

Index

1997 Asian financial crisis, 93, 96 Bryceson, Deborah, 109 2008 economic crisis, 1, 197 Burma, 109 activism, 10-11 Cao Jinqing, 10, 127, 148, 150, 152, 166, 168 Africa, 104, 186 critique of market forces, 138 African Americans, 125-6 critique of rural reforms, 137 agrarian socialism, 18, 37, 67 on peasant organization, 143 as a critique of Maoism, 32, 52, 55, 86 on the breakdown of rural social relations, as a form of populism, 57 128-35, 137, 152, 165 capital, 105, 107, 123-5, 145 as a historical anachronism, 30, 38, 86 relationship to labor, 162, 180, 188, 191, 194 as utopian, 8, 57 shifting connotations of, 22-4, 30-1 capitalism, 17, 59-60, 62-4, 74, 80, 162, 180 agricultural economics, 92 and agriculture, 11, 190 and democracy, 83 agricultural prices, 118, 132, 147, 193 Agricultural University of China, 97, 177 and power, 63, 76-7 agriculture and the peasant, 165 and capitalism, 190-1 China's integration into, 1, 15-16, 45, 91, 95, global market, 124 101, 126-7, 168, 186, 188, 192, 194 critique of, 9, 74, 89-90 involution, 79, 88, 107 land, 105-6, 111, 123, 132 delinking from, 30, 55, 105, 115 mechanization, 125 distinction from markets, 74 modernization, 126 uneven global geography of, 112 Western, 70, 84, 124, 152 Center for Chinese Rural Studies, 135, 138 production, 9, 84, 94, 97, 107, 131 socialization of, 22 Center for Research on Rural Governance, 138 tax, 167 Central China Normal University, 135, 139 Agriculture Ministry, 10 Amin, Samir, 99, 126 Chayanov, A. V., 108 Chen Baifeng, 142 anarchism, 18, 82, 183 Angang Constitution, 87 Chen Duxiu, 19 Chen Guidi, 150-2 Anhui Province, 3, 53, 150, 158, 160, Chenzhai Village, 177-8 anti-globalization movement, 162, 185 China Center for Economic Research, 109 China Peasant Survey, 150–2 Asiatic mode of production, 18, 25, 31, 33-7, 52, 55, 60, 67, 146 China Reform, 97, 118, 176 China University of Political Science Bai Nanfeng, 39-41, 43 and Law, 149 Bai Yijin, 39 Chinese Academy of Social Science, 73, 84, 87, Bangladesh, 104 118, 157-8 Braudel, Fernand, 70, 74 Chinese Communist Party, 3-4, 17, 19-20, 44, Brazil, 103-4, 162 65, 110, 163, 195 Brook, Timothy, 52 Chun Tao, 150-2



228 Index

```
citizens, 68, 121, 157
                                                      dual structure, 119-20, 122-3, 194
  farmers as, 47-8, 86
                                                      Durkheim, Emile, 108
   peasants transformed into, 5, 65, 67, 171-2,
                                                      Dushu, 121
     187, 190
                                                      East China University of Science and
  rural, 1
   versus peasants, 45, 50, 52
                                                           Technology, 10, 128
civil society, 50, 55, 64, 67
                                                      Eastern Europe, 87
class, 2, 16, 21, 25, 28, 34, 49, 65, 188, 193
                                                      economic demand, 1
  struggle, 17, 28-9, 31, 35-6, 77
                                                      economy
Cold War, 72, 78, 81-2
                                                        commodity, 31, 40-1
colonialism, 104, 126
                                                        market, 7, 9, 55, 63
commune system, 87, 112, 122, 141, 165
                                                        rural, 2-3
  and peasant dependency, 5, 55, 67
                                                      egalitarianism, 22-3
  and rural surplus extraction, 9, 100
                                                      End of History, 73
  as a block to development, 48, 136
                                                      Engels, Friedrich, 59
                                                      Eurocentrism, 55
  as a model, 84, 122
  as a target of critique, 36, 51, 111, 120
                                                      exports, 1
company plus household model, 132
Confucianism, 36, 55-6, 146, 163
                                                      Fan Wenlan, 24
cooperatives, 10, 132, 156, 161, 164, 169-71, 185, 191
                                                      Fan Yafeng, 158
  new cooperative movement, 11, 168, 174-81,
                                                      farmers, 47, 50-1, 66, 125
     183, 187
                                                        entrepreneurial, 14, 18
  specialized, 175
                                                      Fei Xiaotong, 78, 80, 82, 108, 124, 134, 138-9,
corruption, 62, 133, 192
                                                           149, 182
credit cooperatives, 161, 174
                                                      fengjian, 35
Cui Zhiyuan, 9, 70, 78, 85, 87, 89, 102-4
                                                      feudalism, 17–18, 27, 35, 41, 49, 53, 55, 60, 67, 120
  critique of historical determinism, 83
                                                        and historical development, 29-30, 44, n. 107
  on institutional innovation, 72, 81-4, 87, 89
                                                        as opposed to modernization, 59
                                                        liberal critique of, 16-17, 31, 37
  on petty-bourgeois socialism, 82
cult of personality, 28, 32
                                                      fictitious commodities, 107
cultural fever, 79
                                                      Fordism, 82
                                                      Foreign Theoretical Trends, 126
Cultural Revolution, 8, 16-17, 26-7, 29, 31, 33-4,
     56, 72, 102, 188, 193
                                                      formalism, 108-16, 148
  as a result of a peasant mentality, 5, 14, 17, 32-3
                                                      four modernizations, 115
                                                      France, 52
  as an expression of populism, 57, 65
                                                      free market, 50
dagongtongti. See great community
                                                      Fudan University, 57, 122
Dai Yi, 29-30, 36, 44
                                                      functionalism, 80
danwei system, 50
Davis, Mike, 126, 186, 193
                                                      Gan Yang, 9, 70, 78-82, 86, 88-9
                                                      Gang of Four, 30
Dazhai Brigade, 38
decollectivization, 5, 97, 121, 130, 165
                                                      Gansu Province, 176
                                                      Gao Mobo, 121–2, 127, 193
deflation, 113
                                                      Gao Village, 121
democracy, 75
  and capitalism, 83
                                                      Gao Zhaoyi, 25
  economic, 69, 83, 87
                                                      Geertz, Clifford, 79
  internal party, 30
                                                      gemeinschaft, 49, n. 5
  political, 17, 28, 54, 62, 83, 90, 158, 192
                                                      gesellschaft, 49, n. 5
                                                      Giddens, Anthony, 88
   village elections, 71, 83–4, 135–7, 155
Deng Xiaoping, 2, 27–8, 38, 101, 157
                                                      globalization, 124, 146
depoliticization, 4, 15, 18, 48
                                                      Goldman, Merle, 68
developmentalism, 7
                                                      governance, 118, 132, 135, 137, 139, 148, 160
Ding County, 163
                                                      grain prices, 93
Dirlik, Arif, 15
                                                      great community, 52-5, 60, 65, 67, 126,
Du Runsheng, 157
                                                           134, 153
```



Index 229

Great Leap Forward, 8, 26, 43 Japan, 85 critique of, 111-12 Ji Weidong, 85-6 Guangdong Province, 85, 150 Jian Bozan, 24, 26 Guangxi Province, 8 Jiang Bailin, 171, 174-81, 191 Jiang Yihua, 57 Guangzhou, 158 Guizhou Province, 150 Jiang Zemin, 195 Guldin, Gregory, 182-3, 189 Jilin Province, 174 Guo Houliang, 171 Jin Guantao, 44 Guo Moruo, 24, 26 Jin Huishen, 39 Justin Lin. See Lin Yifu Han Jun, 161 He Huili, 176–9, 191, 197 Kant, Immanuel, 29 He Qinglian, 62-3 Keynesian economics, 112 He Village, 177-8 Khrushchev, Nikita, 101 He Xuefeng, 10, 127, 137-44, 190, 197 Kobe University, 85 Korean War, 112 on cooperatives, 177 on migrant labor, 192 on new rural reconstruction, 170, 191 labor on social disintegration, 152, 196 value of, 16, 18, 37-8 labor process, 192 Henan Province, 10, 129-30, 176 Henan University, 177 Landless Workers' Movement, 103, 162 Lankao County, 176–8, 181, 191 Heshang, 13, 41-4, 49, 65, 68, 173 historicism, 54 Lanzhou University, 35, 48 Latin America, 186 history and the peasant, 6-7, 15 Legalism, 36, 55-6, 60 relationship to politics, 6, 17–18, 47, 65, 102, 190 Lenin, Vladimir, 57 household registration system, 100 Li Changping, 122, 135, 151 household responsibility system, 2, 40, 111, 114, letter to Zhu Rongji, 6, 10, 116-19, 127-9, 147, 118, 120, 128, 132 150, 156, 171 Hu Jintao, 2, 156, 162, 169, 195 on local conditions, 150 Hu Weixi, 57 on the new cooperative movement, 10, 180 on the rural future, 167-8, 192 Hu Yaobang, 28 Huang, Philip, 20, 79, 88, 106 on urbanization, 182-3 Huang Ping, 9, 78, 87-8, 105-6 Li Peilin, 183 Huazhong University of Science and Li Xiucheng, 26 Technology, 138 Li Yuanxing, 169-70 Huazhong "xiangtupai," 138-50, 152, 158-9, 187, 192 Li Zehou, 29 Hubei Province, 6, 10, 116, 159 Liang Qichao, 172 human rights, 65 Liang Shuming, 163-5, 169, 171, 182 Liang Shuming Center for Rural Reconstruction, Hunan Province, 157 Hung, Ho-fung, 1 164 liberalism, 15-18, 28, 36, 54, 56 import-substitution, 112 conception of rights, 11 modernization narrative of, 60, 64, India, 103, 112 industrialization, 22, 120 agricultural, 123 roots in the discourse on the peasant, 14, 45 view of the peasant, 53, 67 and primitive accumulation, 61-2, 100 liberals, 7-9, 11, 16-18, 47, 61 Chinese attempts at, 9, 102, 107, 166 European, 79, 98 advocacy, 11, 110, 192 rural, 113, 136, 176, 179 critique of the new left, 85, 90 socialist, 2, 127, 151 historical vision, 45, 60, 78, 98 inequality, 9, 91, 94, 123, 187 on rights, 66, 184, 194 Institute for Research on the Reform of China's politics, 56, 187, 197 Economic System, 164 split with new left, 7, 63, 71, 77 institutional innovation, 102, 162, 167 view of rural society, 156



230 Index

Lin Biao, 30 origins, 53, 94, 106 Lin Yifu, 7–8, 109–14, 120–1, 127, 148, 196 push factors, 116, 118, 124 Lishu County, 174, 176-8, 180-1, 191 migration, 136 Liu Laoshi, 170 modernity, 65, 74, 123, 129 Liu Shaoqi, 23 alternative, 54 Liu Shipei, 18, 80 capitalist, 126 Liu Yuanqi, 126 Chinese, 79, 81 Liu Zhenkun, 39 Western, 79, 81 London School of Economics, 88 modernization, 12, 18, 110, 117, 132 Lu Banglie, 159 agricultural, 86, 115, 126 Lu Xueyi, 118, 121, 148, 151, 171, 193-4 alternative, 169 American path, 58-9, 97, 104, 125 as a target of critique, 123 on the early reforms, 122 and populism, 55-60 on the liberation of the peasant, 119-22 Chinese path, 42, 86, 88, 95, 144, 149 Lü Xinyu, 122, 127, 191 colonial, 104 Lü Zhenyu, 24 crisis of, 133 critique of, 139, 152 Luo Xingzuo, 139, 141-2 global, 115 narrative of Qin Hui, 49-55 Ma Rong, 182 mainstream economists, 7, 62-3, 95, 105, 109-10, narratives, 81, 119, 187 113, 123, 126, 129, 145 of the peasant, 5, 47 Malinowski, Bronislaw, 149 of the productive forces, 17-18 Prussian path, 58 Mao Zedong, 20-1, 24, 26-7, 35, 80, 145, 173 reform-era ideology of, 4, 27-9 Maoism, 14, 31, 41, 99, 101, 122, 165, 173, 183 socialist, 2, 22, 101 critique of, 16-18, 27-8, 33, 36, 52, 55, 72 theory, 145 Maoist era, 2, 14, 85, 95, 99, 112, 130, 169 Western path, 95, 97 modes of production, 146 as a historical aberration, 33, 57, 60, 136 as a target of criticism, 8, 39, 53, 87 mutual aid, 180 as a time of successful industrialization, 9, 61, Nanmazhuang Village, 178, 181 99-100, 104 as agrarian socialism, 52, 86 national conditions, 85, 97, 102-3, 105, 138, 145, as transforming rural society, 128 147, 150, 191 National Institute of Law, 158 egalitarianism, 16, 38 living standards, 113 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 112 political alienation, 34 neo-liberalism, 7, 11, 37, n.73, 70, 124-6, 198 new collectivism, 84-5, 89 positive appraisal of, 122 market economics, 93 New Culture movement, 102 New Democracy, 22-4, 31 market economy, 84, 114, 117, 131, 142, 184 critique of, 74, 90, 94, 96, 105-8, 129, 139, 145, new left, 7, 9, 11, 63, 187, 197 critique of liberals, 90, 122-5 164, 187, 193 Marx, Karl, 1, 31, 55, 59, 63, 133 critique of market fundamentalism, 9, 71-2, 92, 103, 187, 191 Marxism, 14, 26, 28, 61-2, 125, 133 critique of neo-liberalism, 90, 124 historiography, 14, 24-5, 36, 73, 146 influence of populism, 57, 59 emergence, 71-4, 77-8 modernization narrtive, 81 politics, 187 return to orthodoxy, 16, 28-9, 44, 47 understanding of history, 70 theories of the peasant, 45, 120, 132, 143 view of the peasant, 9 Marxist humanism, 32 view of the reforms, 94 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 73 views on politics, 76-7 New Policies, 19 May Fourth Movement, 56 Mexico, 103-4, 162 new rural reconstruction, 10, 137, 153, 187, migrant labor, 127, 144, 188, 190, 197 191-2, 195 as a liberation, 119-20, 123 and culture, 170-1 as underpaid, 147, 192 and new cooperatives, 174-81



Index 231

and peasant organization, 165 and rights protection, 184–54 and urbanization, 181–4	values, 109, 142, 192 within historical narrative, 2, 4, 12, 27, 29, 98–104, 116, 187
meaning, 154–5	Peking University, 57, 109, 172
projects, 165	People's Daily, 38
new socialism, 87	planned economy, 113
new socialist countryside, 114, n. 85, 166, 196	Polanyi, Karl, 70, 75, 107–8, 125, 185
nongmin, 50	Polanyian historical narrative, 75, 114, 122–4,
number one document, 3, 151, 155, 160	143, 152, 168, 187, 194–5 Polanyian politics, 115, 154, 174
Office of Rural Reform Experimental Zones,	politics, 187
96–7, 103, 107	relationship to economics, 195
old people's associations, 144, 170, 177	relationship to history, 14, 17–18, 47, 65,
Organic Law on Village Committees, 135	102, 190
overproduction, 113, 196	Politics Research Institute, 139
Oxfam, 167	Popkin, Samuel, 109
	popular organizations, 137
peasant associations, 156, 184	population
peasant studies, 108–9, 192	control, 38
peasant/peasantry, 182, 186	growth, 96
and capitalism, 11	rural versus urban, 186
and farmers, 45, 50, 125	populist politics, 47, 66, 77, 163, 183
anti-peasant attitudes, 14	and peasant dependency, 65
as a class, 80	and rural protest, 45, 69
as a revolutionary force, 2, 4–5, 14–15, 19–20,	as a historical anachronism, 14, 31, 33, 47
27, 29, 31, 34	as a target of critique, 18, 90, 187
as a status, 86	Maoism as a form of, 29–30
as a symbol of backwardness, 2, 5, 14, 20	Qin Hui's critique of, 55–60
as a useful category of analysis, 189, 193	postcolonialism, 145–6, 152
as an excluded population, 191	postsocialism, 15–16, 36, 39–40, 61, 100, 105, 126
as figure of possibility, 70	162, 187
behavioral tendencies, 14, 36	and postcolonialism, 145, 152
burden, 10, 116, 118–19, 140, 151, 158	historical narrative, 95, 101, 127
consciousness of, 21, 28, 30, 36, 41, 130, 132	price scissors, 112
conservatism, 27–8, 30–1, 34, 36, 42, 58	primitive accumulation, 18, 47, 60–4, 90, 99–101
dependency on the state, 5, 14, 32, 36, 41, 45,	104, 112, 125, 166
47, 70, 187	period of, 167
dialectical image of, 14, 16, 18, 20, 26–7, 40, 45,	positive views of, 113
190, 193, 195	privatization, 77, 85, 87, 93, 103, 129, 167, 179–86
disappearance of, 6, 193	of land, 102, 105, 123–4, 132, 147, 167, 179, 18
dual nature of, 14, 21, 24, 28, 30, 34, 41,	of public resources, 142
45, 58	property rights, 66
end of, 183	Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 82
knowledge, 171–4	O: P (
liberation of, 44, 47–8, 55, 67, 89, 116, 119–20, 125, 131, 136, 158, 184, 190	Qi Benyu, 26–7, 29 Qin Dynasty, 35–6, 55
moral economy of, 109, 192	Qin Hui, 8, 45, 83, 102, 120, 152, 157, 167,
new subjectivity, 196	194, 196
organization, 132, 157, 161, 165, 176, 180	comparison of China and the West, 52-5,
production, 85	57–60
rebellion, 25, 94, 104	critique of new left, 86–7
revolution, 18–19	critique of populism, 55–60
role in history, 76	historical vision, 47, 60
social organization, 128, 133, 138, 142,	liberation narrative of, 48
154, 158	modernization narrative of, 49-55, 126, 133



232 Index

Qin Hui (cont.) on primitive accumulation, 60-4, 100 on Township Village Enterprises, 78 writings on Guanzhong, 49, 55 Qin Shi Huangdi, 36 Qing Dynasty, 19, 26, 99 Qiu Jiansheng, 172-5, 180 Red Flag, 26, 29 Red Guards, 48, 65 Renmin Ribao, 32 Renmin University, 9, 13, 33, 92, 97, 140, 164 Research Center for Rural Development, 96 rights protection movement, 11, 66, 154-60, 183-4 ruoshi qunti, 180–1, 188 activists, 154, 162, 172, 177, 189 banking, 107 consumption, 94, 113 crisis, 2-4, 6, 9-12, 92, 95, 116-17, 119, 124, 128-30, 134, 138, 155, 168, 189, 193 development, 3 economy, 71 education, 171-4 governance, 118, 135-44 infrastructure, 114 population, 105 protest, 5, 94, 96, 155, 158 surplus, 100, 102, 104, 134, 167 Rural Development Research Institute, 157 rural government, 10, 117, 132, 184 finances, 93 taxes and fees, 94, 116, 159 rural labor, 1, 86, 93, 111, 123, 144-5, 168, 188, 192 cheap, 113 surplus, 5, 9, 67, 79, 87–8, 93, 96–8, 105–6, 113, 117, 120-4, 126-7, 147, 179, 188 rural reconstruction movement, 163, 169, 172 rural-urban relationship, 11, 19, 98, 100, 119, 123, 176, 182, 186, 189–90, 194, 197 Russia, 30, 58 Russian Revolution, 57 Sahlins, Marshal, 108 sannong wenti, 92, 100, 102, 105, 123, 126, 137, 152, 162, 166, 195 and cooperatives, 179 development of the concept, 97-8 popularization, 116-26 Yu Jianrong on, 157 Sannong Zhongguo, 138 School of Agricultural and Rural Development, 92

School of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development, 140 Schultz, Theodore, 109-10 scientific socialism, 30, 33 Scott, James, 109 self-governance, 49, 71, 135 sent-down youth, 48 Shaanxi Province, 42, 49, 73, 75 Shandong Province, 163, 178 Shanin, Ťeodor, 108 Simmel, Georg, 49, n. 5 slavery, 125 slums, 103, 125-6, 182, 185-6, 190-1, 193, 197 small peasant economy and economic rationality, 88, 105, 107-9, 114, 120, 131, 145 and peasant behavior, 21, 30 and peasant consciousness, 30, 85 small producer, 109 Smith, Adam, 133 social justice, 63, 72, 153, 189, 195 social science, 14, 186 nativization, 145-50 social security system, 106 socialism, 17, 100, 127 and labor, 180 historical narrative, 15, 95 meaning in the reform era, 94 Soviet Union, 59, 72, 77, 84, 90, 101 specialized cooperatives, 161 Stalinism, 101 State Council, 8, 96, 151 State Owned Enterprises, 3, 93, 96 state-society dichotomy, 17, 156 status community, 49, 51 Stolypin, Peter, 58, 60 Su Xiaokang, 41 substantivism, 108–16, 128, 147, 150, 192 Sun Daren, 26 Sun Liping, 57, 149 Sun Yat-Sen University, 142 surplus population, 126, 162, 184-6, 188, 193-4, 197 surplus value, 192 sustainable development, 115 suzhi, 16, 18, 37-43, 130, 161, 171, 188 Taiping Rebellion, 26, 29-30 Taiping Town cooperative, 174-5, 180, 182 Taishi Village, 158-9, 184 Tan Tongxue, 142 taxation rural, 5 technology, 8, 17-18 Thailand, 103



Index 233

historical vision, 98-104, 122, 127, 134, 151, Third World, 95, 104, 112, 125-6, 145, 184, 187 three great differences, 38, 115, 173 162, 164 Tiananmen demonstrations, 7, 13, 56, 73, 75, 78, on economic cooperatives, 160, 170 on new rural reconstruction, 162, 173, 177, 93, 135 Tokyo, 18 184-5, 191 Tong Zhihui, 140 on primitive accumulation, 61-2, 99-101, 112 Tönnies, Ferdinand, 49, n. 5 on rural reconstruction, 154 totalitarianism, 17, 28, 32 on sannong wenti, 92-3, 116, 119, 158, 166 Township Village Enterprises, 87-8, 96, 176 on social science, 145-6 and urbanization, 89, 120 on the present, 126, 168-9, 183 as a model of development, 5, 71-2, 77-84 politics of, 9-10 shift to the left, 10, 94-8 as a stage in the modernization process, 53-4, 86, 113 wenbao, 131, 147 employment, 71, 124, 189 Wenzhou, 61 Western civilization, 44 privatization, 3, 5, 93, 96, 106-7, 117 traditional culture, 169 Western social science, 81 traditional small peasants, 110, 114 Westernization, 169 Trotskyism, 146 Wittfogel, Karl, 34, 42 Wong, Sui-lun, 80 Tsinghua University, 8, 47, 57, 73, 157 world systems analysis, 98-9, 134, 187 University of Chicago, 73 Wu Chuntao, 150–2 Wu Dakun, 33-5, 56 urban labor, 1, 96, 106, 114, 132, 197 urbanization, 10, 98, 127, 132, 162, 186, 188, Wu Han, 24 Wu Wenzao, 80 as key to development, 89, 103, 120, 171 World War Two, 112 critique of, 92, 96, 107, 116, 124, 131, 164, 181 Xiaogang Village, 53, 158, 160, 184 Xin Wang, 161 Vietnam, 109 village committees, 157 Xu Xinwu, 108 Xu Yong, 135-7 Wang Dexian, 178 Wang Hui, 70, 73, 87, 121 Yan Yangchu, 163-4, 169, 171 critique of Township Village Enterprises, 88 Yan Yangchu Rural Reconstruction Institute, development of thinking, 73-4 164, 172, 175, 178 on capitalism, 74-6 Yanjing University, 80 Wang Rongsheng, 29, 35 Yao Wenyuan, 27 Wang Ruoshui, 31, 36 Yellow River, 44 Wang Xiaoqiang, 30-1, 36, 39-41, 43 Yin Yongchun, 172-3 Ying Xing, 149-50 Wang Ximing, 139 Wang Xizhe, 32-3 Yu Jianrong, 157-8 Wang Ying, 78, 84-5, 88-9 Yü Ying-Shih, 56-7 Weber, Max, 49, n. 5 Wen Jiabao, 2, 156, 162, 169, 195 Zapatistas, 162 Zhaicheng cooperative, 175 Wen Tiejun, 118, 121-2, 124, 150, 164, 197 Zhao Lisheng, 25-6, 35-7, 48, 52, 54-5, 59 as a substantivist, 110, 147 critique of market economics, 105-8, 190 Zhu Rongji, 6, 10, 116