

**Reform Shaped by Political Struggle:
Discourse in China's Economic System Reform 1978-1993**

A Research Paper presented by:

Zexin Yao

(China)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Governance and Development Policy
(GDP)

Specialization:

Public Policy and Management

Members of the Examining Committee:

Sunil Tankha
Naomi van Stapele

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2019

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vii</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Long March to the 'Market'	1
1.2 Discourse Beyond Language	2
1.3 Discourse Analysis: A New Perspective of Reform	3
1.4 Research Questions and Organization	4
Chapter 2 Methodology and Data Selection	6
2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	6
2.2 Data Selection	7
2.3 Combining CDA and Corpus Analysis	8
Chapter 3 The Political Struggle within the Party	10
3.1 Political Struggle: Leadership of the CCP from 1976-1993	10
3.2 Political Struggle and Economic Development	11
3.3 Political Struggle in the Texts	14
Chapter 4 The Evolution of the Reform Discourse	18
4.1 The Law of Value	18
4.2 Plan as Primary, Market as Auxiliary	19
4.3 Decision: Planned Commodity Economy	20
4.4 State, Market, and Enterprises	21
4.5 Stagnation in 'Improvement and Rectification'	22
4.6 Accelerate to Establish Socialist Market Economy	23
Chapter 5 Discourse and Political struggle	25
5.1 Key Concepts Shaped by the Political Struggle	25
5.1.1 The Law of Value	25
5.1.2 Planned Economy as Primary and Market Regulation as Auxiliary	25
5.1.3 Planned Commodity Economy	26
5.1.4 The Government Regulating the Market and The Market Guiding Enterprises	26
5.1.5 Socialist Market Economy	27
5.2 Discourse Shaped by the Political Struggle	27
5.2.1 A Gradual Process in 1980-1987	28
5.2.2 An Intense Struggle in 1987-1993	29

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Reform Shaped by Political Struggle	31
<i>Notes</i>	32
<i>Appendices</i>	33
<i>References</i>	38

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Keyword List of 16-year GWR (from 1978 to 1993).....	14
--	----

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 The Growth Rate of CPI and GDP from 1978 to 1994	13
Figure 3.2 The Word 'Market' in GWR 1978-1992	16
Figure 3.3 The Ratio of the Frequency of the Word 'Market' to 'Plan'	17
Figure 4.1 Language Usages and Change Related to Economic System	18

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Selected Data of Discourse Strands for Detailed Analysis	33
Appendix 2 Keywords (Nouns) in GWR from 1978 to 1993	35
Appendix 3 The Word Frequency of 'Plan' and 'Market'	36
Appendix 4 The Collocation of 'Market (市场)'	37

List of Acronyms

CA	Corpus Analysis
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GWR	Government Work Report
I&R	Improvement and Rectification
PRC	People's Republic of China
SME	Socialist Market Economy
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

From 1978 to 1993, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) transformed the country's economic system from the planned economy to the 'socialist market economy' system. Throughout this reform, there was a political struggle due to the co-existence of two groups within the CCP: the innovationists who promoted marketization and the conservatives who tried to maintain the planned economy. By focusing on the discourse of economic system in important official texts, this study aims to investigate how the trajectory of economic system reform was guided by the political struggle. In the study, Corpus Analysis and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are employed. The study analyses 26 documents including 16 Government Work Reports (GWRs, from 1978 to 1993), 6 party documents, 2 pieces of leaders' talk and 2 newspaper articles. The corpus analysis identified economic development as the main topic of the GWRs during the period indicating how the CCP theorized the relationship between market and development. Also, it demonstrated a trajectory of marketization, which indicated the innovationists' success, albeit complicated because of the political struggle. With the employment of CDA, we gain a deeper understanding of how the political struggle shaped the discourse of economic system from beginning to end and its influence lasted until today. We find that it shaped the reform in three stages: (1) introduce 'the law of value' to guide the plan (1978-1979); (2) weaken the plan by applying market as auxiliary of the planned economy (1980-1987); (3) stagnate but restart the reform as the political struggle became intense (1988-1993). In 1993, the economic system reform ended with the socialist market economy system: the market plays a fundamental role in resource allocation under the socialist national macro-control of the CCP. This macro-control remains a significant policy instrument in today's China.

Relevance to Development Studies

Since 'Reform and Opening-up' in 1978, China's economic achievement has attracted worldwide attention. In recent years, experience in China has been concluded as the so-called China Model and widely reported or speculated. Developing countries, especially in Africa, try to transfer the China Model. Revisit the establishment of the 'socialist market economy' system in China from 1978 to 1993, the paper provides the contingency and complexity in reforming the economic system in a discursive dimension. In the period, the economic system reform was shaped by the political struggle within the Chinese Communist Party and its interaction with social-economic dynamic. Though lessons can be learned from the reform, we should be cautious in development policy transfer.

Keywords

China's Economic System Reform; Socialist Market Economy System; Planned Economy; Political Struggle; Critical Discourse Analysis; Corpus Analysis; Chinese Communist Party

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Long March to the ‘Market’

In the past four decades, economic growth in China has attracted worldwide attention. From 1978 to 2017, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in China increased from \$218.52 to \$12250.39 billion¹, with an average annual growth rate of 9.5% percent (National Bureau of Statistics 2018) and the GDP per capita in 2017 was 22.8 times of that in 1978 (ibid). This great achievement was brought by the famous ‘Reform and Opening-up’ (改革开放), which started in 1978. In the reform, the establishment of ‘Socialist Market Economy’ (SME, 社会主义市场经济) system in 1993 was a milestone. It transformed China’s economic system from a pure planned economy to market economy. However, this great transformation took China 16 years.

Since the establishment of People’s Republic of China (PRC), the planned economy, a traditional Soviet-style economic system was the main economic system in China for a long period, and the private economy was eliminated in 1950s (Yang 2004: 35-40). This high centralized economic system (经济体制), discouraged people in production, particularly the peasants (Yang 2004: 35-62). The class struggle, the main task of the state in Mao’s era, resulted in the ignorance of production which impeded the economic development (ibid). After the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命), Chinese people lived in extreme poverty, especially in rural areas (ibid). In order to deal with the poverty, economic reform was initiated in 1978 and market was proposed as a policy instrument (ibid).

Although some reformers believed that a market-oriented reform could improve China’s productivity and reduce poverty, the employment of market economy violated the state’s basic political-economic system – socialism. In the reform period, scholars and politicians avoided to use ‘market economy’ because this term was attributed to capitalism and the existence of private economy in the market economy violated the socialist ideology. For instance, the term SME was coined in 1979 (by Yuan Wenping 袁文平, a retired professor) but first used officially in 1992. Adopting a market economy became one of the main issues of political struggle within the ruling party – the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Yang 2004: 11-31).

Political struggle refers to the competition for policy-making among multiple political forces after Mao Zedong’s death. Since 1978, the innovationists² and the conservatives started to control the political power and dominated the economic reform. They held different strategies to reform the economic system: (1) the innovationists proposed marketization reform, led by Deng Xiaoping (邓小平) the top leader in the post-Mao era; (2) the conservatives insisted on the planned economy, who followed Chen Yun’s (陈云) lead, a senior statesman (Fewsmith 1994). Since both groups were trying to influence the reform; at that time, no one group could gain absolute supremacy, the reform policy vacillated between the planned economy and market from 1978 to 1993.

The long march to the market in economic system reform was presented in a series of discourse from significant meetings, leaders’ speeches, and official documents. In 1978, ‘the law of value’ was used to guide and limit the planned economy (The Central Committee of the CCP 1978). ‘The law of value’ refers to the Marxian labour theory of value: the value of commodity is created by labour and decided by the social average necessary working hours in commodity economy (Sun 1998). In this case, the producers endeavour to improve

productivity and keep their working hour lower than the social average (ibid). This can provide guidance for plan and adjusting the ratio of products (ibid). In 1980, the word ‘market’ was first used in the official document: “market regulation under the guidance of state plan(国家计划指导下的市场调节) (Yao 1980)”. Furthermore, the CCP named the economic system as “planned commodity economy (有计划的商品经济) (The Central Committee of the CCP 1984)” in 1984, which was the first time to adopt the term ‘commodity economy’ in the party’s decision. In 1987, the roles of government and market were clarified: “the government regulating the market and the market guiding enterprises (政府调控市场, 市场引导企业) (Zhao 1987a)”. In 1992, the term ‘market economy’ was finally accepted by the CCP and a new term ‘socialist market economy’ became final version of the economic system. On December 14, 1993, ‘market economy’ was finally legalized by the official document and the ‘Socialist Market Economy’ system became the country’s basic economic system (The Central Committee of the CCP 1993).

In the reform, the discourse and discursive change not only affected people’s life profoundly but also changed today’s China. However, discourse in the period has not been given enough attention. In addition, the reform was promoted in a political struggle which shaped the evolution of economic system. How the political struggle shaped the economic system reform has not been fully discussed. Focus on the discourse and discursive shift in the reform, this study aims to investigate how the economic system was transformed in the political struggle.

1.2 Discourse Beyond Language

Literally, discourse means different versions of official statement produced by the CCP to reform economic system. In our study, discourse is beyond linguistic dimension since it can significantly affect people’s life and China’s development. The study begins with Nian Guangjiu’s (年广九) case, a renowned businessman in the reform. His experience in this historical period shows how a businessman’s life was affected by the discourse. Nian was an illiterate born in 1935. Before 1978, he had been in jail twice for selling fruits and Chinese chestnut, which was seen as ‘speculation and profiteering’ (投机倒把), a special crime in pre-reform China. At the beginning of the reform, he built a private enterprise - ‘Shagua Guazi’³ and became successful. Because of this success, in 1983, the number of employees in his company already reached 103, which violated the statutory number (8 people) (Yang 1998: 342). The hiring issue was reported and even reached the central government. This violation could send him back into prison again. Fortunately, his success drew the state leaders’ attention and Deng’s word supporting private economy saved him (Yang 1998: 342). However, he was arrested in 1989 for the crime of misappropriating public funds, although he had the ownership of the company (Ji 2018). His arrest was in a specific historical background: the innovationists lost their power due to the economic instability in 1988 and the government did not encourage private economy as before. Dramatically, Deng’s famous Southern Tour Speeches (南巡讲话) in 1992 turned the reform back to marketization trajectory. Deng’s speech mentioned Nian’s case (Deng 1995b: 371) and saved him again (Ji 2018). That was his last time in jail because the private economy was encouraged due to the establishment of SME. Nian was one of the cases among thousands of businessmen whose careers were up or down with the change of the policy language. After the establishment of the SME system, the private economy started to take off. In 1992, hundreds of thousands of people became businessmen, including around 100,000 party members and cadres (Du 2012).

The discourse of economic system not only directly benefited China’s domestic economic development but also accelerated China’s globalization. The official claim of ‘market

economy' allowed China to join GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, World Trade Organization today). From 1987 to 1992, the economic system that China adopted was the main disputation in accessing GATT, which was readily solved after 1992 because China could claim its economic system as 'market economy' (Gong 2001). By joining WTO, it made China a 'world factory' and resulted in rapid development in the following years. Therefore, the establishment of the SME system also indirectly benefits the economic development in the following decades.

More importantly, the discourse played a significant role in policy and continued to affect policy-making in today's China. Since the introduction of 'market economy' violated the orthodox socialist ideology in China, the discourse of the economic system was elaborately designed and produced to justify the reform. In turn, the reform had to fit into the limits inherent in the discourse. In the process, different versions of discourse played roles as political strategies and mediated the ideological struggles. Sun (2002: 89) points out that the redefinition of political concepts in the reform can coordinate the institutional shift. Meanwhile, political theories were developed in discourse production. Some of the important theories in the reform have constituted the fundamental principles and guided the government's policy-making until now. For instance, the theories, including 'the primary stage of socialism' (社会主义初级阶段), 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' (中国特色社会主义), and 'socialist market economy', have been collected and became 'Deng Xiaoping Theory' (邓小平理论). Nowadays, 'Deng Xiaoping Theory' is as significant as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, which are the guiding thoughts in important government documents, such as annual Government Work Report (GWR), 5-year plan. From 1998 to 2018, the term 'Deng Xiaoping Theory' presented at least once in all the GWPs⁴.

1.3 Discourse Analysis: A New Perspective of Reform

Despite the heavy focus on China's economic reform, scholars have paid relatively little attention to the discursive dimension. Although more and more scholars have drawn on discourse analysis in China, the discourse of economic system reform has not been discussed by DA scholars. In recent years, discourse Analysis (DA) on China's society has witnessed a growth (Cao 2014: 4). These works not only introduce DA theories to China (Shi 2010, Tian 2009), but also offer a discursive survey to Chinese society in politics (Cai 2008, Chilton et al. 2012, Cao et al. 2014, Thomas 2014, Tong 2014), culture (Feng and Wu 2007, Wu 2008, Lin and Galikowski 2009, Tian and Cao 2012), media (Kuo and Wu 2009, Wu and Mao 2011, Tong 2014), and identity (Zheng 2011, Tian and Cao 2012). The topics of these studies are more related to social, cultural and political issues rather than economic reform. Among these works, only few have been involved in the historical period from 1978 to 1993. For example, Zhang (2010) analyses the discursive construction of social stratification order from Deng to Hu Jintao era⁵, which involved Deng's words in the reform.

Discourse analysis allows us to investigate the morphogenesis of economic system reform in a new perspective. First of all, discourses are empirical data complementary to the quantitative studies, such as social statistics and economics. This kind of data can be collected from diverse types of genre, such as the official documents, leaders' speech, newspaper articles, recording videos and voice, and so on. Secondly, different from a pure objective perspective, discourse analysis can "provide a counterbalance to strongly schematic types of social analysis which take too little account of the mechanisms of change (Titscher et al. 2000: 152)", which can show the complexity and contingency of the economic system reform. Analysing discourse can bring us into the historical context and lead us to think in the position of the CCP to develop the reform. In addition, discourse analysis can deconstruct the discourse shaped by diverse interest groups and help us to unmask the political struggle

within the party in the reform. In the reform, although the innovationists promoted the marketization reform and succeed in the end; as part of the discourse producers, the conservatives also contributed to the evolution of economic system and the establishment of the SME system. Both sides contributed to developing the discourse of economic system.

1.4 Research Questions and Organization

In this study, I focus on the discourse of China's economic system reform, the transformation of China's economic system from the planned economy to the 'socialist market economy' system from 1978 to 1993. Accordingly, the research question in this paper is:

How was the discourse of economic system reform developed by the CCP from 1978 to 1993?

As I mentioned before, discourse in this study is beyond linguistic dimension. The study view discourse as the intermedia between the party and society. On the one hand, produced by the party, the reform discourse can affect society, mainly the economic development. The language use in policy can directly affect people's life and welfare in the reform. Specifically, the change of language in the reform can identify the progress or regress of the marketization. The progress benefited the growth of private economy and speeded up the economic development while the regress discouraged the businessmen and slowed down the economic growth. On the other hand, the economic situation reacted upon the party which resulted in a discursive shift. For example, the poverty forced the CCP to reform economic system and the discourse of economic system started to shift from the planned economy to the discourse of a new economic system. The study needs to focus on three aspects in discourse analysis: analysing how discourse was shaped by and reshaped economic development; discourse produced by the CCP – unmask the political struggle; discourse developed by the CCP in social dynamic – discourse as intermedia for the interaction between the party and society.

As for the actors who produced discourse, the CCP consists of two groups who endeavoured to affect the policy-making: the innovationists and the conservatives. Before discourse analysis, I will analyse their political struggle throughout the reform. First, I will investigate the change of leadership within the CCP after Mao's death, which formed the two competing groups and the political advantage and constraints of both sides. Secondly, the study only focuses on the economic development in the political struggle, including the reason of reform, the policy instruments of both sides, the outcomes from these policies: mainly the economic growth rate and inflation. Finally, the political struggle will be demonstrated in texts by corpus analysis. I will identify the textual context of the whole official discourse, investigate policies outcome in the texts – the realization of marketization, and show the political struggle by linguistic analysis.

In next chapter, I will select the research methodology and discuss data selection according to the research question. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be the main methodology to analyse the texts in detail and the Corpus Analysis will be an auxiliary quantitative approach for investigating a large number of texts. In Chapter 3, I mainly focus on the political struggle in three aspects: (1) the change of leadership of the CCP from 1976 to 1993; (2) economic situation related to the political struggle, including the motivation of reform and the outcomes (economic growth and inflation) derived from the policies in the struggle; (3) the textual context combining the overview of the texts, the marketization tendency and the political struggle reflected by the texts. Next to political struggle, Chapter 4 will introduce the evolution of discourse in the official texts and speeches of the CCP. The introduction not only focuses on the different versions of discourse but also situate them in political-economic context and analyse their contribution to the reform and society. After the discursive evolution, Chapter 5 will analyse how the discourse of economic

system was shaped by and in turn shaped the political struggle. On the one hand, it employs Fairclough's CDA to analyse the key terms of economic system and demonstrates how the discourse was shaped by the political struggle within the CCP. On the other hand, it situates the discourse developed by the CCP into social dynamic and analyse how the innovationists and the conservatives contributed to the reform discourse based on their reflection of social-economic change. At the end, Chapter 6 will conclude the paper in four aspects: (1) the influence of political struggle on the reform discourse, (2) the zigzag trajectory of marketization shaped by the political struggle, (3) reflecting on the policy-making of China's reform based on the study and (4) the contribution to methodology: the discourse analysis and the study of China's policy.

Chapter 2

Methodology and Data Selection

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Our study considers Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a proper methodology to analyse the discourse of economic system due to its conceptualizing discourse as ‘social practice’, criticizing the dominant ideology and power, comprehensive theoretical background and interdisciplinary. To begin with, CDA conceptualizes discourse as ‘social practice’ (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 55), which implies a dialectical relationship between discourse and “the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) (ibid)”. The discourse is shaped by society but discourse also shapes it (ibid). Based on this conceptualization, CDA investigates discourse beyond linguistic domain (such as words, sentences, grammar and the like) and centres on “authentic everyday communication in institutional, media, political or other locations (Wodak et al. 2009: 8)”. This allows us to implement the three aspects of discourse analysis. Secondly, enlightened by the Frankfurt school, the study goal of CDA is not restricted in the analytical domain. For one thing it attempts to “unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use (Wodak et al. 2009: 8)”, which can contribute to unfold the political struggle within the party in discourse production. For another, it aims to “produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 7)”. This permits to get rid of the authority’s hegemonic narrative of economic system reform. Lastly, CDA is naturally an interdisciplinary approach because of its comprehensive theoretical background. CDA is influenced by diverse theories, such as the ideas of Michel Foucault, Neo-Marxist, Russian linguistic theories, Frankfurt school (especially Jürgen Habermas), Pierre Bourdieu’s critical sociological thinking and many others (Reisigl 2017: 48). These characteristics of CDA can contribute to investigate the interaction between discourse and China’s reform and uncover the political struggles in the discursive shift.

The term Critical Discourse Analysis has been used in various ways (Titscher et al. 2000: 144). Grounded in different theories, CDA scholars have developed diverse analytical strategies, such as Foucauldian critical discourse analysis, sociocognitive approach, the discourse-historical approach, and so on (Wodak and Meyer 2016). To tackle the research question, the study will employ Norman Fairclough’s CDA. Based on the CDA scholars’ conceptualization – discourse as ‘social practice’, Fairclough develops a further analytical framework to investigate the political struggle shaped the discourse in social change. Specifically, he aims to explore how discursive “practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough 2010: 93)”. Also, he conceptualizes a complexity dialectical relationship between discourse and social practices (Fairclough 2010: 92), which demonstrates that the discourse is not shaped “in monolithic or mechanical ways (ibid)”. To our study, the approach allows us to unmask the political struggle between the innovationists and the conservatives in shaping discourse of economic system. In addition, the analysis of discourse in social change is an advantage for us to explore the discursive shift in a long period.

Fairclough develops a three-dimensional analytical framework: the analysis of text, discourse practice, and social practice (Fairclough 2010: 94). The textual dimension aims to analyse the formal features of the texts – language analysis (Fairclough 1992: 74). In our study, textual analysis will be used to analyse the significant terms of economic system. The analysis

of the social practice and discourse practice will be combined to investigate the production of discourse by the political struggle in social change. In the social practice dimension, Fairclough's analysis centres on the power and ideology with the reference of Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Fairclough 1992: 86-96). He used the order of discourse to describe "the totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relations between them (Fairclough 2010: 93, 96)". For example, in school, there are discursive practices of classroom, staffroom, playground, homework and so on. An order of discourse is a discursive aspect of the contradictory and unstable equilibrium that constitutes hegemony (Fairclough 1992: 93). The hegemonic struggle can be reflected by "the articulation and re-articulation of orders discourse (ibid)". In Fairclough's discourse practice, the production and interpretation of discourse are the facets of hegemonic struggle (Fairclough 1992: 93). Specifically, in practice, the combination and recombination of genres and discourses are constrained by hegemonic relations and struggle (Fairclough 2010: 95). This implies the discursive shift is shaped by the existing order of discourse as well as the existing social and power relations (Fairclough 1992: 93). The combination and recombination of genres and discourses are conceptualized as interdiscursivity (Fairclough 2010: 95). The analysis of interdiscursivity highlights "the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements of orders of discourse (Fairclough 1992: 85)", which can show the hegemonic struggle. Interdiscursivity is based on the concept of intertextuality, which emphasizes "a historical view of texts as transforming the past – existing conventions, or prior texts – into the present (Fairclough 2010: 95)". The employment of Fairclough's CDA in the two dimensions can be concluded as three steps: (1) identify the order of discourse; (2) analyse the heterogeneity of the text by using interdiscursivity and intertextuality; (3) explain how the discourse was shaped by the political struggle.

2.2 Data Selection

Our study selects data from texts in the economic system reform, including 26 documents (see appendix 1). They are: (1) 16 Government Work Reports (from 1978 to 1993), 3 reports in the National Congress of the CCP (1982, 1987, 1992), 2 party decisions (1984, 1993), 1 party communique (1978), 2 pieces of leaders' talk (1991), and 2 news reports (1991). I select these texts because they not only contributed to the evolution of the economic system but also could directly or indirectly affected the society profoundly.

First, the Government Work Report (GWR) refers to the annual report at the National People's Congress, which concludes the achievement in last year and proposes an annual plan for the state. The National People's Congress is the country's top legislature, in which the people's deputies from all over the country exercise legislation, elect or recall the top leaders of the state, approve plans and make significant decisions related to security, organization, and institution. Generally, the GWRs are given by the Prime Minister of the State Council (except 1980 and 1991). I select GWRs from 1978 to 1993 for the following consideration. First, they are the final version of policy documents which not only include the content of party reports and decision guiding them but also have wide influence to the society. Secondly, the GWRs in different year are comparable because all the GWRs follow a similar text structure: a work review of the past year and major tasks in the coming year including the reform policies. Finally, consistent annual reports can provide a group of continuous time-series data.

Secondly, the report in the National Congress of the CCP is the report given by the General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee in the National Congress of the CCP⁶. The National Congress of the CCP is responsible for the election of party leadership and discussing significant issues of the state. It is held every 5 years and the party representatives come from all over the country. The report demonstrates the long-term plan (for 5 years) for state's

development, which guides policy-making of the party and government. Due to its long-term influence, I select all the three reports (1982, 1987, and 1992) in the period.

Thirdly, the party's decision (决定) and communique (公报) are the official documents approved by the Central Committee of the CCP, which initiates the important plan and delivers significant decisions to the party and the public. The Central Committee of the CCP is the core authority of the party. The members include the leaders of the party and state, heads of institutions directly under the Central Committee; heads of ministries and commissions under the State Council; major leaders of the people's liberation army; party secretaries and governors of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government; principal persons in charge of the people's organizations, and so on. In the reform, the communique 1978 initiated the reform, the party decision 1984 started the economic system reform and the party decision 1993 proposed to build the SME system. Thus, they are selected.

Fourthly, a leader's talk (讲话) means the speech delivered by the main leaders in the public, which affect the ideas in the official documents. I select two pieces of Deng's talk in his Southern Tour because they affected the society directly and became the official discourse. The opinion in his talk was referenced by Jiang's report in the National Congress of the CCP in 1992 and became the guiding principle in 1993 party decision.

Finally, the newspaper article was used to propose leader's opinion or the proposals from different groups. In general, newspaper is produced by the authority or under the guidance of government. However, newspaper article can be political strategy in political struggle as well. Huangfu Ping (皇甫平) incident in 1991 was a famous case. His two essays in Jiefang Daily (解放日报) proposed the ideas of Deng Xiaoping's talk which was not allowed to be reported by the authority, and arose the public concern (Yang 2004: 478, 479). I select his two famous articles in 1991: 'Leading the Reform and Opening up' (《做改革开放的“领头羊”》) and 'Open and Reform Need New Ideas' (《改革开放要有新思路》).

2.3 Combining CDA and Corpus Analysis

To analyse the texts, I will employ CDA to analyse the discourse strands in all the texts and CA to gain an overview of discursive shift from GWRs. It will be overburdened for this paper to analyse all these documents wholly due to their involvement in diverse topics. To downsize the data, I will extract the discourse strands from them. Discourse strands refers to "flows of discourse that centre on a common topic (Jäger and Maier 2009: 46)", which is the economic system in this paper. Specifically, the CDA will be employed to analyse a paragraph or a part of the text related to economic system reform instead of the whole document (see appendix 1). Apart from the discourse strands, the textual context in which the discourse strand is embedded cannot be ignored. Textual context includes the main topic in the discourse, the tendency of marketization reform, and the comparation between the planned economy and market.

In order to analyse the textual context, Corpus Analysis (CA), a computerised technique, will be used to investigate all the GWRs. Emerging in the digital era, CA has been an independent field of study which applies semi-automated statistical methods to analyse the patterns of language use (Kutter 2018: 170). Due to its capacity to investigate a large volume of texts, CA has become popular and widely applied in social science. It can contribute to our study in the following aspects. First, compared to purely manual analysis, CA allows us to investigate larger data volume via software (Mautner 2009: 123). Secondly, by providing the frequency list of keywords, CA can provide us an overview of the reform period: the main topics in the long period. Lastly, it can contribute to identify the shift of a specific lexical

item by offering semantic patterns. Specifically, it can present the language use of ‘market’ and ‘plan’ in reforming the economic system, which can analyse the tendency of marketization and compare the ‘market’ and ‘plan’ in the discursive shift.

To realize these technical analyses, AntConc is useful computer software. AntConc 3.5.8 will be applied for computing the times of keywords, frequency list of keywords, and concordance table. Frequency list of word will show the frequency and the percentage of contribution of each word used in the text. Frequency list of keywords presents the rank of each word’s statistical ‘keyness’, which identifies the more frequent ‘keywords’ in a corpus by comparing with reference corpora (Baker 2006: 125). In our study, the corpora of modern Chinese language from State Language Work Committee in China (国家语言文字委员会) will be used as a reference corpus to identify keywords. A concordance analysis can help to present the semantic pattern of a specific word (Baker 2006: 86). The computer program can display the words in the left or right of the search item. For instance, when the word ‘market’ was put in, the software listed all the sentences, partly sentences, and phrases containing ‘market’.

Chapter 3

The Political Struggle within the Party

3.1 Political Struggle: Leadership of the CCP from 1976-1993

After Mao's death on 9th September, 1976, there was no leader could reach Mao's prestige in the party and the state. The party was controlled by multiple groups and the political struggle existed from 1976 to 1993. To demonstrate the process of political struggle, the chapter begins with a brief introduction of the leadership in the reform period who developed and affected the discourse of economic system. This introduction will show the political leadership after the cultural revolution, the formation of the two groups – the innovationists and the conservatives, the political advantage and constraints of both sides.

China's 'Reform and Opening-up' started after the downfall of 'the Gang of Four'. 'Gang of Four' referred to the four top leaders led the cultural revolution: Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Jiang Qing (Mao's wife). After Mao's death, they attempted to seize power. With the assistance of senior statesmen (such as Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian), Hua Guofeng (华国锋), the authorized successor of Mao, became the top leader of the CCP and the Chairman of the Central Military Commission (Yang 2004: 63-93). As a loyal follower to Mao, Hua proposed the 'Whateverism' (两个凡是): 'uphold whatever decisions made by chairman Mao and follow whatever instructions from chairman Mao' (Yang 2004: 12). He continued Mao's policy and insisted on 'class struggle'. Although the downfall of 'the Gang of Four' did not lead to the reform directly, it made Deng Xiaoping's return in 1977 possible, who is regarded as the designer of China's reform and played a significant role in establishing the SME system. In 1976, Deng was removed from office because he was censured as 'capitalist roader' (走资派) and the plotter of 4th May Tiananmen Event (天安门事件) (a protest to 'the Gang of Four') (Yang 2004: 104). Hua treated Deng as a threat, but he failed to stop Deng's return because Deng was supported by the senior statesmen in the party, including Chen Yun, who led the conservatives in the following years. Chen was an economic expert and the top leader next to Deng in the party.

After Deng resumed, Hua's power was taken by Deng's group gradually and a special leadership formed. In 1980, Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦) became the Chairman of the CCP, Zhao Ziyang (赵紫阳), the Prime Minister, and Deng, the Chairman of the Central Military Commission. They became the system of 'Deng-Hu-Zhao', in which both Hu and Zhao took order from Deng. Deng was the top leader of the state due to his prestige in the party and control of military. Hu and Zhao were the nominal leaders who were responsible for policy implementation. However, the policy decisions were made by eight senior statesmen in the CCP, especially Deng and Chen. Both of them did not believe that Hua's 'Whateverism' could deal with China's poverty. However, they have different strategies for economic development. Due to Deng's visiting to Japan and the U.S. in 1978, he changed his opinion on capitalism (Yang 1998: 244-245), and proposed marketization reform. Chen insisted to bring back the 1950s planned economy because of his economic expertise in the planned economy. The two propositions had their followers and became the innovationists and the conservatives.

The reform of the economic system proceeded under this special leadership until 1987. In 1987, Hu resigned and Zhao became the Acting Chairman. Hu preferred liberalization so he lost the senior statesmen's trust, especially Deng (Yang 2004: 337). In 1986, a massive student movement happened in Beijing, which requests for political reform, including

democracy. Hu believed communication with students as an appropriate solution and refused to punish the student leaders, which made the senior statesmen disappointed with him. In 1988, the price reform failed and the price of commodities soared. The innovationists started to lose their power. At the same time, Li Peng, a conservationist, became prime minister. In 1989, Hu Yaobang died and students spontaneously held memorial activities for him in Tiananmen Square. The activities evolved to a student movement which requested to press inflation, deal with unemployment, corruption, liberalize the journalist and implement democracy. It became the famous June 4th Tiananmen Square Incident. Unfortunately, the student movement ended with tragedy. Meanwhile, the socialist camp experienced the fall of communism, which made the CCP vigilant. Due to Zhao's sympathy to the students, he was recalled in 1989 and Jiang Zemin became the Chairman, who was a Party Secretary of Shanghai before. On 8th November 1989, Deng requested to retire in the 5th plenary session of the 13th central committee of the CCP. Then he retired from the Chairman of the Central Military Commission in 1990. The innovationists failed temporarily and the reform stagnated for three years. In 1992, Deng took advantage of his relationship with the military, and his prestige and influence in the state to propose his famous Southern Tour Speech (Vogel 2011: 664-690). The spirit of the speech guided the 14th National Congress of the CCP (in 1992) to set the goal of establishing the 'socialist market economy' system. In 1992 and 1993, four senior statesmen of the conservatives died so the conservatives could not affect policy-making anymore (Yang 2004: 22). Deng did not get involved in the state affairs since 1994 while Chen was sick in 1994 and died in 1995 (*ibid*).

Both groups had their advantage. In a long period, the innovationists were in charge of the state and the party. However, the conservatives could affect the policy making as well because of their advantage in socialist ideology. The innovationists' marketization reform violated the orthodox socialist ideology and therefore the conservatives could take control in the situations which went against socialism, for example, the student movement requested democratization and the fall of Communism. In addition, the 'Reform and Opening-up' brought about the increase of corruption and economic crimes, for which the innovationists were blamed (Yang 1998).

3.2 Political Struggle and Economic Development

What kind of economic system would be implemented in China, was the most significant choice in the reform as well as the key issue of the political struggle. The conservatives believed that the planned economy model in the 1950s could recover the economy while the innovationists viewed the planned economy as the fundamental factor of poverty. In economic development, the innovationists' choice was effective in economic development and resulted in a pronounced high-speed economic growth. However, the marketization reform was not well-off. With the economic development, the negative effect of the reform, such as inflation and social instability, provided the conservatives opportunities to slow down the marketization and maintain the planned economy.

Revisiting history, the planned economy increased rather than reduced poverty. Before 1978, the pure planned economy was the main economic system in China for a long period and there was no market economy because the private economy had been eliminated in 1950s (Yang 2004: 35-40). In this system, all the production and distribution were under the guidance of the central plan: "the nation was like a big machine and millions of people followed its instruction (Yang 2004: 37)". In rural areas, the peasants had to hand in the agriculture products and the state redistributed via food coupons. The coupon can only be used in their household registration location so the farmers cannot move to other places. In urban areas, the private economy did not exist and all the employees worked either in state-owned (全国

所有制) or urban collective (城镇所有制) unit (单位) (National Bureau of Statistics 1979). The highly centralized system led to low-efficient productivity and caused extreme poverty. On the one hand, it is almost an impossible mission to maintain such a huge system. Theoretically, to design an accurate plan to meet people's demand in a country is infeasible. Practically, the goals of production were decided according to leaders' preference instead of scientific calculation (Yang 2004: 39). On the other hand, the distribution approach discouraged people's productivity and enthusiasm because how much a person could gain was not related to how hard they worked.

The cultural revolution aggravated the economic stagnation and famine, which forced the peasants to initiate the reform. After the cultural revolution, people in China lived in extreme poverty. Taking the year 1978 as an example, the per capita out of grain was 320 kilograms, which was almost the same level as that in 1956 (310 kilogram) (Yang 2004: 39). In the rural areas, the farmer's annual per capita income from collective distribution was \$44.35 (¥ 74.67)⁷, among them, 200 million peasants gained lower than \$29.70 (¥ 50) per year (Yang 2004: 40). Although the annual per capita income in urban (\$382.51 (¥ 644) (National Bureau of Statistics 1979) was much better than rural areas, Yang (2004: 40) found that the workers' salary only met the absolute standard of living and the average living area was fewer than 3 meters squared in his investigation in Tianjin city (a municipality directly under the central government). Since the planned economy led to the low productivity in agriculture, the peasants started to break through the rigid economic system and initiated the reform in rural area in 1978 (Yang 1998: 172-236). In spite of risk, they started to employ 'household contract responsibility system' (家庭联产承包责任制), in which each household took responsibility for their own production. This system encouraged the farmer to improve productivity because they could keep the rest of the grain after handing in their required production. Although this practice violated the planned system, it was approved by the central government due to the effort of local government, for example, Anhui Province, and the innovationists (ibid).

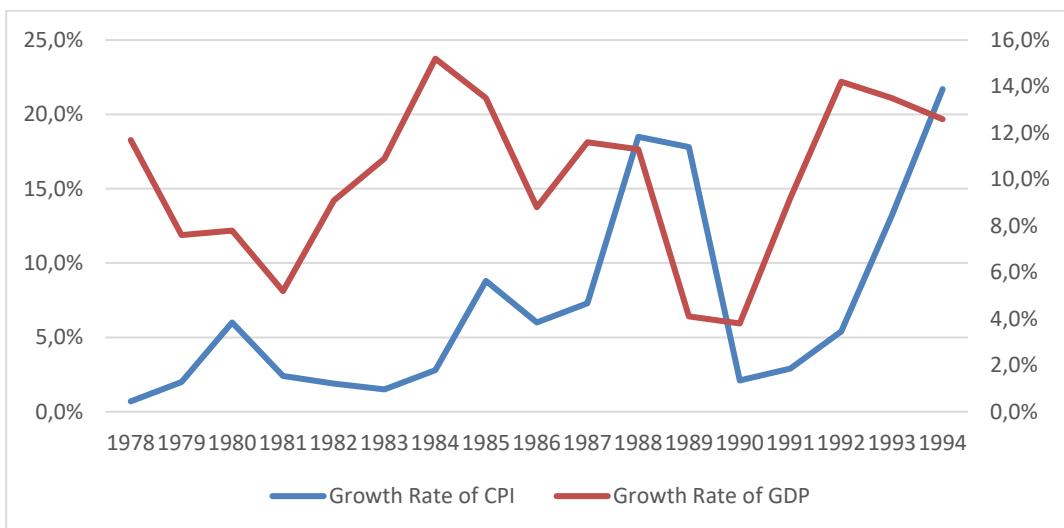
The reform started in agriculture and achieved significant success. In the first 2-year reform, China achieved a great progress in production and economic development. The total output value of agriculture in 1979 grew 8.6% compared with that in 1978 (Yao 1980). The production of crops experienced dramatic growth, for example, the total increased grain in 1978 and 1979 was about 49 million tons, which had never happened since the establishment of the PRC (ibid). In addition, the growth rate of the total output of the light industry in 1979 was 9.6% while the heavy industry 7.7% (ibid). More importantly, the growth rate of national income was 7% and a higher ratio of income was used for consumption rather than save (ibid). These achievements were attributed to the reform and the proportional adjustment of national economy in the GWR 1980. Meanwhile, the private economy rose from township enterprise (乡镇企业) in the rural area and then expended to urban in the 1980s.

Due to the reform in 1978, China's economy started to take off and kept a high-speed growth rate (see figure 3.1). From 1980 to 1984, the GDP growth accelerated. In 1983, the gross output value of industry and agriculture and the output of more than 30 products, such as grain, cotton, raw coal, crude oil, steel, steel products, pig iron, cement and fertilizer, had already reached or exceeded the goal of the sixth five-year plan, which would be achieved in 1985 (Zhao 1984). In 1984, the total output value of industry and agriculture had exceeded \$0.43 trillion (¥ 1 trillion), with an increase of 14.2%, before which it increased by an average of 7.9% from 1979 to 1983 (Zhao 1985). Despite the growth rate of GDP declined in the following years, economic growth from 1985 to 1988 still maintained a high speed (above 8%). However, the economic growth slowed down since 1989 because the innovationists were taken place by the conservatives in the leadership and the reform ceased. From 1989 to

1991, the GDP growth rate decreased dramatically, which was 3.9% in 1989 (Li 1990), 5% in 1990 (Zhou 1991), and 7% in 1991 (Li 1992). After Deng's Southern Tour Speech in 1992, the CCP brought back marketization reform and the economy grew in a high-speed again. In 1993, China's GDP exceeded \$0.52 trillion (¥3 trillion), with a growth rate of 13.4% (Li 1994).

However, the high-speed economic growth and the price reform resulted in inflation in the period (see the growth rate of CPI in figure 3.1). In the pure planned economic system, the price was controlled by the government while the price in reform started to be decided by market so that the price could increase dramatically. After 1984, China started to implement double-track price system (价格双轨制) which allowed the enterprises to decide the price of the unplanned products circulated in the market (market price) (Yang 1998: 386-389). The price of the planned products was decided by the state (plan price) (ibid). For a same product, the market price was higher than the plan price. Thus, customers preferred to buy the planned products while the producers tended to produce more unplanned products (ibid). In this system, there were a group of people, named Daoye (倒爷), who took advantage of the difference between market and plan price to make profit. Their speculation forced up the prices. From 1985 to 1987, the growth rate of the consumer price index (CPI) was 8.8%, 6%, 7.3% respectively which was only 2.8% in 1984 (National Bureau of Statistics 1999). According to Zhao's memoirs, credit and infrastructure extended too fast and the price rose too much at that time (Zhao 2010: 125). In this period, the inflation was people's concern and the government tried to control the increasing price. Unfortunately, the failure of price reform in 1988 worsened the high inflation. The growth rate of CPI in 1988 (18.5%) reached a peak since 1978 (the peak before was 7.3% in 1987) (National Bureau of Statistics 1999). Although the conservatives' policies failed to maintain high-speed economic growth, they succeeded in controlling the soaring price. The growth rate of CPI declined from 17.8% in 1989 to 2.1% in 1990 (National Bureau of Statistics 1999). This index in 1991 and 1992 was under control as well, which was 2.9% and 5.4% respectively (National Bureau of Statistics 1999). The inflation had negative influence on the innovationists especially when it led to panic purchase and instability in 1988.

Figure 3.1
The Growth Rate of CPI and GDP from 1978 to 1994



Source: National Bureau of Statistics 1999.

3.3 Political Struggle in the Texts

Before analysing the discourse strands, the textual context in which the discourse strands were embedded should be investigated first. The textual context can contribute to (1) present the political-economic context in the texts, (2) demonstrate the tendency of marketization which reflected the innovationist's success, and more importantly, (3) show the political struggle in the text. It can be presented by Corpus Analysis (CA). With this analysis, the keyword frequency list presents the rank of each word's statistical 'keyness' (Baker 2006: 125), which can provide us with the main topic in the GWRs (from 1978 to 1993). By using the software, the high frequent nouns in each year GWR (from 1978 to 1993) have been selected and collated (see appendix 2). Additionally, I conclude the times of how many years the lexical items show as a keyword (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1
Keyword List of 16-year GWR (from 1978 to 1993)

Key-words	Tim- es	19 78	19 79	19 80	19 81	19 82	19 83	19 84	19 85	19 86	19 87	19 88	19 89	19 90	19 91	19 92	19 93
发展 /de- vel- op- ment	16	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
经济 /eco nom y	14			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
我们 /we	13	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√
我国 /our coun try	12	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√
国家 /cou ntry	11		√			√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√		√	√
建设 /Con struc tion	11				√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√		√	√
企业 /en- ter- prise	11			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√		
改革 /re- form	8						√		√	√	√	√	√			√	√
工作 /task s	8		√		√	√	√					√	√	√			√
人民 /peo- ple	7	√	√		√		√	√	√			√					
生产 /pro- duce	5			√	√	√			√						√		
社会 主义 /so- cial- ism	4	√	√								√			√			
增长 /in- crea	4			√					√	√				√			

Key-words	Times	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
se																	
计划/plan	3			√		√									√		
技术/technology	3				√	√				√							
社会/so-cie-ty	3												√			√	√
政府/govern-ment	3			√										√			√
投资/in-vest-ment	2									√					√		
市场/Market	1																√

Source: elaborated by the author according to the AntConc results.

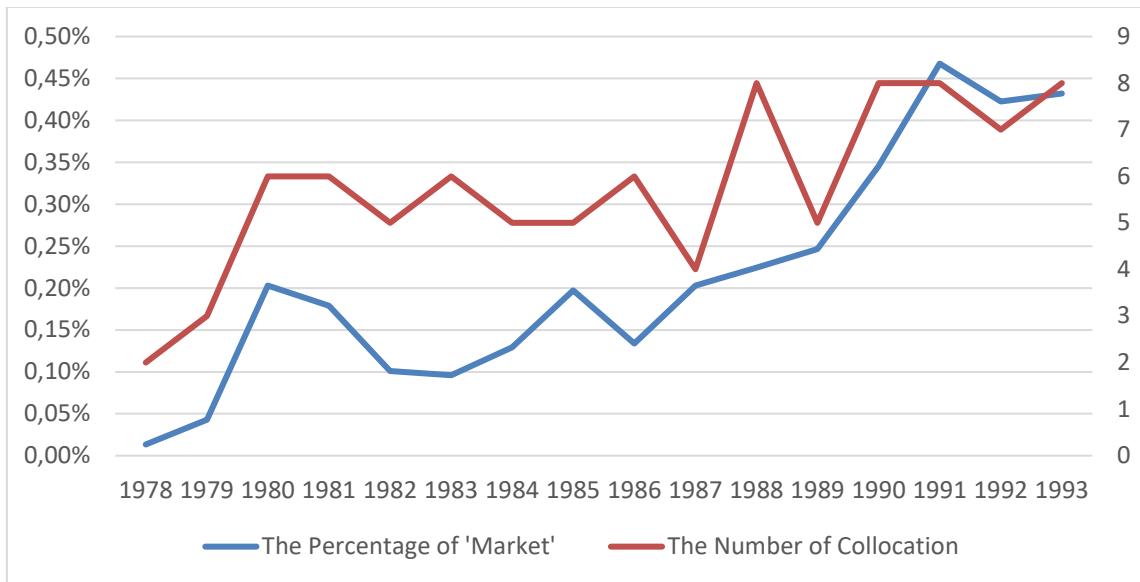
According to the results, the textual context confirms the political-economic context. The main theme in the period was economic development which reflected the consensus of both the innovationists and the conservatives. The lexical item ‘发展/development’ is the keyword in all the documents and the word ‘经济/economy’ appeared as keyword in 14 documents. The lexical items related to economic development, such as ‘建设/Construction’, ‘企业/enterprise’, ‘改革/reform’, ‘工作/task’, and ‘增长/increase’ are high frequent keywords in at least four GWRs. Notably, the ‘market’ (市场) finally became a high frequent keyword in the GWR 1993 which implied the acceptance of the ‘market economy’.

In addition, the lexical items related to ideology are high frequent, especially in the period that the innovationists were not in power. The items such as ‘我们/we’, ‘人民/people’, ‘我国/our country’, ‘国家/country’, and ‘社会主义/Socialism’ are the high-frequent keywords in at least 4 GWRs, which implies the ideological constraint in the reform. There is a significant difference between the two periods: 1978-1979 and 1980-1993. In 1978 and 1979, the keywords were related to ideology – the characteristic of ‘Whateverism’. Especially in 1978, the keywords such as ‘他们/they’, ‘毛主席/Chairman Mao’, ‘社会主义/socialism’, ‘斗争/struggle’, and ‘革命/revolution’, are very different from the keywords in 1980-1993. Since 1980, the keywords are mostly related to economic development.

The innovationists’ success can be found in the textual context as well. Through CA, this success presented as significant growth of the word frequency of ‘market’ and more diversity of the collocation of ‘market’. On the one hand, the term ‘market’ was used more and more frequently as the reform was promoted, which implies the increasing significance of the market’s role. The percentage of the ‘market’ in GWRs experienced significant growth with some fluctuation (see figure 3.2). It only appeared twice in GWR 1978 (0.01%) and 6 times in GWR 1979 (0.04%). Since 1980, its proportion started to be over 0.10%. After 1990, its percentages had been over 0.40%, which are 0.47% in 1991, 0.42% in 1992, and 0.43% in 1993. On the other hand, the collocation of the word ‘market’ demonstrates the language use and the meanings of ‘market’ turns into more diverse. The results have been collated and shown in appendix 4 by using Excel. There are 9 categories of ‘market’ collocation: (1) Region + Market; (2) Market as General Concept; (3) Industry + Market; (4) Market as

Economic Activities; (5) Market Regulation; (6) Market Administration; (7) Market + Price; (8) Market Economy System; (9) Market as Economic Mechanism. From 1978 to 1993, the collocation of 'market' becomes more complicated (see figure 3.2): (1) from 1978-1979: less than 3 categories of 'market' collocation; (2) from 1980-1987: from 4 to 6 categories; (3) from 1988-1993: mostly 8 categories. The year 1989 was an exception whose number of categories declined to 5 and the most frequent collocation of 'market' was Market Administration. This also reflects the political situation and the stagnation of the reform. Interestingly, 'Market Economy System' only appeared in 1993 with a large amount, which implies the legalization of the SME system.

Figure 3.2
The Word 'Market' in GWR 1978-1992

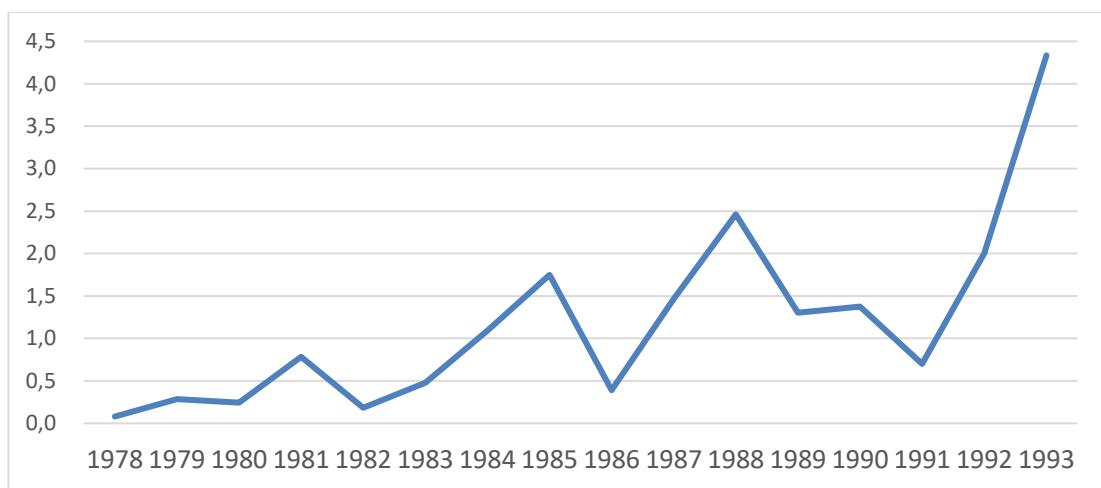


Source: elaborated by the author based on the AntConc results.

The innovationists' success has been emphasized due to the establishment of the SME system, which can be reflected in the textual context as well. On the contrary, the conservatives' effort has been regarded as failure in the reform. However, the conservatives could slow down the marketization or even roll back the process, which can be reflected in discourse and shown by CA. To present this political struggle, I compare the two significant lexical items: '计划' (plan, planned) and '市场' (market). In Chinese context, 'plan' can be a verb, adjective, and noun and these forms are all related to 'planned economy'. 'Market' is a noun with different meanings (see appendix 5). The frequency of 'plan' and 'market' in each GWR can be calculated by CA. Using the frequency of the word 'market' dividing that of 'plan' in one GWR can show their competition situation in that year. Linking all the results of 16 years (from 1978 to 1993), a pendulum between 'planned economy' and 'market' can be presented (see figure 3.3) as six stages: (1) 1978-1979: the ratio was on the bottom but increased which implies the planned economy still dominated the discourse but the 'Whateverism' started to fail; (2) 1980-1981: the ratio increased significantly compared to the last stage since it was the first time introduce 'market' into official discourse: 'plan as primary and market as auxiliary' (Zhao 1981); (3) 1982-1985: in 1982, the ratio decreased dramatically because Chen Yun reclaimed the significance of insisting plan (Yang 1998: 323) and the planned economy was emphasized in 1982 party report (Zhao 1982). After that, the ratio

increased again because the official decision of economic reform was proposed in 1984 and 'the planned commodity economy' became the economic system; (4) 1986-1988: from 1985-1986, the ratio declined dramatically again which indicated the discourse was affected by the inflation. However, it rose up again due to the 1987 party report which proposed 'the state regulates the market and the market leads the enterprises' (Zhao 1987a); (5) 1989-1991: the ratio declined significantly because the innovationists lost the power and the reform became stagnated; (6) 1992-1993: the ratio soared since Deng's Southern Tour Speech changed the situation and the leadership of the CCP turned to the innovationists. The government claimed to accelerate the reform and proposed to establish 'the socialist market economy' system. The up and down of the ratio reflects a political struggle throughout the reform which forced the discourse to swing between the planned economy and market.

Figure 3.3
The Ratio of the Frequency of the Word 'Market' to 'Plan'



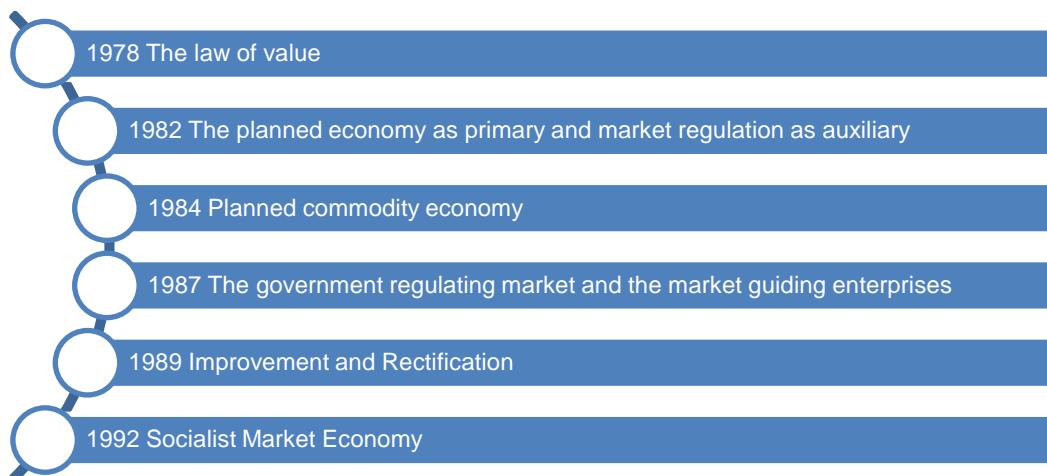
Source: elaborated by the author according to the AntConc results (see appendix 3).

Chapter 4

The Evolution of the Reform Discourse

In this chapter, I will introduce the evolution of the economic system chronologically and situate the discourse in the social change, mainly the political struggle and economic situation. It aims to: (1) connect each version of the economic system discourse with the political-economic background; (2) introduce the production and content of the discourses; and (3) demonstrate how each version can contribute to the progress or regress of the marketization and the social change. I see a new discourse as a turning point of the discursive shift. According to the selected texts, the discourse of economic system experienced six transitions which confirms our textual analysis in previous chapter (also see figure 3.3). In these transitions, I identified six key discourse (the new discourse) in the period (see figure 4.1): (1) the introduction of 'the law of value' in 1978; (2) 'planned economy as primary and market regulation as auxiliary' in 1981; (3) the 'planned commodity economy' in 1984; (4) 'the government regulating market and the market guiding enterprises' in 1987; (5) 'Improvement and Rectification' in 1989; (6) 'Socialist Market Economy' in 1992.

Figure 4.1
Language Usages and Change Related to Economic System



Source: elaborated by the author.

4.1 The Law of Value

The reform began with the introduction of 'the law of value' but did not involve market. After the downfall of 'the Gang of Four', the extreme poverty forced the CCP to move the emphasis on economic development. The Government Work Report (GWR) 1978 proposed to accelerate socialist economic construction. It blamed 'the Gang of Four' for the collapse of the national economy rather than the planned economy. It claimed that 'the country lost about \$59.40 billion (¥100 billion) of industrial output, 28 million tons of steel output and \$23.76 billion (¥40 billion) of government revenue' due to the damage of 'the Gang of Four' (Hua 1978). 'The Gang of Four' resulted in the anarchy of production. Thus, the planned economy, as a basic characteristic of the socialist economy, should be reinforced: to ensure everybody is responsible for their duty (Hua 1978). In this background, 'the law of value' was

emphasized in the GWR 1978 (*ibid*). ‘The law of value’ requested government to adjust the price for economic effect: increase the price of agriculture products and decrease the price of industrial products supported agriculture (*ibid*). Besides, decentralization was needed in order to bring the initiative of both central and local government into play (*ibid*).

‘The law of value’ was emphasized in the famous 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP. This meeting was the starting point of China’s ‘Reform and Opening-up’ because it officially claimed to shift the focus of the work to socialist modernization construction, and approved agricultural reform. For the economic system, it announced that “the government would adopt a series of new and important economic measures to reform the economic management system and methods seriously (The Central Committee of the CCP 1978)”. Further, it pointed out that the serious drawback of economic administrative system was the concentration of power and emphasized the ‘economic law’ and ‘the law of value’ (*ibid*). In order to mobilize the cadres and workers in production, “action should accord to economic rules (*ibid*)” and the effect of ‘the law of value’ should be highlighted (*ibid*).

The ignorance of ‘the law of value’ was also concerned by the GWR 1979. In reforming economic administrative system, it admitted that the government had violated the ‘objective economic law’ and ignored ‘the law of value’ in production and distribution (Hua 1979). To correct this, actions should be taken to adjust the relationship of supply, produce, and sell departments, distribute according to people’s contribution, and enlarge the authority of enterprises and local (*ibid*). This adjustment can make the relations of production more compatible with the development of productivity and superstructure more suit the need of economic foundation, and show the advantage of socialism (*ibid*).

The introduction of ‘the law of value’ in official documents provided guidelines for the plan and preparation for introduction of the market. On the one hand, it forced the plan to follow economic rules and value economic outcomes, for example, adjusting the price to encourage agricultural production. Before, the planned economy was embedded in the political system, in which the decision-making followed political logic and the economic rule and performance had been ignored. On the other hand, the proposal of ‘the law of value’ was a breakthrough because it brought “the soul of commodity economy (Yang 1998: 320)” to socialist China. The emphasis of ‘the law of value’ encouraged the peasants and agricultural production increased dramatically.

4.2 Plan as Primary, Market as Auxiliary

In an interview in 1979, Deng had already proposed that “‘market’ does not only exist in capitalist society and socialism can apply ‘market economy’ (Deng 1995a: 236)”, which was not published until 1994 (Yang 1998: 335). After the innovationists took Hua’s place as top leadership in the party, state and military, they started to introduce ‘market’ into discourse of economic system in 1980. With the agricultural achievement, the GWR 1980 proposed “to implement market regulation under the guidance of the state plan (Yao 1980)” for accelerating the economic system reform. It differentiated two types of indicators of production. (1) The mandatory indicators, which were compulsory for the enterprises, for instance, a fixed amount of steel. The categories of this indicator should be declined. (2) The other indicators of production can guide the enterprise to produce, which are predictable. The categories of this indicator should be increased to encourage the enthusiasm of the enterprises (*ibid*). More importantly, the market started to play a role in the economy since some materials and consumer goods were allowed to be circulated in the market (*ibid*).

In the reform, the relationship between the planned economy and market regulation was regarded as a key issue. It started to be discussed in the GWR 1981 (Zhao 1981). It adopted

Chen Yun's idea in 1956 to clarify this relationship: the planned production was principal while the free production according to market change was the supplement of planned production (ibid). The later should be under the permission of state plan as well (ibid). The report developed four types of products according to their importance in state's economy, the ownership of the producers and the specification, amounts of products: (1) the goods produced according to the state's mandatory plan, which were related to state's economic artery, (2) the products produced according to the change in the market, which were the diverse types of small products, (3) the goods produced mainly according to the state plan while a small proportion of which were based on the market, closed to the first type, and (4) the goods produced mainly according to the market but a small proportion of which were based on the plan. This kind of product is similar to the second type. Thus, the production needed an economic system combining of market and the plan in which the plan should be in the primary position (ibid). Different types of products should be managed by different administrative systems (ibid). In order to improve the economic benefit and meet societal demand, it is necessary to develop a new economic system different from the market in capitalism, which can connect the state's centralized and unified leadership with the enthusiasm of enterprises (ibid). It was very difficult to clarify these four types of products in real life and the CCP could not deal with this issue even in the GWR 1990.

The planned economy was separated into two types in the party report in 1982. The report not only announced the necessity and achievement of market regulation but also emphasized that planned economy could not be loosened (Hu 1982). It pointed out that the planned economy was hurt due to inappropriate measures and management (ibid). Based on the two indicators in the GWR 1980 and categorization of products in the GWR 1981, it conceptualized two kinds of planned economy: mandatory plan (指令性计划) - setting detailed index to distribute agricultural products; and guiding plan (指导性计划) – providing guidance for complex and unmeasurable social demands and production (ibid). In guiding plans, products and enterprises needed to realize the guiding plan by using economic leverage (ibid). Both types of the planned economy should follow 'the law of value' (ibid). As for the small products, they could not be arranged by the state plan so that the enterprises could produce according to the demand of the market with the help of policy and related administration (ibid). 'Plan as primary and market as auxiliary' was regarded as a fundamental issue of economic system reform in this report (ibid).

The combination of the planned economy and market was applied in the GWR 1982, 1983, 1984 and became the foundation of the economic system until 1993. It not only introduced the market to economic system but also eased the control of the state plan. By classifying economic activities to different types, the economic control of the state plan had been weakened. In the following years, more and more policies were delivered to reduce the government's political and economic administration, such as tax, executive administration, and commodity circulation in the GWR 1982 (Zhao 1982), circulation, financial system and labour system in the GWR 1983 (Zhao 1983), construction and circulation in the GWR 1984 (Zhao 1984). More importantly, the market was allowed to function in the circulation of products. Since 1982, the circulation system reform aimed to develop a united socialist market (Zhao 1984). The introduction of market and the weakening state control further activated the economy and accelerate the development of the private economy.

4.3 Decision: Planned Commodity Economy

After the 4-year high speed economic growth, the major reform started to move from rural to urban area (Gao 2014). In order to accelerate the reform and expand to the urban economy, an official document guiding the economic reform was needed. Thus, 'Decision of the

Central Committee of CCP on Economic Reform' (The Decision) was published in 1984, in which 'planned commodity economy' was first proposed. The 'planned commodity economy' was developed on the basis of 'plan as primary, market as auxiliary'. It includes four aspects: (1) the economic system was planned commodity economy but not the commodity economy only regulated by market; (2) market regulation was auxiliary but necessary; (3) planned economy was not purely mandatory economy but included guiding economy; (4) guiding economy mainly relied on economic leverage and would be expanded while mandatory economy should follow 'the law of value' and would be narrowed down (The Central Committee of CCP 1984).

The Decision was significant progress in economic system reform. First of all, it systematically justified the reform. To begin with, the economic system in urban impeded the development of productivity, which needed a systematic reform (The Central Committee of CCP 1984). Secondly, the rising technology revolution brought challenges to China's economic development (ibid). In addition, people were inspired by the reform achievement so that they desired to speed up the economic system reform (ibid).

Secondly, it was a breakthrough to announce the compatibility of socialism and the commodity economy. Before 1984, 'commodity economy' tended to be attributed to capitalism while the planned economy belonged to socialism. The Decision argued that the distinction between socialism and capitalism was not in whether the existence of 'commodity economy' and the work of 'the law of value', but in different ownership (the public ownership as main form in socialism), whether existing the exploiting classes, whether the working people are masters, serving what kind of production purpose, whether the whole society apply 'the law of value' consciously, and the different range of commodity relationship (The Central Committee of CCP 1984). Also, 'commodity economy' was an inevitable stage in social-economic development and the necessary condition to realize China's modernization (ibid). The planned economy and 'commodity economy' benefit rather than exclude each other (ibid). Commodity economy could active economy and improve efficiency which could not be realized only by executive instruments and mandatory plan (ibid). Besides, the content of the 'market economy' had been introduced to the economic system because "the 'commodity economy' was euphemistic wording of 'market economy' (Zhao 2010: 122)".

Finally, it concluded reform policies and made the reform practical by providing goals and policy instruments. The goal of the reform was to build a vibrant socialist economic system for which reform could adjust the relationship of production and superstructure to promote the development of social productivity (The Central Committee of CCP 1984). Also, the key issue of the economic reform was to enhance enterprise vitality (ibid). Apart from the establishment of 'planned commodity economy', detailed policy instruments were proposed.

4.4 State, Market, and Enterprises

From 1985 to 1987, the innovationists were in power and the economy grew in a high-speed. However, due to the implementation of the double-track price system, the inflation emerged which made the discourse of economic system cautious in the period. The GWR 1985 proposed that the first battle of the economic system reform should be cautious because of the lack of experience, the state's limited economic and financial force, and the difficulty from over currency issuance (Zhao 1985). The GWR 1986 emphasized three issues for reform: (1) the economic system reform should meet the requirements of developing socialist commodity economy; (2) the difficulty and complexity of transferring the system; (3) the reform should consider both short-term and long-run interest, and both partial and overall interests (Zhao 1986). Apart from reclaiming the three aspects of reform in the GWR 1986, the GWR

1987 reacted to the price issue: the price reform was necessary and the living standards had improved in the reform in spite of the price increase (Zhao 1987b). It also announced that the government would control the price (ibid).

Although the inflation affected the reform, it could not stop market regulation to take the place of the state plan and predominated China's economy. In 1985, almost all agriculture (except for a small number of crops, like cotton) was regulated by the market (Zhao 2010: 123). The township enterprises, private economy, sino-foreign joint ventures, and wholly foreign-owned enterprises grew up in market without the involvement of the state plan (ibid). Meanwhile, the planned economy was gradually weakened in economic development. Under this circumstance, 'market as auxiliary' was not a proper discourse of economic system (Yang 1998: 328-333). The relationship between the planned economy and market started to transform to indirect and direct control the economic activities. The GWR 1986 proposed three aspects of economic system reform in the 7th 5-year plan: enhance enterprises' vitality; further develop the socialist commodity market and improve the market system; and transform the state's direct control in enterprises to indirect management and build a new socialist macro-economic administrative system (Zhao 1986).

In the 13th National Congress of the CCP, the new relationship – 'the government regulating market and the market guiding enterprises' was proposed (Zhao 1987a). This discourse clarified three concepts of 'planned commodity economy': (1) the commodity economy could exist in socialism. The essential distinction between socialist and capitalist commodity economy was their different ownership basis – the public ownership was the main form in socialist commodity economy (ibid). In order to realize the coordinated development of the national economy, the government should take full advantage of the instruments of both plan and market (ibid); (2) the state should reduce the mandatory plan which was a direct administrative approach and manage the enterprises indirectly by using economic leverages (ibid). Also, the plan must be on the basis of the commodity exchange and 'the law of value' (ibid); (3) both the plan and the market covered the whole society (ibid).

4.5 Stagnation in 'Improvement and Rectification'

Unfortunately, the reform stagnated from 1989 to 1992 because the innovationists lost political power in the serious inflation in 1988, the June 4th Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989. After the Tiananmen Square Incident, the conservatives believed that the 1988 inflation derived from the reform, caused this tragedy (Vogel 2011: 664). This tragedy directly led to the political power transition from innovationists to conservatives. After Zhao's resignation, 'state regulates the market and the market guides the enterprises' was criticised (Yang 2004: 204). The marketization reform was criticised as a capitalist tendency and blamed for the inflation in 1988 and the student movement (Yang 2004: 204, 205). Meanwhile, the fall of communism made the CCP vigilant and turn to be conservative in policy-making.

From 1989 to 1991, 'Improvement and Rectification' (I&R 治理整顿) predominated the discourse of economic system reform. Improvement referred to improve the economic environment while rectification was to rectify economic order (Li 1989). The GWR 1989 claimed that the I&R would benefit the reform and socialist commodity economy and the government would neither go back to the over-centralized system nor implement privatization to deny socialism (ibid). It also pointed out that it was very important to strengthen and improve the macro-economic control system in order to meet the requirement of 'Reform and Opening-up' and planned commodity economy (ibid).

In addition, the combination of the planned economy and market regulation was brought back in the GWR 1990. As the key issue to deepen and improve the reform, this

principle included: (1) the planned and commodity economy were mutually beneficial rather than exclusive; (2) the combination of planned economy and market regulation included three approaches: mandatory plan, guiding plan, and market regulation; (3) the application of these approaches could be adjusted according to the situation in different periods; (4) the macro-control should be improved and comprehensively used; (5) whether the economic system could realize sustainability, stability, and coordination of the national economic development was the fundamental criterion for evaluating how the planned economy and market regulation combined (Li 1990). Accordingly, the significant products related to national economy and people's livelihood, for example, construction, should be administrated by the mandatory plan while the production and circulation of other products could be regulated by guiding plan and market, such as township economy, private economy, foreign-owned enterprises (ibid). The combination of planned economy and market regulation was re-claimed in the GWR 1991 (Zhou 1991). The discourse combined the planned economy and market was the discursive version before 1987. The reverse discourse indicated the stagnation of marketization. In this period, the conservatives did control the soaring price but slowed down the economic growth as well.

4.6 Accelerate to Establish Socialist Market Economy

In the stagnation of reform, the conservatives endeavoured to maintain the planned economy but Deng believed the party's rule would be in danger without acceleration of economic development (Vogel 2011: 664). The discourse of the socialist market economy was finalized in Deng's Southern Tour Speech dramatically. With his prestige in China, he started to influence the public via media. In 1991, Deng visited Shanghai and aired his opinion of reform. Because the power was under the conservatives' control, the official media, such as the Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily, did not publish Deng's word and reported his tour (Vogel 2011: 664-690). However, Deng's ideas were demonstrated by a series of articles written by Huangfu Ping and published in Jiefang Daily, a local media. The articles called for further liberalization of mind (Huangfu 1991b) and argued that the reform could not be stagnated because of struggling in the disputation between socialism and capitalism (Huangfu 1991a, 1991b). They also pointed out that the planned economy and market were both economic instruments to distribute the resources (Huangfu 1991b). Although these articles were criticized by the conservatives (Vogel 2011: 664), these ideas arose people's concern and became the discourse in the GWR 1992.

More importantly, in this tour, Deng forced Jiang Zemin, the leaders of the party to support marketization reform (Vogel 2011: 664-690). With his relationship with the military, he held a military conference in Zhuhai which forced Jiang to join the innovationists otherwise his leadership in the CCP would be replaced (ibid). In 1992, Deng visited the cities in southern, which realized great achievements in the reform, including Wuhan, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai. In this tour, Deng delivered a famous talk which reclaimed that "the planned economy does not belong to socialism particularly while capitalism is not the only owner of the market (Deng 1995b: 373)". In the meeting of the Political Bureau in March 1992, Deng's talks started to become the guidelines of the policy (ibid). Jiang concluded Deng's ideas and named them the 'socialist market economy' (ibid), which became the theme in the 14th National Congress of the CCP.

In this congress, the 'socialist market economy' (SME) system was systematically demonstrated in the party report. The report announced "to accelerate reform, open-up, and modernization and seize the greater success of socialism with Chinese characteristics (Jiang 1992)". It reviewed the 14-year's reform and proposed the tasks of the reform in the 1990s. More importantly, the report announced that the goal of economic system reform was to

establish a SME system (Jiang 1992). The SME system referred to the market plays a fundamental role in resource allocation under the socialist national macro-control (ibid). For one thing, the market allowed economic activities to follow ‘the law of value’ and adapt to the change of supply and demand; it realized better allocation of resource for higher benefit and motivated enterprises by price leverage and competition mechanisms; promoted the timely coordination of production and demand by taking advantage of market’s sensitiveness to various economic signals (ibid). For another, the state’s macro-control should be improved and strengthened due to market’s weakness and negative aspects: economic policies, regulations, plan guidance and necessary administration should be used to guide the market to achieve a healthy development according to the requirements of objective laws (ibid). Furthermore, the report pointed out that the SME system was bonded with the socialist fundamental system in the ownership of enterprise, distribution system, and macro-control (ibid). The ownership of enterprise encouraged the development of diverse types of enterprises, including the individual economy, the private economy, and the foreign capital economy although the public ownership enterprises should be the main form (ibid). The distribution system allowed the gap of the income from the market regulation which could promote efficiency. The macro-control meant that the socialist state could take full advantage of the strengths of both plan and market for people’s current and long-term interests as well as the local and overall interests (ibid).

The report affects China’s economy and society profoundly. First of all, it restarted the stagnant reform. The discourse was based on the party report in 1987 which emphasized the market’s role in the whole society and changed the state’s control: from direct to indirect control. Secondly, it ended the long-term disputation of whether socialism could apply market. Since then, the ‘market economy’ was finally accepted by the CCP and the socialist China. Followed by this 1992 party report, the GWR 1993 proposed to “accelerate the pace of reform to establish socialist market economy system (Li 1993)” and argued that improve and enhance macro-economic administration was the import part of establishing the SME system (Li 1993). In 1993, the Central Committee of the CCP published ‘decision of the central committee of the communist party of China on several issues concerning the establishment of a socialist market economy’, in which the discourse in the 1992 party report was written down in the official document and the policy instruments were proposed to establish SME system (The Central Committee of the CCP 1993). Finally, the high-speed economic growth returned. The party report in 1992 encouraged hundreds of thousands of people to become businessmen. The private economy boomed. In 1993, China’s GDP exceeded \$520 billion (¥3 trillion), with a growth rate of 13.4% (Li 1994). After that, economic growth in China maintains a high-speed until 2015, when the growth rate of GDP was below 7% (The World Bank Data).

Chapter 5

Discourse and Political struggle

5.1 Key Concepts Shaped by the Political Struggle

The discourse produced in the political struggle can be analyzed by Fairclough's CDA. Fairclough points out the complexity of the dialectic relationship between discourse and social practice (Tischer et al. 2000: 149). On the one hand, discourse is not shaped "in monolithic or mechanical ways (Fairclough 2010: 92)". Within particular institutional conditions (in society), there are a variety of discursive practices that are "coexisting, contrasting and often competing" (*ibid*). This can be presented in the key concepts of economic system, which were co-constituted by both innovationists' and conservatives' ideas. The different versions of economic system combined two parts: a constrain from conservatives, such as 'planned', 'socialist'; and a progress of marketization, such as 'market', 'commodity economy', and 'market economy'. On the other hand, in particular discursive event, language use does not follow the "underlying conventions or norms of language use" in an appropriate way (Fairclough 2010: 92, 93). In the reform, the terms related to the economic system were coined by combining different foreign concepts, such as socialist, market economy. The two concepts in the term were incompatible in Chinese context at that time, for instance, 'plan' and 'market', 'plan' and 'commodity economy', 'socialist' and 'market economy'. These key terms will be analysed to unmask the political struggle which has shaped them. They are: 'the law of value', 'planned economy as primary and market regulation as auxiliary', 'planned commodity economy', 'the government regulating market and the market guiding enterprises', and 'Socialist Market Economy'.

5.1.1 The Law of Value

To begin with, 'the law of value' is the first significant term in the discourse and used in GWR 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1987, 1990, Communique 1978, Party decision 1984, Party report 1982, 1987, 1992. Since 'market economy' could not be accepted by the public in 1978, the application of 'the law of value' was strategical as well as an important breakthrough. It not only benefited the innovationists by limiting the planned economy but also satisfied the conservatives without using the word 'market economy'. 'The law of value' combines two aspects. On the one hand, it refers to the source of the value of the commodity, which can provide guidance for plan (Sun 1998). As a linguistic strategy, it is not only compatible with the planned economy but also weakens the plan economy system by providing guidance. The compatibility means that 'the law of value' was the adjustment of price under the planned economy instead of trading based on value in the market. On the other hand, 'the law of value' implies a market mechanism in which the price is decided by the value of product. Specifically, in the market, the price can change to realize the balance of supply and demand according to the value of the products (*ibid*). In this case, 'the law of value' can regulate social production. The emphasis of 'the law of value' simultaneously introduced the principle of commodity economy (market economy).

5.1.2 Planned Economy as Primary and Market Regulation as Auxiliary

The word 'market' was first used in the discourse of economic system as 'market regulation' in 1980, which was used in GWR 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991,

1992, Party resolution 1981, Party report 1982, and Party decision 1984. The concept ‘market regulation’ justifies the necessity of introducing market. It consists of consists of ‘market’ and ‘regulation’ which emphasized market’s function as regulating trade. This collocation allowed market to play a role in China’s economic activity: an auxiliary to planned economy. Since 1981, it was connected with planned economy as “planned economy as primary and market regulation as auxiliary (Zhao 1981)”. This phrase identifies the relationship between planned economy and market: the planned economy dominated the economic system while market was used to assist planned economy in regulating small business. Although market was an auxiliary, it started to function China’s economy and took the place of planned economy in some economic activities. In addition, the planned economy in this phrase was separated to mandatory plan and guiding plan. It also weakened the control of the state plan because the economic activities under the mandatory plan would be narrow down and the guiding plan would be expanded.

5.1.3 Planned Commodity Economy

‘Commodity economy’ was also attributed to capitalism so it was difficult to use this term. Thus, the term ‘planned commodity economy’ in 1984 party decision was great progress of the economic system reform. The term used ‘planned’ as an attributive which emphasized the dominant position of the planned economy. Whether commodities could be circulated in the market should be under the permission of the state plan. However, the ‘commodity economy’ as an official term was significant to the innovationists in two aspects: literally, the word commodity implied the existence of market. In the commodity economy, products could be circulated by exchanges while in the planned economy it was product economy because goods were distributed by plan according to population. More importantly, the usage of the term had announced that there was no conflict between socialism and commodity economy (a euphemistic expression of market economy). To justify this term, the CCP not only emphasized its function, which was able to meet the complicated social demand but also clarified its relationship with capitalism: whether the commodity economy exists could not be used to differentiate socialism and capitalism.

5.1.4 The Government Regulating the Market and The Market Guiding Enterprises

Based on the ‘planned commodity economy’, the CCP further developed the relationship of state, market, and enterprises as ‘the government regulating the market and the market guiding enterprises’ in 1987. This phrase transformed the relationship between the planned economy and market from the primary-auxiliary function economy to indirect-direct control. This relationship can reflect the economic system appropriately: the means of production under the state-owned enterprises’ control while the market was in charge of consumer goods. The discourse was viewed as the progress of marketization: for one thing, it expanded the scope of the market’s function. Before 1987, the market was applied in the small business while the planned economy regulated the majority of the economic activities. In the reform, the market became more and more important and exceeded the plan in distributing the resources. The discourse admitted the market’s significant role and claimed it could regulate the whole society. For another, it turned the plan to indirect control which further weakened the planned economy. Since 1980, the market was an auxiliary role to the plan. The discourse changed this relationship. The discourse declared that both ‘plan’ and ‘market’ were the policy instrument to realize economic development. The market was as important as the plan while the plan was not the primary instrument anymore. However, ‘state regulating market’ cannot be ignored, which implied the control of the state plan. Thus, the market has lost its original

meaning: free market, in which an invisible hand, a self-regulation mechanism can function well and benefit the economic development. The market in the discourse becomes different from neo-liberalism, even liberalism.

5.1.5 Socialist Market Economy

The term ‘Socialist Market Economy’ in 1992 was regarded as the last version of economic system reform: the planned economy was replaced by the SME system. The term consists of ‘socialist’ and ‘market economy’. The word ‘market economy’ presented as official discourse was a great achievement of innovationists. The ‘market economy’ was finally accepted by the CCP and became the main actor in distributing resources in socialist China. The attributive ‘socialist’ was regarded as compromise to conservatives and a strategy to end the disputation of whether ‘market economy’ only belonged to capitalism (Yang 2004: 207). However, the lexical item ‘socialist’ is beyond compromise. It refers to ‘the socialist national macro-control’ which was the new version of the planned economy in the evolution of the economic system discourse. More importantly, the market should be under the guidance of ‘the socialist national macro-control’ (Jiang 1992), which devalued the market.

The textual analysis of key concepts in discourse of the economic system illustrates the discursive shift was shaped by the political struggle between two groups within the CCP. First of all, from 1978 to 1993, each version of economic system was constituted by both sides’ ideas literally or euphemistically. The innovationists promoted the marketization by introducing ‘the law of value’, ‘market regulation’, ‘commodity economy’ and ‘market economy’ while the conservatives used the qualifiers such as ‘auxiliary’, ‘planned’, ‘socialist’ to maintain the socialist ideology and the planned economy. Secondly, although the innovationists weakened the control of the state plan, the state’s control – the essence of planned economy remained the hegemonic power, which dominated the whole process. The market was always under the guidance of the state no matter how important role it played in the society. Finally, the core of the planned economy – the state’s control over market still exists as a policy instrument to economic activities. The planned economy has evolved into macro-control, which is one of the important discourses in China’s economic policy.

5.2 Discourse Shaped by the Political Struggle

In this part, I will connect the discourse with both the political struggle and society. Specifically, this part will analyse how the discourse was shaped by the political struggle in the interaction with society, mainly the economic situation. The social practice and discourse practice dimension of Fairclough’s CDA will be employed. The study begins with the identification of the order of discourse. As the key concepts analysis before, the terms of economic system combined ideas from two groups within the CCP, which means the discourse of economic system consisted of two types of discourse: the marketization from the innovationists and the planned economy from the conservatives. For the marketization discourse, the order of discourse includes ‘the law of value’, ‘market regulation as auxiliary’, ‘commodity economy’, ‘market guiding enterprises’ and ‘market economy’. With respect to the order of the planned economy discourse, it contains ‘national unified plan’, ‘the state plan’, ‘planned economy’, ‘mandatory plan’, ‘guiding plan’, ‘planned commodity economy’, ‘macro-control’, ‘state regulating market’, ‘planned’, ‘socialist’ and so on. In the study, different versions of economic system discourse were the combination and recombination of two types of the order of discourse. The order of discourse creates a boundary between different types of discursive practices (Fairclough 2010: 93). This type of boundary between/within orders of discourse is “a part of the wider social conflicts and struggles(ibid)”. Thus, I can

identify the heterogeneity of these versions of discourse by comparing their orders of discourse. In addition, the articulation and re-articulation of the two orders of discourse can help to analyse the political struggle shaped the discourse.

From 1978 to 1993, the discursive shift can be identified by heterogeneous texts, which present heterogeneous orders of discourse compared with the discourse in the previous version. These texts are the GWR 1980, 1989, 1990, 1992, and the party report 1987. According to the heterogeneity of the discourse, the period of reform can be divided into three stages: (1) pre-market stage in 1978-1979; (2) a gradual reform from 1980-1987; (3) intense struggle from 1987-1993. Discourse in each stage was constrained by the discourse in pre-stage and the social circumstance.

The first stage was the downfall of 'Whateverism', in which the innovationists and the conservatives reached a consensus: economic development. In this stage, the innovationists had not controlled the political power, so the planned economy had not been challenged. However, the 'Whateverism' approached the end of its day. In this situation, 'the law of value' and 'decentralization' were proposed to respond to the reform from peasants' initiative. 'The law of value' constituted the pre-existing discourse and the 'decentralization' guided the discursive shift in the next stage. The introduction of market economy was in the next two stages.

5.2.1 A Gradual Process in 1980-1987

The transition between first and second stage was reflected in both textual context and the GWR 1980. In textual context, the main topic shifted from class struggle (last stage) to economic development (second stage). As for the GWR 1980, it combined 'the law of value' in pre-discourse and 'market regulation under the guidance of the state plan', which presented as a heterogeneous text.

In the second stage, both the innovationists and the conservatives had an advantage and neither could dominate policy-making which resulted in a balance in the political struggle. Politically, the innovationists exercised the political power but they were constrained by the socialist ideology (the conservatives' advantage). Economically, the high-speed economic development benefited the innovationists and the emergence of inflation provided the conservatives with opportunity to affect policy-making. The balance of political struggle led to a gradual reform process.

From a discursive dimension, a gradual process means the intertextual relationship in the discourse from 1980 to 1987 – they shared the same order of discourse, such as 'mandatory plan', 'guiding plan', and 'market regulation'. Also, a gradual process can describe the development of 'market economy': followed a strategy of decentralization, the market's function expanded from small business to most areas of China's economy step by step. On the contrary, the control of planned economy was weakened gradually.

In order to introduce 'market economy' and weaken the control of the planned economy, the discourse in this stage employed a decentralization strategy. It proposed a primary-auxiliary relation between plan and market. After the innovationists and the conservatives cooperated to overthrow 'Whateverism', the 'market regulation' was first used since the innovationists started to initiated the reform. The promotion of the market was benefited by the innovationist's political power and economic development which was brought by the reform in last stage. However, in the constraint of socialist ideology, the 'market regulation' should be under the control of the state and the role of the market should be auxiliary. The decentralization strategy formed a primary-auxiliary relationship between plan and market in three steps: (1) the plan was separated to two types: mandatory and guiding plan. The mandatory plan would be declined while the guiding plan would be increased; (2) the market regulation

could play a role to assist plan and market became the instrument of guiding plan; (3) both types of plan should under the guidance of 'the law of value'. By emphasizing the market's function, the market started to share responsibility in allocation resources in China. However, the gradual reform ended in 1987 and the primary-auxiliary relation transferred to direct-indirect control.

Additionally, the innovationists tried to break through the socialist ideology. When they proposed the 'planned commodity economy', the discourse admitted the 'commodity economy' as an inevitable stage. It defined the way to differentiate socialism and capitalism. The criteria were the difference of ownership, whether class exploitation exists, whether the working people are masters rather than whether commodity economy exists (The Central Committee of CCP 1984). Though this effort could not work at the moment, it became the foundation of the discursive strategy of instrumentalization in 1987.

5.2.2 An Intense Struggle in 1987-1993

The 1987 party report presented as a heterogeneous text compared with the texts in last stage. Its heterogeneity was the re-articulation of the order of discourse. Although the order of discourse was similar with those in last stage, such as 'planned commodity economy', 'market regulation', 'mandatory plan' and 'guiding plan', the report transferred the direct administration (the primary-auxiliary relationship) to indirect control by economic policy: 'state regulating the market and the market guiding enterprise', the internal logic of which was very different from the previous version. Since 1987, there was a series of turbulent social change, such as the serious inflation, the student movements, and the fall of Communism. The turbulent social change led to an intense political struggle in which the conservatives and the innovationists fought for the political power inwardly. Since the 1987 party report, the discursive shift became complicated because the discourse was shaped by the intense political struggle in a turbulent social change. Reflected in the text, the word 'socialism' became a high frequent keyword in 1990 and the word 'plan', in 1991. Also, in the selected documents from 1987 to 1991, there is no clear intertextuality.

From 1988 to 1990, the discourse was in confusion because the conservatives tried to reverse the discourse of economic system. The 1988 inflation and 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident resulted in the innovationists' lost political power and the socialist ideology was enhanced by the CCP due to the fall of Communism. In this situation, the discourse in the GWR 1989 showed quite another thing. The I&R, which created a new order of discourse, such as 'improvement' and 'rectification', became a special discourse in that particular period. Combined the order of discourse from the I&R, the GWR 1990 brought back the popular order of discourse in last stage, such as 'mandatory plan', 'guiding plan', 'market regulation' and so on. By using the order of discourse from the last stage, the report claimed the combination of 'planned economy' and 'market regulation'. The re-articulation of orders discourse demonstrated the conservatives' endeavour to reverse the reform to the last stage. Interestingly, the macro-economic control system, which derived from the 1987 party report, was emphasized by the GWR 1989 and 1990. It indicated that 'the macro-economic control system' favoured the conservatives' interest.

Dramatically, Deng turned the discourse back to 1987 party report. The GWR 1992 combined the discourse in the GWR 1990 (improve macro-economic control), the party report 1987 (plan and market as instruments for regulating economy, the approach to distinguish between socialism and capitalism) and Deng's speech (liberalize the mind) as well as the combination of 'planned economy' and 'market regulation'. The combination of different genres and order of discourse presented the intense political struggle: the conservatives controlled the political power but Deng tried to influent the next generation leadership by using his relationship with the military.

At the end, the next generation leaders turned to support the innovationists and the political struggle drew to a close. In discursive dimension, there was an intertextual relationship among the GWR 1992, 1993, the 1992 party report, and 1993 party decision: they all contained the order of discourse provided by Deng's talks. The last version of discourse combined the 1987 party report and Deng's word and became the official discourse – the 'socialist market economy' system. The market became a fundamental role in resource allocation but the planned economy was replaced by the socialist national macro-control. As for ownership, the private economy was allowed but the public ownership should be the main form of the state's economy.

In order to end the disputation of ideology, the discourse of SME instrumentalized the economic system. The instrumentalization strategy viewed both plan and market as instruments for economic development. In this case, the discourse can avoid the disputation of whether market economy violates the socialist ideology. The strategy of instrumentalization keeps away from the ideological debate. However, this strategy has devalued the market because it views the market as an instrument. This implies that there is always a visible hand always control over the market. The hand is the macro-control, which is an evolution of the planned economy. Thus, 'socialist market' cannot be understood as the free market in economics textbook and the term 'socialist market economy' cannot be shortened as 'market economy'.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Reform Shaped by Political Struggle

The study focuses on the discourse of economic system in China's reform from 1978 to 1993. In the reform, China's economic system was transformed from the planned economy to the Socialist Market Economy system. In post Mao era, there were multiple groups within the CCP which held different development policies. Among them, the innovationists and the conservatives reached consensus to focus on economic development instead of class struggle in order to deal with the poverty. From the discourse in the GWRs, class struggle was the main topic before the downfall of the 'Whateverism' in 1980. After 1980, the class struggle was given up and the economic development became the dominant topic. However, the innovationists endeavoured to introduce market economy to replace the planned economy which was maintained by the conservatives. How to reform China's economic system became a significant issue of the political struggle. By applying discourse analysis, the study unmasks the political struggle within the discourse of economic system. The political struggle sustained in the whole period of the reform and its influence lasted until today. Throughout the reform, the discourse was constrained from both sides. Each significant term in the discourse, such as 'the law of value', 'planned commodity economy', SME and so on, was constituted by both sides' ideas literally or euphemistically. Although the innovationists weakened the control of the state plan, the state's control – the essence of planned economy remained the hegemonic power, which affected the whole process. After the establishment of the SME system, the state still controlled over market. There exists an indirect instrument to economic activities: the macro-control, which was evolved from the planned economy. Thus, 'socialist market economy' cannot be shortened as 'market economy' because the word 'socialist' indicates a privilege position of the state's control.

Due to the political struggle, the discursive shift demonstrates that the economic system reform in China was not linear but had complicated trajectory. Initially, from 1978 to 1979, the innovationists had not controlled the power so the reform aimed to improve the planned economy. Meanwhile, in order to limit the planned economy, the reform introduced 'the law of value', which was a principle of market economy. From 1980 to 1987, in spite of constraints from the conservatives, the innovationists were in power and promoted marketization reform. In the period, the market became the state plan's auxiliary in the economic system and regulated part of the economic activities, for instance, the small business. With its increasing significance in society, the market became as important as the plan to the whole society, which was admitted by the discourse in 1987. However, the turbulent social change, such as the inflation, student movement, and the fall of communism, resulted in the power transition from the innovationists to the conservatives. The reform was stagnated and the conservatives tried to roll back the discourse to the combination of the planned economy and market, the discourse before 1987. Dramatically, Deng's Southern Tour Speech restarted the economic system reform in 1992. Finally, the socialist market economy system became the official economic system which accelerated the economic growth. Deng's restarting the reform affected China and thousands of people's life profoundly, including Nian. "Without Deng's policy, there is no my today, neither today's 'Shagua Guazi'", said Nian in an interview (Ji 2018). To commemorate this zigzag trajectory of marketization reform, his story and Deng's words about him are collected by a museum in his hometown.

This study can provide a different perspective on China's reform and allows us to deeper understand today's China and the international relation. The discourse analysis demonstrated the complexity and contingency in reforming China's economic system. First, the reform

existed in a unique period when nobody could be a strongman like Mao and take his place to dominate the policy-making (Yang 2004). The fragment of the power at the top (Naughton 2008) and “the existence of multiple veto players (Zhang 2013)” are the characteristics in the process of the reform. After 1993, the two competing groups within the CCP transferred to a leading group at the top of the party which maintains until today. Although the party declares that the reform is still processing (Xi 2012), the economic system remains the SME system for decades. Secondly, the policy-making in the reform was part of the political struggle rather than decision-making for economic development. There was no clear goal for the reform, for example, to realize market economy or to correct wrongs in the planned economy. Each version of economic system was not a necessary procedure which was elaborately designed for the realization of reform goal. Instead, they were the outcomes of the political struggle in the social changes, such as poverty and low agricultural production, economic growth, inflation, student movements, fall of communism and so on. Finally, nowadays, the market in China still cannot get rid of the state’s powerful control which derives from the reform. The macro-control as an important discourse in China’s economic policy took place of the planned economy as state’s intervention in the market. In this case, the U.S., Japan and European Union rejected to admit China’s market economy status even after 15-year WTO (World Trade Organization) membership in 2016 (British Broadcasting Corporation News 2016). Also, the economic system becomes one of the main concerns in China-US trade-war. By initiating trade-war, the US tried to force China to promote structural reform in the economic system.

In addition, the study shows that the discourse analysis can contribute to analyse China’s reform and policies. Although CDA and CA are developed in English world, they can be used to analyse Chinese. Corpus analysis not only identified the tendency of the marketization but also visualized an erratic transition from the planned economy to the SME system. Critical discourse analysis allows us to deconstruct Chinese political discourse in which an obscure political struggle existed. By using the concepts such as the order of discourse, intertextuality, interdiscursivity, CDA successfully presented how the reform was shaped by the political struggle in a long period. CA and CDA have potential provide a different perspective and a new choice for analysing China’s policies.

Notes

¹ The original data are in RMB currency. The exchange rate is the official central parity rate of the same year.

² innovationist and conservationists: in China’s economic reform, the main choices are promoted marketization reform or insist planned economy. In this paper, I adopt Yang’s terminology, which named those who promoted marketization reform as innovationist, and those insisted planned economy as conservatives. (Yang 2004: 16).

³ Shagua (傻瓜) means fool and Guazi (瓜子) is sunflower seeds, a Chinese snack

⁴ The author finds this by using corpus analysis.

⁵ Hu Jintao was the top leader of the state after Jiang Zemin.

⁶ Before 1982, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP was named the Chairman of the Central Committee.

⁷ The exchange rate is the official central parity rate of the same year. The others follow the same principle.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Selected Data of Discourse Strands for Detailed Analysis

	Genre	Name	Time	Meeting	Reporter	Data
1	GWR	'Government Work Report 1978 - Unite and Strive to Build A Strong Modern Socialist Country' 《1978年政府工作报告——团结起来,为建设社会主义的现代化强国而奋斗》	1978.02.26	The 1 st session of the 5 th National People's Congress	Hua Guofeng	Part 3 point 5, 6
2	Party Communique	'Commuque of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China' 《中国共产党第十一届中央委员会第三次全体会议公报》	1978.12	The 3 rd Plenary Meeting of the 11 th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China	The Central Committee of the CCP	Part 2
3	GWR	'Government Work Report 1979' 《1979年政府工作报告》	1979.06.18	The 2 nd session of the 5 th National People's Congress	Hua Guofeng	Part 2 paragraph 4
4	GWR	'Government Work Report 1980 - Report on the Arrangements for the National Economic Plan for 1980 and 1981' 《1980年政府工作报告——关于1980、1981年国民经济计划安排的报告》	1980.08.30	The 3 rd session of the 5 th National People's Congress	Yao Yilin	Part 3 point 4 paragraph 1-3
5	GWR	'Government Work Report 1981 - The Current Economic Situation and the Policy for Future Economic Construction' 《1981年政府工作报告——当前的经济形势和今后经济建设的方针》	1981.11.30-12.01	The 4 th session of the 5 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Part 2 point 8
6	Party Report	'We Will Open up New Prospects for Socialist Modernization in All Respects' 《全面开创社会主义现代化建设的新局面》	1982.09	The 12 th National Congress of the CCP	Hu Yaobang	Part 2 from paragraph 17-20.
7	GWR	'Government Work Report 1982 - Report on the Sixth Five-year Plan' 《1982年政府工作报告——关于第六个五年计划的报告》	1982.11.30	The 5 th session of the 5 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Point 4 in 'Major measures for the full implementation of the plan'
8	GWR	'Government Work Report 1983' 《1983年政府工作报告》	1983.06.06	The 1 st session of the 6 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Part 2 point 2
9	GWR	'Government Work Report 1984' 《1984年政府工作报告》	1984.05	The 2 nd session of the 6 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Part 1 point 3
10	Party Decision	'Decision of the Central Committee of CPC on Economic Reform' 《中共中央关于经济体制改革的决定》	1984.10.12	The 3 rd Plenary Meeting of the 12 th Central Committee of the CCP	Zhao Ziyang	Part 4
11	GWR	'Government Work Report 1985 - The Current Economic Situation and Economic Reform' 《1985年政府工作报告——当前的经济形势和经济体制改革》	1985.03	The 3 rd session of the 6 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Part 2 paragraph 1-3
12	GWR	'Government Work Report 1986 - Report on the Seventh Five-year Plan' 《1986年政府工作报告——关于第七个五年计划的报告》	1986.03	The 4 th session of the 6 th National People's Congress	Zhao Ziyang	Part 3
13	GWR	'Government Work Report 1987'	1987.03	The 5 st session of the 6 th National	Zhao Ziyang	Part 3 paragraph 1

	Genre	Name	Time	Meeting	Reporter	Data
		《1987 年政府工作报告》		People's Congress		
14	Party Report	'We Will Advance along the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' 《沿着有中国特色的社会主义道路前进》	1987.10.25	The 13 th National Congress of the CCP	Zhao Ziyang	Part 4
15	GWR	'Government Work Report 1988' 《1988 年政府工作报告》	1988.03	The 1 st session of the 7 th National People's Congress	Li Peng	Part 2 point 3
16	GWR	'Government Work Report 1989 - We Will Resolutely Implement the Policy of Improving Governance and Deepening Reform' 《1989 年政府工作报告——坚决贯彻治理整顿和深化改革的方针》	1989.03	The 1 st session of the 7 th National People's Congress	Li Peng	Point 6
17	GWR	'Government Work Report 1990 - Strive for the Further Stable Development of China's Political Economy and Society' 《1990 年政府工作报告——为我国政治经济和社会的进一步稳定发展而奋斗》	1990.03	The 3 rd session of the 7 th National People's Congress	Li Peng	Part 2 point 6
18	Leader's Talk	'Conversation During the Visit to Shanghai' 《视察上海时的谈话》	1991.01-02	Selected works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3)	Deng Xiaoping	Full text
19	Newspaper	'Leading the Reform and Opening up' 《做改革开放的“领头羊”》	1991.02.15	Newspaper: <i>Jiefang Daily</i>	Author: Huangfu Ping	Full text
20	Newspaper	'Open and Reform Need New Ideas' 《改革开放要有新思路》	1991.03.02	Newspaper: <i>Jiefang Daily</i>	Author: Huangfu Ping	Full text
21	GWR	'Government Work Report 1991 - Report on the Implementation of the 1990 Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Draft Plan for 1991' 《1991 年政府工作报告——关于 1990 年国民经济和社会发展计划执行情况与 1991 年计划草案的报告》	1991.03	The 4 th session of the 7 th National People's Congress	Zhou Jiahua	Part 3 point 4
22	Leader's Talk	'Talking points in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shanghai, etc.' 《在武昌、深圳、珠海、上海等地的谈话要点》	1992.01-02	Selected works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3)	Deng Xiaoping	Full text
23	GWR	'Government Work Report 1992' 《1992 年政府工作报告》	1992.03	The 5 th session of the 7 th National People's Congress	Li Peng	Point 3 paragraph 1, 3
24	Party Report	'We Will Accelerate Reform, Open-up and Modernization and Seize the Greater Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' 《加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利》	1992.10.12	The 14 th National Congress of the CCP	Jiang Zemin	Part 2 paragraph 5-9
25	GWR	'Government Work Report 1993' 《1993 年政府工作报告》	1993.03	The 1 st session of the 8 th National People's Congress	Li Peng	Point 3
26	Party Report	'Decision of the central committee of the communist party of China on several issues concerning the establishment of a socialist market economy' 《中共中央关于建立社会主义市场经济体制若干问题的决定》	1993.11.14	The 3 rd Plenary Meeting of 14 th Central Committee of the CCP	The Central Committee of the CCP	Part 1 paragraph 1-4

Source: elaborated by the author.

Appendix 2
 Keywords (Nouns) in GWR from 1978 to 1993

Year	Keywords in GWR
1978	我们/we, 人民/people, 发展/development, 四人帮/Gang of Four, 我国/our country, 他们/they, 毛主席/Chairman Mao, 社会主义/socialism, 斗争/struggle, 革命/revolution
1979	我们/we, 人民/people, 发展/development, 社会主义/socialism, 工作/tasks, 国家/country, 我国/our country, 全国/Nation, 政府/government, 民主/democracy
1980	工业/industry, 增加/increase, 增长/increase, 计划/plan, 经济/economy, 发展/development, 生产/produce, 企业/enterprise,
1981	经济/economy, 发展/development, 我们/we, 我国/our country, 生产/produce, 建设/Construction, 企业/enterprise, 技术/technology, 工作/tasks, 人民/people
1982	企业/enterprise, 建设/Construction, 发展/development, 经济/economy, 生产/produce, 计划/plan, 技术/technology, 工作/tasks, 国家/country
1983	建设/Construction, 我们/we, 发展/development, 经济/economy, 国家/country, 人民/people, 改革/reform, 工作/tasks, 企业/enterprise, 我国/our country,
1984	我们/we, 国家/country, 发展/development, 关系/relationship, 经济/economy, 企业/enterprise, 我国/our country, 建设/Construction, 世界/world, 人民/people
1985	改革/reform, 发展/development, 经济/economy, 增长/increase, 我们/we, 工资/wage, 我国/our country, 生产/produce, 人民/people, 企业/enterprise, 国家/country
1986	经济/economy, 发展/development, 改革/reform, 建设/Construction, 我们/we, 我国/our country, 增长/increase, 企业/enterprise, 技术/technology, 投资/investment
1987	发展/development, 改革/reform, 企业/enterprise, 建设/Construction, 经济/economy, 我们/we, 社会主义/socialism, 国家/country, 我国/our country
1988	发展/development, 改革/reform, 建设/Construction, 经济/economy, 我们/we, 工作/tasks, 国家/country, 企业/enterprise, 我国/our country, 人民/people,
1989	发展/development, 经济/economy, 建设/Construction, 改革/reform, 社会/society, 国家/country, 我们/we, 工作/tasks, 我国/our country, 教育/education
1990	发展/development, 国家/country, 我们/we, 经济/economy, 建设/Construction, 企业/enterprise, 稳定/stable, 工作/tasks, 政府/government, 社会主义/socialism
1991	发展/development, 增长/increase, 经济/economy, 计划/plan, 产品/product, 投资/investment, 结构/structure, 企业/enterprise, 生产/produce
1992	发展/development, 经济/economy, 建设/Construction, 改革/reform, 我国/our country, 国家/country, 工作/tasks, 我们/we, 中国/China, 社会/society
1993	发展/development, 建设/Construction, 经济/economy, 改革/reform, 国家/country, 政府/government, 社会/society, 我国/our country, 我们/we, 市场/market

Source: elaborated by the author based on the AntConc results.

Appendix 3
 The Word Frequency of 'Plan' and 'Market'

Year	Total	Plan	Market	The Percentage of Market	Market/Plan
1978	14958	25	2	0.01%	8%
1979	13993	21	6	0.04%	29%
1980	5909	49	12	0.20%	24%
1981	16222	37	29	0.18%	78%
1982	14873	81	15	0.10%	19%
1983	11441	23	11	0.10%	48%
1984	9295	11	12	0.13%	109%
1985	7099	8	14	0.20%	175%
1986	13464	46	18	0.13%	39%
1987	10833	15	22	0.20%	147%
1988	14261	13	32	0.22%	246%
1989	12167	23	30	0.25%	130%
1990	12742	32	44	0.35%	138%
1991	5987	40	28	0.47%	70%
1992	7572	16	32	0.42%	200%
1993	9027	9	39	0.43%	433%

Source: elaborated by the author according to the AntConc results.

Appendix 4
 The Collocation of 'Market (市场)'

Year	Category
1978	Market as Economic Activities (1); Market Administration (1)
1979	Region + Market (3); Market as Economic Activities (2); Market as General Concept (1)
1980	Market as General Concept (4); Market Regulation (2); Region + Market (2); Market as Economic Activities (2); Industry + Market (1); Market + Price (1)
1981	Region + Market (11); Market as General Concept (8); Market + Price (5); Market Regulation (3); Market Administration (1); Market as Economic Activities (1)
1982	Market + Price (6); Market as General Concept (3); Market Regulation (2); Region + Market (2); Market as Economic Activities (2)
1983	Market Administration (2); Market Regulation (2); Market as General Concept (2); Region + Market (2); Market as Economic Activities (2); Industry + Market (1)
1984	Market as General Concept (4); Region + Market (3); Market Regulation (2); Industry + Market (2); Market Administration (1)
1985	Market as Economic Activities (6); Market as General Concept (4); Market Regulation (2); Market + Price (1); Industry + Market (1)
1986	Region + Market (7); Industry + Market (4); Market as General Concept (3); Market Regulation (2); Market + Price (1); Market as Economic Activities (1)
1987	Industry + Market (8); Market as General Concept (7); Region + Market (6); Market as Economic Activities (1)
1988	Industry + Market (12); Region + Market (8); Market Administration (3); Market Regulation (3); Market as General Concept (2); Market as Economic Activities (2); Market as Economic Mechanism (1); Market + Price (1)
1989	Market Administration (7); Market as Economic Activities (6); Region + Market (6); Market as General Concept (6); Industry + Market (5)
1990	Market as Economic Activities (12); Market Regulation (11); Region + Market (7); Market as General Concept (4); Market Administration (4); Industry + Market (3); Market + Price (2); Market as Economic Mechanism (1)
1991	Market as General Concept (8); Market Regulation (4); Region + Market (4); Market as Economic Activities (4); Industry + Market (4); Market Administration (2); Market + Price (1); Market as Economic Mechanism (1)
1992	Industry + Market (11); Region + Market (6); Market as General Concept (5); Market Administration (3); Market Regulation (3); Market as Economic Activities (3); Market as Economic Mechanism (1)
1993	Market Economy System (11); Industry + Market (10); Market Administration (4); Market as General Concept (4); Region + Market (3); Market + Price (3); Market as Economic Mechanism (2); Market Regulation (2)

Source: elaborated by the author according to the AntConc results.

References

Baker, P. (2006) *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.

British Broadcasting Corporation News (2016) ‘Focus: Obstacles to China’s Market Economy Status After 15 Years of WTO Membership’ (2016) Assessed 20 May 2019 <<https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/chinese-news-38280932>>.

Cai, B. (2008) ‘Official Discourse of a “Well-off Society”: Constructing an Economic State and Political Legitimacy’ in Wu, D. (ed.) *Discourses of Cultural China in the Globalising Age*. Pp. 13-26. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Cao, Q., H., Tian and P., Chilton (eds) (2014) *Discourse, Politics and Media in Contemporary China*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cao, Q. (2014) ‘Introduction: Legitimisation, resistance and discursive struggles in contemporary China’ in Cao, Q., H., Tian and P., Chilton (eds) *Discourse, Politics and Media in Contemporary China*, pp.1-24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chilton, Paul, Hailong Tian, and Ruth Wodak (eds). (2012) *Discourse and Sociopolitical Transformations in Contemporary China*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Deng X. (1995a) *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan (Selected works of Deng Xiaoping) (Volume 2)*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House.

Deng X. (1995b) *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan (Selected works of Deng Xiaoping) (Volume 3)*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House.

Du, B. (2012) ’92 Pai: Ershi Nian Gaige Suoying (92 Group: the Epitome of Twenty Years of Reform)’, Accessed 30 July <<http://app.fortunechina.com/mobile/article/109202.htm>>.

Fairclough N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough N. (2010) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language (Second Edition)*. Edinburgh Gate: Pearson Education Limited.

Fairclough N. and Wodak, R. (1997) ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, in T. A. van Dijk (ed). *Discourse as Social Interaction (Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Vol. 2.)*, pp. 258-284. London: Sage.

Feng, J. and Wu, D. (2007) ‘5 Cultural Value Change in Mainland China’s Commercial Discourse’ in Shi, X. (ed.) *Discourse as Cultural Struggle*. Pp.73-90. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Fewsmith, B. (1994) *Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Economic Debate Political Conflict and Economic Debate*. New York: Routledge.

Gao, S. (2014) 'Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Jingji Tizhi Gaige De Jueding (Before and After "Decision of the Central Committee of CPC on Economic Reform")'. Accessed 8 August 2019 <<http://www.yhcqw.com/36/9624.html>>.

Gong, W. (2001) 'Rang Lishi Mingji Zhe Shiwu Nian – Zhongguo Rushi Tanpan Beiwanglu (Let History Remember These 15 years - Memorandum of Negotiation on China's Accession to the WTO)'. Assessed 20 May 2019 <<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/jinji/222/6755/6757/20011111/602478.html>>.

Hu, Y. (1982) 'Quanmian Kaichuang Shehuizhuyi Xiandaihua Jianshe De Xin Jumian (We Will Open up New Prospects for Socialist Modernization in All Respects)'. ACT: The National Congress of CCP.

Hua, G. (1978) '1978 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Tuanjie Qilai, Wei Jianshe Shehuizhuyi Xiandaihua Qiangguo Er Fengdou (Government Work Report 1978 - Unite and Strive to Build A Strong Modern Socialist Country)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Hua, G. (1979) '1979 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1979)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Huangfu, P. (1991a) 'Zuo Gaige Kaifang De Lingtouyang (Leading the Reform and Opening up)', *Jiefang Daily*, 15 February.

Huangfu, P. (1991b) 'Gaige Kaifang Yao You Xin Silu (Reform and Opening-up Needs New Ideas)', *Jiefang Daily*, 2 March.

Jäger, S. and F., Maier (2009) 'Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis' in Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (ed.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies (2nd edition)*. pp.35-61. London: Sage Publication.

Ji, Y. (2018) 'You Jian Chuanqi Nian Guangjiu (Visit the Legendary Nian Guangjiu Again)'. Assessed 20 May 2019 <<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2018/1110/c1001-30392653.html>>.

Jiang, Z. (1992) 'Jiakuai Gaige Kaifang He Xiandaihua Bufa Duoqu You Zhongguo Tese Shehuizhuyi Shiye De Gengda Shengli (We Will Accelerate Reform, Open-up and Modernization and Seize the Greater Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics)'. ACT: The National Congress of CCP.

Kuo, S. and D. Wu. (2009) "Media Discourse in Greater China". *A Special Issue of Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 19 (2): 173–335.

Kutter, A. (2018) '11 Corpus Analysis' in Wodak, R. and B. Forchtner (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics*, pp. 169-186. New York: Routledge.

Li, P. (1988) '1988 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1988)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Li, P. (1989) '1989 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Jianjue Guanche Zhili Zhengdun He Shenhua Gaige De Fangzhen (Government Work Report 1989 - We Will Resolutely Implement the Policy of Improving Governance and Deepening Reform)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Li, P. (1990) '1990 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Wei Woguo Zhengzhi Jingji He Shehui De Jinyibu Wengding Fazhan Er Fengdou (Government Work Report 1990 - Strive for the Further Stable Development of China's Political Economy and Society)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Li, P. (1992) '1992 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1992)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Li, P. (1993) '1993 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1993)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Li, P. (1994) '1994 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1994)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Lin, M. and M., Galikowski. (2009) *The Search for Modernity: Chinese Intellectuals and Cultural Discourse in the Post-Mao Era*. London and New York: Palgrave.

Mautner, G. (2009) '5 Checks and Balances: How Corpus Linguistics Can Contribute to CDA' in Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (Second Edition)*, pp. 122-143. London: Sage Publication.

National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (1979) 'Guanyu 1978 Nian Guomin Jingji Jihua Zhixing Jieguo De Gongbao (Communiqué on the Implementation of the 1978 National Economic Plan)'. Accessed 7 August 2019 <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/ndtjgb/qgndtjgb/200203/t20020331_29991.html>.

National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (1999) '1999 Nian Tongji Nianjian (China Statistical Yearbook 1999)'. Accessed 7 August 2019 <<http://www.stats.gov.cn/yearbook/indexC.htm>>.

National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (2018) 'Bolangzhuangkuo Sishi Zai Minzu Fuxing Zhan Xinjian – Gaige Kaifang 40 Nian Jingji Shehui Fazhan Chengjiu Xilie Baogao Zhiyi(Magnificent 40-year of National Rejuvenation Exhibition - A Series of Reports on Achievements in Economic and Social Development Over the Past 40 Years of "Reform and Opening-up")'. Accessed 7 August 2019 <http://www.stats.gov.cn/ztjc/ztfx/ggkf40n/201808/t20180827_1619235.html>.

Naughton, B. (2008). 'A political economy of China's economic transition in China's Great Economic Transformation'. In Brandt, L. and T. Rawski (ed.) *China's Great Economic Transformation*, pp.91-135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reisigl, M. (2017) 'The Discourse-Historical Approach' in Flowerdrew, J. and J. Richardson (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, pp. 44-59. London: Routledge.

Shi X. (2010) *Wenhua huayu yanjiu: tansuo zhongguo de lilun, fanfa yu wenti* (Cultural Discourse Studies: Exploring Chinese Theories, Methodologies and Issues). Beijing: Peking University Press.

Sun, L. (2002) 'A Sociology of Practice and the Process Analysis of Market Transition', *Social Sciences in China*. 5: 83-96.

Sun, Y. (1998) 'Ba Jihua He Tongji Fangzai Jiazhigui De Jichu Shang (Put Plan and Statistics on the Basis of "the Law of Value")' in Sun, Y. 'Sun Yefang Quanji Dierjuan (Collected Works of Sun Yefang (Volume 2))', pp. 2-13. Shanxi Economy Press.

The Central Committee of the CCP (1978) 'Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiyi Jie Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Disanci Quantu Huiyi Gongbao (Communiqué of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China)', ACT: The Central Committee of CCP.

The Central Committee of the CCP (1984) 'Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Jingji Tizhi Gaige De Jueding (Decision of the Central Committee of CCP on Economic Reform)' ACT: The Central Committee of CCP.

The Central Committee of the CCP (1993) 'Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Jianli Shehuizhuyi Shichangjingji Tizhi Ruogan Wenti De Jueding (Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Issues Concerning the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economy)' ACT: The Central Committee of CCP.

The World Bank Data 'Annual GDP Growth in China'. Accessed 15 October 2019 <<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ny.gdp.mktp.kd.zg?locations=cn>>.

Thomas, P. (2014) "Stability overwhelms everything" Analysing the legitimating effect of the stability discourse since 1989' in Cao, Q., H., Tian and P., Chilton (eds.) *Discourse, Politics and Media in Contemporary China*, pp.47-76. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tian H. (2009) *Yupian yuanjiu: fanchou, shijiao, fangfa* (Discourse Studies: Categories, Perspectives and Methodologies). Shanghai: Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu chubanshe.

Tian, H. and Q., Cao. (eds) (2012) *Dangdai Zhongguo Shenfeng Chongjian Zhong De Yuyan Yunyong* (Reinventing Identities: The Poetics of Language Use in Postreform China). Tianjin: Nankai daxue shubanshe.

Tischer, S., Meyer, M., R. Wodak, and E. Vetter (2000) *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage Publication.

Tong, J. (2014) 'Discourse of journalism and legitimacy in post-reform China' in Cao, Q., H., Tian and P., Chilton (eds.) *Discourse, Politics and Media in Contemporary China*, pp.123-144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Vogel, E. (2011) *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Wodak, R., De Cillia, R., M. Reisigl, and K. Liebhart (2009) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity (Second Edition)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (ed.) (2016) *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies (3rd edition)*. London: Sage Publication.

Wu, D., and S., Mao (2011) Media Discourses and Cultural Globalisation: A Chinese Perspective. *A Special Issue of Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*. 25 (1): 1–117.

Wu, D. (ed.) (2008) *Discourses of Cultural China in the Globalising Age*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Xi, J. (2012) ‘Gaige Kaifang Zhiyou Jinxingshi Meiyou Wanchengshi (The “Reform and Open-up” Is only in Progressive Tense but Never in Perfect Tense)’. Accessed 15 October 2019 <<http://cpc.people.com.cn/xuexi/n/2015/0720/c397563-27331294.html>>.

Yang, J. (1998) *Deng Xiaoping Shidai: Zhongguo Gaige Kaifang Ershi Nian Jishi (Deng Xiaoping Era – A Documentary of China's 20 Years of Reform and Opening-up)*. Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press

Yang, J. (2004) *Zhongguo Gaige Niandai De Zhengzhi Douzheng (The political struggle of the reform era in China)*. Hongkong: Cosmos Books.

Yao, Y. (1980) ‘1980 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Guanyu 1980, 1981 Nian Guomin Jingji Jihua Anpai De Baogao (Government Work Report 1980 - Report on the Arrangements for the National Economic Plan for 1980 and 1981)’, ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhang, J. (2013) ‘Marketization beyond Neo-liberalization: A Neo-Polanyian Perspective on China’s Transition to a Market Economy’, *Environment and Planning*. 45: 1605-1624.

Zhang, Q. (2010) ‘The Discursive Construction of the Social Stratification Order in Reforming China’, *Journal of Language and Politics*. 9(4):508–527.

Zhao, Z. (1981) ‘1981 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Dangqian De Jingji Xingshi He Jinhou Jingji Jianshe De Fangzhen (Government Work Report 1981 - The Current Economic Situation and the Policy for Future Economic Construction)’, ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1982) ‘1982 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Guanyu Diliuge Wunian Jihua De Baogao (Government Work Report 1982 - Report on the Sixth Five-year Plan)’, ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1983) ‘1983 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1983)’, ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1984) ‘1984 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1984)’, ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1985) '1985 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Dangqian De Jingji Xingshi He Jingji Tizhi Gaige (Government Work Report 1985 - The Current Economic Situation and Economic Reform)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1986) '1986 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Guanyu Diqige Wunian Jihua De Baogao (Government Work Report 1986 - Report on the Seventh Five-year Plan)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (1987a) 'Yanzhe Zhongguo Teshe Shehuizhuyi Daolu Qianjin (We Will Advance along the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics)'. ACT: The National Congress of CCP.

Zhao, Z. (1987b) '1987 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao (Government Work Report 1987)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.

Zhao, Z. (2010) *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Zheng, H. (2011) *Beijing aoyun huayu zhong Zhonghua minzhu shenfen de duo moshi huayu goujian (Multimodal Discursive Construction of Chinese National Identity in Beijing Olympic Discourse)*. Changchun: Jinlin daxue chubanshe.

Zhou, J. (1991) '1991 Nian Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao – Guanyu 1990 Nian Guomin Jingji He Shehui Fazhan Jihua Zhixing Qingkuang Yu 1991 Nian Jihua Caoan De Baogao (Government Work Report 1991 - Report on the Implementation of the 1990 Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Draft Plan for 1991)', ACT: The State Council, PRC.