

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	page ix
<i>Chronology</i>	xi
<i>Schematic overview of the Chinese political spectrum</i>	xvii
<i>List of abbreviations and tables</i>	xviii
Introduction	I
PART I LINE STRUGGLE REVISITED: THE ATTACK ON DENG'S REFORM PROGRAM	
1. Tiananmen and the conservative critique of reform	21
2. Deng moves to revive reform	48
PART II REDEFINING REFORM: THE SEARCH FOR A NEW WAY	
3. The emergence of neoconservatism	83
4. The enlightenment tradition under challenge	113
5. The emergence of neostatism and popular nationalism	140
PART III ELITE POLITICS AND POPULAR NATIONALISM	
6. Jiang Zemin's rise to power	165
7. Elite politics in an era of globalization and nationalism	197

PART IV A NEW ERA IN CHINESE POLITICS

8. Hu Jintao takes over: a turn to the left?	231
Conclusion	272
Epilogue: the Seventeenth Party Congress	278
<i>Bibliography</i>	285
<i>Index</i>	325

Index

- 1898 Reform Movement, 91, 101, 102
1911 Revolution, 60, 92, 101
- Academy of Chinese Culture, 8
- agriculture
 2006 policy, 268–9
 farming population, 17, 236
 peasants, 154–5, 232–3, 236, 273
 seizure of land, 244
- Allbright, Madeline, 217
- Asian values, 148–52
- Australia, 2
- Bao Zunxin, 8
- Barshefsky, Charlene, 217
- Bei Dao, 260
- 'Beijing Consensus', 259–60
- Beijing Spring, 201, 204–8
- Beijing University, 15, 207–8, 260
- Beijing Young Economists Association, 93
- Berger, Samuel, 217
- Bo Xicheng, 93
- Bo Xilai, 282
- Bo Yibo, 61, 69, 76, 93, 201, 279, 282
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 222
- Boxer Rebellion, 262
- Brazil, 143
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 191
- Buchanan, James, 89
- Bush, George H., 213
- Bush, George W., 2, 119, 149
- Cai Yuanpei, 134
- Cao Gangchuan, 250, 282
- Cao Jinqing, 233
- Cao Siyuan, 193
- Central Advisory Commission, 61, 65, 74, 76
- Central Military Commission, 63–4, 241, 250, 254–5, 277, 281
- Central Work Conference (1980), 38
- Chang Jung (Zhang Rong), 126
- Chen Daixi (Yi Ren), 40
- Chen Duxiu, 134, 187
- Chen Guidi, 233
- Chen Haosu, 93
- Chen Liangyu, 240, 271, 277, 279, 281
- Chen Xitong
 career, 25, 74
 corruption, 172–3, 271
 downfall, 208, 272
 hardliner, 24, 51
 ideological debate, 77
 Jiang and, 203
 Mayor of Beijing, 93, 172
 relations with Deng, 51, 77
 successors, 195
 on Tiananmen, 31
- Chen Yi, Marshal, 93
- Chen Yinke, 135
- Chen Yuan, 54, 93–5, 110, 112, 113, 140, 166
- Chen Yun
 career, 26, 54–5, 74
 conservative critique, 11, 22n1, 35–6, 38, 48–9, 59, 61, 63, 94
 death, 168, 198, 272
 ideological debate, 65, 69, 265
 power, 24, 165, 278
 relations with Jiang Zemin, 76
 state planning, 88
 Tiananmen and, 34
- Chen Zhili, 27
- Chen Ziming, 26
- Cheng Nien (Zheng Nian), 126
- Cheng Weigao, 50–1
- Chiang Kai-shek, 193
- China Can Say No*, 159–62, 166, 225
- China Democracy Party, 214
- Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 43, 77
- Chinese Communist Party
 3rd Plenum (2003), 243–4, 251–4, 258, 265, 275
 4th Plenum (1994), 168–71

- Chinese Communist Party (*cont.*)
 4th Plenum (2004), 255, 255–8
 5th Plenum (1996), 183–4
 5th Plenum (2005), 251, 268
 6th Plenum (1996), 188–9
 6th Plenum (2006), 271
 12th Congress (1982), 38
 13th Congress (1987), 23, 28n, 29, 31, 40, 64, 179, 200
 14th Congress (1992), 14, 64, 70, 71–7, 79, 135, 175, 177, 199, 267, 278
 15th Congress (1997), 137, 185, 198–203, 205, 210, 242, 279
 16th Congress (2002), 231, 238–45, 243, 251, 255, 271
 17th Congress (2007), 238, 269, 278–84
 39 Points, 38
 Beijing University and, 208
 constitution, 4, 282
 core, 22–3, 169, 196, 278
 governance, 256–7
 Guiding Rules on Inner Party Life, 4
 inner-party democracy, 171, 256, 257, 284
 legitimacy, 5, 111, 139
 May Fourth and, 134, 192
 PBSC 1992 members, 73
 PBSC 1997 members, 202
 PBSC 2002 members, 241
 PBSC 2007 members, 280
 PBSC retirement age, 279
 private entrepreneurs as members, 193, 273
 role, 1–2, 87
 Secretariat 1992, 73
 Secretariat 1997, 202
 Secretariat 2002, 241
 Secretariat 2007, 281
Seeking Truth, 226–7
 third generation, 168–71, 278
- Christianity, 120
 Christopher, Warren, 149, 191
 Chun Tao, 233
 Ci Xi, Empress, 102
 Clinton, Bill, 15, 148, 149, 191, 213, 214–15, 217–18
 Coase, Ronald, 89
 collective leadership, 4, 54
 colonialism, 103, 104, 125, 127, 128, 151–2, 226
 colour revolutions, 260
 Columbus, Christopher, 135
 commercialism, 114–15, 116
Communist Manifesto, 83
 Communist Youth League, 238, 278
 Confucian capitalism, 121, 149–50
 Confucianism, 13, 91, 101, 121, 127, 192, 193, 250
 consumerism, 114–15, 116
- corruption
 Chen Xitong, 172–3, 271
 Cheng Weigao, 50
 fight against, 171–4, 257, 258, 270
 growth, 121
 Jiang and, 271, 277
 political use, 277
 reform and, 167, 274
 scale, 16–17
 scandals, 271, 277, 279
 SOEs, 262–4
- cosmopolitanism, 7, 16, 91, 103, 107, 108, 109, 123, 136
- Cox, Christopher, 215
- critical legal studies, 130
- Cuba, 3
- Cui Zhiyuan, 129–31, 132, 133, 138, 140, 152, 166, 222
- cultural fever, 8, 11, 106–7, 108
- Cultural Revolution, 4, 7, 25, 45, 91, 122, 129–30, 153, 155–6, 159
- culture
 1980s debates, 91
 Chinese tradition, 136
 colonial culture, 128
 commercialization, 13, 116–17, 120
 consumerism, 114–15, 116
 cultural imperialism, 106, 151, 226–7
 cultural liberalism, rejection, 106–9
 cultural nationalism, 90, 150
 elite, 115, 120, 155
 harmony, 90
 Westernization, 105, 108–9, 138–9
- Dai Yuanchen, 92
- decentralization, 43–5, 86, 94, 96
- deconstructionism, 125
- democracy
 activists, 118–19, 166, 219
 Beijing Spring, 204
 democracy wall movement, 110
 democratic centralism, 196
 direct democracy, 138
 economic and cultural, 129, 130, 131, 138
 elite democracy, 11, 85
 globalization and, 129
 inner-party democracy, 171, 256, 257, 284
 Jiang and, 201
 liberal democracy, 124, 141
 neoauthoritarianism and, 85–7, 97, 98
 political debate, 185
 post-Tiananmen expectations, 7
 Russia, 114
 social democracy, 130
 socialist democracy, 256, 271, 283–4

- United States and, 149
Wang Xiaodong, 226
- Deng Lin, 254
- Deng Liqun
allies, 188
career, 77
foreign investment, 185
leftism, 23, 55, 61, 63, 65, 71, 88, 124, 175, 176
reform and, 72
- Deng Nan, 49, 142
- Deng Xiaoping
1980s reforms, 103, 171
allies, 172, 196
choice of new leadership, 24–5
collective leadership and, 4
critics, 35–6, 109, 154, 156
death, 193, 198, 272
devolution of power, 183
end of career, 63–4
Hu Jintao and, 239, 277, 278
ideology, III, 175, 177, 186, 193, 267, 283
illness, 168, 169
intellectuals and, 7, 114
June 4 incident, 205
legacy, 200, 267, 272
monetary policies, 114
neostatism and, 142
new authoritarianism, 71, 85
Party status, 23, 36, 171
post-Tiananmen period, 23–47
power, 165, 203
principles, 28–9
regional policy, 147
relations with Jiang Zemin, 76, 168, 174–5,
199–200, 206
revival of reform, 48–79, 88, 109, 114,
172
rule of law, 243
southern tour, 14, 17, 62–3, 65, 71, 72, 74,
109, 145, 153, 165, 168, 176, 178, 200, 206,
267
strategy, 35–7, 45, 165
succession, 3, 239, 254, 278, 282
Tiananmen and, 35, 241
- Deng Zhifang, 172
- developing countries, 151
- development
centrality, 239
East Asian model, 87, 95, 96
four small dragons, 63, 86, 121
social stability and, 237–8
- Ding Guan'gen, 30, 77, 174, 207, 220
- Ding, X. L., 8
- Ding Xueliang, 88
- diplomacy, 2, 209–10
- documentary politics, 60, 70
- Duan Ruofei, 55
- Eagleburger, Lawrence, 46
- East Asian development model, 87, 95, 96
- economic reform. *See* reform
- Economic Work Conference (1990), 44–5
- education, 237
- elitism, 100, 108, 109
- embassy bombing, 16, 167, 197, 217, 218–21,
224–7, 274
- enclosure movement, 178
- Engels, Friedrich, 182
- English Revolution, 92
- Enlightenment
1980s project, 123
challenge, 113–39
Chinese Enlightenment, 8–11
contemporary Chinese liberalism, 131–9
critique of May Fourth project, 124–31
May Fourth tradition, 8, 11, 121–3, 134
rejection, 88, 107–9
Western thought, 123, 124
- Enterprise Law, 51
- Fang Jue, 204
- Fang Li, 227
- Fang Lizhi, 35, 47, 214
- Fang Ning, 161, 225, 226
- Fang Sheng, 65
- Fang Weizhong, 77
- Fay, Michael, 150
- Feng Baoxing, 193–4
- Fernandes, George, 249
- feudal lord economy, 92
- feudalism, 97, 107, III, 122, 123
- five-year plans
seventh, 143, 145
eighth, 43–5, 53
ninth, 183
eleventh, 268–9
- foreign investment, 179–81
- Foucault, Michel, 125
- four small dragons, 63, 86, 121
- France, 96, 143
- French Revolution, 92
- Friedman, Milton, 95
- Fukuyama, Francis, 148, 149
- gambling, 262
- Gan Yang, 107, 222
- Gang of Four, 33, 76
- Gang Yang, 8
- Gao Di, 60, 66, 71, 76, 175
- Gao Shangquan, 266

- Ge Yang, 26
 Georgia, 258
 Germany, 104–5, 154
 globalization
 democracy and, 129
 effect on China, 124
 intellectual support, 135–6
 opposition, 9, 15–16
 political globalization, 259
 WTO and, 222–4
 Goldman, Merle, 11
 Gong Xiantian, 265–6
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 31, 52, 56, 61, 177, 191
 Great Leap Forward, 78, 122, 154, 155, 159
 Greenspan, Alan, 215
 Gromyko, Andrei, 206
 Gu Chujun, 262
 Gu Mu, 157
 Guerra, Alfonso, 35
 Gulf War (1991), 56–7, 161
 Guo Boxiong, 250–1
- Han Deqiang, 262, 263
 harmonious society, 253, 256, 269–71, 275, 282, 283
 harmony, 90
 Hayek, Friedrich von, 110
 He Dongchang, 77
 He Guoqiang, 281
 He Jingzhi, 175
 He Minxu, 270
 He Qinglian, 178, 182
 He Xin, 102, 103–6, 108, 113, 140, 152, 166
 health care reform, 273
 Holocaust, 127
 Hong Kong, 63, 86, 222–3
 Hong Xuezhi, 75, 76
 housing reform, 273
 Hu Angang, 140, 141–8, 152, 166, 197, 234
 Hu Jintao
 3rd Plenum (2003), 251–4
 4th Plenum (2004), 255–8
 17th Party Congress, 278–84
 advisers, 113
 agenda, 274–5, 278
 allies, 74, 242, 246
 Australian speech 2003, 2
 background, 238
 career, 74, 240
 education, 12
 harmonious society, 253, 256, 269–71, 275, 282, 283
 Jiang Zemin and, 252–5, 269–70
 military control, 270
 “people-centred” society, 252, 253, 255, 268, 270, 283
 populism, 276
 repression, 258–62, 275
 SARS, 245–8
 scientific development, 252, 253, 268, 279, 282, 283
 social justice, 267–9, 271, 275
 social stability concerns, 238
 socialist democracy, 256, 271, 283–4
 state capacity, 6, 255–6
 succession, 278, 281
 Three Represents, 243, 247, 248–51, 253, 270, 277, 283
 transfer of power to, 6, 16, 239–45, 277, 278
 Hu Jiwei, 71, 133, 205
 Hu Qiaomu, 88, 124, 168, 198
 Hu Qili, 24, 29, 30, 74, 84
 Hu Shi, 134, 135
 Hu Weixi, 159
 Hu Yaobang
 1980s reformist, 11, 26
 Deng succession and, 3, 239
 downfall, 24, 28, 35, 40, 76, 85, 171, 187
 Hu Jintao and, 74
 intellectual allies, 192
 new authoritarianism and, 84
 spiritual civilization, 189
 Hua Guofeng, 1, 3, 23, 200, 206, 239
 Huang Ju, 169–70, 240, 271, 281
 Huangfu Ping commentaries, 49, 55, 56, 58, 61
 human rights, 105, 149, 150, 160, 217
 Human Rights Commission, 160, 225
 humanism, 120, 127
 Hundred Flowers Movement, 155
 Hungary, 96
 Huntington, Samuel, 97, 99, 148–52
- identity issue, 13
 ideology
 control, 260–2
 decline, 105, 276–7
 definitions, 33
 importance, 5, 15, 261
 IMF, 149–50, 223
 imperial China, 3
 incrementalism, 89–92, 102, 111, 112
 India, 143, 226
 individualism, 124, 134
 Indonesia, 209
 inequality, 144–8, 179, 182, 243–4, 268–9
 institutional economics, 89
 institutional fetishism, 131

- intellectual property rights, 18,
222
- intellectuals
- 1990s shift, 15–16, 119–23, 165–8
 - control, 260–2
 - elite politics and, 165–8, 189
 - ideological debate, 71
 - impact, 113
 - internationalization of discourse, 117
 - loss of values, 120
 - marginalization, 115–17
 - national studies, 120–1
 - neoconservatism, 83–112
 - post-Tiananmen concerns, 2, 6–11
 - pre-Tiananmen, 22
 - professionalism, 12, 13
 - public intellectuals, 261, 275
 - state and, 2, 11–16
 - Tiananmen shock, 9, 14, 21, 118–19
 - traditional role, 13
 - United States and, 119
- international relations, 2, 209–10
- internationalism, 117
- Internet
- control, 261–2
 - embassy bombing and, 224
 - emergence, 10
 - foreign firms, 218
 - internationalization of discourse, 117
 - Larry Lang affair, 264
 - political criticism, 260
 - property rights debate, 266
 - SARS crisis, 247–8
- Iraq, 226
- Ishihara, Shintaro, 148, 150
- Jameson, Fredric, 125
- Japan
- alliance with, 104
 - Asian values, 148
 - East Asian crisis and, 222–3
 - economic growth, 121
 - global ambitions, 104
 - Sino-Japanese War, 23, 88, 219
- Ji Fangping, 261
- Ji Xianlin, 121–2
- Jia Pingwa, 116
- Jia Quinglin, 195, 240, 279
- Jiang Chunyun, 170, 196
- Jiang Hong, 110
- Jiang Mianhong, 271
- Jiang Qing, 156
- Jiang Shangqing, 25, 75
- Jiang Yanyong, 245, 246
- Jiang Yihua, 151–2
- Jiang Zemin
- 9th NPC, 208–13
 - 16th Party Congress, 238–45
 - advisers, 113, 207
 - allies, 27, 76, 168, 174, 190, 207, 213, 238, 240,
246, 255, 269–70, 279, 281
 - Beijing Spring, 204–8
 - career, 24–6, 74–6
 - Chen Zitong and, 203, 271
 - CMC, retirement from, 254–5, 277
 - consolidation of power, 198–203, 239
 - corruption and, 271, 277
 - critics, 68–9, 193–6
 - education, 12, 25
 - embassy bombing, impact, 224
 - era, 1–2, 5–6
 - general secretary, 23–7, 30, 39, 64
 - ideological debate, 70, 77, 78, 185
 - international relations, 46
 - legacy, 252–3, 272–3
 - military support, 75–6
 - neoconservatism, 276
 - origins, 238
 - reform and, 33, 48, 57, 60, 63, 66, 70, 188,
189–95
 - regional policy, 146–7
 - retirement, 272, 279
 - rise to power, 165–96, 278
 - SARS crisis, 247–8, 249
 - Selected Works*, 270, 271
 - succession, 6, 239–45, 277, 278
 - Three Represents, 5, 243, 248–51, 253, 270,
277, 282
 - WTO membership, 211–21
- Jiao Guobiao, 260
- Jin Guantao, 8
- Jing Wang, 107
- Kang Youwei, 91, 101, 102, 135
- Keynes, John Maynard, 95
- Klein, Joe, 154
- Kosovo, 216–17
- Kyrgyzstan, 258
- Lake, Anthony, 148–9, 191
- land sales, 178
- Lang Xiangping (Larry Lang), 262–7, 274
- law
- growth, 5
 - rule of law, 137, 205, 242–3, 271, 274
 - Western concept, 124
- Lee Hsien Loong, 146
- Lee Kuan Yew, 108, 146, 150
- Lee, T. D., 37
- Lee Teng-hui, 160, 184, 211

- Lei Yi, 138–9, 205
 Leng Rong, 68
 Leninism, 3, 6
 Li Baojin, 270
 Li Changchun, 247, 248, 279
 Li Changping, 233
 Li Chengrui, 42
 Li Datong, 262
 Li Jinai, 250
 Li Keqiang, 242, 281
 Li Lanqing, 213, 214
 Li Peilin, 234, 237–8, 252
 Li Peng
 5th Plenum, 183–4
 16th Party Congress, 240–1
 conservative reaction, 23–4, 30, 44, 45, 52, 53, 61
 eclipse, 168, 170, 202–3, 208, 212, 221
 ideological debate, 67, 78, 200
 Korean trip (1994), 169
 opposition to WTO, 213–14, 218
 retirement, 272
 State Council, 180
 state planning, 40–1, 42, 53
 succession, 75
 Tianjin Party Secretary, 25
 Zhao downfall and, 29–32, 33
 Li Qeqiang, 281
 Li Qiyan, 172
 Li Rui, 133, 262
 Li Ruihuan, 24, 27, 30, 37, 50, 52, 54, 60, 61, 279
 Li Shenzhi, 133–7, 139
 Li Xiannian, 24, 33, 49, 69, 75, 76, 168, 198, 213, 272, 278
 Li Xiaoming, 116
 Li Ximing, 74, 76, 173, 175, 272
 Li Yuanchao, 242, 281
 Li Zehou, 92, 107, 122–3, 187
 Li Zemin, 54
 Li Zhonghua, 8
 Liang Congje, 260
 Liang Guangjie, 250
 Liang Qichao, 91, 101
 Liao Xilong, 250
 liberalism
 14th Party Congress, 72–7
 contemporary Chinese liberalism, 131–9
 cultural liberalism, rejection, 106–9
 Hu Jintao repression, 258–62
 intellectuals and, 8–11
 liberal democracy, 124, 141
 liberal economics, 114, 131, 259, 263–7
 May Fourth tradition, 123
 new authoritarianism and, 85–7
 New Left and, 125
 Study Group on Neoliberalism, 259
 World Economic Herald, 26–7, 31, 190
 WTO and, 221–2, 223–4
 Lin Biao, 3, 52, 156, 239
 Lin Ruo, 50
 Ling Jihua, 281
 Ling Zhijun, 206
 literature crisis, 120
 Liu Binyan, 35
 Liu Guoguang, 43, 264–5
 Liu Huaqing, 74, 76, 110
 Liu Huaqiu, 191
 Liu Ji, 27, 174, 190, 192, 200, 206, 207
 Liu Junning, 205, 223–4
 Liu Qi, 240
 Liu Shaoqi, 3, 31, 239
 Liu Xiabao, 261
 Liu Xiaofeng, 8, 120
 Liu Yandong, 282
 Liu Yunshan, 261
 Liu Zaifu, 92, 187
 Liu Zhengwei, 172
 Liu Zhifeng, 156
 Liu Zhihua, 270
 Lou Jiwei, 147
 Lu Jianhua, 235
 Lu Xueyi, 234–5, 236–7, 252
 Lu Xun, 134
 Lung Ying-tai, 262
 Luo Gan, 210, 240–1

 Ma Hong, 42, 93
 Ma Licheng, 205, 206
 Ma Xiaowei, 245
 Mahathir, Mohamad, 150
 Malaysia, 223
 management buy-outs, 262–4, 274
 Mao Yushi, 260
 Mao Zedong
 Deng and, 68
 historiography, 133, 153, 154–6
 Hunan province, 232
 ideology, 122, 187, 277
 intellectuals and, 7–8, 129–30
 legacy, 76, 129–30, 139, 189, 199
 Marxism, 111, 128
 metaphors, 52, 62, 220, 243
 populism, 159
 power, 4, 23, 54, 183, 200, 240
 succession, 3, 239, 278
 “Ten Great Relationships,” 189
 marketization of politics, 182
 martial law, 29–30, 47
 Marx, Karl, 182

- Marxism, 8, 14, 34, 39, 77, III, II5, 128, 130, 182, 185, 186, 189, 199, 226, 261, 264, 273
- Marxism-Leninism, 5, 109, 132, 139, 148, 156, 175, 182, 192, 200, 275
- Marxism-Leninism Academy, 68
- Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, 28, 31, 58, 68, 77, 189, 283
- mass disturbances, 231–2
- May Fourth Movement
- critique, 106–7, 124–31, 139
 - intellectual mission, 115
 - nationalism, 158
 - radicalism, 91
 - rejection of Confucianism, 192
 - tradition, 8, 11, 121–3, 134
- Mencius, 132, 252
- Meng Xuenong, 245–6
- middle class, 235–6, 251
- Migdal, Joel, 141
- military
- CMC, 63–4, 241, 250, 254–5, 277, 281
 - Hu Jintao control, 270
 - ideological debate, 67
 - New Fourth Army, 75–6
 - PLA, 67, 250, 282
 - support for Deng, 69, 71, 75
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 216
- modernity, 122, 123, 124, 128, 139, 140, 272
- monetary policies, 114
- Mulvenon, James, 255
- National People's Congress
- 9th Congress, 208–13
 - 1993 meeting, 75
 - 2003 meeting, 240
 - 2006 meeting, 275, 282
 - Li Peng report (1989), 32
 - political debate, 67, 68, 195–6
 - role, 5, 201
- nationalism
- anti-Americanism, 104–6, 141
 - Asian values, 148–52
 - China Can Say No*, 159–62
 - cultural nationalism, 90, 121
 - embassy bombing, 224–7
 - Enlightenment and, 123
 - globalization and, 15
 - intellectuals, 113–14
 - national studies, 120–1
 - new nationalism, 135–6
 - popular nationalism, 108, 109, 152–7, 159, 167
 - response to Huntington, 148–52
 - rise, 10, 15
 - River Elegy*, 107–8
 - state-centred, 103–6
 - Strategy and Management*, 157–9, 225, 234, 260, 272
 - WTO entry and, 18, 212–21
- NATO, 105, 119, 216–17, 226
- Naughton, Barry, 42
- neoclassical economics, 89–90, 106, 124, 130, 141
- neoconservatism
- emergence, 83–112
 - incrementalism, 89–92, III, 112
 - Jiang Zemin, 273
 - local–central relations, 92–5, 148
 - meaning, 88–9
 - nature of movement, 113
 - new authoritarianism and, 95–103
 - political results, 273–7
 - “Realistic Responses,” 109–14, 158
 - rejection of cultural liberalism, 106–9
 - state-centred nationalism, 103–6
- neoliberalism, 9, 259, 263–7
- neostatism, 140–8
- new authoritarianism, 71, 83–7, 95–103
- “new cat thesis,” 49
- New Confucianism, 127
- New Culture Movement, 8, 107
- New Enlightenment, 8, 9
- New Left, 13, 16, 124–32, 134–5, 137–9, 140, 141, 147, 151, 158, 166, 167, 177, 195, 213, 221–4, 274
- New Life Movement, 193
- Nixon, Richard, 46
- North, Douglass, 89
- North Korea, 3, 27, 217, 260
- nouveaux riches*, 17, 22, 181–2
- Nye, Joseph, 151
- observer articles, 220
- Occidentalism, 127
- Old Left, 14, 88, 103, 108, 110, 132, 174–7, 197, 208, 225
- Olson, Mancur, 89
- Olympics, 119, 270
- Orange Revolution, 258, 260
- Orientalism, 126, 127, 128, 151
- Pan Yue, 110
- Pang Xianzhi, 77
- Park Chung Hee, 159
- peasants, 154–5, 232–3, 236, 273
- PEN, 261
- Peng Zhen, 33, 69, 172, 196
- “people-centred” society, 252, 253, 255, 268, 270, 283
- People's Liberation Army, 67, 250, 282
- personality cult, 4

- Pi Mingyong, 158
 Ping, Huangfu (Zhou Ruijin), 56, 266–7
 Podesta, John, 217
 politics
 elite politics, 2, 2–6, 165–8, 277
 elite politics and public opinion, 221
 marketization, 182
 Pomfret, John, 246
 Popper, Karl, 110
 populism, 138
 pornography, 37, 262
 postcolonialism, 103, 104, 125, 151–2,
 226–7
 postmodernism, 124, 125, 139
 poverty, rural poverty, 233, 237
 power
 balance, 165, 278
 collective leadership, 4, 54
 monistic power, 3, 6
 pluralization, 5
 retirement age, 279
 retreat of state control, 4–5
 soft power, 2, 151, 258–9
 transfers, 238, 239–45, 277–82
 pragmatism, 61
 press
 freedom, 276
 reform papers, 26–7
 repression, 262
 private enterprise
 conservative critique, 282–3
 growth, 5, 114, 179–80, 210–11
 membership of CCP, 193, 273
 ratio, 236
 privatization, 88, 178, 263, 265
 property rights, 130–1, 138, 252, 258, 265–7, 274,
 275, 276
 protectionism, 191
 provinces
 8th five-year plan and, 43–5
 decentralization, 43–5, 86, 94, 96
 economic reform and, 50–1
 localism, 99
 mass disturbances, 231–2
 regional inequalities, 144–8, 179, 244
 relations with centre, 92–5, 98, 104
 rural education, 237
 rural governance, 232–3
 rural inequalities, 243–4, 268–9
 public intellectuals, 261, 275
 public opinion, 13, 14, 16, 17, 31, 83, 161, 197,
 206, 219, 221, 234–5
 Qian Jun, 128
 Qian Qichen, 47, 220
 Qiao Shi
 on democracy, 170, 184
 liberalism, 195–6
 martial law and, 29, 30
 political positions, 61, 66, 68–9
 power, 24, 195
 retirement, 201, 203, 279
 Qin Benli, 27
 Qin Chaoying, 157–8
 Qin Chuan, 157, 158
 Qin Hui, 260
 Qin Jiwei, 74
 Qin Yu, 271
 Qu Yuan, 13
 Rambouillet Agreement, 216
 Ramo, Joshua, 259–60
 rationalism, 110–11, 113
 “Realistic Responses,” 109–14, 158
 Red Guard, 153
 reform
 1980s failure, 83, 117–19
 central–local relations, 92–5
 Chinese model, 89, 90
 conservative critique, 21–47, 193–5, 282–3
 Deng revival, 48–79
 disillusionment, 166–7
 economic and social results, 273–7
 growth, 78, 272–3
 health care, 273
 housing, 273
 incrementalism, 89–92, 102
 inequalities, 144–8, 179, 182, 243–4, 268–9
 institutional economics, 89
 Jiang revival, 189–95
 liberal economics, 9, 114, 131, 259, 263–7
 middle path, 185–8
 neoconservatism, 83–112
 Old Left critique, 174–7
 pace, 1–2
 populist critique, 275–6
 post-Tiananmen debate, 14, 41–3, 49
 privatization, 4–5
 property rights, 130–1, 138, 252, 258, 265–7,
 274, 275, 276
 SARS effect, 247
 social justice, 16, 141, 147, 267–9, 271, 273, 275
 socioeconomic changes, 177–83
 stages of debate, 267
 state-centred nationalism, 103–6
 winners and losers, 115
 regions. *See* provinces
 religion, 262
 Ren Jianxin, 195
 Ren Zhongyi, 260

- River Elegy*, 88, 105, 107–9, 115, 128, 152
 Roemer, John, 130
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 138
 Rubin, Robert, 217
 Rui Xingwen, 30
 rule of law, 137, 205, 242–3, 271, 274
 rural governance, 232–3
 rural inequalities, 237, 243–4, 268–9
 Rural Work Conference, 243–4
 Russell, Bertrand, 110
 Russia, 10, 111, 114, 119, 137, 166, 222, 223

 Said, Edward, 125, 126, 127, 128
 SARS, 10, 245–8, 249, 251–2
 scientific development, 252, 253, 268, 279, 282, 283
 Scowcroft, Brent, 46, 149
 semi-authoritarianism, 84–5, 103
 Serbia, 216–17, 218–19, 226
 Shang Dewen, 204
 Shao Huaze, 175
 Shao Ren, 222–3
 Shen Jiru, 206
 Shen Liten, 92
 Sheng Hong, 89–90, 90, 112, 113
 Singapore, 63, 72, 86, 209
 Sino-Japanese War, 23
 small dragons, 63, 86, 121
 Smith, Adam, 100
 soap operas, 115–16
 social change, 2, 16–18, 177–83
 social justice, 16, 141, 147, 267–9, 271, 273, 275
 social stability, 86, 87, 88, 92, 97, 112, 115, 120, 156–7, 198, 234–8
 social structures, 235–8
 soft power, 2, 151, 258–9
 Song Jiaoren, 85
 Song Ping, 30, 34, 55, 66, 73–4, 76, 207
 Song Qiang, 225
 Song Renqiong, 66
 South Korea, 63, 86, 96, 210
 Soviet Union
 1991 coup, 58–61, 109
 alliance with, 104
 collapse, 3, 22, 88, 89, 104, 114, 135, 148, 165, 175, 191, 193, 206, 255
 Communist Party, 57
 Gorbechev era, 56
 ideological debate and, 68
 price reform, 106
 Stalinism, 4, 122, 144
 Special Enterprise Zones, 48, 62, 69, 70, 144–6
 Sperling, Gene, 217
 spiritual civilization, 188–9, 194

 stability, 115
 Stalinism, 4, 122, 144
 state control
 See also five-year plans
 centralization, 144, 146
 decentralization and, 43–5
 intellectual debate, 124
 intellectuals and state, 11–16
 Jiang Zemin era, 5–6, 194
 Larry Lang affair, 262–7
 neostatism, 140–8
 planned economy, 38, 40–1, 72, 93, 132, 251–2
 relations with provinces, 92–5, 98
 retreat, 4–5
 state capacity, 140–8, 255–6
 state-centred nationalism, 103–6
 State Council Production Commission, 40–1, 52–3
 State Economic and Trade Commission, 53, 210, 214
 State Economic Commission, 41, 52
 State Economic Restructuring Commission, 41
 state-owned enterprises
 5th Plenum (1996), 183–4
 decrease, 4–5
 Jiang policy, 57, 200
 Leftist officials, 29
 losses, 43, 114, 168–9, 198–9
 management buy-outs, 262–4, 274
 political debate, 193
 privatization, 88, 178, 263, 265
 reform, 170, 200, 208–9, 214, 216
 Shanghai, 179
 State Planning Commission, 41, 44, 52
Strategy and Management, 157–9, 225, 234, 260, 272
 Su Shaozhi, 26, 27
 Sun Changjiang, 71
 Sun Liping, 138, 159, 274
 Sun Yat-sen, 100, 135
 sustainable development, 283

 Taiwan, 63, 86, 209, 217
 Taiwan Straits crisis, 159, 160, 176, 180, 211, 213
 Tan Shaowen, 50
 Tan Sitong, 91, 92
 Tang Yijie, 8
 television, 115–16
 Teng Tong, 190
 Teng Wensheng, 174, 188, 207
 think-tanks, 117, 192
 Three Represents, 5, 239, 243, 247, 248–51, 253, 267, 270, 273, 277, 282, 283
 Tian Jiyun, 51–2, 69, 74, 75, 196

- Tiananmen
 Beijing University and, 207–8
 conservative critique, 21–47, 62, 88
 intellectuals and, 9, 14, 21
 nationalist analysis, 106
 neoconservative response, 89–92, 102
 origins, 26
 post-Tiananmen expectations, 1–2, 7
 role of Chen Xitong, 173
 role of Li Peng, 203
 US involvement, 46
- Tibet, 160, 217
- township and village enterprises, 17, 40
- transition economics, 90
- Ukraine, 258, 260
- Unger, Roberto, 130
- United Nations, 223
- United States
 anti-Americanism, 104–6, 141, 159–62,
 220–1
 central government revenues, 143
 Chinese Embassy bombing, 16, 167, 197, 217,
 218–21, 224–7, 274
 Chinese foreign reserves and, 272
 democracy and, 149
 Gulf War victory, 56–7
 hegemony, 213
 human rights policy, 105, 149, 150, 160
 intellectual property rights, 222
 intellectuals and, 119, 125, 130
 property rights, 130–1
 sanctions, 119
 September 11, attacks, 259
 triumphalism, 148–9
 US-Sino relations, 22, 45–7, 61, 138, 166, 191,
 204, 205–6, 209–10
 WTO and Chinese entry, 160, 181, 211–21,
 222–3
- urbanization, 17
- values, 120–2, 148–52
- Vietnam, 3
- Voice of America, 105
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, 137–8
- Wan Li, 66, 67, 74, 172, 173, 201
- Wang Baosen, 172
- Wang Bingqian, 43–4, 78
- Wang Dan, 207
- Wang Daohan, 25, 26, 174
- Wang Gang, 282
- Wang Guangze, 260
- Wang Guowei, 135
- Wang Hui, 116, 124, 128–9, 132, 134, 138, 139, 140,
 150, 166
- Wang Huning, 15, 84, 96–100, 113, 151, 166, 207
- Wang Jingwei, 219
- Wang Jiye, 42
- Wang Meng, 71, 120
- Wang Mengkui, 269
- Wang Qishan, 246, 281
- Wang Renzhi, 39–40, 55, 61, 71, 77, 175, 190,
 207
- Wang Renzhong, 198
- Wang Ruoshui, 71, 133
- Wang Ruowang, 35
- Wang Shan, 152–7, 158, 166, 167
- Wang Shao, 115–16, 120
- Wang Shaoguang, 140, 141–8, 152, 166, 197, 234
- Wang Shucang, 8
- Wang Shuo, 152
- Wang Xiaodong
 cultural fever, 128
 embassy bombing, 224–6
 impact, 113
 popular nationalism, 108, 166
 “Realistic Responses,” 110–14, 158
 response to Huntington, 150–1
River Elegy, 108, 115, 128, 152
Strategy and Management, 158, 225
 survey of youth attitudes, 161
- Wang Xiaoming, 120
- Wang Yeshou, 270
- Wang Zhen, 55, 58, 61, 108–9
- Washington Consensus, 259, 263, 265
- Wei Jianxing, 195
- Wen Jiabao
 background, 238
 education, 12
 reform agenda, 267–8, 275, 282
 rural policy, 269
 SARS, 246
 social stability concerns, 238
 Zhu Rongji succession, 16, 240, 243–4
- Wen Shengang, 258
- Wen Yuankai, 31
- West
 China’s relations with, 13
 cultural hegemony, 138–9, 150
 demythification, 125
 distorted views of China, 126–8
 economic model, 131
 Enlightenment and, 123, 124
 intellectual debate, 123
 modernity, 122, 123, 124, 128, 139, 140, 272
 rationalism, 110–11, 113
 rejection, 159–62

- threat, 103
 triumphalism, 148–9
 universalism, 152
 Westernization, 105, 108–9, 138–9
 Williamson, John, 259
 World Bank, 223
World Economic Herald, 26–7, 31, 190
 WTO membership
 anti-WTO ideologies, 9
 intellectual property rights, 18, 222
 nationalist opposition, 18, 106, 197, 212–21
 negotiations, 210–21, 246
 New Left critique, 221–4
 political decision, 181
 public opinion, 221
 terms, 16
 US opposition, 160, 181, 211–21
 Wu Bangguo, 170
 Wu Guanzheng, 51
 Wu Jiaying, 83–4, 95
 Wu Jichuan, 218
 Wu Jinglian, 260, 263–4, 266
 Wu Xueqian, 51–2, 74
 Wu Yi, 246
 Wu Zuguang, 71

 Xi Jinping, 281
 Xi Zhongxun, 281
 Xiamen smuggling operation, 16
 Xiao Gongqin, 100–3, 113, 166, 224
 Xiao Ke, 157
 Xiao Weibi, 260
 Xiao Xialin, 116
 Xing Benshi, 186–8, 189
 Xinjiang, 217
 Xu Ben, 138
 Xu Bing, 153
 Xu Caihou, 250, 282
 Xu Jilin, 116, 117
 Xu Weicheng, 58, 76–7, 175

 Yan Fu, 100–2
 Yan Jianhong, 172
 Yan Jiaqi, 26, 31
 Yan Mingfu, 30, 74, 157
 Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, 7–8, 23, 111, 189
 Yang Baibing, 67, 75, 173
 Yang Fan, 262, 263
 Yang Ping, 109–14, 113, 158
 Yang Rudai, 74
 Yang Shangkun, 29, 30, 45, 48, 60, 64, 69, 74, 75, 76, 201, 272
 Yang Shaoming, 64
 Yang Xiaokai, 260
 Yao Yilin, 23–4, 29–30, 33, 41, 51–2, 66, 73–4, 76, 77–8, 246
 Ye Fei, 75, 76
 Ye Qing, 41, 53
 Ye Xuanping, 45
 Yeltsin, Boris, 58–9
 Yi Ren (Chen Daixi), 40
 Yin Baoyun, 158–9
Yin He incident, 160
 You Lin, 77
 Yu Guangyuan, 93
 Yu Haocheng, 85–6, 87
 Yu Jianrong, 232
 Yu Jie, 260, 261
 Yu Quanyu, 160, 225
 Yu Yingshi, 91–2, 115
 Yuan Baohua, 157
 Yuan Hongbing, 71
 Yuan Mu, 32, 68, 175, 193
 Yuan Shikai, 85, 101, 102
 Yugoslavia, 99, 143, 226

 Zeng Qinghong, 174, 238, 239–40, 242, 255, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282
 Zeng Shan, 238
 Zha, Jianying, 116
 Zhang Aiping, 75–6
 Zhang Bingjiu, 84–5, 103
 Zhang Gaoli, 282
 Zhang Kuan, 126–8
 Zhang Lichang, 282
 Zhang Rong (Chang Jung), 126
 Zhang Weiyang, 263–4
 Zhang Wenkang, 245–6
 Zhang Wenkui, 263–4
 Zhang Yanning, 53
 Zhang Yihe, 261
 Zhang Yimou, 126
 Zhang Zhen, 75, 76
 Zhang Zhidong, 101
 Zhang Zhuoyuan, 42
 Zhang Zuhua, 261
 Zhao Shukai, 233
 Zhao, Suisheng, 125
 Zhao Weichen, 53
 Zhao Yiheng, 138
 Zhao Zhihao, 45
 Zhao Ziyang
 1987 speech, 40
 allies, 74, 75
 Chen Yun and, 93
 critics, 86
 death, 272

Zhao Ziyang (*cont.*)

- decentralization, 43–4, 86
 - downfall, 1, 3, 23, 24, 27, 28–35, 38, 40, 76, 187, 239
 - economic development, 28
 - house arrest, 205
 - reappraising Tiananmen, 203
 - reformist, 11, 21, 35, 62, 85, 96, 200
 - River Elegy* and, 108
 - think-tanks, 192
 - Tiananmen and, 29–30, 241
- Zheng Nian (Cheng Nien), 126
- Zheng Wanlong, 115–16
- Zhou Beifang, 172
- Zhou Enlai, 133
- Zhou Guanwu, 70, 172
- Zhou Ruijin (Huangfu Ping), 56, 266–7
- Zhou Yongkang, 281
- Zhou Zhengyi land development, 16
- Zhu Houze, 262

Zhu Junyi, 271

Zhu Muzhi, 225

Zhu Rongji

- career, 16, 49, 74, 75, 170, 203
 - conservative critics, 59, 61, 77–8, 274
 - decentralization, 45
 - Deng support, 70, 72
 - economic policy, 175
 - education, 12, 93
 - neostatism, 141
 - premiership, 210, 214
 - reformist, 70
 - regional policy, 146–7
 - successor, 240
 - vice-premier, 51–3, 70, 168
 - WTO entry, 215–19, 221–2
- Zhu Xueqin, 260
- Zhuozhuo meeting (1987), 40
- Zou Jiahua, 41, 44, 51–2, 53
- Zuo Dapei, 262, 263
- Zysman, John, 141