## Contents

	1995. Taryan Comp, China Tarest	
Fig	jures	ix
Ab	breviations	xi
Pre	eface	xiii
1:	Introduction	1
2:	Guiding Hand: The Role of the Propaganda System	9
	The Structure of the Propaganda System	9
	Types of Propaganda	12
	The Central Propaganda Department	13
	The Powers of the Central Propaganda Department	15
	Channels for "Guidance"	19
	The Structure of the Central Propaganda Department	20
	Staffing Issues	20
	The Leadership of the Propaganda System	22
	Office for Foreign Propaganda/State Council Information Office	23
	Provincial and Local Level Propaganda Departments	24
	Some Other Organizations within the Propaganda System	25
	Conclusion	30
3:	From Thought Reform to Economic Reform:	35
	Comparing Propaganda and Thought Work in Different Eras	
	Constructing Socialist China: Propaganda and Thought Work, 1949-1965	35

Contents
----------

	A Revolution from Within: Propaganda and Thought Work in the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976	37
	The Path to 1989: Propaganda and Thought Work in the Post- Mao Era	39
	1989: Turning Point of a New Era	41
	Rebuilding Legitimacy in a One-Party State: Propaganda and Thought Work in the Post-'89 Era	44
	1989-1992: Seizing with Both Hands	44
	1992-1994: Modernizing and Rationalizing the Propaganda System	48
	1995-1998: Taiwan Crisis, China Threat	51
	1999-2002: The Enemy Within, and the Enemy Without	53
	2002-2004: Power Struggle—Jiang the "Hardliner" versus Hu the "Reformer"	56
	2004-2007: Hu the "Conservative"	58
	Conclusion	60
4:	China's Unseen Engineers: Reform and Modernization in the Propaganda System	65
	The Origins of Modern Propaganda/PR Work	67
	Out with the Old, in with the New: Rejecting the Goals, but Not All the Methods, of Mao-Era Propaganda Methodology	70
	New Ways of Looking at Propaganda Work in China	71
	Adapting Western Social Science Theories to Chinese Needs	72
	Modernizing Traditional Propaganda Methods	73
	Political PR	78
	Both Mouthpiece and Watchdog: The Chinese Media's Revised Role	79
	Public Advertising	83
	24-hour Spin Doctors	86
	Conclusion	87
5:	Regimenting the Public Mind: The Methods of Control in the Propaganda System	93
	Propaganda Departments' Role in Censorship	94
	Restricting the Information Flow: Propaganda Guidelines as a Form of Control	95
	State Organizations with a Censorship Role	104
	Regulations as a Means of Control	104
	Rule by Law	109

	Contents	vii
	The Market as a Means and a Justification for Control	110
	Appointing Gatekeepers as a Means of Control	115
	The Carrot Approach: Rewards as a Means of Control	116
	Spiritual Civilization: Setting Social Norms as a Means of Control	117
	Controlling Social Science	117
	Conclusion	119
6:	Sex Crime, Wheels of Law, and Song Zuying:	125
	Managing Information Communication Technology in China	Rating Rating
	Pinning Jell-O to the Wall: How China Manages the Internet	126
	The Use of Laws and Regulations to Control the Internet	128
	Using Architecture to Control the Internet	131
	Little Brother and Little Sister Are Watching You: Norms as a Means to Control the Internet	133
	Sex Crime, Wheels of Law, and Song Zuying: How China Uses the Market to Control the Internet	135
	The Internet as a New Locus for China's Propaganda and Thought Work	137
	Cyber War: Aggressive Use of the Internet by Government Agents	139
	The Internet as a Control Mechanism in China	139
	The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: China's Move to Infotainment	140
	Telecommunications as a Propaganda Tool	142
	Radio's Role in Propaganda	144
	Conclusion	145
7:	Combating Hostile Forces: China's Foreign Propaganda Work since 1989	151
	Foreign Propaganda in the 1980s	151
	Enemies All Over the World	153
	The Post-1989 Foreign Propaganda Administrative System	156
	Foreign Propaganda Themes Post-1989	158
	China's Foreign Propagandists	159
	China's Foreign Propaganda Media	166
	Political PR, Public Diplomacy, and Spin Doctors	169
	Conclusion	170

C	ontents	
-		

8:	Models and Anti-Models: Searching for a New, New China	175
	Anti-Model: Gorbachev's Glasnost Policy and Its Outcome	175
	Both Models and Anti-Models: Propaganda and Thought Work in the Communist/Post-Communist World since 1989	178
	The West as a Model for China	180
	Goodbye to All That?	182
	China's New Model: A New, New China	186
	Toward a New Paradigm of CCP Rule	189
	Rating the Effectiveness of China's Modernized Propaganda System	192
	Conclusion	194
9:	The Rebirth of the Propaganda State	199
Glossary		203
Selected Bibliography Index		209 221

viii