

.

Contents

<i>A Note on Translation, Transliteration, Names, and Measures</i>	xxi
<i>Map of the People's Republic of China</i>	xxii

Introduction • The Great Leap Famine, the Rise of Reform, and the Cognitive Basis of Institutional Change	1
---	---

The Political Significance of Decollectivization, 2. The Rise of China's Reforms: Two Conventional Explanations, 3. An Alternative Explanation: The Great Leap Famine and the Rise of Reform, 6. Reform, the Rural Economy, and Peasants: Defining the Terms, 7. The Analytical Framework: Cognitive Biases and Institutional Change, 9. Research Strategy, 15.

Part I • Context

1. The Path to Disaster	21
-------------------------	----

From Land Reform to Collectivization, 21. Collectivization and Agricultural Performance, 23. The Great Leap Forward and Famine, 33. The Great Leap Famine and the Social Basis for Change, 39. Conclusion, 40.

2. The Political Economy of the Great Leap Famine 42

The First Retreat: Before the Lushan Conference, 43. The Lushan Conference and the Suppression of Household Contracting, 51. Explaining the Great Leap Famine, 54. Conclusion, 66.

Part II • Catastrophe and Reform

3. The Great Leap Famine and Rural Liberalization 71

The Second Retreat by the Chinese Leadership, 73. The Struggle from Below and the Spread of Household Responsibility, 81. The Debate over Household Contracting, 84. The Suppression of Household Contracting, 93. Conclusion, 96.

4. The Cultural Revolution Interlude 98

The Famine, Cognitive Change, and Rural Policy During the Cultural Revolution, 99. Peasant Initiatives amid Agrarian Radicalism, 115. Conclusion, 119.

5. Structural Incentives for Rural Reform 121

Elite Cleavages and the Expansion of Political Space, 122. Structural Incentives for Rural Institutional Change, 131. Conclusion, 142.

6. The Political Struggle over Reform 144

The Third Plenum, the New Sixty Articles, and the Limits of Policy Change, 145. The Trailblazers: Carrying Out Third Plenum–Style Practices Before the Plenum, 149. The Reemergence of Output Contracting, 153. 1979: A Window of Opportunity for the Household Responsibility System, 160. Reaching a Verdict: 1980–81, 164. Spreading the Household Responsibility System, 172. Conclusion, 176.

Part III • State and Rural Society Under Reform

7. Reform Euphoria, Policy Myopia, and Rising Rural Discontent 183

Expansion of the Township Bureaucracy, 186. Bureaucratic Expansion and the Peasant, 188. Coping with Change: Peasant Behavior in a Time of Stress, 192. Implications of Cadre–Peasant Tensions, 197. The Party-State's Responses, 201. State–Peasant Relations After Tiananmen, 203. Conclusion, 210.

8. Rural Industrialization, Political Empowerment, and State Policy 213

The Changed Role of Rural Enterprises in the Chinese Economy,
214. Shifts in Rural Enterprise Policy, 1988–90, 215. The
Rural Enterprise Sector Under the Austerity Program, 220.
Explaining Policy Shift: The Imposition of the Austerity
Program, 224. Interests, Perceptions, and Policy Change, 226.
Conclusion, 234.

Conclusions and Reflections 237

Beliefs, Cognitive Biases, and the Path of Institutions,
238. Peasants, the State, and the Politics of Institutional
Change, 242. Path Dependence, Path Rupture, and Historical
Change, 249. Final Reflections, 252.

<i>Appendix: Main Sources of Data for Analyses of the Great Leap Famine</i>	257
<i>Abbreviations</i>	259
<i>Notes</i>	261
<i>Bibliography</i>	311
<i>Index</i>	345

.

Figures

1. Density of party membership and commune mess-hall participation rate	60
2. Level of economic development and commune mess-hall participation rate	61
3. Mess-hall participation rate and provincial mortality rate	63
4. Gross value of agricultural output (GVAO) and gross value of industrial output (GVIO) growth patterns, 1957-79	105
5. Gross and net grain procurement as a percentage of output, 1952-86	107
6. Index of procurement prices, 1951-83	115
7. Agriculture and village industries: contrasting growth patterns, 1972-80	116
8. The Great Leap Famine and brigade accounting rate, 1981	139
9. Contrasting growth patterns for rural industry and crop production, 1978-91	184
10. Rural share of state capital construction expenditure, 1952-87	185
11. Urban/rural consumption ratio, 1977-91	207

Tables

1. Number of Rural Institutions in China, 1950–59	23
2. Grain Output, 1949–57	24
3. Indexes of Gross Output Value of Agriculture and Industry, 1950–57	33
4. Deficit Financing During the Great Leap Forward	35
5. Sectoral Investment in China Before and During the Great Leap Forward	35
6. Mortality Rates in China, 1956–62	38
7. Data Used in Analyses of the Patterns of the Great Leap Famine	57
8. Determinants of Mess-Hall Participation Rate	59
9. Relationship Between Density of Party Membership and Mess-Hall Participation Rate	62
10. Determinants of Relative Severity of Famine	64
11. Percentage of Rural Population Eating in Commune Mess Halls in Eight Provinces	72
12. Share of Crops in Sown Acreage	111
13. Crop Output per <i>Mu</i> , 1965–76	111
14. Planned and Actual Outputs of Grain and Cotton, 1974–81	123
15. Income Distribution Among Different Levels of the Commune System, 1974–79	126

16. Data Used in Analyses of Reform Propensity	132
17. Brigade Accounting Rate, 1979	136
18. Brigade Accounting Rate, 1979, with Level of Per-Capita National Income	136
19. Brigade Accounting Rate, 1981	137
20. Brigade Accounting Rate, 1981, with Level of Per-Capita National Income	137
21. Changes in Brigade Accounting Rate, 1979–81	137
22. Changes in Brigade Accounting Rate, Adjusted for Level of Per-Capita National Income, 1978	137
23. Indicators of Multicollinearity	140
24. Substituting Density of Party Membership for Distance	141
25. Substituting Rice Planting Rate for Distance	141
26. Output Increases Under Different Responsibility Systems	168
27. Adoption of the Responsibility System in Agriculture	173
28. Expansion of the Township Bureaucracy, 1978–89	187
29. Peasant Income Level and Management/Labor Ratio, 1989	188
30. Rural Gross Receipts and Their Distribution	189
31. Distribution of Rural Gross Receipts	189
32. Annual Growth Rate of Rural Gross Receipts	190
33. Distribution of Rural Economic Income	190
34. Peasant Reprisals Against Local Cadres	195
35. Growth of Rural Enterprises	214
36. Industrial Growth Rate by Type of Ownership	221
37. Sources of Fixed Asset Investment Funds for TVEs, 1989	224

Index

In this index an "f" after a number indicates a separate reference on the next page, and an "ff" indicates separate references on the next two pages. A continuous discussion over two or more pages is indicated by a span of page numbers, e.g., "pp. 57–58." *Passim* is used for a cluster of references in close but not continuous sequence.

- Agrarian radicalism, 98f, 119, 124–31
passim, 145–46, 241
- Agricultural Bank of China, 220
- Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives
 (APCs), 23–31 *passim*, 36, 45–49 *passim*,
 242. *See also* Mutual aid teams; Produc-
 tion brigades
- Aird, John, 37
- Anderson, Craig, 12
- Anhui, 49, 52, 58, 131, 161, 167–71 *passim*,
 176, 192, 210, 226; Great Leap Famine
 and, 32, 38–39, 50, 56, 64, 138, 145, 174;
 Fengyang, 39, 142, 154–59 *passim*, 166–
 67; Wuwei county, 50; Fuyang prefec-
 ture, 150; reform in, 117f, 127, 143, 149–
 54, 159f, 164–65, 170; Chuxian prefec-
 ture, 151, 155, 162f, 167f, 192; Lai'an
 county, 154; Tianchang county, 155;
 Feixi county (incl. Shannan district),
 155–67 *passim*; Lujiang county, 156;
 Huoqui county, 162; Lu'an prefecture,
 163; Jiashan county, 163. *See also* Six
 Articles; Wan Li.
- Anti-rightism, 32, 34, 52, 56, 76, 79
- APCs, *see* Agricultural Producers'
 Cooperatives
- Arrow, Kenneth, 66–67
- Arthur, Brian, 11
- Ashton, Basil, 37
- Austerity policy (1988–90), 215f, 224–28
passim, 233
- Bacon, Francis, 12
- Bandwagon polity, 39–40, 67, 130
- Banister, Judith, 37–38
- Banks, *see* Loans. *See also* individual banks
by name
- Basic accounting unit, 45, 49, 58, 71, 99ff,
 124ff, 147, 176, 241; brigade as, 45, 77–
 78, 101, 131, 134–38 *passim*, 142, 150
- Bates, Robert, 224, 245, 250
- Baum, Richard, 14, 104
- Beidaihe: conference at, 36, 73–75
- Beijing, 32, 65–66, 72, 131, 135–40, 142,
 226f, 229
- Belief systems, 13

- Bias, 12, 238–39, 252. *See also* Cognitive psychology
 Bo Yibo, 34, 232
 Bray, Francesca, 142
 Brigade accounting, *see* Basic accounting unit, brigade as
 Brigades, *see* Production brigades
Bulletin of Assorted News, 44
 Bureaucracy, 185–91 *passim*, 202, 210–11, 247
- Cash crops, 65, 110–14, 123, 126. *See also* individual crops by name
 CCP, *see* Chinese Communist Party
 Central Committee (CC), 4, 52, 71, 103, 186, 190, 202, 206, 209; and collectivization, 25, 28, 44, 47, 52, 77; and agrarian reforms, 75, 101, 125, 128, 149, 169; plenums, 144–48 *passim*, 163, 176, 185, 201, 216, 230
 Central-local relations, 67, 75, 162–67 *passim*, 178, 183–84, 202–3, 212, 228
 Central Military Commission, 109, 122, 146
 Central Party School, 130
 Chang Guangnan, 157
 Chang Zhenying, 155
 Chen Boda, 44
 Chen Jungsheng, 175f
 Chen Tingyuan, 156–57
 Chen Yaobang, 231
 Chen Yizi, 168–69
 Chen Yonggui, 101, 103, 123–29 *passim*, 146, 150, 152f
 Chen Yuan, 233
 Chen Yun, 30, 33–34, 124, 146f, 150, 171, 179, 204; and grain, 26, 77f, 114, 144, 201
 Chinese Academy of Sciences, 46, 168, 227
 Chinese Association of Rural Enterprises (CARE), 231–32
 Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 3, 21, 35, 59, 135, 141, 200, 204; membership and leadership of, 62–64, 140, 143, 197–98
 Coale, Ansley J., 37
 Cognitive psychology, 2, 9, 11–14, 99, 106, 134, 237. *See also* Bias
 Cohn, Norman, 40
 Collective action, 243–44
 Collectivization, 22–27 *passim*, 33, 40, 142, 199, 206; motivation and support, 14, 166, 170, 238. *See also* Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives; Decollectivization
 Communes, 2, 23, 36, 45, 52–55 *passim*, 73, 77, 125, 160; Xinmin commune, 50; Tonghaikou, 74; Chayashan, 76; Huaminglou, 79; Yuanzhou, 118; Jiacun, 119; Mahu, 154–59 *passim*; Xinjie, 155; Jinyu, 157; Sanshui, 157; Dingyun, 158; Qingjiang, 159–60; Nanweizi, 161; Ruidan, 163. *See also* Mess halls; Tragedy of the commons
 Communist Party, *see* Chinese Communist Party
 Communist wind, 43, 72, 75f, 101
 Comparative advantage, 112, 120. *See also* Trade, interprovincial
 Cong Jin, 37
 Constitution, Chinese, 126, 200, 229
 Contracting: output to the group, 154–61, 167, 176. *See also* Household contracting
 Contract workers, 47
 Cotton, 28, 32, 112–14 *passim*, 129, 147f, 155, 192. *See also* Cash crops
 Credit, *see* Loans
 Cui Naifu, 204
 Cultural Revolution, 6, 98, 102, 104, 121, 123; influence of on rural reform, 1, 4–5, 129, 131, 243
- Dai Zhou, 204
 David, Paul, 249
 Dazhai, 101, 117f, 129, 148, 169, 173, 185; lessons of, 103, 124–28 *passim*, 146, 150, 152, 165
 Decollectivization, 2–3
 Deficit, government, 65, 232–33
 Deng Liqun, 104, 169
 Deng Xiaoping, 34, 78, 101f, 127, 144, 146–47, 179, 244, 255; and reforms, 5–6, 117, 124f, 150, 166, 171, 203, 205, 209, 216, 230–31, 239
 Deng Zihui, 34, 37, 46, 130, 170; and collectivization, 25–31 *passim*, 99
 Document no. 1, 172, 174f, 184
 Domes, Jürgen, 43, 119
 Drought, 153–54, 159
 Du Runsheng, 168–71 *passim*, 175
- Economic crops, *see* Cash crops
Economic Daily, 229
Economic News, 44
 Economic System Reform Institute, 169
 Edema, 44, 75, 79
 Egalitarianism, 45, 77, 118f, 127f, 148, 156, 163, 175
 Elster, Jon, 15

- Emulation, political, 158–59
 Endowment effect, *see* Bias
 Enterprises, rural, 213–33 *passim*. *See also*
 Industry, rural
 Enterprises, state, 217–26 *passim*
 Exports, 222, 233. *See also individual exports*
 by name
 Externalities, 239
- Fertilizers, 109, 115f, 148, 172, 188f, 193
 Field, Robert M., 4
 Five winds, 43
 Foreign currency reserves, 129
 Four Modernizations, 129, 147
 Fujian, 114, 153; Putian municipality, 191
- Gang of Four, 99, 124–25, 150, 162
 Gansu, 38–39, 43, 56, 75, 119, 131, 138; re-
 form in, 50, 153, 159, 164, 170; Huining
 county, 159–60
 Gao Yang, 174
 Geng Qichang, 49, 58
 Goldstein, Avery, 39–40, 56, 59, 67
 Grain, 44ff, 53, 55, 65, 72, 74, 106, 192, 202;
 national output of, 25–29 *passim*, 53,
 111, 129, 201, 203, 207; prices and ra-
 tioning of, 26, 75f, 79, 212, 239; procure-
 ment and extraction of, 26–29 *passim*,
 43, 58, 65, 98f, 105–8 *passim*, 119, 122,
 148–53 *passim*, 198; import/export of,
 42, 66f, 77, 108, 113f, 129, 144, 147; local
 output of, 102, 124, 160, 162–63
 “Grain first” policy, 109–12
 Great Irish Famine, 17, 250–52
 Great Leap Famine, 6–7, 37–42 *passim*,
 54–56, 65, 240, 252; effects of, 1, 73, 119,
 121f, 143, 159, 177, 241; and institutional
 change, 14, 138, 183, 242, 249
 Great Leap Forward, 33f, 36f, 49, 51f, 65,
 73, 102, 238, 240
 Gu Zhuoxin, 150
 Guangdong, 32, 43, 74–79 *passim*, 102,
 128, 153, 159, 161, 219, 226–28; Dong-
 guan county, 114; Gaozhou county, 118;
 Boluo county, 118
 Guangxi, 32, 38–39, 75, 131, 138, 168, 240
 Guangzhou, 77
 Guinnane, Timothy, 251
 Guizhou, 56, 58, 131, 138, 145; Guanling
 county, 158; reform in, 158ff, 164, 167,
 170f, 178
 Guizhou Daily, 158
 Guomindang (KMT), 1
- Haggard, Stephan, 250
 Hainan, 226
 Hall, Peter, 179
 Harding, Harry, 5
 Hayami, Yujiro, 10
 He Kang, 228, 232
 He Xin, 227
 Hebei, 32, 52, 113f, 149, 161, 165; Changli
 county, 46; agrarian radicalism in, 60,
 79, 131, 142, 174; Daming county, 174;
 Chongyi township, Wu'an county, 195
 Heilongjiang, 56, 131, 142, 149, 165f, 170–
 76 *passim*; Nenjiang prefecture, 175
 Henan: collectivization in, 28–29, 44–52
 passim, 58, 113f, 171, 176, 201, 226–27;
 reform in, 32, 131, 143, 159; Xiping
 county, 36; Great Leap in, 38–39, 56,
 75–76, 79, 101f, 138; Xinyang prefecture,
 48, 49–50, 75–76, 153; Luoyang prefec-
 ture, 50; Suiping county, 76; Qiliying,
 78; Beijie village, Neihuang county, 202;
 Nanyang county, 202
 Hill, Kenneth, 37
 Hinton, William, 104, 173
 Hirschman, Albert, 240, 252
 Household contracting, 49, 52, 73, 130,
 149–58 *passim*, 164f, 240; leaders on, 16,
 102, 167, 174
 Household farming, 54, 99, 117–21 *passim*,
 156, 161, 240, 243f
 Household responsibility system, 131, 149,
 163–72 *passim*, 177, 179, 206, 246; adop-
 tion of, 2, 157–59, 174, 239, 241
 Hsi-Sheng Ch'i, 202–3
 Hu Jiwei, 128, 166
 Hu Qiaomu, 78, 129–30
 Hu Yaobang, 127, 130, 146, 171, 179, 185;
 and other leaders, 117, 164, 169, 174,
 216, 225
 Hua Guofeng, 5, 101, 127–29, 146–53 *pas-*
 sim, 162, 179, 244
 Hubei, 28–29, 43f, 75, 102, 142, 192f, 226–
 27; Mianyang county, 74f; Jingmen mu-
 nicipality, 197
 Hysteresis, *see* Path dependency
- Illumination Daily*, 127–28, 129
 Imperial China, 135, 199
 Incentives, *see* Peasant incentives
 Income, 135, 221. *See also under* Peasants
 Individual farming, *see* Household
 farming
 Industry, heavy, 35f, 53, 216

- Industry, rural, 2, 115, 116–17, 120, 207, 213–14, 229, 241. *See also* Enterprises, rural
 Inflation, 193, 203, 208, 216, 223
 Inner Mongolia, 56, 117, 131, 142, 159–64 *passim*, 170, 193
 Institutional change, 9–15, 130–48 *passim*, 239, 241–45, 249, 252
Internal Reference, 44
 Investment, central, 22, 35, 53
 IOUs, 193, 208, 223

 Jacobs, Bruce, 186
 Ji Dengkui, 124–29 *passim*, 146, 164
 Jiang Qing, 103, 124, 244
 Jiang Zemin, 203f, 206, 219
 Jiangsu, 161, 176, 219, 222, 226; reform in, 32, 50, 52, 119, 153, 165, 170; Suining, 195; Sanxing village, Binhai county, 202
 Jiangxi, 32, 43, 51–54, 119, 131, 153, 199
 Jilin, 56, 161, 176
 Judgmental heuristics, 11
 Jute, 112. *See also* Cash crops

 Kahneman, Daniel, 11
 Kang Sheng, 99
 Ke Qingshi, 37, 55, 58, 99
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 73
 Knowledge structures, 11

 Labor, 36, 53, 122, 210, 215, 221
 Land reform, 22f, 177
 Lardy, Nicholas, 33
 Lenin, V. I., 168
 Levies, 188, 190–94, 198, 201f, 207–11 *passim*. *See also* Taxes
 Lewis, John W., 242
 Li Fuchun, 22, 74
 Li Jingquan, 48, 58
 Li Peng, 203, 208, 213, 216–18, 224ff, 232f
 Li Xiannian, 29–30, 34, 114, 130, 147, 174
 Li Youjiu, 167
 Liaoning, 32, 56, 72, 119, 176, 205, 210; Dandong, 205
 Liberalization, 143, 161, 240
 Lin Biao, 103, 118, 244
 Lin, Justin, 54, 109
 Lin Zili, 239–40
 Lindqvist, Sven, 39
 Lineages, 199–200, 204, 211
 Liu, Minquan, 55
 Liu Shaoqi, 6, 28f, 78–79, 117, 164
 Liu Zhongyi, 206

 Liu Zihou, 174
 Livestock, 32, 66, 77, 126, 129, 148, 192
 Loans, 116, 219–23 *passim*, 230, 233
 Long Bow village, 173
 Loss aversion, *see* Bias
 Lu Xueyi, 32
 Lupher, Mark, 5
 Lushan conference, 51–56, 65–67, 72, 100ff
 Lyons, Thomas, 112–13

 Ma Zhongchen, 247
 MacFarquhar, Roderick, 6, 14
 Machinery, agricultural, 115, 148, 191
 Mao Zedong, 43–52 *passim*, 72–78 *passim*, 100–101, 117, 119, 147, 216, 228; on collectives, 25–31 *passim*, 36, 47, 52, 58, 99, 238; and other political leaders, 16, 30, 34, 44, 46, 51–53, 66–67, 102; comments on, 124, 178, 228, 242, 244
 Maoism, *see* Agrarian radicalism
 Marxism, 2
 Mass extinction, 13
 Mechanization, 125, 174
 Mess halls, 36f, 42–62 *passim*, 67, 71–79 *passim*, 101f
 Migration to cities, 226–28
 Military, *see* People's Liberation Army
 Minban projects, 191–92
 Ministry of Agriculture, 209f, 225–32 *passim*
 Ministry of Food, 66
 Ministry of Labor, 231
 Mortality, 53, 62–64
 Mutual aid teams, 22ff, 27. *See also* Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives

 National People's Conference (NPC), 30
 Nee, Victor, 106
 New Sixty Articles, 144–49 *passim*, 160
 Ningxia, 131, 201
 Nisbett, Richard, 12, 134
 North, Douglass, 9–13 *passim*, 238, 249

 Oi, Jean, 105–6, 110
 Oils, edible, 47, 77, 123, 129, 148
 Oksenberg, Michel, 140
 Organic law for village governance (*cun-min fa*), 200, 211–12
 O'Rourke, Kevin, 251
 Output, 36–37, 44, 48, 65, 72, 129, 131–34. *See also* under Contracting; Grain. *See also* individual commodities by name

- Path dependency, 143, 238, 249f
- Peanuts, 112, 147. *See also* Cash crops
- Peasant Daily*, 195–96f, 205, 229
- Peasant incentives, 30, 118, 147f, 152, 155;
for grain production, 8, 28–29, 46, 55,
73, 103, 118, 212
- Peasant resistance, 43, 119, 194, 211, 246;
to collectivization, 9, 27–28, 32, 45, 99;
to taxes and levies, 185, 193–97, 202,
208–9
- Peasants, 24–25, 40, 177, 245–46; defini-
tion of, 7–9; income, 32, 47, 119, 126,
188, 203, 207–8, 247; relations with state
and cadres, 108, 117, 144, 164, 195–98,
203, 207, 211, 252; burdens of, 127, 130,
147, 151f, 185, 202, 208–12 *passim*
- Peng Dehuai, 16, 51–53, 57, 66–67, 72, 78
- Peng Xizhe, 37
- People's Bank of China, 233
- People's Daily*, 52, 71, 125–29 *passim*, 152,
161, 165–66, 210, 219
- People's Liberation Army (PLA), 39, 171
- Perkins, Dwight H., 110
- Perry, Elizabeth, 4, 142
- Piazza, Alan, 37
- Population, 123, 247–48, 251
- Potter, Jack M., 199
- Potter, Sulamith H., 199
- Prices, 26, 116, 120, 188f, 203, 207, 216, 233;
state-set, 29, 32, 77, 108, 147f, 172, 193f,
223
- Private property, 46, 119, 125f, 151; deci-
sions on, 44, 73–78 *passim*, 148
- Production brigades, 45, 48–49, 53;
Wangfu, 50; Tuanwan, 75; Tianhua, 79;
Liwu, 118. *See also under* Basic account-
ing unit
- Production contracting, 45
- Production teams, 45, 48–49, 54, 75f, 130,
147f, 152, 170; Weiyang, 154ff, 158; Xiao-
gang, 39, 155f, 158f. *See also* Basic ac-
counting unit
- Pye, Lucian, 4
- Qinghai, 43, 56, 138
- Qiushi* (Seek truth), 219
- Rational choice, 9–10, 237
- Rationing, 26
- Religion, 200–201, 204, 211
- Responsibility system, *see* Household re-
sponsibility system
- Rice, 111, 140, 142, 192. *See also* Grain
- Rogowski, Ronald, 248
- Ross, Lee, 12, 134
- Ruan Chongwu, 233
- Rural Policy Research Office, 168, 171, 175
- Rural Work Department, 25, 28, 30
- Russia, *see* Soviet Union
- Ruttan, Vernon, 10
- Samuelson, William, 12
- Schultz, Theodore, 8, 10
- Scott, James C., 193
- Sen, Amartya, 65
- Shaanxi, 32, 142, 201, 226
- Shandong, 32, 78, 113f, 142, 176, 222, 226,
228; collectivization in, 28–29, 39, 56,
75, 131, 173; Jimo county, 75; Madian
township, 191; Wanjiacun township,
Pingdu county, 191–92; Liangshan
county, 196, 198, 203; Xiajin county,
196, 202
- Shanghai, 37, 58, 65–66, 72, 171, 227
- Shanxi, 27, 50, 60, 64, 131, 142, 152; Xiyang
county, 101, 128–29, 169
- Shanxi Daily, 128
- Shue, Vivienne, 3, 6
- Sichuan, 48, 153, 161–71 *passim*, 197, 210,
226–27; Jiangjin, 32; Great Leap Famine
in, 38–39, 56, 58, 138; Magaoqiao, 110;
Luxian county, 117–18, 163; Jinzhai
county, 118; Pixian county, 128; reform
in, 143, 149, 159f, 164, 177; Guanghan
county, 157; Leshan prefecture, 163;
Renshou county, 209
- Sichuan Daily*, 157, 163
- Simon, Herbert, 237
- Six Articles (Anhui), 151–52, 154
- Sixty Articles (“Work Regulations on Ru-
ral Communes”), 77–81, 103, 127, 147,
150. *See also* New Sixty Articles
- Socialist education movement, 16, 117,
120f, 241, 243
- Socialist high tide, 29–30
- Socialist ideological education campaign,
204–5, 211
- Solow, Robert, 16
- Song Ping, 153
- Soviet Union, 22, 65, 73, 160, 178
- Spatial effect, 135–43 *passim*, 177, 244
- Stability, 201, 206, 219, 226–33 *passim*, 247
- Stalin, Joseph, 37, 99
- Stalinism, 21, 23
- State Agricultural Commission, 161, 164,
169–70, 174

- State Council, 51–53, 65, 109, 122, 171, 186, 190, 202–9 *passim*, 227
- State Planning Commission (SPC), 22
- State Science and Technology Commission, 228
- State Statistical Bureau, 218
- Status quo bias, *see* Bias
- Steel, 34, 116
- Stinchcombe, Arthur, 11, 14, 249
- Stolper-Samuelson theorem, 248
- Structure, 121–22
- Succession struggle (post-Mao), 119, 121f
- Sugar, 112, 129
- Sugar beets, 112, 123, 148. *See also* Cash crops
- Tan Qilong, 101
- Tan Zhenlin, 37, 48, 55, 78, 99–103 *passim*
- Tang Junying, 159–60
- Tang Maolin, 155–56
- Tao Zhu, 43, 74–75, 78, 99, 101–2
- Taxes, 106–7, 148, 190–94, 201, 207, 210, 222, 233. *See also* Levies
- Teams, *see* Production teams
- Teiwes, Frederick, 140
- Three-fix policy, 33, 51
- Three red banners, 74
- Thurston, Anne, 6
- Tian Jiaying, 77
- Tian Jiyun, 219
- Tiananmen Incident (1976), 119
- Tiananmen Incident (1989), 203–4, 213, 227
- Tianjin, 65–66, 72, 131, 142, 227
- Tibet, 153
- Tobacco, 112. *See also* Cash crops
- Trade, interprovincial, 112–13, 115
- Tragedy of the commons, 42, 55, 67
- Trends in Propaganda and Education*, 44
- Truth criterion: debate over, 127–28, 129, 145, 174
- Tsou, Tang, 126
- Tversky, Amos, 11
- TVE sector, *see* Enterprises, rural
- Twelve Articles, 76
- Two whatevers, 125, 159
- Urban bias, 224–25
- Urban supplies, 51, 108f, 122
- USSR, *see* Soviet Union
- Vogel, Ezra, 4
- Walker, Kenneth, 105, 110, 113
- Wan Li, 150–56 *passim*, 162–73 *passim*, 178f, 244
- Wang Dongxing, 39
- Wang Guangyu, 150
- Wang Guichen, 168
- Wang Huizhi, 50, 58
- Wang Renzhong, 102, 161–62, 164f
- Wang Xiaoqiang, 168
- Wang Xuezhou, 163
- Wang Yusheng, 175
- Wang Yuzhao, 151
- Waterworks, 52–53, 74, 101, 130, 184–85, 191, 207
- Watson, Andrew, 3
- Weber, Max, 134
- Wei Daonan, 168
- Wei Jingsheng, 40
- Wei Qichang, 203
- Wen, James, 109
- Whateverism, 125, 159
- Wheat, 111. *See also* Grain
- White, Tyrene, 186
- White slips, *see* IOUs
- Wolf, Eric, 245–46
- Wong, Christine, 4
- “Work Regulations on Rural Communes,” *see* Sixty Articles
- Wu Lengxi, 100
- Wu Xiang, 168
- Wu Zhipu, 48, 58
- Xiao Yang, 210
- Xinhua News Agency, 163
- Xinjiang, 50, 131, 142, 153, 201
- Xue Muqiao, 4, 129
- Yan Hongchang, 155
- Yang Yichen, 174–76
- Yao Yilin, 114, 147, 216
- Yiping erdiao*, 103
- Yu Guangyuan, 129
- Yuan Mu, 225
- Yunnan, 36, 44, 56, 58, 131
- Yusuf, Shahid, 110
- Zechauser, Richard, 12
- Zeit, Robin, 37
- Zeng Xisheng, 58, 151, 172
- Zeren tian*, 118, 149–50
- Zhan Wu, 168
- Zhang Hao letter, 161–63

- Zhang Kaifan, 50, 52
 Zhang Musheng, 117
 Zhang Pinghua, 57, 123
 Zhang Wentian, 72
 Zhang Yi, 229f
 Zhao Ziyang: in Guangdong, 43, 74–75, 101, 157, 204, 216, 218, 225; and early reforms, 164, 166, 171, 177ff
 Zhejiang, 27–32 *passim*, 77, 119, 142, 168, 170, 201, 222, 226; Kaihu county, 28; Wenzhou prefecture, 32; Yinxian county, 119; Leqing county, 192; Cangnan county, 201
 Zhou Enlai, 28, 34, 73–79 *passim*, 99–108 *passim*, 117, 152, 241; and grain, 51, 65ff, 73, 106, 122
 Zhou Xiaozhou, 57, 72, 102
 Zhou Yueli, 151
 Zhu De, 78–79
 Zweig, David, 98, 225