IDEOLOGY AND ECONOMIC REFORM UNDER DENG XIAOPING 1978–1993

Wei-Wei Zhang



CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	X
Introduction	1
A Why ideology?	1
B The concept of ideology	4
C Methodology	6
1 IDEOLOGY AND CHINA'S MODERNIZATION IN	
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	11
A Overview	11
B The Soviet model (1953–1957)	13
C The Maoist model I: the Great Leap Forward (1957-1960)	14
D The moderate Leninist model (1961–1965)	15
E The Maoist model II: the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976)	16
2 THE FIRST CYCLE: FROM THE DEBATE ON THE CRITERION OF TRUTH TO SOCIALISM WITH	
CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS (1978–1982)	19
A Major ideological trends	20
1 The debate on the criterion of truth	20
2 The four cardinal principles	28
3 The first campaign against bourgeois liberalization	35
4 The 12th CPC Congress and socialism with Chinese	
characteristics	43
B Ideology and reform policies	52
1 Challenging Hua's economic policies	52
2 The reassessment of the role of the market	59
3 The beginning of rural reform	69
4 The establishment of the special economic zones	7 5

CONTENTS

3 THE SECOND CYCLE: FROM NEW VERSIONS OF MARXISM TO THE NEW TECHNOLOGICAL	
REVOLUTION (1983–1984)	81
A Major ideological trends	82
1 New versions of Marxism	82
2 The campaign against spiritual pollution	85
3 The new technological revolution	91
B Ideology and reform policies	97
1 Policy towards intellectuals	97
2 Market vs. planning	101
3 The expansion of SEZs	106
4 THE THIRD CYCLE: FROM THE PLANNED	
COMMODITY ECONOMY TO THE SECOND	
CAMPAIGN AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION	
(1984–1987)	110
A Major ideological trends	111
1 The planned commodity economy	111
2 Socialist orientation of modernization	116
3 Political reform	122
4 The second campaign against bourgeois liberalization	128
B Ideology and reform policies	134
1 Decentralization and re-centralization	134
2 Revision of SEZ strategy	139
3 Urban reform options	145
4 Ad hoc reforms and setbacks	152
5 THE FOURTH CYCLE: FROM THE PRIMARY STAGE	i
OF SOCIALISM TO DENG'S TALKS IN SOUTH	
CHINA (1987–1992)	159
A Major ideological trends	160
1 The 13th CPC Congress: Political reform and primary	
stage of socialism	160
2 Neo-authoritarianism	165
3 The struggle against peaceful evolution	1 7 5
4 Deng's talks in South China	183
B Ideology and reform policies	192
1 Zhao's coastal development strategy	192
2 Policy on the private sector economy	197
3 Dispute over the orientation of reform	203

CONTENTS

6 THE 14TH CPC CONGRESS: THE ESTABLISHMENT	
OF DENG XIAOPING'S THEORY (1992–1993)	212
Conclusions	221
Selected Bibliography	228
Index	240