” maneuvering, Using Mao, but excluding him from all decision-making
Mao versus the Moderates

Liu Shaoqi tours the countryside in his home province of Hunan and discovers the extent of the famine in April 1961.

From left to right, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun, Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping at the party conference in January 1962, dubbed the Seven Thousand Cadres Assembly, at which Liu openly blames ‘human errors’ rather than nature for the catastrophe.
2. Origins of the Cultural Revolution

• 1. Origins, Great Leap Forward Failures
• 2. Lushan Conference 1959, Mao’s last tactical victory
• 3. The Moderates take over CCP & PRC, 1960-1964
• 4. Incubation Period 1962-1964, Mao Plans Ahead
• 5. 1965-66, Mao Vacations in the South (Shanghai)
• 6. Mao’s goals: 1) Revenge on moderates
   2) Clean house in CCP, PRC,
   3) Revolution not an event, a process
   4) Instill revolutionary vigor in youth
   5) Ensure Mao’s legacy & Standing
Political Origins of the Cultural Revolution in the Failures of the Great Leap Forward and its Aftermath
The Moderates, As the Status Quo 1960-1966

China's Big Four, from left, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh, and Mao Tse-tung.

Celebrating the Spring Festival in 1966, prior to the onset of the Cultural Revolution. From left, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chou En-lai, Soong Ch'ing-ling, Liu Shao-ch'i

1. Opening Salvos in Media, Mao vs Beijing
   November 1965, Critique of 1961 play “Hai Jui Dismissed From Office”, referenced 1959 article
   Wu Han vice mayor of Beijing, a key moderate
   Refuting moderate attacks on Mao in Media,

2. The Dye is Cast: The Enemy and Us
   Mao’s followers, Lin Bao, Jiang Qing,
   Mao’s targets, Wu Han, Peng Zhen, Liu Shaoqi,
   Deng Xiaoping, and Zhou Enlai
3b. Phase I: The Violent Phase, 1965-1968

3. Purge of high leaders in Beijing 1965-1966, 1st Wu Han, (Liu on tour Pakistan & Afghanistan) Peng Zhen disappears, 4-18-66 PLA editorial announces Cultural Revolution! “moderate leaders at Beijing Municipal attacked, as the “Black Gang” reveal plot to replace Premier Zhou and Lin Bao with disgraced Peng followers Maoist faction seize control of Peoples’ Daily

4. Mao returns to Beijing 7-18-66, secured by PLA, Lin made #2 man Liu demoted to #8, Summer-fall 1966, Red Guards formed, push Mass Line, Class Struggle, Theory of Contradictions, attack the Capitalist in roaders, who push for co-existence with West, and pro-soviet revisionists
Cultural Revolution Photos

Lin Biao’s PLA celebrating “the great helmsman” on parade in Guizhou province

Student Red Guards and others rallying in Peking against American intervention in Vietnam
Cultural Revolution Photos

The Red Guard parading one of their victims, branded a "political pickpocket," through the streets of Peking, January 1967.

In their drive against the "four olds"—old customs, habits, culture, and thinking—Red Guards caused vast destruction to buildings, art objects, and temples such as this one. August 1966.

Students sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, Nanning, 1965 (photograph by Marc Riboud).

Mao (left), Lin Biao (center), and Jiang Qing (right) with cast members at the premiere of the revolutionary opera "The Red Lantern," July 1968.
The Rise of Lin Biao & The Mao-Lin Partnership

5. New ruling triumvirate under Mao rules China:
   1. Revolutionary Committee Chen Pota
      (Mao’s sec, editor of Red Flag), Chiang Ching (Mao’s 3rd wife) as #2. replaces CCP
   2. Lin Bao, head of PLA
   3. Zhou Enlai, Premier State Council PRC


7. Zhou’s critical role in “conflict management”
   inside China, while running PRC and protecting PRC’s foreign relations (closes all schools, closes all PRC foreign embassies, only a few left open, PRC is isolated, withdraws inwards

8. End of Phase I summer 1968
   Mao scolds student leaders, gets PLA to “send red guards home on RR, or they can walk home

Radical Leaders in the Cultural Revolution

Chairman Mao Zedong

Official 1960–1966 portrait of Mao


Chiang Ch'ing and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao in 1973.


4b. The Dysfunctional Mao-Lin Partnership

1. 9th CCP Party Congress April 1969 (8th was in 1958) Mao chair of CCP, Cent. Committee, Lin as #2, also named as Mao’s successor. All major positions go to PLA or Mao followers, Only Zhou survives as Premier

2. 1967-1969 Ascendancy of Lin Bao

3. 5-7-1 (wu chi-i) plot by Lin to eliminate Mao

    1970 Lushan Conference, Mao-Zhou vs Lin-Chen (military versus civil) Mao wins, Lin anxious plots 5-7-1 conspiracy, then tries to flee China, Lin & family killed in plane crash in Mongolia

1. **10th Party Congress August 1973**
   Lin declared a traitor, fill nearly half of vacant posts resulting from removal of many PLA leaders

   Mao’s health failing, Zhou is out maneuvered
   Radical phase, from top down, inside authority
   Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Qing dominate

3. **Death of Zhou (Feb 1976)**
   Political Theater with Gang of Four slight of hand tricks

4. **Death of Mao, September 1976**
   Gang of Four hold on until finally removed in 1978

1. Who/What was the Gang of Four?
2. Their Origin and Rise 1965-1972
3. Their Dependent Relationship with Mao
4. Basis of their Power
5. Their Heyday 1972-1978
6. Their Downfall and Demise 1978
7. Their Historical Significance-Legacy
The Gang of Four In Full Power, 1972-1978

Chiang Ch'ing and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao in 1973.


1. Upon the Death of Mao, Surprise Appearance and Rise of Unknown, Newcomer Hua Guofeng
2. Hua works with the Gang of Four 1976-1978
3. Hua Arrests Gang of Four 1978
4. Hua Resurrects Deng Xiaoping 1977-1978
5. The Ascendancy of Deng Xiaoping 1978-1980
6. Hua Fades and then mysteriously disappears from Leadership and public life
The Fall of the Gang of Four 1978
Leadership in Transition 1976-1978
7. President Nixon’s Visit to China, February 1972

1. US-China Non-Relations 1950-1972
2. The Nixon “Turn Around” During The Vietnam War, Potential Benefits of Rapprochement & Détente
3. The Zhou Offensive During the Cultural Revolution
4. “Ping Pong Diplomacy”
5. Kissinger-Zhou High Powered Secret Meetings
6. Its Official!
7. February 1972, The Dawn of a New Era in Sino-American Relations
8. The Shanghai Communique February 1972
Soldiers from the People's Liberation Army forming a well-disciplined crowd at a sports and gymnastics exhibition staged for the Americans on February 23.

The crucial first handshake between Nixon and Chou.
Photos of Nixon Visit to China February 1972

Another handshake between Nixon and Mao, for the cameras. Both the Americans and the Chinese were anxious to overcome the memory of the infamous snub when John Foster Dulles refused to shake Chou En-lai's hand in Geneva in 1954.
Photos of Nixon Visit to China February 1972

As a welcoming banquet in the Great Hall of the People the day of arrival in Beijing.

1. The Downfall of the Gang of Four 1978
2. The Brief, but mysterious tenure of Hua Guofeng
3. Critical role of Zhou Enlai,
   a. Masterful manager of conflict
   b. Personal Coup with the Nixon Visit 1972
   c. Zhou’s Plans for “Four Modernizations”
4. Revival & Return of the Moderates to Power