Notes: China

**International Interest in China**

After ousting Japanese occupation in summer 1945, Jiang Jieshi’s forces streamed from inland China to slightly more central China, preparing for civil war against Mao’s communist force in the North.

Americans assisted the Nationalist forces by providing air and sea transport as well as moving 100k men onto the mainland to occupy Beijing and S. Korea.

In an attempt to avert civil war, America urged Jiang to broaden the base of Guomindang to take in other parties, including Mao’s communists.

Truman wanted some kind of accommodation between Nationalists and Communists. American threats to withhold supplies brought along an uneasy truce between contending powers throughout 1946.

Discussions held to end rampant corruption amongst bureaucrats, and introduce land reform, free elections, the merger of rival armies under a unified national command and the introduction of civil liberties. Unfortunately this was not to be.

Initiatives stillborn, Jiang reopened his war against the communists. Misled by initial success, he believed he was strong enough to rid China of his enemies with or without American support.

Stalin’s was too concerned with the potential threat of Mao’s China. Therefore, Stalin decided to support Jiang instead of Mao due to Mao’s attitude towards foreigners ( he wanted them all out including the Soviets) and the apparent weakness of his communist movement. The Soviets thought that a rural peasant dominated Chinese Communist movement was doomed to failure.

Questions/Main ideas:

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Questions/Main ideas:

**International Interest – Continued**

Unlike Stalin’s model of concentrated proletarian, Mao’s was made of illiterate peasantry. The Soviets felt communism in China would have to wait until they become industrialized, ergo they felt Jiang was of more use to them.

Although agreeing with the Soviets in the short term, Mao was already against using the Soviet model. He created the China Model by using the peasantry as his soldiers in the social revolution.

Quantity over quality: 95% of 500 million people in China were peasants.

Protracted guerilla war denied cities food and would bottle Nationalist forces in urban centers. Garrisoned bands of smaller towns and villages would eventually link up for the final blow. This particular model has since been adopted by many third world countries lacking an urban proletariat. Communists take China

Soviets drew up a treaty with Jiang. They promised to withdraw their forces from Manchuria and limit Mao’s operations in the North. In return they would regain their 1904 boundaries, get access to warm-water Lushun, use of Dalian as a Pacific base, take ownership of the mines and industrial plants in Manchuria, as well as control the Chinese Eastern and Southern Manchurian railways. A plebiscite was to be held concerning the Manchuria question to determine under which sphere of influence Manchuria would fall.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**International Interest – Continued**

Soviets promised even more aid if China were to rid itself of American influence. The fact that Jiang toyed with the idea made the Americans quite infuriated. They felt that Jiang owed them for their support in the past. Unaware that America had already decided not to get involved in any fighting over the mainland, Jiang believed they would never let him lose no matter what he did. In 1946, the Soviets abandoned Manchuria and allowed the Chinese Communists to go hog-wild with the resources left behind. Bitter fighting broke out between the Communists and Nationalist forces, ultimately this resulted in a military victory for Mao’s forces in 1949. Nationalist leaders fled to the island of Taiwan (Formosa). There, with American support (From the Seventh Fleet) and to the detriment of the native population, Jiang reorganized his government in hope of returning to the mainland. Meanwhile in Beijing, amidst massive celebrations Mao proclaimed the People’s Republic of China on the 1st of October 1949. Mao had risen to popular support on an anti-Japanese crusade. He called upon the masses to rise against the Guomindang and landowners, and to rid China of all foreign influence. Demanded and end to government corruption that dehumanized the people.

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Questions/Main ideas:

International Interest - Continued

The Guomindang was unable to make any headway toward economic reforms. Many times the people had been better off under the Japanese (or at the very least not starving to death).

Corruption was so rampant under the Guomindang that government officials sold off factories and land, pocketing the cash. They also misused millions of dollars, drained the poor for all they were worth, squandered large scale American aid and a $500 million UN loan.

Given the alternative Mao’s communist forces and ideals began to look much more attractive than the apparently hopelessly corrupt Guomindang

Mao intended to carry out the first social revolution in China in 2000 years. This would be easier to achieve than anyone expected. He promised land ownership to the 70% (350 million farmers) of peasantry. As the peasants lacked land they had no real status in Chinese society. Of the tiny minority of peasants who owned land very few owned large estates.

The wealthy class in the country had disappeared during Japanese occupation, they had collaborated with the Japanese and lost any loyalty the peasants once might have felt towards them, most fled with Jaing to Taiwan in ’49. In the cities, financers and bureaucrats took what they could and fled to Taiwan or elsewhere.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Diplomatic Recognition of PRC**

Diplomatic recognition of Mao’s China (People’s Republic of China: PRC) was slow. Only Russia extended immediate recognition. Britain and a few other followed short time later. America would give recognition only if China was willing to give up Taiwan, China was not.

Many withheld recognition because of Mao’s eagerness to export revolution beyond his borders. In an address in Beijing to Australian Trades Union Congress in 1949, Mao threw China’s support behind all wars of national liberation.

This philosophy caused surrounding Asian nations to join together to contain China within its existing boarders.

America was moving to recognize Mao’s government in 1950, but the Korean war broke out.

Jiang’s forces in Taiwan were deemed necessary to American defense perimeter in order to contain Communism, (later the Americans planned to use Jiang’s forces on mainland China)

Soviets moved swiftly to make PRC an ally. They signed a mutual defense treaty in 1950, aimed against USA and Japan.

Soviets gave up their claim to Lushun, and their interest in Manchurian industry and railways, approved a $300 million loan to China and agreed to erect and operate a number of factories, as well as supply technical information, send 12000 scientists, and accept 6000 Chinese student into Soviet schools.

Stalin hoped to dominate Mao, whom he felt was more Nationalist and imperialist rather than Communist.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Domestic Issues**

Mao’s immediate problems were political and economic. The China he conquered was technologically primitive, economically devastated and socially divided.

China faced famine as obsolete technology could not keep pace with the rapid increase of the population.

First task was to centralize power; The nation was divided into six military regions. By 1952 outlying regions, including Tibet, were under the control of the Communists.

China was effectively under military rule with the use of secret police and the army to silence counter-revolutionaries until 1954. Mao used the Army and Secret Police to find and destroy counter revolutionaries

China was divided into urban and rural residence committees comprised on average of 100 households.

Peasants’ largest concern was the harvest, the peasants largely felt that the Communist government was a symbol of nationalism and as such were greeted by the peasantry as their own.

The only real immediate threat to the new regime was Taiwan, where Jiang’s armies prepared for a return to the mainland.

American intervention in Korea, in 1950, seemed to be the first step towards an American supported counter-revolution against Mao.

American success in Korea hardened Chinese landowner class in its resistance to land redistribution.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The Effect of the Korean War on the Chinese Revolution**

American intervention in Korea encouraged land owners in China to resist land redistribution

As even the mildest criticism of the Republic resulted in arrest, many of the resistant landowners were executed, part of 2 million counterrevolutionaries. Many millions more were sent to concentration camps, by peoples courts. It was a frightening time in China for anyone who had status under the old system. For two and a half years, Americans and Chinese forces fought over Korea. Although they suffered many losses, the Chinese managed to hold off the American forces which generated national pride throughout the country. Mao gained control of the cities as easily as the country. Many bureaucrats and public officials had fled, taking what they could and leaving devastated urban centers behind.

**Mao Takes The Cities**

With massive unemployment and food scarce, some 60 million urban dwellings contributed to riots and looting. Not even the Secret Societies could stop the country from sliding toward anarchy. Factories and workshops closed due to lack of supplies and smaller shop owners closed due to rioting and looting.

The Communists turned the responsibility of municipal services over to young cadres, who were able to bring back municipal services to the population. Being apathetic to the Guomindang, the public was relatively unopposed to the takeover.

First priority of reviving industrial production was getting factories running again, not to nationalize them. State control could wait, but not forever

In 1951, cadres began conducting mass meetings to hear confessions and self-criticism of those with capitalist leanings. Intellectuals and teachers were singled out for re-education. The remaining assets of the middle class were seized, and the remnants of the old China had been destroyed by 1952

Both USSR and America took action to limit China’s power in Asia.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Communists in Urban China**

In order to seize control of the cities, and because of the pressure of the conflict in Korea, communist security forces were given free reign to find and destroy counter-revolutionaries.

The Army and security forces organized the Chinese population into security forces and then seized all of the weapons they discovered.

The conflict in Korea was draining resources from an already economically and politically fragile China.

**China’s International Relationships**

Both USSR and America took action to limit China’s power in Asia.

USSR normalized relations with Japan, and Khrushchev visited India and Afghanistan, offering aid.

USA gave aid to the French in Indo-China (including Vietnam) and established an island containment perimeter from Japan through to the Philippines and Australia.

By 1955, the spheres in Asia had become defensible boundaries.

In response to the development of more definable spheres of influence, China modified its policy of supporting revolutions in Africa and Latin America.

**China’s International relationships - Post Revolutionary Foreign Policy**

China’s new foreign policy was based on five principles:

A policy of co-existence

Respect for national boundaries

A promise not to subvert national governments

Equal treatment of other states

The renouncement of expansionism.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Agrarian Reform**

Mao’s implementation of land reform was gradual

the economic situation of China required an ideologically flexible solution, the primary goal being increased yields, not the socialization of the farming sector

The Land reform of 1950-1952 had eliminated what remained of the agrarian elite.

Overall aim was to abolish private ownership and redistribute the land on equitable small-plot basis.

Later, plots would be merged into collectives and finally communes. Mergers were to be gradual and voluntary.

Landowners were not initially treated as “non-citizens” and were given equal shares and (after re-education) had the stigma of “owner” removed from their records. Any farming operation that was in support of industry was to remain untouched, revival of the industrial sector was considered crucial to the success of the PRC. Cadres were sent into villages to create enthusiasm for reforms and to indentify 20 million landowners to be re-educated. Village associations were in charge of reforms. Public humiliation of landowners gave vent to violence that grew in intensity as the Korean War threatened to aid a counter-revolution. By 1952, the initial reorganization of the farming sector was complete. Redistribution did not however, solve the inadequate yields or rural poverty, though grain production did increase about 13%. The 30% state tax on harvests was less corrupt under the PRC, however it still placed a heavy burden on the agricultural sector Economies of scale and mechanization with necessary. Labor intensive irrigation and transportation projects were already underway and preparation for merging the household plots into larger collectives. The lives of the Chinese peasants was improved marginally.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Industry**

Although land reforms brought about slightly higher yields agricultural surpluses were necessary to pay for the industrialization of the PRC

Government hoped to revitalize industry by implementing Soviet-style five-year plans.

The First Five Year Plan was to produce energy and hydroelectric power, and Soviet technicians were to assist the Chinese in its development.

Soviet assistance was rather shoddy and inadequate. little was heard about its successes.

A State Planning Commission modeled on the Soviet Gosplan was established to provide central control over all production processes. More industries and businesses were nationalized.

Industrial growth was planned for the interior , and 427 new factories were built to help bind the country together, and to remove the bulk of industry from the difficult to defend coastal regions, and closer to the resources that supplied them.

By 1957, output in farm machinery, trucks, tractors, and jet planes had doubled.

Growth of industry came at the expense of the peasantry. Urban population grew from 60 to 100 million and this caused major problems. Cities could not handle growth.

Growth of the cites led in turn to increased bureaucratization, and cadres began to see themselves as a new urban elite. Technicians, engineers, and scientists began to rival the cadres in bidding for power.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Ideological Differences**

Industrialization had a profound effect on the Communist hierarchy. Party leaders grew comfortable in urban centers and abandoned their rural roots. Party split into a group of right-wing conservatives (favoring industrial and economic growth) and left-wing radicals (favoring their ties to egalitarianism of the farm). Farming sector was neglected during the first five year plan. Peasant individualism created a new class of farm owners who would resist collectivization. Conservative wing of the party advised a gradual approach, but Mao wanted the pace of collectivization increased before wealthier Chinese farmers settled into a comfortable anti-revolutionary social class. He appealed to the masses to revitalize the revolutionary spirit. Hundreds of millions of peasants followed his lead. By 1960 almost all farms had been organized on a village-collective basis. Within a few months, 100 million households had merged into 485 000 collectives. By 1956, Mao reasoned that socialism had come and been accepted by all of the people. Most control over farms and industry was in the hands of the state. A primary concern was the bureaucratization of the Communist party. New political and economic elites had risen to challenge the authority of the party. Mao gave a speech on 2 May 1956 in which he called for one hundred schools of thought and gave free reign to scientists to debate theories that had no political connotations. He also called writers and artists to comment on society without criticizing the socialist system. Mao used his position to rid the party of conservative elements. The situation got out of hand as a spate of criticism was directed at the party and socialism altogether. Deeming these criticisms “poisonous weeds”, Mao ordered repressive measures against the intellectuals who spoke out.

State retained its monopoly of power, but Mao and the party learned that people were not united by the socialist system.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Great Leap Forward**

Mao launched his Great Leap Forward in 1958 to release the latent energies of the masses to foster both industrial and agricultural growth simultaneously.

He felt growing urban unemployment could be solved by sending millions in the cities back to the countryside where they could be the vanguard of local industries.

Decentralization of control would lead to an increase in consumer good and general rise in the standard of living.

No prospect of foreign investment and with China’s split from USSR, no foreign technological aid. Modernization had to come within.

Mao’s proposal required a shift of investment to light industry. He reasoned it would provide the consumer goods that would spur peasants to greater productivity.

In turn, higher yields would sustain the growth in heavy industry.

One of the most highly publicized programs was the making of backyard iron and steel. Large amounts of metal was used, but it was all quite shoddy. Regardless, the villages did begin to make and repair their own implements.

Conservatives within the party thought the Great Leap Forward was irrational and doomed to failure.

They felt there were not enough resources to sustain all areas at the same time. The question of the illiterate masses handling the technology necessary for change was also brought up.

The idea of each village being able to look out for itself is good in theory, but there was no allowances in the plan for different sizes and resources.

Cadres brought in messages from Mao that few dared oppose.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Still making “Great Leaps Forward”**

The resulting chaos and floods and famines brought the program to an end in 1960.

Mao hastened the merging of village collectives into regional communes. Agricultural bureaucrats were sent out to the communes to gain first-hand experience and guide the program to a successful conclusion.

Over 2 years the communization movement affected the lives of 500 million individuals.

Once again, cadres flooded the countryside encouraging the masses to action. By the end of 1960, 750 000 collectives had merged into 24 000 communes of around 5000 households apiece.

Movement also drew women into the workforce as men went off to work on the construction brigades. A whole new welfare system, including doctors, clinic, and schools was developed for the rural people.

Unrealistic work assignments and harvest quotas killed the program. Out of fear, the local cadres reported amazing growth in crop yields and industrial output that did not exist.

Lack of harvesters in the countryside and the chaos of forced reorganization had taken their toll on the farms. The party moved to end the communization movement and reassert its central authority.

Private ownership was reintroduces to stimulate production and by 1960 the communes had been abandoned.

At this point, Mao stepped aside from the party for some time.

Though a father figure to the masses, he was ignored within the party hierarchy.

In 1960, typhoons and drought affected 60% of the arable land, and only massive wheat purchases from Canada and Australia saved the situation. The Leap Forward ended in tremendous human suffering.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Foreign Policy**

1950’s were also times of international struggle for China. Death of Stalin in 1953 led to a rift between China and the USSR. Being ignored by Stalin’s successors, Mao began soliciting support from other communist nations and promoted a division of the socialist world. He was angered at not being forewarned of Khrushchev’s de-Stalinization speech to the 20th Congress. Mao saw criticism of Stalin’s personality cult as potential to be extended to himself. He also saw Khrushchev’s policy of peaceful co-existence as rubbish. Soviets, while initially giving moderate aid, eventually turned to a containment policy towards China. Khrushchev openly criticized Mao’s opposition to peaceful co-existence, ridiculed his attempts at agrarian reform, and in 1960 ordered all Soviet technicians and scientists in China to return home. Mao became more nervous of the USSR after Brezhnev replaces Khrushchev. In 1969, sporadic fighting broke out between Soviets and Chinese border patrols on the Ussuri River. There was talk of a pre-emptive nuclear strike on China until they got their own nukes. As Soviet troops massed near the border, China began to seek a rapprochement with the USA. Negotiations with the USA resulted in Nixon’s visit in 1972, who quickly exploited the rift between China and the USSR. In 1971, the PRC had displaced Taiwan in the UN and was given a seat on the Security forces. 1970’s witnessed a retreat from socialism in China to a position of private enterprise. New cadres were sent into the countryside to regain political control from the villages. The cities’ workforce was halved and central planning was re-imposed on industry and agriculture. Mao blamed the party, not the masses for China’s backwardness. The People’s Army introduced Mao’s thoughts in political indoctrination sessions in 1964. Mao’s quotations was to play a large part in the cultural revolution.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Mao Quotes**

“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

“A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery.”

“Politics is war without bloodshed, while war is politics with bloodshed.”

“The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the United States reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't.”

“Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive one; it is man and not materials that counts.”

**Cultural Revolution**

Mao called for a million successors to carry forward revolutionary ideals after his death. He looked to the youth to be co-opted in his crusade. The Cultural revolution was to be Mao’s last revolutionary act. The movement was anti-intellectual in nature.

The revolution begins in universities and spread to schools. Student activists donned red armbands and mounted a growing campaign of criticism against authority and corruption. Millions of students left their studies to root out revisionists.

Called the Red Guards, they were given free provisions and transport on behalf of the people’s army. Youths from every town and villages travelled to Beijing to receive Mao’s personal blessing. In summer 1966, over 12 million student activists paraded before Mao prior to the start of their mission. The government was powerless to intervene.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Cultural Revolution – Continued**

The students became uncontrollable. Public buildings were ransacked and government files destroyed. With the support of the People’s army, the students brought anarchy to the land. Factory workers joined them in the winter, paralyzing industrial production. The Guards established councils and refused to recognize any authority other than their own. Rival groups battled for power in larger centers, and for a time the government lost complete control of the cities. Workers in Shanghai carried out their own revolution in January 1967 and established its own dictatorship of the proletariat. The resulting commune of students, workers, and army defied the central government for weeks.

Conservative estimates that some 400 000 died in the resulting action, and some 17 million people were sent to work in the country. Government backlash hit students and intellectuals hardest. It would take China more than a decade to recover.

Mao died in 1976. Unmatched as a populist leader, he was unable to create a popular mass government. In the end, his idea of an agrarian socialist utopia was at odds with his idea of a modern industrial power.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**A Change in Leadership The Rise of Deng Xiaoping**

Mao’s death led to a power struggle within the communist party until 1978. The radical forces of egalitarianism were pitted against those who favoured economic development that included rapprochement with the West. Deng Xiaoping favoured the latter and urged foreign trade regardless of the dangers of foreign influence. After the fight for succession, the new government under Deng was to be judged on how well it met economic needs and managed industrial growth, not on the basis of political ideology. Liberalization in economics did not extend to politics. Intellectuals had taken advantage of the period after Mao’s death to demonstrate and establish political forums denouncing authority. The ban on such criticism was reasserted, anarchists were denounced, and unofficial political meetings were once again suppressed.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**China under the Leadership of Deng Xiaoping**

Deng’s administration was wedded to modernization in agriculture, industry, defense, and science. A return was made to a form of private enterprise, in which the market system operated and profits could be made to improve the standard of living. As consumer goods entered the marketplace, inflation soared and unemployment rose to 20%. The GNP only grew by 1%, so the government returned many resources to central control. Stable growth was not achieved until 1984.

Deng reinstated an Open Door policy with the rest of the world. Special economic zones were established to conduct foreign trade. With the zones quickly expanding, the government proposed turning the entire seaboard into a customs-free zone. This policy would make available 160 million workers to assemble finished products less expensively than could be done in Indochina countries.

Opening parts of China created demand for western consumer goods. China faced the reality of a trade deficit with the outside world. After growing to $40 billion, China expanded its export trade in weapons and won 4th place in armament sales. Normalized relations with USSR in ’87.

Deng brought a Western flavour to China in his efforts to modernization, politically and socially.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**China Today: Demands for Democracy Continued**

The ‘88 inflation caused a conservative reaction. Deng had to admit that the right-wingers in his government had been correct and that reforms had caused undue hardship for the people. With a renewed emphasis on ideology, marches and demonstrations were made illegal and all forms of dissent were discouraged. Some members of the government continued to make demands for political reforms. Zhao Ziyang and his followers in the Politburo argued for more reform instead of cutting economic spending, favouring private ownership that would remove political interference in the marketplace. PM Li Peng opposed Zhao, fearing a return to the days of the Cultural Revolution. The debate had been brought to a head with the death of former party secretary Hu Yaobang in 1989. Hu had been a liberal within the Politburo who proposed solving problems by other means than Marxism. After his downfall in ‘87, students demonstrated for educational reforms that would have seen an end to party control, demanding freedom of press, assembly, an end to corruption, and more spending on education.

**China Today: Demands for Democracy**

China’s economy boomed during the 1980’s. By ‘88 it was out of control.

While productivity often grew by 20% per year the critical infrastructure of support to industry (energy and transportation facilities) lagged behind.

In efforts to create greater amounts of goods, the government allowed prices to fluctuate in a free market. This policy resulted in rampant inflation and caused deep discontent among the third of China’s population that existed on fixed salaries.

The 30% percent increase in the cost of living early in 1988 seemed mild when prices occasionally jumped 80% above the previous year’s levels.

After inflation erased the savings of the middle class, Deng ordered a return to centralized price controls and imposed quotas on industries.



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Questions/Main ideas:

**Demands For Democracy - Continued**

1989: 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese republic. This was used by Zhao to push for new political reforms during the Qunming festival. Initial student demonstrations began as a demand to attend Hu’s funeral, and eventually some 10000 students marched on Tiananmen Square to demand political reform and intellectual freedom. Deng and his government were deeply afraid of what could happen if political reforms were authorized.

By late April, some 100 000 students had gathered to demand change. The government rejected their petitions. Students put up posters saying China would’ve been better off with Jiang Jieshi.

A split developed in the Politburo in May. By then 1000 students had started a hunger strike with much publicity. Demonstrations spread to other cities and were joined by worker’s organizations. On May 18th, more than 1 million people had joined the demonstrations. By May 19th, martial law was proclaimed.

Modern China: Demands for democracy continue

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Modern China: Demands for democracy continue**

Imposition of martial law deepened the crisis. Protest had become insurrection. All processions were banned and foreigners expelled, and on June 3d troops moved into the city. They entered the central districts of Beijing and fired indiscriminately at students and civilians. By midnight, some 50 000 troops had blasted the barricades that held them out of the square. In the next few days some 4500 civilians and 1000 soldiers had died. Deng appeared on June 9th and claimed victory for the government over those who wanted to make China a bourgeois republic. About 2000 people had already been arrested and the hangings began on June 17th.

Police occupied Tiananmen Square before the period of the Qinming festival in 1990 to ensure there would not be a repetition of the disorder. Over 30 000 arrests had been made in the previous year and top police officers had been replaced by army generals. Censorship of the press had been re-imposed, and foreigners were subject to police surveillance. About 564 000 graduating students were reassigned to work in the countryside for re-education. In 1990, 600 000 first-year students were forbidden to mix with senior classes, and had already received intensive ideological and military training.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**New Leadership**

1990s witnessed growing prosperity under a mix of state and market enterprise. Some state monopolies were disbanded and replaced by private enterprise. The government never wanted to place more then 50% of its industry in private hands. Private enterprise had grown to more than 2 million business employing 250 million people. The mix of markets has become known as bureaucratic capitalism. In 2002 Jiang Zemin, who had taken over from Deng in 1993, stepped down at the age of 76 although he retained chairmanship of the military council. The top seven government positions were filled with younger members, heralding a turning over of the administration to a younger generation.

During the 16th Party congress, discussion focused on the state of the party. Jiang, like Mao, accused the members of abusing their power and drawing away from the people they represented. He labeled them a self-serving capitalist elite.



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Questions/Main ideas:

**New Leadership**

Discontent was growing in the rural areas where health and educational services had collapsed compared the services provided for the urban class. Most party cells were more interested in diverting tax monies away from services and toward their own comfort. Jiang created the “Three represents”: Continue expanding the industrial base, maintain orientation toward an advanced culture, and govern in the interests of the people. The growing urban middle class has come to enjoy the benefits of industrial growth. Exports are on the rise and foreign investment has trickled in. There are vast amounts of money to made in an economy expanding by 8% annually. Rapid economic growth has created an economy on the verge of collapse. Government spending on economic expansion created a debt approaching an amount greater than the GDP, but if China was to stop spending they would face civil unrest.Discontent in rural areas marked by an increase in demonstrations and mob violence. Promises from the government go unfulfilled, loss of grain to waste doubles every year, soil erosion affects about a third of the farming districts, and 80% of the fresh water resources are polluted.

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