

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Shen bao (Shanghai Shun Pao newspaper), February 11, 1913, p. 6.
2. Popular elections were also held in 1909 and 1954, but under undemocratic constitutional conditions of a dominant monarchy and communist party respectively.
3. According to the U.S.-based research institute Freedom House's 2001–2 annual survey of democracy and freedoms.
4. Bao Tong, "Jue bu xiang baoli ditou" (Never submit to violence), Kaifang (Open Magazine, Hong Kong), May 2002, p. 13.
5. Fukuyama, *The End of History*, p. xiii.
6. "Governance for sustainable human development," UNDP policy document, January 1997. See also the UNDP human development report for 2002 entitled "Democracy and Development."
7. Yi Feng, "Democracy, Political Stability and Economic Growth," in *British Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 3 (July 1997): 391–418.
8. UNDP, World Development Report, 2002, p. 3.
9. Edward Friedman, "Theorizing the Democratization of China's Leninist state," in Arif Dirlik and Maurice Meisner (eds), *Marxism and the Chinese Experience: Issues in Contemporary Chinese Socialism* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1989), pp. 171–89, at p. 172.
10. Edward Friedman, "Immanuel Kant's Relevance to an Enduring Asia-Pacific Peace," in Friedman and McCormick (eds), pp. 224–55, at p. 244; see also his "Does China Have the Cultural Preconditions for Democracy?," in *Philosophy East and West* 49 (July 1999).
11. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, quoted in Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited," in *American Sociological Review* 59 (February 1994): 1–22, at p. 5.
12. Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?," in *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1997): 55–80.
13. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, revised edition 1999), p. 204.
14. See Roger V. Des Forges, "Democracy in Chinese History," in Des Forges et al. (eds).
15. Alexander Woodside, "Emperors and the Chinese Political System," in Kenneth Lieberthal et al. (eds); *Perspectives on Modern China: Four Anniversaries*; Armonk NY; M.E. Sharpe, 1991; ch. 1, pp. 5–30.
16. Amartya Sen, "East and West: The Reach of Reason," in *The New York Review of Books* (July 20, 2000); also see: Hu Shaohua "Confucianism and Western Democracy," in Zhao Suisheng (ed) *China and Democracy* pp. 55–72; Thomas Metzger,

"Sources of Resistance," in *Journal of Democracy* (special issue): 18–25; He Baogang, *Democratisation*, p. 161.

17. Edward Friedman, *The Politics of Democratization: Generalizing East Asian Experiences* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994) p. 27.

18. Xu Yingshi, "Yehuo shaobujin, chunfeng chui yousheng" (The wild fire never burns out, the spring wind gives it new life), in Jin Zhong (ed.), pp. 1–4, at p. 2; See also Huang Dechang et al., *Zhongguo zhi ziyou jingshen* (China's Liberal Spirit); Chengdu: Sichuan People's Press, 2000.

19. Ju Yanan, p. 71.

20. Zhang and Cheng, p. 276.

21. He and Guo, p. 205.

22. Friedman, *National Identity*, p. 340.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. See for example Mark Elvin's study of the Shanghai city council; "The Gentry Democracy in Chinese Shanghai: 1905–14," in Jack Gray (ed.) *Modern China's Search for a Political Form* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) pp. 41–65.

2. Mao's "New Democratic Constitutional Government" speech on Feb 20, 1940 at the Yanan meeting of new Association for the Promotion of Constitutional Government.

3. Cited in Shih Chih-yu, p. 82.

4. Mao Yushi and Zhou Hongling, "Guanyu zhengzhi gaigede duihua" (A conversation on political reform), Sha and Zhang (eds), *China Political Report 2000*, pp. 191–99, at p. 193.

5. David Shambaugh, "After 50 Years of Communism," *The Independent* (London), October 1, 1999.

6. Barry Naughton, "The Pattern and Legacy of Economic Growth in the Mao Era," in Kenneth Lieberthal et al. (eds.) *Perspectives on Modern China* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), pp. 226–54.

7. Tao and Chen, *Political Participation*, pp. 191, 197.

8. Rong Jingben et al., "Ruhe jianli minzhu hezuode xin tizhi" (How to build a new cooperative democratic system) in Dong and Shi (eds), pp. 314–51, at p. 350.

9. Martin King Whyte, "Prospects for Democratization in China," in *Problems of Communism* (May–June 1992): 58–70, at p. 70.

10. See Elise S. Brezis and Adi Schnytzer, "Communist Regime Collapse: Output and the Rate of Repression," *Eastern Economic Journal* (October 1998): 463–74.

11. Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 219 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1994).

12. Ling and Ma, p. 422.

13. Cited in Craig Calhoun, *Neither Gods Nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 241.

14. Nathan and Link, pp. 107–8.

15. The former figure is from Zhang Liang quoted in Andrew J. Nathan; "The Tiananmen Papers: An Editor's Reflections," *China Quarterly*, no 167 (September 2001): 724–37, at p. 724; the latter is from James Tong; "The 1989 Democracy Movement: A Preliminary Spatial Analysis," Universities Service Centre, Chinese University

of Hong Kong Seminar Series No 9, 1994; Tong finds state media reports of demonstrations in only 132 cities.

16. The speaker is Li Ruihuan. Quoted in Nathan and Link eds., p. 134.

17. Ibid. p. 443.

18. Bao Tong, p. 148.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. See for example Guo Sujian, Post-Mao China.

2. The 2000 Polity IV rankings (on a scale of -10 to +10) give: North Korea -9; China -7; Singapore -2; Malaysia +3; Indonesia +7; Philippines +8; India +9; Taiwan +9; Japan +10. In the Freedom House rankings for 2001, China rates as a 7 and 6 on political and civil freedoms on a scale ranging from 7 (least free) to 1 (most free). China also ranks in the bottom decile on "voice and accountability" in the indicators compiled by the World Bank. See "Governance Matters: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002," World Bank Institute.

3. Zhao Suisheng, "Three Scenarios," in *Journal of Democracy* (special issue, 1998): pp. 54-59, 56; This is a complete reversal of the 1950s when workers and peasants accounted for 80% of the membership, roughly the same as in China as a whole.

4. An example is Chen Jie et al.; "The Level And Sources of Popular Support for China's Current Political Regime," *Communist and Post-Communist Societies* 30, no. 1 (1997): 45-64.

5. Min Qi's 1987 survey, evaluation of party was 41% positive and 46% negative; Surveys in 1988 got 30% Yes, 62% No. Quoted in Zheng Yongnian; "Development and Democracy: Are They Compatible in China?," in *Political Science Quarterly*, 109, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 235-59, at table 3.

6. He Baogang, *Democratization*, p. 191.

7. This comment was made at a widely reported talk by Zhu Rongji to the State Council working group on honesty in government on March 24, 2002. See also the warning of party crisis in Zhonggong zhongyang zuzhibu ketizu, *China Survey Report*, ch. 1 pp. 62-120.

8. Zong Hairen, pp. 116-117.

9. See Bruce Gilley, "The Limits of Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy* (special issue, January 2003).

10. The speaker is NPC delegate Li Baoqun. See Cindy Sui, "Snores, Platitudes and Anonymity: 10 Years In China's National Parliament," Agence-France Press, March 14, 2002.

11. Gill, pp. 13, 37.

12. Guo Dingping, pp. 120-26.

13. The case of Tan Caihuan was detailed in Zhongguo qingnian bao (China Youth Daily), May 23, 2001, p. 9; Lawyer Li Kuisheng's case is detailed in *South China Morning Post*, February 12, 2001, p. 17.

14. Li Shuguang "Zhengzhi tizhi gaigede fazhi quxiang" (The legal direction of political reforms) in Dong and Shi (eds), pp. 73-82, at p. 77.

15. Bao Tong, "Faking Reforms at the Communist Party Congress," *New York Times*, November 23, 2002.

16. Pei Minxin, "China's Governance Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* (September 2002–October 2002): 96ff.
17. Ogden., p. 3.
18. Barrett McCormick in Friedman and McCormick (eds), p. 317.
19. In a 1988 survey, 75% agreed with the statement that "China needs democracy" quoted in Zheng Yongnian; "Development and Democracy: Are They Compatible in China?," in *Political Science Quarterly*, 109, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 235–259 at table 3; Political reform concern poll reported in Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (ed), 2000 nian: Zhongguo shehui xingshi fenxi yu yuce (China Social Situation Analysis and Forecast: 2000), Beijing: CASS Press, 2000, pp.112. The same survey in 2002 resulted in an even higher rating for political reform, which topped the list of issues concerning local cadres with 39% of the vote, more than twice the next leading issue. Qianshao (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong), September 2002, p. 14. Quotation from CASS, cited above.
20. Deng Weizhi, Political Stability, p. 147.
21. Huang Weiping, On Political reform, p. 69.
22. The first is Qin Hui, "Dividing the big family assets," *New Left Review*, 20 (March–April 2003), pp. 83–110, at p. 107. The second is Wang Guixiu, "Youxuan-zhilu": Zhengzhi tizhi gaige bixu yu jingji tizhi gaige xiang shiying" ("The Road of priority: political reforms must suit economic reforms) in Dong and Shi (eds.) pp. 293–313, at p. 313.
23. China's score from 0 (most corrupt) to 10 (least corrupt) in the 2002 survey by Transparency International was 3.5, compared to 5.6 in Taiwan and 8.2 in Hong Kong. It is also more corrupt than countries at the same income level in the World Bank Institute Governance Indicators.
24. Liu Ning and Tian Huiming (eds.) *Zhongguozhi tong* (China's Pain); Beijing: Culture and Arts Press, 2001.
25. He Qinglian, China's Plight, p. 384.
26. See *Zhonggong zhongyang zuzhibu ketizu*.
27. Zhang Jun, p. 2.
28. Deng Weizhi, p. 147.
29. Zhang Jun; Zhong Min, *Huangyan wu zhongguo* (China Covered in Lies): (Changchun: Shidai Wenyi Press, 1999).
30. Fang Jue, "China Needs a New Transformation: Program Proposals of the Democratic Faction," China Rights Forum (Human Rights in China), Spring 1998.
31. Gordon White, "Democratization and Economic Reform in China," in *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 31 (January 1994): 73–92, at pp. 82–83.
32. Hu Angang, quoted by Reuters, January 31, 2002.
33. Rong Jingben et al., "Ruhe jianli minzhu hezuode xin tizhi" (How to build a new cooperative democratic system) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 314–51, at p. 342.
34. Sun Xiaoli, *State and Society*, p. 109.
35. Liu Junning "The Intellectual Turn: The Emergence of Liberalism in Contemporary China," in Carpenter and Dorn (eds.), pp. 49–61; The same idea of a liberal mainstream is catalogued in Ding Yijiang p. 43.
36. Li Liangdong, Stability, p. 168.
37. Huang Yasheng, *Selling China: Foreign Direct Investment During the Reform Era* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

38. Chen Shaohua and Wang Yan. "China's Growth and Poverty Reduction: Recent Trends Between 1990 and 1999," World Bank Working Paper, July 2001.
39. Zhonggong zhongyang zuzhibu ketizu, p. 79. Another, citing a party survey in cities which found that 62% of people were unhappy with the income gaps, says: "Those who have been left behind are easily stirred up by others, having a destructive impact on social peace and political stability." Deng Weizhi, p. 158.
40. Zhang Jun, p. 62.
41. Qin Hui, "Chanquan gaige yu minzhu" (Property rights reform and democracy) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 116–119, at p. 117.
42. Yu Depeng "Lixing yu zhengyide yaoqiu: chengxiang pingdenghua" (The demands of idealism and justice: urban-rural equality) in Zhongguo guoqing guoli, pp. 317–18.
43. Du Gangjian, "Huji zhidu bu si" (The residential control system will not die) from the now-banned liberal website Issues and Ideas (Wenti yu Zhuyi).
44. Deng Weizhi, p. 149.
45. Cao Jinqing, p. 463.
46. Zhang and Cheng, p. 267.
47. His words in Chinese were "yexu kualiao." Quoted in Renmin ribao (People's Daily), March 16, 2002, p. 5.
48. Huang Zhong, "Zhengzhi tizhi gaige bu neng zai wang hou tui: zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao jiaoshou wang guixiu dawanlu" (Political reform can never again go backwards: questions and answers with professor Wang Guixiu of the Central Party School) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 288–92, at p. 289.
49. *South China Morning Post* April 2, 2002 quoting Xinhua News Agency.
50. Mao Yushi and Zhou Hongling, "Guanyu zhengzhi gaigede duihua" (A conversation about political reform) in Nanfeng Chuang (Southern Window) magazine June 1999, reprinted in Shang and Zhang (eds.), China Pol Report 2000, pp. 191–199, at p. 196.
51. Jeffrey D. Sachs, Wing Thye Woo and Xiaokai Yang, "Economic Reforms and Constitutional Transition," Harvard University Center for International Development, Working Paper no. 43, April 2000, p. 31.
52. Xie Qingkui, "Zhubu zouchu zhengzhi tizhi gaigede kunjing" (Gradually escape the plight of political reforms) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 108–15, at p. 111.
53. Wang Jianqin, Strengthen Supervision, pp. 56–57.
54. The case of Wang Xiu was reported in *South China Morning Post*, June 13, 2000.
55. World Bank, News Release, August 9, 2001.
56. Ke Wenqi, "Zhongguo sijuan jijin bao heimu" (Exposing the black curtain over China's private funds), Guangjiaojing (*Wide Angle Magazine*, Hong Kong), February 16, 2002, pp. 84–87.
57. Feng Chongyi, "The Third Way: The Question of Equity as a Bone of Contention Between Intellectual Currents," unpublished paper.
58. Edward Friedman "A Comparative Politics of Democratization in China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 12, no. 34 (2003): 103–123, at p. 107.
59. Xiao Shu, "Xue shang: qing yuanliang fuqinde shize: yougan yu tiananmen guangchang xueren beijin" (Laughing Silkworm, "Snow wound: Please forgive father's dereliction of duty: Feelings inspired by the ban on snowmen in Tiananmen

Square”), from an Internet posting in China, January 15, 2001, translated by David Cowhig.

60. UNDP, Human Development Report, 2002, p. 55.
61. Lei Yi, “Minzu, minsheng, minquan” (Nationality, livelihood and people’s rights) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 216–219, at p. 219.
62. He Qinglian, *Plight*, pp. 373, 378.
63. Zhou Yi; *Zhongguo shehui jiaodian* (China’s Pressing Social Issues) Beijing: Dazhong Wenyi Press, 2000.
64. Gao Zhan, *Washington Post*, August 26, 2001.
65. Wang Xiaoying, “The Post-Communist Personality: The Spectre of China’s Capitalist Market Reforms,” in *China Journal* no. 47 (January 2002): 1–18, at p. 17.
66. Bao Tong, p. 140.
67. See UNDP annual report 2000, “Human rights and development.”
68. Liu Junning, “Ziyou zhuyi” (Liberalism) in *Nanfang zhoumou* (Southern Weekend newspaper), May 29, 1998.
69. Quoted in Zheng Feng, “Beijing yulun zai yu zhenggai” (Beijing opinion again calls for political reform) in *Qiaoshao* (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong), March 2001, pp. 9–12, at p. 12.
70. Tyrene White; “Domination, Resistance and Accommodation in China’s One-child Campaign,” in Perry/Selden, pp. 102–19, p. 116.
71. Cao Liqun and Dai Yisheng, “Inequality and Crime,” pp. 73–85 in Liu Jianhong, Zhang Lening, and Steven F. Messner (eds.), *Crime and Social Control in a Changing China* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 75; Feng Shuliang, “Crime in a changing China,” in *Ibid.*, pp. 123–130, at p. 124.
72. Liu Jianhong and Steven F. Messner, “Modernization and Crime Trends in China’s Reform Era,” pp 3–21, p. 7 in *Ibid.*
73. Zong Hairen, *Disidai*, p. 233; The proportion is based on the Amnesty International figures for worldwide total ex-China of 500 in 2001.
74. Zhang and Cheng, *Transformation*, p. 72.
75. He Baogang, *Democratization*, 47.
76. Deng Weizhi, p. 194.
77. Quoted in *Washington Post*, May 12, 2000.
78. Deng Weizhi, p. 260.
79. Michel Oksenberg, “Confronting a Classic Dilemma,” in *Journal of Democracy*, special issue, January 1998, pp. 27–34.
80. Bates Gill, “Discussion of ‘China: A Responsible Great Power,’” in *Journal of Contemporary China*, 10, no. 26 (2001), 27–32, at p. 32.
81. Fang Jue, “China Needs a New Transformation: Program Proposals of the Democratic Faction of the CCP,” issued November 20, 1997, in *China Rights Forum*, Spring 1998.
82. Li Shenzhi, “Ye yao tuidong zhengzhi gaige” (We should also push political reforms), in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 19–22, at p. 21.
83. Chris Patten, *East and West* (London: Pan Books, 1999), p. 311.
84. David Shambaugh, “The Dynamics of Elite Politics During the Jiang Era,” in *China Journal* 45 (January 2001): 101–11, at p. 108.
85. See the rare reports on Xinjiang independence activities in Xinjiang newspapers quoted in *Qianshao* (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong) February 2002, pp. 21–23.

86. Swedish parliamentarian Per Gahrton writing in *South China Morning Post* August 25, 2001.
87. Nathan/Gilley, *China's New Rulers*, 218.
88. David Zweig; "China Rising: Regional Cooperation or Conflict" paper prepared for Northeast Asia Cooperation project, Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, November 5, 2001.
89. Richard N. Haass, Director of Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department, "China and the Future of U.S.-China Relations," Remarks to the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, New York, December 5, 2002.
90. Bao Tong, p. 115.
91. See Huang Jing, *Factionalism*.
92. They are premier Wen Jiabao and anti-corruption czar Wu Guanzheng. See Nathan and Gilley, *China's New Rulers*.
93. Rong Jingben et al., "Ruhe jianli minzhu hezuode xin tizhi" (How to build a new cooperative democratic system) in Dong and Shi (eds), pp. 314–51, at pp. 341–42. The article was based on study of Xinmi city in 1996.
94. Fewsmith, *Elite Politics*, p. 56.
95. Zong Hairen (pseud.), *Zhu Rongji zai 1999* (Zhu Rongji in 1999) (New York: Mirror Books, 2001), p. 139.
96. Chen Fang, *Tiannu* (English translation, *Heaven's Wrath*; Hong Kong: Edko Publishing, 2000), pp. 214–15.
97. See Julia Kwong, *The Political Economy of Corruption in China* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997); Lü Xiaobo; also Deng Weizhi quoted in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 37–38.
98. Zong Hairen, Disidai, pp. 116–17.
99. Bao Tong, p. 16.
100. Michael C. Davis, "The Case for Chinese Federalism," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 2 (April 1999): 124–38, at p. 125.
101. The case of Gao Xinrong was reported throughout China in 2000. See *South China Morning Post* July 17, 2000.
102. See the report on Zhang Erjiang, mayor of Danjiang and Tianmen in Xinwen zhouban (News Weekly), April 6, 2002; also *South China Morning Post*, April 8, 2002.
103. Lin Shangli, Relations, p. 360.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Zheng Yongnian "Development and Democracy: Are They Compatible in China?," in *Political Science Quarterly*, 109, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 235–59, at p. 259.
2. Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, "Introduction," in Perry/Selden (eds.), pp. 1–19, at p.16.
3. These terms are those used in the model of Dankwart Rustow "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," reprinted in Lisa Anderson (ed.), ch. 2.
4. Bruce Gilley, "People's Republic of Cheats," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 21 (June 2001): 59–60.
5. Geremie R. Barmé, "The Revolution of Resistance," in Selden/Perry (eds.), pp.198- 220, at p. 201.
6. Liu Junning, "Chanquan baohu yu youxian zhengfu" (Property rights and limited government) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 40–48, p. 43; Also see Mao Yushi and

Zhou Hongling “Guanyu zhengzhi gaigede duihua” (A conversation on political reform) in Nanfeng Chuang (Southern Window magazine) June 1999, reprinted in Sha and Zhang (eds.), *China Political Report 2000*, pp. 191–99, at p. 196.

7. Liu Junning, “Shichang yu xianzheng” (Market and Constitution) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 190–95, at p. 190.

8. Sun Xiaoli, pp. 113–14, 149.

9. See Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

10. The first is Samuel Huntington, *Third Wave*, pp. 61–62. His zone begins at \$1,000 per capita GNP in 1976 dollars, which I have brought forward using CPI indices. When Huntington wrote in 1989 he said, China was “far from the political transition zone” [105]. The second is Dahl, *Polyarchy*, p. 68. The third is Alvarez et al. cited in UNDP Human Development Report 2002, figure 2.4 page 58. I have updated the 1985 dollar figure using CPI indices. The annual probabilities rise from 3 percent to 6 percent over this range, meaning a roughly one third chance in a ten-year period at the higher level. This follows closely the findings of Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (January 1997): 155–183 that the likelihood a dictatorship survives falls steeply between \$1,675 and \$8,375 (converted to 2002 dollars).

11. See Tatu Vanhanen, *Prospects of Democracy: A Study of 172 Countries* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 88–89.

12. Lu Xueyi, A Report, p. 54. This approach seems to accord with the considered views of most Chinese, who view their status mainly in terms of profession rather than income. See Xin bailing: dangdai qingnian remen zhiye fangtan shilu (The New White Collar Class: Interviews on the Popular Professions of Today’s Youth): Beijing: China Archives Press, 2001. Calculations of the middle class come from Lu Xueyi (ed.), p. 44; Duan Silin, “Zhongguo shehui jieceng da fenhua” (The great split in China’s social classes), in Guangjiaojing (Wide Angle magazine), February 16, 2001, pp. 14–17; Xiao Qiu, “Zhongchan jieji jueqi dui dalu zhengzhide yingxiang” (The implications for mainland politics of the rise of the middle class) in Guangjiaojing (Wide Angle), March 16, 2002, pp. 14–17.

13. Xiao Qiu, *ibid.*

14. Larry Diamond, “Economic Development and Political Stability,” unpublished paper, April 15, 2002.

15. There is a voluminous literature on this subject. Two good studies are Bruce J. Dickson, *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and An Chen, “Capitalist Development, Entrepreneurial Class, and Democratization in China,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 117, no. 3 (2002): 401–22.

16. Doug Guthrie, “The Declining Significance of Guanxi in China’s Economic Transition,” *China Quarterly* 154 (June 1998): 254–82; David Da-hua Yang, “To Get Rich is Glorious—and Good for Democracy,” in *China Brief* (Jamestown Foundation), March 2002 pp. 9–12.

17. Sun Xiaoli, pp. 148–49.

18. Zhonggong zhongyang zuzhibu ketizu, p. 55; Jiang Zemin told a Japanese politician in early 2001 that the CCP needed to lift its ban on private entrepreneurs lest it be “stripped of cash”; talk with Takako Doi, leader of SDP, Kyodo, January 15,

2001; Pan Yue, an influential princeling and right-wing intellectual wrote of the need to coopt entrepreneurs in a submission to Jiang in 2001. Pan Yue, "Dui geming dang xiang zhizheng dang zhuanbian de sikao" (Thoughts on the transformation from a revolutionary party to a ruling party), reprinted in Kaifang (Open Magazine), Hong Kong, July 2001, pp. 28–38.

19. Lu Xueyi (ed.), pp. 199ff.

20. The Chinese sentence is "Ba zheng ge gongchandang lian guo duan." Ling and Ma, p. 195.

21. Wang and Hu, Chinese Economy, table 2.5, p. 55. Lin Shuanglin, "China's Government Debt: How Serious?" China: An International Journal 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 73–98. James Macdonald, *A Free Nation Deep in Debt: The Financial Roots of Democracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).

22. Cheng Xiaonong, "Breaking the Social Contract," in Andrew J. Nathan, Zhao-hui Hong and Steven R. Smith (eds.), *Dilemmas of Reform in Jiang Zemin's China* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 1999), pp. 107–25 at p. 123; Population growth alone distributes resources away from state as welfare demands grow—see Jack Goldstone "Population Growth and Revolutionary Crises," in Foran (ed.), pp. 102–23. Goldstone notes that "Even strong states—such as that of mainland China—are not immune from such pressures" (109) even though its population growth may be at or below his "danger zone" of 2 to 3%.

23. Guo Dingping, p. 252.

24. See Michael A. Santoro, *Profits and Principles: Global Capitalism and Human Rights in China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000). Also his "Global Capitalism and the Road to Chinese Democracy," *Current History* 99, no. 638 (September 2000): 263–68.

25. Cao Siyuan, talk at Chinese University of Hong Kong, April 11, 2002.

26. Wang Yongqiang, China Political Report 2001, pp. 19–20; see also Joseph Fewsmith, "The Political and Social Implications of China's Accession to the WTO," in *China Quarterly*, 167 (September 2001): 573–91.

27. Dagong bao (Ta Kung Pao newspaper, Hong Kong), January 20, 1996, p. A2.

28. This 1993 survey is reported in Shi Tianjian, "Cultural Values and Democracy in the PRC," in *China Quarterly* (June 2000): 540–59; a 1990 survey is reported in Nathan, *China's Transition*, ch. 11.

29. See Chu Yun-han and Chang Yu-tzung, "Culture Shift and Regime Legitimacy," in Hua Shiping (ed.), pp. 320–48; at table 12.2, p. 332; The comparison with Taiwan in the late 1980s is derived from the work of Shyu Huoyan of National Taiwan University reported in Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, table 5.7, p. 189. See also Kuan Hsin-chi and Lau Siu-kai, "Traditional Orientations and Political Participation in Three Chinese Societies" *Journal of Contemporary China* 11, no. 31 (2002): 297–318.

30. World Values Survey results quoted in Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "Democratic Institutions and Political Culture," Figure 2, available at www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

31. See Ding Yijiang ch. 6.

32. See Xia Xueluan; Zhuanxingqide zhongguoren (China's people in a time of transition); Tianjin: Tianjin People's Press, 2001, table 12, p. 92; also Daniel Dowd, Allen Carlson and Mingming Shen, "The Prospects For Democratization in China:

Evidence from the 1995 Beijing Area Study,” in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. 189–206.

33. See Ralph Crozier, “The Avant-garde and the Democracy Movement: Reflections on Late Communism in the USSR and China,” in *Europe-Asia Studies* (May 1999): 483 ff.

34. See Jin Zhong (ed.).

35. Qin Xiaopeng, “Zhongguo minzhu xingzheng lilunde fazhan yu shixian” (The development and practice of the theory of democratic administration in China) in Huang Weiping (ed.), *Report on Politics*, pp. 87–109, at p. 105.

36. Tang Wenfang, “Party Intellectuals’ Demands for Reform in Contemporary China,” Stanford University, *Hoover Institution Essays in Public Policy*, April 2002.

37. As one party book put it: “Nationalism (*minzu zhuyi*) is a natural political resource. In the face of foreign pressures, state leaders can appeal to nationalism to the glorious history, culture, bravery and intelligence of the nation and by setting off nationalist emotions can win greater recognition from the people of the legitimacy and legality of the political authority.” Guo Dingping, p. 258.

38. John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 35.

39. John Fitzgerald, “China and the Quest for Dignity,” in *National Interest* (April 1999): 47 ff.

40. See the sustained treatment by Friedman.

41. He Baogang, pp. 168–69.

42. Survey of Internet Usage and Impact, Center for Social Development, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2001.

43. Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University Law School, “Empirical Analysis of Internet Filtering in China,” December 2002.

44. Liu Junning “The Intellectual Turn: The Emergence of Liberalism in Contemporary China,” in Carpenter and Dorn (eds.), pp. 49–61, at p. 54.

45. Nailene Chou Wiest; “Financial Journalism and Market Reforms in China,” unpublished paper.

46. According to the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists.

47. O’Donnell and Schmitter, p. 50.

48. For example Wang Ming et al; *Zhongguo shetuan gaige: cong zhengfu xuanze dao shehui xuanze* (The Reform of China’s Civic Organizations: From Government Selection to Society Selection) (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Press, 2001), p. 237; see also *Zhongguo qingshaonian fazhan jijinhui* (China Youth Development Fund); *Chuyu shizi lukoude zhongguo shetuan* (China’s Civic Organizations at the Crossroads) (Tianjin: Tianjin People’s Press), 2001.

49. Gao Bingzhong “The Rise of Associations in China and the Question of Their Legitimacy,” in *Social Sciences in China* no 1 (2001): 73–87; Tony Saich “Negotiating the State: The Development of Social Organizations in China” *China Quarterly* (Mar 2000); Rebecca R. Moore; “China’s Civil Society: A Force for Democratization,” in *World Policy Journal* (April 2001): 56–66.

50. Figures are rounded, from *Zhongguo minzheng tongji nianjian* (China Civil Affairs Annual Report), 2000, 2001 editions (Beijing: China Statistics Press). Quotation is from 2001 edition, p. 3.

51. Guo Dingping, pp. 147–48.

52. Wang Ming et al; *Zhongguo shetuan gaige* (op. cit, note 48), p. 237.

53. Huang Weiping, *On Political Reform*, p. 45.
54. On local courts actually acting in interests of law more and more see Wang Yongqiang (ed.), *China Political Report 2001* 172ff.
55. See Fang Jiangshan. See also Yu Jianrong, "Organized Peasant Struggle and its Political Risks—A Survey of a County in Hunan Province," in Chinese, *Zhanlue yu guanli* (Strategy and Management Magazine), June 2003 (3): 1–16.
56. It is thoroughly documented in the banned book *Ying Xing; Dahe yimin shang-fangde gushi* (The story of the protests by Dahe migrants); Beijing: Sanlian (Joint) Publishing, 2001.
57. See Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea Den Boer, "A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace," *International Security* 26. no. 4 (March 2002): 34–39. They conclude that because of the skewed sex ratio "The prognosis for developing a full democracy in China is poor."
58. Li Fan *passim* pp 331, 338, 363.
59. See the article by Jin Xide of the Institute of Japanese Studies under CASS entitled "China Must Adopt A Great-Power Mentality and Make Psychological Change Part of its Modernization," in *Huanqiu Shibao* (Global Times) Sept 12, 2002, p. 4.
60. Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (London: Bantam Books, 1997), p. 517.
61. Premier Zhu commented that he "greatly enjoyed" the speech. *South China Morning Post*, April 13, 2002.
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63. See Elizabeth Economy, "The Impact of International Regimes on Chinese Foreign Policy-Making," in David Lampton (ed.), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform 1978–2000* (Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 230–253.
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66. Testimony by Bates Gill of Brookings Institution remarks to U.S.-China Security Review Commission, August 3, 2001.
67. Su Shaozhi and Michael J. Sullivan, "Aggressive Engagement, not Containment," in Friedman and McCormick (eds.), pp. 284–304, at p. 302.
68. Peng Ming, pp. 49–51.
69. Arthur Waldron, "A Free and Democratic China?," in *Commentary* (November 2000).
70. Author's interview with UNDP chief administrator Mark Malloch Brown, January 2001.
71. Henry Hyde, Chairman of U.S. House of Representatives International Relations Committee, speaking in Taipei, quoted in *South China Morning Post* August 25, 2001.
72. Li Liangdong, "Disan bo' yu dangdai zhongguode minzhu" (The Third Wave and contemporary China's democracy) in *China Political Report*, 2001, pp. 153–56, at p. 154.

73. Liu Junning "The Intellectual Turn: The Emergence of Liberalism in Contemporary China," in Carpenter and Dorn (eds.), pp. 49–61, at p. 54.

74. He Qinglian, *Plight*, p. 387.

75. Steve Tsang; "Transforming a Party State Into a Democracy," in Tsang/Tien (eds.), pp. 1–22, at p. 16.

76. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, rev. ed., 1999), p. 207.

77. See Joydeep Mukherji, "View from the Silk Road: Comparing Reform in China and India," *Standard and Poor's Credit Week* (February 6, 2002): 32–46.

78. Li Changping, Talk at Chinese University of Hong Kong, January 25, 2002.

79. Tsang Yok-sing, *South China Morning Post* March 1, 2002, p. 14.

80. Adrian Karatnycky, "Nations in Transit: Emerging Dynamics of Change"; Freedom House, www.freedomhouse.org, 2001.

81. On the views of former vice premier Tian Jiyun see Ling Zhijun and Ma Licheng, Hu Han, pp. 173–74. The CASS book is Xu Xin et al; Chaoji daguode bengku: sulian jieti yuanyin shenxi (The collapse of a superpower: Analysis of the reasons for USSR breakup) (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Press; 2001), pp. 357–65. The quotation is from Huang Zhong, "Zhengzhi tizhi gaige bu neng zai wang hou tui: zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao jiaoshou wang guixiu dawanlu" (Political reform can never again go backwards: questions and answers with professor Wang Guixiu of the Central Party School) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 288–92.

82. Zong Hairen, *Disidai*, p. 223; Nathan and Gilley, p. 190.

83. Qin Xiaopeng, "Zhongguo minzhu xingzheng lilunde fazhan yu shixian" (The development and practice of the theory of democratic administration in China) in Huang Weiping (ed.), *Report on Politics*, pp. 87–109, at p. 105.

84. Ren Zhongyi, *Zai tan jianchi si xiang jiben yuanze* (On upholding the four cardinal principles), in *Nanfang zhoubao* (Southern Weekend), April 29, 2000, p. 4; it is reprinted in Zhang Yueqi and Li Ciyan (eds.); Ren Zhongyi luncong (Ren Zhongyi's expositions), 3 vols (Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Press, 2000), 3: 126–33.

85. Li Rui "Guanyu zhengzhi tizhi gaigede yijian" (Suggestions on political reform), *Kaifang* (*Open Magazine*, Hong Kong), December 2002, pp. 8–10. A speech he gave based on the article to some delegates to the November 2002 party congress meeting was published in the mainland's history journal *Yanhuang Chunqiu* (China Chronicle) in January 2003.

86. Andrew Walder "The Quiet Revolution from Within: Economic Reform as a Source of Political Decline," in Walder (ed.), *The Waning*, pp. 1–24.

87. Liu Ji quoted in *Dagong bao* (Ta Kung Pao newspaper, Hong Kong) March 12, 2001.

88. Fang Jue, "China Needs a New Transformation: Program Proposals of the Democratic Faction," *China Rights Forum* (Human Rights in China), Spring 1998; See also the appeal by Jiang Zemin's former student colleague Zhong Peizhang; "Yu Jiang Zemin yixitan—Yige lao gongchandangrende shijie sisuo" (A Talk With Jiang Zemin: Thoughts of a Long-Time Communist Party Member), (Hong Kong: Gaowen Press, 2002).

89. Talk to Guangdong delegates at NPC; March 16, 1995, *Wenhuibao* (Wen Wei Po newspaper Hong Kong).

90. Zong Hairan, pp. 112–17.

91. In an early 2003 survey of 1,500 senior cadres by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 36% chose political reform as the biggest reform concern, the top answer. When asked about their top priority for political reforms, the cadres mostly chose internal party democracy (33%) and changing government functions (24%) while expanding legislative powers (6%) and strengthening media supervision (2%) came at the bottom. See Qing Lianbin, “Zhenggai cheng gaoguan xinsheng” (New voices on political reform from senior officials), *Qianshao* (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong) March 2003, p. 18.

92. Yang Jianping, “Fazhi minzhu: Houfa guojiade zhengzhi xuanze” (Legal democracy: the choice for late developing countries,” in *Zhanlue yu guanli* (Strategy and Management) (June 2001): 86–92. Similar proposals come from the leading neo-conservative Pan Wei. See his “Toward a Consultative Rule of Law Regime in China,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 12, no. 34 (2003): 3–43.

93. See Pan Yue, “Dui geming dang xiang zhizheng dang zhuanbian de sikao” (Thoughts on the transformation of a revolutionary party into a ruling party), in *Kaifang* (Open Magazine), July 2001, pp. 28–38.

94. Michel Oksenberg “Confronting a Classic Dilemma,” in *Journal of Democracy* special issue pp 27–34, at p. 29.

95. See Richard D. Anderson, Jr., “The Discursive Origins of Russian Democratic Politics,” in Anderson et al (eds.), *Postcommunism*, pp. 96–125.

96. See Zhen Xiaoying and Li Qinghua, “Yi dangnei mingzhu tuijin renmin minzhu” (Advancing people’s democracy through inner-party democracy”, *Qiushi* (Seeking Truth Magazine), 16 June 2003.

97. Linz and Stepan, p. 72.

98. Peng Ming, p. 54.

99. Zhu Huaxin, “Caogen minzhu” (Grassroots democracy) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 352–67, at pp. 353, 364–66.

100. A celebrated example was Yao Lifa, a teacher in Hubei province who won a seat on his city’s people’s congress in 1998 after being thwarted by local cadres three times. *South China Morning Post* August 24, 2001 and Nanfeng Chuang (Southern Window magazine), July 2001. Similar cases are now covered extensively by the Carter Center’s special Chinese-language site for elections: www.chinaelections.org.

101. Deng Weizhi, p. 151.

102. Cao Siyuan: “Zhengzhi gaige guanjian zaiyu dang zishende gaige” (The key to political reforms is reform of the party itself) in *Zhongguo guoqing guoli zazhi* (China’s National Strength and Conditions Magazine), no. 101 (May 2001): 43–45, at p. 44. Cao has also published two books on political reform: *Zhongguo zhenggai fanglue* (A Strategy for Political Reform in China), Hong Kong: Xiafeier Press, 1999; and *Zhengzhi wenming ABC—Zhongguo zhengzhi gaige gangyao* (ABC’s of Political Civilization—A Program for Chinese Political Reform), New York: Cozy House Press, 2003.

103. He Baogang, p. 3.

Notes to Chapter 5

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Coming Chinese Collapse,” in *Foreign Policy* (June 1995): 35ff; Joel Starr, “Prospects for a Democratic China Within 10 years,” in *Washington Journal of Modern China* (Spring 2001): 65–74; Gordon Chang, *The Coming Collapse of China* (New York: Random House, 2001).

2. Hu Shaohua Footnote 48 p. 160; Henry Rowan, “The Short march: China’s Road to Democracy (China as a democratic state in 2015),” in *The National Interest* (Sept 22, 1996): 61ff; Xu Xing, “Zhongguo yi zai yanbianzhong” (China is already evolving), *Kaifang* (Open Magazine, Hong Kong), special, May 2002, pp. 24–27.

3. Shih Chih-yu, p. 321; Robert Scalapino “Current Trends and Future Prospects,” in *Journal of Democracy*, special issue (January 1998): 35–40, p. 35; Edwin A. Winckler, “Describing Leninist Transitions,” in Winckler (ed.), pp. 3–48.

4. Edward Friedman, p. 42.

5. Domestic proposals for gradual transition include Wang Lixiong, *Dissolving Power*; Fang Jue, “China Needs a New Transformation: Program Proposals of the Democratic Faction,” reprinted in *China Rights Forum* (Human Rights in China) Spring 1998; Cao Siyuan, *A Strategy for Political Reform*; Huang Weiping, *On Political Reform*. Overseas proposals include, Zhuge Muqun, *Constitutional China*; Wang Juntao, “A ‘Gray’ Transformation,” in *Journal of Democracy*, special issue (January 1998): 48–53, 51; Zhao Suisheng, “Three Scenarios,” in *ibid*, pp. 54–59; Pei Minxin, “Creeping Democratization in China,” in *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (October 1995): 65–79; Larry Diamond, Foreword in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. ix–xv, p. xiv; He Baogang, p. 225.

6. Zhao Suisheng, “Political Liberalization without Democratization: Pan Wei’s Proposal for Political Reform,” *Journal of Contemporary China* (2003), 12(35), 333–55, at 355.

7. O’Donnell/Schmitter, p. 16.

8. Deng Xiaoping, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1992, p. 219.

9. The speech was reprinted in *Wen Wei Po* newspaper (Hong Kong), March 17, 1995; On his being rebuked by Jiang Zemin for “disorderly speeches” see Gao Xin, “Shunle mindai nile hexin” (Taking the people’s place, opposing the core), in *Zhongguo shibao zhokan* (China Times Magazine, Taipei) May 14–20, 1995, pp. 48–49.

10. Pei Minxin, “Will China become another Indonesia?” *Foreign Policy* (October 1999): 94ff.

11. Barrett McCormick “China’s Leninist Parliament and Public Sphere: A Comparative Analysis,” in McCormick and Unger (eds.), pp. 29–54, at 37.

12. Bruce J. Dickson. “China’s Democratization and the Taiwan Experience,” in *Asian Survey* (April 1998): 349ff.

13. This point is made by Joel E. Starr, “Prospects for a Democratic China Within Ten Years,” *Washington Journal of Modern China* (Spring 2001): 65–74.

14. Chalmers A. Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1966).

15. Shambaugh (ed), *Is China Unstable?* pp. ix–x.

16. See Gill, pp. 10–13; Haggard and Kaufman find that in 21 of 27 transitions in 1970s and 1980s there was falling growth or rising inflation in the years before transition, table 1.1, pp. 34–5; Foran says economic crisis is virtually required in all cases

for an opening for revolution; John Foran, "The Comparative-Historical Sociology of Third World Social Revolutions," in Foran, pp. 227–67, at p. 229.

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18. Peng Ming, p. 26.

19. Nicholas Lardy quoted in James Kynge, "Creaking Economy Needs Stronger Foundations" *Financial Times*, October 29, 2002.

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21. Cheng Xiaonong, "Breaking the Social Contract" in Andrew J. Nathan, Zhao-hui Hong and Steven R. Smith (eds.), *Dilemmas of Reform in Jiang Zemin's China* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 1999), pp. 107–25, at p. 123.

22. Xiao Gongqin, "Jiandude quewei" (the lack of supervision) in *Zhongguo guoqing guoli*, pp. 6–8.

23. Gerardo L. Munck and Carol Skalnik Leff, "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 193–216.

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25. Andrew Nathan, "Even Our Caution Must Be Hedged," in *Journal of Democracy*, (special issue, 1998), pp. 60–64, at p. 64.

26. Jane S. Jaquette and Sharon L. Wolchik, "A Comparative Introduction," in Jaquette and Wolchik (eds); *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 1–28, at pp. 12–13. Also see Jill M. Bystydzienski and Joti Sekhon (eds); *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

27. Dang Guoying, "Qingnian nongmin shi dangjin zhongguo zuida de zhengzhi" (Young peasants are the most important political issue in China today) in *Zhongguo guoqing guoli zazhi* (*China National Conditions and Strength Magazine*), no. 101 (May 2001): 4–6.

28. Li Liangdong, pp. 159, 181.

29. Bermeo notes: "When the known costs of governance rise, the projected costs of democracy will seem relatively low if pivotal elites predict that nonextremist forces will take control of the new democratic regime." Nancy Bermeo, "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 120–40, at p. 133.

30. He Baogang, p. 222.

31. Wei Jingsheng, "China's Road to a Democratic Society" ch 5, in Timothy B. Weston and Lionel M. Jensen (eds.), *China Beyond the Headlines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. 113–20, at p. 119.

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34. Ibid.

35. Edwin A. Winckler, "Military Dimensions of Regime Transition," in Winckler (ed.), pp. 81–109, at p. 82.

36. In Chinese, "gongheguohua, guojiahua, feidanghua, feizhengzhizhuhua." See Weng et al., pp. 248–49; *PLA Daily*, June 6, 2001; Nathan and Gilley, "China's New Rulers," p. 225.

37. Jiao Jian; *Gonggong quanli yunxing wuqu: quanli cuowei* (The Abuse of Power: Misconceptions About the Use of Public Power) (Tianjin: People's Press, 2001).

38. for example Ren Yuzhong and Chen Bin "Minzhu yu fazhi: xiangpu er xiangcheng: yu Pan Wei xiansheng shangque" (Democracy and Rule of Law: Complementary and Coexistent: A discussion with Pan Wei) in *Zhanlue yu guanli* (Strategy and Management Magazine) no 2 (2001): 116–20.

39. Edward Friedman, "Theorizing the democratization of China's Leninist state," in Arif Dirlik and Maurice Meisner (eds.), *Marxism and the Chinese Experience: Issues in Contemporary Chinese Socialism* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1989), pp. 171–89.

40. See Susan V. Lawrence, "To Rebel Is Justified: Police Worry That Mass Protests Could Happen Again," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (May 27, 1999): 12; The Politburo Standing Committee voted only 4 to 3 to declare the group an evil cult. See Zong Hairan (pseud), *Zhu Rongji zai 1999*; English trans.: *Zhu Rongji in 1999* (New York: Mirror Books, 2000), p. 59.

41. Edwin A. Winckler, "Military Dimensions of Regime Transition," in Winckler (ed.), pp. 81–109, at 82.

42. Arthur Waldron, "A Free and Democratic China?," in *Commentary* (November 2000): 27–32.

43. Linz and Stephan, p. 68.

44. Pan Wei "Democracy or Rule of Law? China's Political Future," paper given at University of Hong Kong conference on China's intellectuals and the 21st century, December 15–16, 2000.

45. Cited in Dalpino, p. 25.

46. Wang Hui, "Tongyi zhongguode junshi zhunbei kebu ronghuan" (We cannot delay making military preparations to unify China), *Guangjiaojing* (Wide Angle magazine, Hong Kong), April 16, 2002, pp. 34–37, at p. 37.

47. Peng Ming, p. 32.

48. This was contained in the draft book *Inside China's Nuclear Weapons Program* by Danny Stillman, retired chief intelligence officer at Los Alamos National Laboratory. As of 2003 the book remained unpublished because of litigation with the U.S. federal government over security issues. See Steve Coll, "The Man Inside China's Bomb Labs; U.S. Blocks Memoir of Scientist Who Gathered Trove of Information," *Washington Post* May 16, 2001, p. 1.

49. Linz and Stepan.

50. Deng Xiaoping, *Collected Works*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1992), p. 344.

51. Ogden 7.

52. Dalpino 16.

53. Kenneth Lieberthal, "U.S. Policy Toward China," *Brookings Institute Papers*, No. 72, March 2001.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Huntington used the word “transplacement” for what we refer to here as extrication, *Third Wave*, p. 114, Table 3.1, p. 113. The 29 of 41 figure is my own calculation which includes 8 of 10 in the USSR and Eastern Europe, 19 of 27 in the rest of the pre-1992 period of the Third Wave, and 2 of 4 since then (namely Indonesia and Tanzania but not Serbia and Cambodia).
2. Liu Xiaobo; “That Holy Word, ‘Revolution’,” in Wasserstrom and Perry, pp. 309–325, at p. 309.
3. Yan Jiaqi, “Lun yong heping fangshi jieshu zhongguo zhuanzhi zhidu” (On using peaceful means to end dictatorship in China), in *Qianshao* (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong), (November 2002): 43–45.
4. Li Fan, pp. 341, 354, 363.
5. He Xin, pp. 445–46.
6. Andrew Nathan, “China’s Path from Communism,” in *Journal of Democracy* 4, no. 2 (April 1993): 30–42, at p. 41.
7. David Shambaugh, in Shambaugh (ed.), *Is China Unstable?*, p. 37.
8. The phrase was coined by the German intellectual and writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger.
9. Peng Ming 40.
10. Xiao Gongqin, “Jiandude quewei” (The lack of supervision) in *Zhongguo guoqing guoli*, pp. 7–8.
11. Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, Introduction in Perry/Selden (eds.), pp. 1–19, at p. 13.
12. See his open appeal for democratic reforms in 2002 “Guanyu zhengzhi tizhi gaigede yijian” (Suggestions on political reform), *Kaifang* (Open Magazine, Hong Kong), December 2002, pp. 8–10.
13. Nathan and Gilley, pp. 200–201.
14. Friedman pp. 85, 339.
15. Arthur Waldron, “The End of Communism,” in *Journal of Democracy* special issue, (1998): 41–47, at p. 43.
16. Jeff Goodwin, “State-Centered Approaches to Social Revolutions,” in Foran, pp. 11–37, at p. 20.
17. Pei Minxin 206.
18. “Aquino Wins Ovation from Business Leaders,” Associated Press, January 6, 1986.
19. Richard Anderson, et al., *Postcommunism*.
20. Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Disruption Without Disintegration,” in *Journal of Democracy* special issue (1998): 4–5, at p. 5.
21. This is Gill’s main thesis. See also Richard Lachmann, “Agents of Revolution: Elite Conflicts and Mass Mobilization from the Medici to Yeltsin,” in Foran (ed.), pp. 73–101, at p. 73; Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman; “The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions,” in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 72–96; also Anderson’s, Introduction, p. 6.
22. Fan Shuo, *Ye Jianying zai 1976* (Ye Jianying in 1976), revised edition (Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1995), pp. 132–33.
23. Arthur Waldron, “The End of Communism,” in *Journal of Democracy* special issue, (1998): 41–47, at 47.

24. This section follows Philip G. Roeder, "The Rejection of Authoritarianism," in Richard Anderson et al. (eds.), pp. 11–53. I have renamed his "exclusive republic" as aristocracy.
25. Roeder, *ibid.*, p. 40.
26. See Alan Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).
27. John Waterbury, "Fortuitous Byproducts," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 261–89.
28. Edward Friedman, "Implications for Democracy," speech at conference on China's WTO entry at Vail Colorado, May 25, 2001.
29. Dankwart Rustow "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," reprinted in Lisa Anderson (ed.), p. 31.
30. Gill, ch. 4.
31. Zheng Yongnian, p. 145.
32. Ling and Ma; Jiaofeng, p. 425.
33. Bao Tong, "Call to the Leadership," in *China Rights Forum* (Summer 1999); Bao Tong, pp. 149, 151.
34. Wang Lixiong, "Yi 'zhu ceng di xuan' shixian zhongguode pingxun zhuangxing" (Realizing China's smooth transition through indirect upper level elections), online essay, January 2002, www.dijin-democracy.net. Also his book *Dissolving Power*.
35. Joel E. Starr, "Prospects for a Democratic China Within Ten Years," *Washington Journal of Modern China* (Spring 2001): 65–74.
36. Michael Kennedy makes this point about the 1989 Polish revolution in "Contingencies and the Alternatives of 1989: Toward a Theory and Practice of Negotiating Revolution," in *East European Politics and Societies* (March 22, 1999): 293 ff.
37. Edward Friedman 289, 291.
38. Richard Lachmann, "Agents of Revolution: Elite Conflicts and Mass Mobilization from the Medici to Yeltsin," in Foran (ed.), pp. 73–101, at p. 95.
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Notes to Chapter 7

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2. Deng Xiaoping; *Selected Works*, vol. 3, 1982–1992 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1994), p. 347.
3. Zhou Xincheng et al; *Ping rendao de minzhu shehui zhuyi* (A critique of humanist democratic socialism), (Beijing: People's University Press, 1998).
4. He Xin, pp. 456–57.
5. Yan Jiaqi, *Zhongguode weiji he 'jianshen zhi dao'* (China's danger and its "road to fitness"), *Kaifang* (Open Magazine, Hong Kong), April 2002, pp. 41–42, at p. 42.
6. Zong Hairen, "Li Ruihuan tuixiu neiqing" (The inside story of Li Ruihuan's fall) in *Xinbao* (*Hong Kong Economic Journal*), December 17–20 2002, December 20 quoting internal figures.

7. Peng Ming, p. 53.
8. Robert Scalapino "Current Trends and Future Prospects," in *Journal of Democracy*, special issue (1998): 35–40.
9. Peng Ming, p. 58.
10. Pei Minxin, p. 23.
11. See Anthony Kuhn, "Corrupt Officials' 'Escape Routes' Alarm China," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 2001, p. A-4. See also the testimony on official corruption of He Qinglian and Cheng Xiaonong to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, December 11, 2002, available at www.uscc.gov.
12. *Houston Chronicle*, August 20, 1991, p. 8.
13. There is evidence of change however. In February 2003, all U.S. government agencies with an interest in China—military, security, diplomatic, aid, development, and information—attended a seminar in Washington on "Prospects for Democratic Reform," in China. The seminar was sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Notes to Chapter 8

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2. Yan Jiaqi, p. 228.
3. Edward Friedman, p. 256.
4. Arthur Waldron, "China's Coming Constitutional Challenges," in *Orbis* (January 1995): 19ff.
5. Edwin A. Winckler, "Describing Leninist Transitions," in Winckler (ed.), pp. 3–48, at 13.
6. Adam Przeworski et al "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (1996): 50–51. Also Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*, 49, no. 2 (January 1997): 155–83. They report \$6,000 in 1985 prices, which I have converted to 2002 dollars.
7. Alvarez et al 2002 cited in UNDP Human Development Report 2002, figure 2.4 p. 58. I recalculated the 1985 prices using U.S. CPI indices.
8. Samuel P. Huntington, "Reforming Civil-Military Relations," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (1995): 15. His figure of \$3,000 in 1985 dollars would be roughly \$5,000 in 2003 dollars. The upper limit set by Dahl is also around \$5,100 in 2002 dollars, Dahl, *Polyarchy*, p. 68.
9. The Freedom House ratings for political and civic liberties in 2002 were Bulgaria (1 and 3), Albania (3 and 4), and Romania (2 and 2), where 7 is totally unfree and 1 is totally free. All were (7 and 7) under communism, similar to China's (7 and 6) in 2002.
10. See for example Andrew Arato, *Civil Society, Constitution, and Legitimacy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. 229–30.
11. Wolfgang Merkel, "The consolidation of post-autocratic regimes: a multilevel model," in Chung-in Moon and Jongryn Mo (eds), *Democratization and Globalization in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1999), pp. 25–68, pp. 37–43.
12. Peng Ming, p. 135.
13. Arato, cited above, note 10, pp. 250–55.

14. He Baogang, p. 130.
15. George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998), p. 218.
16. Yan Jiaqi, "Jianli yange xianrende 'zongtong—neigezhi' gouxiang" (An idea to set up a 'presidential—cabinet' system with strict term limits), in *Qianshao* (Frontline Magazine, Hong Kong), November 2002, pp. 43–45.
17. Grame Gill, p. 236; Adrian Karatnycky, "Nations in Transit: Emerging Dynamics of Change"; Freedom House, 2001; Linz/Stepan pp. 181–83; Friedman, p. 259; also M. Steven Fish, "The Dynamics of Democratic Erosion," in Richard Anderson et al., *Postcommunism*, pp. 54–95.
18. Eg., Peng Ming, pp. 109–110.
19. Peng Ming 110. In the immediate post-Mao period, party reformer Liao Gailong suggested an NPC of 1,000 members representing 300 geographic and 700 functional constituencies. See his "Historical experience of our road of development," part 3, *Issues and Studies*, vol.17, no.12 (1981): 79–104 at 86–87.
20. Democrat Yan Jiaqi and neoauthoritarian Pan Wei have both endorsed an examination system for the civil service, See He Baogang, p. 68.
21. Ezra Suleiman, "Bureaucracy and Democratic Consolidation: Lessons from Eastern Europe," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 141–67.
22. Peng Ming, p. 137.
23. Lin Shangli, p. 346.
24. Eg., Hu Shaohua, p. 154; Maria Hsia Chang, "China's Future: Regionalism, Federation or Disintegration," in *Studies in Comparative Communism* 25, no 3 (September 1992): 211–27. Michael C. Davis, "The Case for Chinese Federalism" *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 2 (April 1999): 124–38.
25. Diamond, *Democracy*, p. 120.
26. See Lin Shangli, pp. 358–69, at 368.
27. Bo Guili; *Jiquan fenquan yu guojia xingshuai* (Concentrated versus devolved power and national wellbeing), (Beijing: Economics and Science Press, 2001), pp. 243–44, at p. 221.
28. In the 4,000 years of recorded history, the country was roughly 40% unified, 40% federation and 20% disunified according to an estimate by Maria Hsia Chang; cited in Edward Friedman, p. 58.
29. Joydeep Mukherji, "View from the Silk Road: Comparing Reform in China and India," in Standard and Poor's *Credit Week*, February 6, 2002, pp. 32–43, at p. 40.
30. This is proposed by Bo Guili, cited above, n. 27, p. 257.
31. See Alan P.L. Liu; "Provincial Identities and Political Cultures," in Hua Shiping (ed.), pp. 246–75, at p. 268.
32. Peng Ming, table 1, pp. 98–106. His plan also includes a seventh self-governing province covering the Spratly Archipelago, but it is on paper only until the disputes can be resolved under the new democracy.
33. The lack of time zones was beginning to arouse some debate by the early 2000s. See Sun Yuan, "Ruoda zhongguo zhiyou yige shijian" (Such a large China has only one time) in *Kaifang* (Open Magazine), August 2002, pp. 52–55. See also Bruce Gilley, "Time for Zones in China," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, August 29, 2002, p. A7.
34. He and Guo, p. 128.

35. Donald L. Horowitz, quoted in Diamond, p. 156.
36. See He Baogang, pp. 88–95; He and Guo, p. 203; Dawa Norbu, *China's Tibet Policy* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), pp. 352–54; Wang Lixiong, "Tibet: The Soft Rib of China in the 21st Century" from *Zhanlue yu Guanli* (Strategy and Management), January 1999, pp. 21–33. Also his "Reflections on Tibet," *New Left Review* 14 (March–April 2002): 79–111. A general statement of the normative and practical benefits of a secession clause is given in Daniel Weinstock, "Towards a normative theory of federalism," *International Social Science Journal* 53, no. 167 (March 2001): 75–83.
37. See Jack L. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: Norton, 2000).
38. Paul G. Lewis, "Conclusion: Party Development and Democratization in Eastern Europe," in Paul G. Lewis (ed.), *Party Development and Democratic Change in Post-Communist Europe: The First Decade* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 199–211, at p. 206.
39. Yan Jiaqi, p. 224.
40. This point is made in Fan Wenbin, p. 205.
41. Andrew Nathan "Chinese Democracy: The Lessons of Failure," in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. 21–32, at p. 29.
42. David Bachman, "China's Democratization: What Difference Would It Make for US-China Relations?," in Friedman and McCormick (eds.), pp. 195–223.
43. Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*, October 3, 2000.
44. Ju Yanan, pp. 73–74.
45. Yan Jiaqi, p. 224.
46. Tina Rosenberg, "The Unfinished Revolution of 1989," in *Foreign Policy* (July 1999), pp. 90ff.
47. Gerardo L. Munck and Carol Skalnik Leff, "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 193–216, at pp. 209, 210.
48. Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman; "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 72–96.
49. A positive scenario like this is mentioned by Larry Diamond, Foreword, in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. ix–xv, at p. x.
50. Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman; "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 72–96, at 92.
51. Yan Jiaqi, p. 226.
52. See Catharin Dalpino, "Democracy Gains a Foothold in Cambodia," in *Japan Times* March 23, 2002.
53. Huntington, *Third Wave*, p. 262.
54. Peng Ming, p. 58.
55. Gordon White, "Democratization and Economic Reform in China," in *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 31 (January 1994): 73–92, at p. 91.
56. Point made by Shi Tianjian, *Political Participation*, p. 281; Also see He Baogang, p. 38; Zhang Baohui, "Corporatism, Totalitarianism and Transitions to Democracy," in *Comparative Political Studies* 27, no. 1 (1994): 108–36, at p. 127.
57. Francis Fukuyama, p. 256.

58. Liu Zuoxiang, "Siquanli: Yige zhide zhongshide fazhilingyu (Private rights: an area of law worthy of attention), in Dong Yuyu and Shi Binhai (eds.), pp. 267–77, at pp. 276–77.

59. On democracy-compatible nationalism see Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

60. Edward Friedman, p. x.

61. One 1995 survey of 5,000 citizens found that less than 1% believed the death penalty should be abolished, while more than 22% believed that there were too few death sentences.

62. The best example is Hu Yunteng of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences who has spoken against the widespread use of the death penalty in China. See Michael Laris, "Chinese Scholars Speak Out on Rights Issues," *Washington Post*, September 8, 1998, p. A18.

63. Diamond, p. 219.

64. See Stephen E. Hanson, "Defining Democratic Consolidation," in R. Anderson et al., *Postcommunism*, pp. 126–51.

65. See John Ferejohn, Jack N. Rakove, and Jonathan Riley (eds.), *Constitutional Culture and Democratic Rule* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). This distinction between private and public "doctrines" mirrors the theory of political liberalism of John Rawls. Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) 1996 reprint.

66. Li Fan, et al., p. 337.

67. Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, p. lxi.

68. Richard D. Anderson, Jr. et al., "Conclusion: Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy," in Anderson et al. (eds.), pp. 152–68, at p. 158. Also, Nancy Bermeo, "Democracy and the Lessons of Dictatorship," *Comparative Politics* 24, no 3 (April 1992): 273–91.

69. See He Baogang, "New Moral Foundations of Chinese Democratic Institutional Design," in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. 89–107.

70. Yu Keping, "Quanli zhengzhi, haishi gongyi zhengzhi" (Rights politics or public interest politics) in Dong and Shi (eds.), pp. 281–87.

71. Barrett McCormick, "US-PRC Relations and the Democratic Peace," in Friedman/McCormick (eds.), p. 317.

72. See for example Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2003.

73. Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, p. 192.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

75. Yan Jiaqi, p. 224.

76. Wolfgang Merkel, "The Consolidation of Post-Autocratic Regimes: A Multilevel Model," in Chung-in Moon and Jongryn Mo (eds.), *Democratization and Globalization in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1999), pp. 25–68.

77. Diamond, p. 68.

78. Shih Chih-yu, p. 329.

79. Ogden, p. 358; this is also Shi Chih-yu's thesis.

80. Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," in Lisa Anderson (ed.), pp. 72–96.

81. Guo Dingping, p. 285.

82. Guo Xuezhong, "Dimensions of Guanxi in Chinese Elite Politics," in *China Journal* 46, (July 2001): 69–90.
83. He Baogang, "New Moral Foundations of Chinese Democratic Institutional Design," in Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. 89–107; Rawls, *Political Liberalism*.
84. See Peter Moody, "The Antipolitical Tendency in Contemporary Chinese Political Thinking," in Hua Shiping (ed.), pp. 161–87.
85. See Jane S. Jaquette and Sharon L. Wolchik (eds.), *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Also see Jill M. Bystydzienski and Joti Sekhon (eds); *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999).
86. Arthur Waldron, "The End of Communism," in *Journal of Democracy*, special issue, (1998): 41–47, p. 46.
87. Alan P.L. Liu; "Provincial Identities and Political Cultures," in Hua Shiping (ed.), pp. 246–75.
88. Deng Xiaoping. *Collected Works* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1992), 3: 217.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Zong Hairen, *The Fourth Generation*, p. 560.
2. Wang Lixiong, "Shexiang zhongguo shixing xifang minzhuzhi" (Imagine if China implemented a Western democratic system), online essay, www.dijin-democracy.net, September 2002.
3. Kenneth Lieberthal, "U.S. Policy Toward China," *Brookings Papers*, no 72, March 2001.
4. Yan Jiaqi, p. 224. Qin Hui, "Dividing the big family assets," *New Left Review* (March–April 2003), 20, 83–110, at p. 108.
5. M. Steven Fish shows that "economic performance does not appear to be related" to whether a new democracy succeeded or failed in the case of former communist states in Europe and Central Asia. See his "The Dynamics of Democratic Erosion," in Anderson et al. (eds.), *Postcommunism*, pp. 54–95, at p. 64; also Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, ch. 3.
6. The speaker is Bo Xilai. See Zong Hairen, *The Fourth Generation*, pp. 505–6.
7. See Sorensen, pp. 64–92; Haggard and Kaufman, p. 152; UNDP Human Development Report 2002, pp. 56–59; and Daniel Kaufmann and Aart Kraay, "Governance and Growth: Causality Which Way?" World Bank Institute 2003.
8. See Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al., "Political Competition and Economic Growth" *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 1 (January 2001).
9. Wing Thye Woo, "China: Confronting Restructuring and Stability," unpublished paper given at University of Washington conference on China and the WTO, Hong Kong, March 1999.
10. Peng Ming, p. 141.
11. Vaclav Smil, "The Dimensions of China's Environmental Challenge," in Timothy B. Weston and Lionel M. Jensen (eds.), *China Beyond the Headlines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), pp. 195–215 at p. 197.
12. Quoted in Zong Hairen, *The Fourth Generation*, pp. 163–64.
13. Charles Wolf, Jr., "Uncertain Times for Foreign Investment in China," *Financial Times*, June 24, 2002.

14. Terry Lynn Karl, "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability," in *Journal of Democracy* 11, no 1 (2000): 149–56.
15. Liu Guokai, p. 4.
16. Zhang Xuebin et al., p. 374.
17. Peng Ming, p. 138.
18. Peng Ming, p. 139.
19. See Jonathan Unger and Anita Chan, "Corporatism in China," in McCormick/Unger (eds.), pp. 95–129.
20. See Edward X. Gu, "State Corporatism and Civil Society," in Wang/Zheng (eds.), pp. 71–102.
21. Feng Chongyi, "The Third Way: The Question of Equity as a Bone of Contention Between Intellectual Currents," unpublished paper.
22. Yang Fan and Lu Zhoulai; Yi min wei ben, guanzhu minsheng: Zhongguo xin shijide qiantu yu xuanze (Putting People First, Paying Attention to People's Livelihood: China's Future and Choices in the New Century) (Beijing: Petroleum Industry Press, 2001).
23. UNDP Annual Report 2002, p. 3.
24. Peng Ming, pp. 140.
25. Andrew Nathan "Chinese Democracy: The Lessons of Failure," in Zhao Sui-sheng (ed.) pp. 21–32, at p. 29.
26. A 1995 to 2010 Pearl River Delta development plan called for \$250 billion in new infrastructure investments in the delta region. See Bruce Gilley, "Get a Grip," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Feb 22, 1996, p. 47. About three quarters of the \$60 billion in spending on key projects in the province's five year plan from 2000 to 2005 was concentrated in the Pearl River Delta region.
27. Wang Furen, "Yingxiang 21 shiji zhongguo wenhuade ji ge xianshi yinsu" (A few practical factors affecting China's 21st century culture) in Zhanlue yu Guanli (Strategy and Management), no. 2 (1997): 87–96, at p. 87.
28. See the sustained treatment in Edward Friedman, esp. pp. 71–79.
29. See Ma Shuo, Henan ren ruo sheile? (Who's So Angry at the Henan People?) Haikou: Hainan Press, 2002.
30. See Rubie S. Watson, "Memory, History and Opposition Under State Socialism: An Introduction," in Rubie S. Watson (ed.); *Memory, History and Opposition Under State Socialism* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1994), pp. 1–20; Also see Alexandra Barahona De Brito (ed.), *The Politics of Memory and Democratization: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (2001) and Kenneth Christie and Robert Cribb (eds.), *Historical Injustice and Democratic Transition in Eastern Asia and Northern Europe: Ghosts at the Table of Democracy* (New York : RoutledgeCurzon, 2002).
31. O'Donnell/Schmitter, p. 30.
32. "Overview," Legacies of Authoritarianism Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://wiscinfo.doit.wisc.edu/globalstudies/LOA>.
33. The German word *vergangenheitsbewältigung* literally means coming to terms with the past. In its usage, heavily affected by post-Nazi era, it connotes a social process of honestly admitting and vigorously interpreting the past such that one "masters" its hold over the future.

34. Adrian Karatnycky; "Nations in Transit: Emerging Dynamics of Change"; on-line essay, Freedom House, 2001.

35. See Louis Bickford, "Human Rights Archives and Research on Historical Memory: Argentina, Chile and Uruguay," *Latin American Research Review* (January 2000): 160–82.

36. Vera Schwarcz; "Memory and Commemoration: The Chinese Search for a Livable Past," in Wasserstrom/Perry (eds.). *Popular Protest*, ch. 8 pp. 170–83.

37. Typical will be works like those about the 1989 Tiananmen protests, such as Liu Binyan, *Tell the World: What Happened in China and Why*, with Ruan Ming and Xu Gang (New York: Pantheon, 1989).

38. See the self-criticism letters of the poet Guo Xiaochuan, who died in a re-education camp in 1976 after 17 years of persecution, published in 2001. Guo Xiaohui (ed.); Jiantaoshu: Shiren Guo Xiaochuan zai zhengzhi yundong zhongde linglei wenzi (Self-criticism report: Another kind of writing by poet Guo Xiaochuan in the midst of political campaigns) (Beijing: China Workers Press, 2001).

39. Yang Xianhui, *Jiabianguo jishi* (A memoir of Jiabianguo), (Tianjin: Tianjin Ancient Books Press, 2002).

40. "Basically speaking, the difficulties were primarily a result of leftist guiding ideology. In those years of building communes, communist zeal, exaggeration, and misdirected leadership were widespread," said a standard text for university students published in 1997. He Qin, p. 221.

41. For example, the online memorial sites at *China News Digest* (www.cnd.org) and www.chinese-memorial.org which do not include memorials for the Great Leap Famine.

42. Beijing artist Shao Yinong "There's even a prostitute in our family. But that's just it, we're a very average family in China," Shao has commented. *South China Morning Post*, February 4, 2002. On the horrors in Inner Mongolia see Wu Di, "The Aftermath of the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia," in Kenneth Christie and Robert Cribb (eds.), *Historical Injustice and Democratic Transition in Eastern Asia and Northern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 24–37.

43. The site is: www.chinese-memorial.org.

44. Qian Gang, *Tangshan da dizhen* (Tangshan's Great Earthquake) (Beijing: Liberation Army Literature and Art Press, 1986. English translation, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1989). p. 237.

45. On the comparisons of Mao to others see Ian Buruma, "Divine Killer," *New York Review of Books* (February 4, 2000): 20–25.

46. Edward Friedman, p. 288.

47. "Overview," Legacies of Authoritarianism Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://wiscinfo.doit.wisc.edu/globalstudies/LOA>.

48. Brandon Hamber and Richard Wilson, "Symbolic Closure through Memory, Reparation, and Revenge in Post-Conflict Societies," *Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 1, no. 1 (March 2002).

49. Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz, Mark Selden, with Kay Ann Johnson, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1993); and *Revolution, Resistance and Reform in Village China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

50. See the story of mass protests in the 1980s and 1990s over the Three Gorges dam by Ying Xing; *Dahe yimin shangfangde gushi* (The story of the protests by Dahe migrants) (Beijing: Sanlian [Joint] Publishing, 2001).

51. The standard work on this new history is Paul A. Cohen; *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writings on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

52. David Barrett and Larry Shyu (eds.), *Chinese Collaboration with Japan 1932–1945: The Limits of Accommodation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

53. On opium sales see Chen Yung-fa, “Blooming Poppy under the Red Sun: The Yan’an Way and the Opium Trade,” in Tony Saich and Hans J. van de Ven (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), 263–98; on local protest against KMT rule as basis of CCP power see Ralph A. Thaxton Jr., *Salt of the Earth: The Political Origins of Peasant Protest and Communist Revolution in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1997.

54. “Overview,” Legacies of Authoritarianism Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison, website, <http://wiscinfo.doit.wisc.edu/globalstudies/LOA>.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Larry Diamond and Ramon Myers, “Elections and Democracy in Greater China,” *China Quarterly* (June 2000): 365–86, at p. 371.

2. Arthur Waldron, “China’s Coming Constitutional Challenges,” in *Orbis* (January 1995): 19ff.

3. David Bachman, “China’s Democratization: What Difference Would It Make for US-China Relations?,” in Friedman/McCormick (eds.), pp. 195–223. Barrett McCormick, “US-PRC Relations and the Democratic Peace,” in McCormick/Friedman (eds.), pp. 309–26.

4. See Sarah E. Mendelson, “Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure,” *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 68–106.

5. For similar policy advice for Europe’s new democracies see Adrian Karatnycky; “Nations in Transit: Emerging Dynamics of Change”; Freedom House, online report, 2001.

6. Fu Ying, a foreign ministry official and former Chinese ambassador to the Philippines, in a talk to a group of Asian editors in Beijing in May 2001 said: “We have always been a cultural power rather than a colonial power” and that Beijing would expand its role in Asia only when “everyone is comfortable.” Asia News Network, www.asianewsnet.net, June 7, 2001.

7. Peng Ming, p. 137.

8. Peng Ming, p. 137.

9. Edward Friedman, “Preventing War Between China and Japan,” in Friedman / McCormick (eds.), pp. 99–128, at p. 114.

10. He and Guo make these points, pp. 147–52.

11. See Larry Diamond’s Foreword to Zhao Suisheng (ed.), pp. ix–xv.

12. Lee Feigon, *Demystifying Tibet: Unlocking the Secrets of the Land of the Snows* (London: Profile Books, 1999), p. 214.

13. He/Guo, p. 30.

14. Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, pp. 165–68. The theory has also proved to

be false in large-n studies. See Jonathan Fox, "Ethnic Minorities and the Clash of Civilizations: A Quantitative Analysis of Huntington's Thesis," *British Journal of Political Science* 32, no. 3 (July 2002): 415 ff.

Notes to Conclusion

1. Pei Minxin, p. 209.
2. Feng Chongyi, "The Third Way: The Question of Equity as a Bone of Contention Between Intellectual Currents," unpublished paper.
3. Ogden, p. 16.
4. Feng, "The Third Way," see note 2.
5. Xu Jilin, "Zai hefa yu zhengyi zhijian: guanyu liang zhong minzhude fansi" (Between legality and justice: reflections on two types of democracy) in *Strategy and Management* (June 2001): 113–20.
6. Yi Yangsheng, "Cong 'gaige kaifang' dao 'kaifang gaige'—2002 nian zhongguo zhengzhi fazhan dongxiang" (From "reform and opening" to "opening and reform"—trends in China's political development in 2002), *Guangjiaojing* (Wide Angle Magazine, Hong Kong) (February 16, 2002): 6–10.
7. Lin Chun, "Situating China," in *Social Justice* (March 22, 1996): 262 ff.
8. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, rev. ed., 1999), p. 198.
9. Chung Jae Ho, "China's Reforms at Twenty-five: Challenges for the New Leadership," *China: An International Journal* 1, no.1 (March 2003): 119–132, at p. 130.
10. Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, p. 273.

Notes to Afterword

1. "Peiyu gongmin yishi, tuidong zhili zhuanxing" (Nurture civic consciousness, promote a transformation of governance) 21 shiji jingji baodao (21st Century Economic Herald), May 15, 2003, p. 1.
2. Pei Minxin, "Don't hold your breath for openness in China," *Financial Times*, May 7, 2003, p. 15.
3. Ai Wenbo, "SARS tests the government's credibility," *Zhongguo qingnian bao* (China Youth Daily), reprinted in *China Daily*, April 28, 2003.
4. Zhou Jiu, chief editor of *Koushu zazhi* (Oral Accounts Magazine), "Huangyan zhiguo bi zao baofu" (Those who lie to run the country will be avenged), in *Kaifang* (Open Magazine, Hong Kong), June 2003, pp. 32–34.
5. Guan Anping, quoted in *South China Morning Post*, May 13, 2003.
6. Xue Baosheng, "Valuable lesson for government to learn," *China Daily*, June 6, 2003.
7. Zuo Sifang, "Ke 'minzhu' yu 'kexue' yu xinzhong" (Taking "democracy" and "science" to heart), *Nanfang zhoubao* (Southern Weekend newspaper), May 8, 2003.

