

Contents

Acknowledgements	9
The People's Republic of China during the long 1970s	11
The socialist state between two worlds	22
Policy experimentation and compromise before 1979	26
Literature review: The Reform Era and its prehistory	29
Looking beyond dualisms	41
Experimentation and compromise for an overarching objective	48
Adjustments of China's economic policy and concepts of socialism: Questions	52
The challenges of researching Chinese economic policy	55
Theoretical considerations	59
On socialist economic policy	65
How to organise a socialist economy? The Soviet prototype	68
Towards the Soviet Industrial Revolution	76
<i>Rich Nation, Strong Military</i> – the origins of socialism in China	79
Alternative paths towards a common goal	83
Oscillations of Chinese economic policy before 1970	87
“Leaning to one side” – introducing the Soviet model in the PRC	91
Walled industrial cities and self-reliant peasants	96
Mobilising the masses, two disasters and readjustment	103
Towards more turmoil	111
A political economy of Mao Zedong Thought?	114
Phases of Chinese Economic Policy Formulation, 1970–1978	129
1970–1973: The second readjustment and stabilisation	131
1974–1975: Hinge years, constitutional reform and trade	146
1976–1978: The Four Modernisations and a dialectical tilt	160
How to bring about great order?	165
Expanding limits of the possible	170

Economic policy adjustments in China (1970-1978)	173
How to organise economic activity?	173
Management and hierarchy: Expertise versus egalitarianism	174
Motivation, ownership and responsibility	201
How to make production more efficient?	226
Beyond grain and steel: introducing modern technology	229
The role of research and education in the production effort	235
Using synergies beyond the plan: "Socialist cooperation"	245
Agricultural mechanisation strategies	251
How to finance self-reliant development?	261
Austerity	263
Private plots and subsidiary production	272
Remarks on population control in China	278
Chinese foreign economic policy in a volatile world (1970-1978)	283
<i>Self-reliance</i> and the rest of the world	290
Selective opening and the expansion of Chinese diplomacy	296
Miscellaneous sports and new partners	306
The expansion of Chinese foreign trade	315
Towards the 40 th Canton Fair	324
The Chinese trade offensive as an act of patriotism and internationalism	330
New rules for trade	337
Connecting nodes: Infrastructures and ships	347
Of oil and grain	359
Imports of advanced technology	374
The issues of foreign debt and investment	384
Conclusions	401
Literature and sources	407
Sources	407
US/USLO Cables - Public Library of US Diplomacy	407
Readex - Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) reports	412
Readex - Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) reports	429
Archive of European Integration (AEI), University of Pittsburgh	434
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), access under the <i>Freedom of Information Act</i>	435
China Foreign Languages Press (FLP) and related publications	435
Propaganda posters - The Stephan Landsberger Collection, Amsterdam	435
Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland (dodis)	436
Edited sources and travel accounts by foreign visitors to China	438
Non-Chinese government publications	439
Other sources	440
Literature	441
Articles in journals and edited volumes	450