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978-0-521-86693-4 - China since Tiananmen: From Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao

Joseph Fewsmith

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CHINA SINCE TIANANMEN

In a new edition of his path-breaking analysis of political and social change in China since the crackdown in Tiananmen Square in 1989, Joseph Fewsmith traces developments since 2001. These include the continuing reforms during the final years of Jiang Zemin's premiership and Hu Jintao's succession in 2002. Here the author also considers social trends and how Chinese citizens are starting to have a significant influence on government policies. As Fewsmith – a highly regarded political scientist and a seasoned China-watcher – observes, China is a very different place today than it was eighteen years ago. In the interim, it has emerged from isolation to become one of the most significant players on the world stage. This book – more than any other – explains the forces that have shaped China since Tiananmen.

JOSEPH FEWSMITH is Professor in the Departments of International Relations and Political Science at Boston University.

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi
 Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK
 Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521686051

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First published 2001
 Second edition 2008

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fewsmith, Joseph, 1949–
 China since Tiananmen: from Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao / Joseph Fewsmith.
 p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-86693-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-68605-1 (pbk.)

1. China—Politics and government – 1976–2002. 2. Political leadership—China.
 3. China—History—Tiananmen Square Incident, 1989. I. Title.

JQ1510.F478 2008
 951.05'9—dc22 2007053003

ISBN 978-0-521-86693-4 hardback
 ISBN 978-0-521-68605-1 paperback

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For Stephanie and Andrew

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Acknowledgments

This book has its origins in an earlier attempt to come to grips with the political trends in China since the tragic crackdown on student demonstrations on June 4, 1989, an event usually referred to simply as “Tiananmen” after the central square in Beijing that had been the focus of student activities for the preceding six weeks (though most of the violence took place outside the square). Roderick MacFarquhar asked me to analyze events in the first three years since that time for a revised edition of his *The Politics of China*, which appeared in 1997. I thank him for his encouragement to write that chapter and for his later suggestion to expand that chapter into a book – though doing so took longer and involved more than I had anticipated at the time. His intellectual support and friendship have been critical to that enterprise.

A grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation and a sabbatical leave from Boston University in 1997–8 gave me time to pursue this research. Alas, it became apparent in that year that understanding politics in the years since Tiananmen required delving into the new intellectual moods that grew up in the 1990s and reflected a very different China from the one I had grown accustomed to in the 1980s – and that required additional time and effort. Fortunately, I knew or came to know many of the intellectuals whose works are discussed in the pages that follow. They have helped me understand not only the different ideas that gained currency but also why those ideas came into being and evolved as they have. I hope that I have repaid their time and guidance by conveying the trends of the 1990s accurately.

Since the first edition of this work was published in 2001, much has happened in China. Jiang Zemin has left office and been replaced by Hu Jintao, and the tenor of public discourse has changed significantly. It seemed time to incorporate these changes by updating this work. Accordingly, an eighth chapter has been added and the earlier chapters edited down so that, hopefully, the political history of China in the eighteen years since Tiananmen can be presented coherently. An epilogue has been added discussing

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Acknowledgments

the Seventeenth Party Congress in October 2007. In updating this work I was helped by my stay at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in the fall of 2005. I am very grateful to Robert Hathaway and the staff of the center for providing such a hospitable place to study and write.

In trying to understand post-Tiananmen China, I have often worked closely with Stanley Rosen, whose translations of debates in this period are cited frequently in the text. I thank him for his insights and support. I have also benefited from the friendship and support of my colleague Merle Goldman, who read the manuscript in draft form and whose comments have improved the final form. Similarly Cheng Li and Timothy Cheek read the manuscript and provided valuable comments, as did an anonymous reviewer. William C. Kirby supported the project and provided encouragement along the way.

As anyone who has worked on such a book knows, scholarship depends on those who collect, organize, and know the material they put on the shelves of libraries. I have been fortunate to work with the best. Nancy Hearst of the Fairbank Center at Harvard University has provided critical support, not only bibliographically but also by proofreading the final manuscript. James Cheng and his staff at the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard have been similarly helpful. Jean Hung and the staff at the Universities Service Center at the Chinese University of Hong Kong were of great assistance in locating much material used in this study, and Annie Chang at the Center for Chinese Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley has also been of great help in finding material. I also appreciate the help that Jennifer Sova and Luke Wilcox provided in running down sources and checking footnotes.

Parts of this volume are adapted from articles previously published by the National Bureau of Asian Research, the Asia Society, and *Current History*. Permission to do so is gratefully acknowledged.

Mary Child, the editor for Asian Studies, Sociology, and History of Science at Cambridge University Press, provided invaluable guidance and support in the preparation of the first edition of this work, and Marigold Acland has similarly supported the preparation of the second edition.

My wife Irene has been unfailing in her support. Our children, Stephanie and Andrew, have tolerated with uncommon grace my frequent trips to China and the time I have spent locked away in my study. Because of their patience, and just because they are such great kids, this book is dedicated to them.

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June 4

Tiananmen crackdown

June 23–24

Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth
Central Committee

November 6–9

Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth
Central Committee**1990**

January 10

Premier Li Peng announces the lifting of
martial law in Beijing

September

Economic Work Conference

November

Yearnings broadcast

December

National Planning Conference

1991

March 22

First Huangfu Ping commentary

March

NPC promotes Zhu Rongji to vice premier

July 1

Jiang Zemin calls for opposing “peaceful
evolution”

August 19–21

Attempted coup d'état in Soviet Union

1992

January 18–February 21

Deng Xiaoping's “southern tour”

March 10–12

Politburo Meeting supports Deng Xiaoping

September 28

Conservative theoretician Hu Qiaomu dies at
age 81

October 12–18

Fourteenth Party Congress

October 19

First Plenary Session of the Fourteenth
Central Committee**1993**

March 5–7

Second Plenary Session of the Fifteenth
Central Committee

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Summer	Huntington's article, "Clash of Civilizations?" published
August 3	Chinese ship, <i>Yin He</i> , stopped by US Navy
September 23	2000 Olympics awarded to Sydney, Australia, instead of Beijing
November	<i>Strategy and Management</i> starts publication
November 11–14	Third Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Central Committee
1994	
March	<i>Looking at China through a Third Eye</i> published
September 25–28	Fourth Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Central Committee
1995	
April 10	Chen Yun, advocate of a planned economy, dies at age 90
April 27	Chen Xitong removed as Beijing Party secretary
September 25–28	Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Central Committee
1996	
March 8	China tests surface-to-surface missiles into sea off the coast of Taiwan
May	<i>China Can Say No</i> published
October	<i>Heart-to-Heart Talks with the General Secretary</i> published
October 7–10	Sixth Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Central Committee
1997	
February 2	Former Minister of Defense Qin Jiwei dies at age 82
February 19	Deng Xiaoping dies at age 92
May 29	Jiang Zemin speaks at Central Party School
July 1	Hong Kong is returned to China
September 12–18	Fifteenth Party Congress convenes in Beijing
September 19	First Plenary Session of the Fifteenth Central Committee
October 28	Jiang Zemin arrives in Washington, D.C.

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1998

- February 25–26 Second Plenary Session of Fifteenth Central Committee
- March *Crossed Swords* published
- March 5–19 NPC meeting announces major government restructuring
- May 4 Beijing University celebrates its 100th anniversary
- June 27 President Clinton arrives in Beijing
- July 22 Jiang Zemin calls on Chinese military to withdraw from business
- September 14 Former president Yang Shangkun dies at age 91
- October 12–14 Third Plenary Session of the Fifteenth Central Committee
- December 21 Democratic activists Wang Youcai and Xu Wenli sentenced to jail

1999

- March 23 United States starts bombing Serbian forces in Kosovo
- April 6 Premier Zhu Rongji arrives in Washington to discuss WTO
- April 20 Task force established to investigate corruption in Xiamen
- April 25 Adherents of Falun Gong demonstrate around Zhongnanhai
- May 7 US bombs hit Chinese Embassy in Belgrade
- July 9 Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui describes relations with PRC as “special-state-to-state” relations
- September 19–22 Fourth Plenary Session of Fifteenth Central Committee
- October 1 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC celebrated
- November 15 United States and China reach agreement on China’s accession to WTO

2000

- January 20 *Wall Street Journal* reports Lin Youfang, wife of Politburo member Jia Qinglin, detained for questioning

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Chronology

February

Jiang Zemin raises “three represents” slogan

March 29

Enlightenment Daily carries letter implicitly criticizing Liu Junning

October 9–11

Fifth Plenary Session of Fifteenth Central Committee

2001

April 1

Chinese F-8 fighter collides with American E-P3 surveillance plane off coast of Hainan

2002

October 22

Shanghai Party Secretary Huang Ju and Beijing Party Secretary Jia Qinglin are transferred to the center

November 8–14

Sixteenth Party Congress convenes in Beijing

December 4

Hu Jintao, in his first public appearance as general secretary, speaks at celebration commemorating the 20th anniversary of the 1982 constitution

December 5–6

Hu Jintao visits the revolutionary base of Xibaipo

2003

January 7–9

National meeting of propaganda heads

January 7–8

Rural Work Conference

March 5–11

First Session of the Tenth National People's Congress Meeting. Wen Jiabao is named premier

April 2

Wen Jiabao presides over a State Council meeting that discusses the SARS issue

April 20

Health Minister Zhang Wenkang and Beijing Mayor Meng Xuenong are dismissed from their posts

May 1

Hu Jintao calls to launch a “people's war” against SARS

October 11–14

Third Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee

2004

March 2004

An Investigation of China's Peasants by Chen Guidi and Chu Tao is banned

September 2

Xiao Weibi, editor of the liberal, Guangdong-based *Tongzhou gongjin* is dismissed for publishing an interview with

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- former Guangdong Party Secretary Ren Zhongyi
- September 8 *Southern Personalities Weekly* publishes list of the 50 most influential Chinese public intellectuals
- September 13 *Yitabutu* chatroom is closed down
- September 16–19 Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee
- September 19 Jiang Zemin retires from the Central Military Commission
- September 22 *Strategy and Management* is closed down
- November 11 Propaganda Department issues Document Number 29
- November 23 Wang Guangze, a journalist at the *21st Century Business Herald*, is fired
- December 14 Small- and medium-sized SOEs must clarify who is funding a buyout and who will manage the business before any MBO can be approved
- 2005**
- March 17 Jiao Guobiao is dismissed from Peking University
- April 14 Management buyouts of large state-owned enterprises are banned
- July 10 Xinhua News Agency issues draft Property Law
- August 12 Peking University law professor Gong Xiantian posts letter on Internet attacking the draft property rights law
- 2006**
- March 5–14 Fourth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress meeting discusses Eleventh Five-Year Program
- August 10 *Selected Works* of Jiang Zemin are published
- September 24 Party Secretary of Shanghai Chen Liangyu is removed from office for his involvement in a security fund scandal
- October 8–11 Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee

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Chronology

December

Sociologist Lu Jianhua is secretly sentenced to twenty years for leaking state secrets

2007

March 5–16

Amended property rights law passed at Fifth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress meeting

October 15–20

Seventeenth Party Congress convened in Beijing

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Schematic overview of the Chinese political spectrum

Schematic overview of Chinese political spectrum

STATE				
The Political Center				
	Left		Right	
The Old Left Deng Liqun Yu Quanyu Leftist Journals <i>Contemporary Trends</i> <i>Quest for Truth</i> <i>Mainstream</i>	Li Peng	Jiang Zemin	Zhu Rongji	Liberals Wan Li Li Shenzhi Shen Jiru Ling Zhijun Ma Licheng
		Zeng Qinghong		
		Wang Huning		
	Ding Guan'gen		Wang Daohan	
	Tang Wensheng		Liu Ji	
	Wang Renzhi			
SOCIETY				
	The New Left			Liberals
New Nationalists <i>China Can Say No</i> Wang Xiaodong Yang Ping Fang Ning	Post-Modernists	Neostatists		Liu Junning
		Wang Hui	Hu Angang	Qin Hui
		Cui Zhiyuan	Wang Shaoguang	Xu Youyu
		Gan Yang		Zhu Xueqin
		Zhang Kuan		Lei Yi

Note: This schematic is arranged horizontally from the center outward, showing those who are far to the left and right of the political center (the Old Left and Liberals respectively) as well as those with left and right tendencies within the political center. Vertically, those farther from the top exercise less political influence. Thus, the Old Left and Liberals influence the political center but are not as powerful, similarly, intellectuals such as Li Shenzhi are not in the same category as former Vice-Premier Wan Li. Other intellectuals, whether New Left or Liberal, are even more distant from the political center and are depicted as societal actors.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAC	Central Advisory Commission
CAS	Chinese Academy of Sciences
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDIC	Central Discipline Inspection Commission
CMC	Central Military Commission
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CYL	Communist Youth League
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce
MOFTEC	Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPC	National People's Congress
NMD	National Missile Defense
PBSC	Politburo Standing Committee
PRC	People's Republic of China
SETC	State Economic and Trade Commission
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SPC	State Planning Commission
TVE	Township and Village Enterprise
TMD	Theater Missile Defense
USTR	United States Trade Representative
WTO	World Trade Organization

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