

# 12. Tiananmen and Beyond

Economic Reforms vs Political Reforms



## Coverage for Today

- Return of Deng
- How & Why of Opening Up
- Context of Tiananmen
- 8 steps to a Tragedy
- International Pressures [?]

## A. The Return of Deng Xiaoping



Hua Guofeng



Imprison Gang of  
4, Oct 1976

**Four  
Modernizations,**  
1976



Four cardinal  
principles, 1979

‘How to blame  
Mao’



3

### Four cardinal principles - China's modernization (in March 1979)

- We must keep to the socialist road
- We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat
- We must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party
- We must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

- → Thus economic liberalisation in no way implied political liberalization

4

## B. Contours of Opening up

---



### B1. Agricultural reforms

- 22 % of the world's population vs 7 % of the world's cultivated land?
- 'household contract responsibility system' 家庭联产承包责任制
- Cultivation rights can be passed down to children
- diversifying into cash crops - higher market prices
- encouragement to sell straight to final consumers
- state also reduced the price at which it bought grain
- ceased to contract for specified deliveries of key crops
- ability to finance grain imports depends upon its ability to earn export revenues, and that focuses attention on industrial and foreign trade reforms.

## B2. Industrial reforms

- Modernise the state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
    - Decide production and pricing decisions themselves
  - Inefficient SOEs have been closed
    - Others sustain by Bank credit → Fuel inflation
    - selling shares away - privatization
    - closure or sale of the firm results in unemployment and the withdrawal of medical care
    - employment opportunities elsewhere in the economy have increased.
- Lobbying the managers of the system

7 Info, rules, subjected to change - endemic corruption

## B3. Foreign trade and investment

- technology of Chinese industry needed rapid transformation
- foreign trade was the quickest method
  - acquiring new technological standards
  - faster pace of economic development.
- 1980 of four Special Economic Zones (SEZs).
  - firms were given special privileges and were expected to produce for the export market.
  - to attract foreign investment and technology
  - boost China's foreign exchange earnings through exports.

- 1979 - 1996, exports 16 % per annum

## C. The Making of Tiananmen

---



9

### Background

- Since 1978, backbreaking series of economic and political reforms
- gradual implementation of a market economy
- some political liberalization
- movement from central planning to more **decentralized** decision making
- demands for **pluralism** in political decision making

10

## ... balance within the ruling elite

- fluctuating between those who wanted to extend some liberalisation to the political system and those who opposed it
  - → resistance of an entrenched bureaucracy
  - → pressures from impatient reformers
- Main Issue: corruption and inflation
  - Result of economic reform 1980s
  - Mass population left behind

11

## the intelligentsia and the student movement

- much more favourably disposed to western ideas and practices.
- spirit of democracy, freedom and innovation, and the pace of change that flowed from political liberalisation.
- Many became **uncritical** supporters of Western ideas and institutions and **hypercritical** of all things Chinese.
- (recall May 4 movement)

12

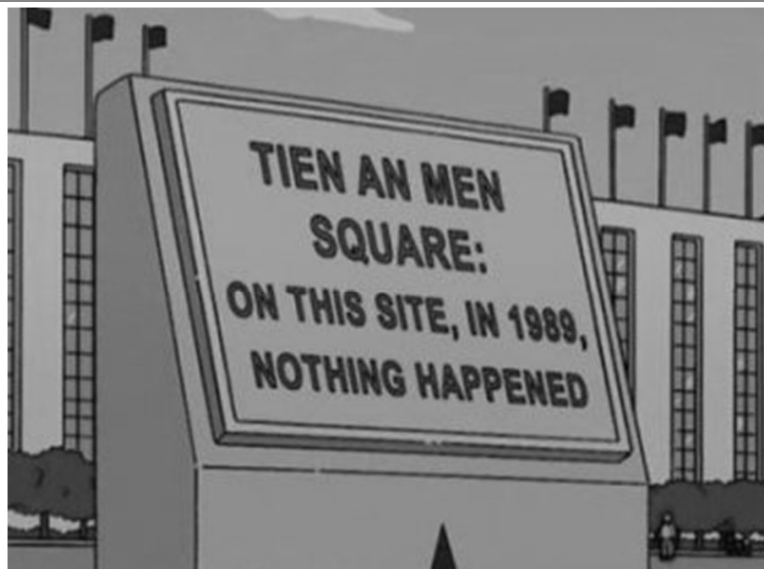
## External factors

- Democratizing states of East Asia
  - pace and scale of their economic transformation and the political liberalisation that accompanied it.
- Return of Hong Kong to Chinese control 1997
  - Further economic reforms
- E. Europe : political maelstrom of 1989-
  - China escaped



13

## Eight Steps to a Tragedy



14

# 1. First wave of protests, 1986

- Students & intellectuals, took to the streets in most of the major cities of China during 1986.
- CCP feared the risk of igniting popular protest.
- worried about the possibility of a Polish-style revolt among the workers



- General Secretary Hu Yaobang called for more "democratization"
  - outstripped the consensus
  - Purged in 1987
  - Replaced by Zhao Ziyang



15

# 2. Accelerated reforms, 1988

- reformers to regroup
- accelerate, the pace of reform in 1988.
- The leading reformers managed to place their own people in more leading positions than they had held in 1986.

- But limitations on political freedom and growing corruption and inflation continued.
- student protests gathered momentum in late 1988 and the first half of 1989

16



### 3. Death of former Secretary General Hu Yaobang

- His sudden death, due to heart attack, **April 15. 1989**
- 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the May Fourth Movement
- Students took the opportunity to voice their frustration
- corruption, inflation, press restrictions, university conditions
- persistence of Party “elders” behind the scenes.
- unprecedented confluence of disparate resentments escalated into upheaval.

17

### 4. Evolution of protest

- 100,000 students and workers marched in Beijing
- making demands for free media reform
- a formal dialogue between the authorities
- evolved into an occupation of Tiananmen Square challenging the authority of the government
- The government rejected the proposed dialogue
- huge groups of students occupied Tiananmen Square and started a hunger strike
- **By June**, anti-government protests of various sizes had spread nationwide to 341 cities

18

## 5. Occupation Tactics

- widespread local & international attention
- demonstrate the impotence of the government
- Trying to tempt Govt into rash acts, putting it at a disadvantage.

- protests stirred the historical Chinese fear of chaos and memories of the Cultural Revolution
- Andrew Nathan: “miscommunication and misjudgment, they pushed one another into positions in which options for compromise became less and less available.”

19

## 6. Hesitation for seven weeks

- Serious divisions within its ranks over the use of force
- split over its policy towards the students
- Gorbachev, who had introduced political pluralism to the Soviet Union, was visiting Beijing in 15 May.



20

## 7. Chinese leadership cracked down on June 4.

- Deng and a majority of the Politburo ordered the PLA to clear Tiananmen Square.
- General Secretary of the Communist Party, Zhao Ziyang, was dismissed.
- A harsh suppression of the protest followed
- broadcast by international media, covering momentous meeting between Gorbachev and the Chinese leadership.



21

## 8. Myth of Students vs Soldiers



- Hundreds of workers were gunned down in the streets (Fenby)
- miles away in the suburbs of Beijing
- most Westerners think the Tiananmen Square Massacre involved Chinese soldiers shooting pro-democracy students in the central square of Beijing.
- Chinese Red Cross: 2,600 casualties

22

# Wiki leaks - Daily Telegraph (2011)

1. From 89BEIJING18828 -July 7, 1989. A Chilean diplomat provides an eye-witness account of the soldiers entering Tiananmen Square: HE WATCHED THE MILITARY ENTER THE SQUARE AND DID NOT OBSERVE ANY MASS FIRING OF WEAPONS INTO THE CROWDS, ALTHOUGH SPORADIC GUNFIRE WAS HEARD. HE SAID THAT MOST OF THE TROOPS WHICH ENTERED THE SQUARE WERE ACTUALLY ARMED ONLY WITH ANTI-RIOT GEAR-TRUNCHEONS AND WOODEN CLUBS; THEY WERE BACKED UP BY ARMED SOLDIERS.
2. From 89BEIJING18828 -July 7, 1989. A Chilean diplomat provides an eye-witness account of the soldiers entering Tiananmen Square: ALTHOUGH GUNFIRE COULD BE HEARD, HE SAID THAT APART FROM SOME BEATING OF STUDENTS, THERE WAS NO MASS FIRING INTO THE CROWD OF STUDENTS AT THE MONUMENT.

## International pressures



## What were US options?

- **A. policy of engagement.**
  - changes in civil practice can be advocated in the name of common purposes
  - or at least the preservation of a common interest.
  - realists : diplomacy should therefore focus primarily on external policies.
- **B. Confrontation**
  - United States to resist undemocratic behavior or human rights violations
  - idealists insisting that domestic systems affect foreign policy and are therefore legitimate items on the diplomatic agenda

25

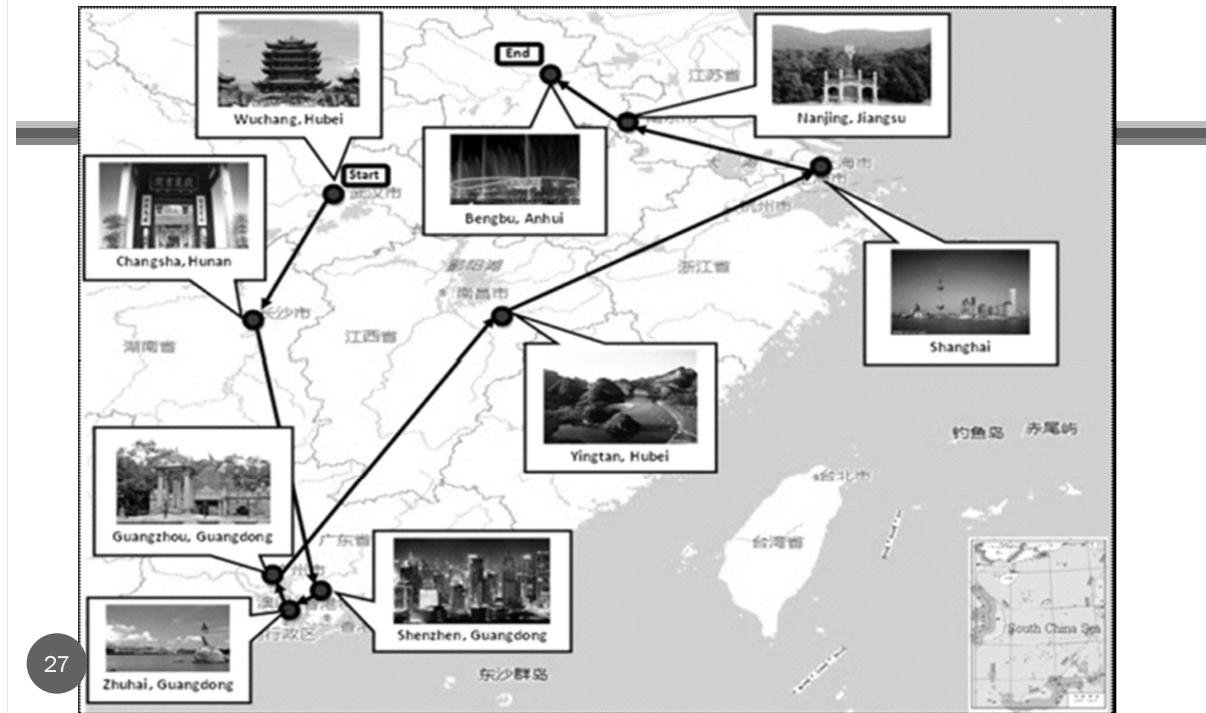
## Aim of Bush, Sr:

- “The question for me was how to condemn what we saw as wrong and react appropriately while also remaining engaged with China, even if the relationship must now be “on hold.”
- political ideals with the pursuit of peaceful and productive U.S.-China relations.



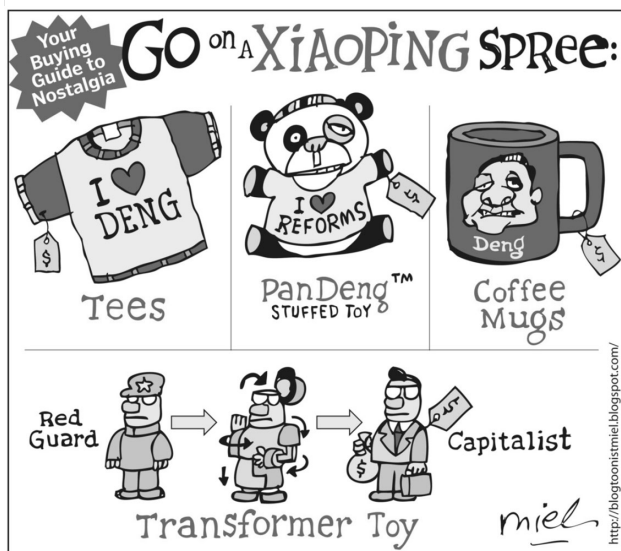
26

## D. Deng's Southern Tour, 1992



27

## Deng Southern Tour



28

- The period of strict central control lasted until 1992,
- Deng, suddenly re-emerged on a southern tour of inspection of the special economic zones.
- another green light for reform, and the pace of reform again accelerated until the death of Deng in 1997.

## Deng's admonishments

### 24-character instruction (1990)

- 冷静观察 lengjing guancha
- 稳住阵脚 wenzhu zhenjiao
- 沉着应付 chenzhuo yingfu
- 韬光养晦 taoguang yanghui
- 善于守拙 shanyu shouzhuo
- 绝不当头 juebu dangtou
- 有所作为 yousuo zuowei
- Observe coolly
- Hold our ground
- Respond calmly and don't be impatient
- Hide brightness and cherish obscurity
- Keep a low profile
- Absolutely do not take the lead
- Take some actions

29

## Takeaways

- Chinese upheaval reflected the intractable dilemmas of reforming Communism.
- Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Murray MacLehose, complained to Deng about the problems of Hong Kong.
- Deng: "Try governing China." (1979)

30

## Next week recitations

- **Homework:**
- **Each student to draw a mind map based on the articles assigned.**
- **Round table discussion.**

31

## Final Review

- EXAM,
- 19 Aug 2019 (Mon)
- 10.00am - 12.00pm, TT13 (1.508), MON
- **Choices:**
- **1. Overseas Chinese: Kuhn, Mackie, Wang**
- **2. post 1976 49 social, political, economic changes**