

I Positioning China in World Capitalist Development

1. In a discussion of “Weber and the question of Chinese modernity,” Wang Hui notes that modern social sciences first established in the West rely on a particular social taxonomy and social morphology, including disciplinary classifications. By adopting them we restructure knowledge or reconstruct history based on a particular yet universalized set of categories. This in turn results in our knowledge and history losing their historicity (2011: ch.6).
2. See articles written at the centenary of the revolution in *Global Legal Review* 环球法律评论 5, 2011, Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
3. It apparently depends on how “nation-state” is defined or whether it must be confined to the modern era for any judgment. Mancur Olson, for example, sees China as “among the earliest, if not the earliest, of the nation-states” (1982: 152).
4. Chalmers Johnson tells his fellow Americans that “we are on the brink of losing our democracy for the sake of keeping our empire,” in an analysis of “the road to imperial bankruptcy” (“Empire v. Democracy,” <http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/160594/>, Jan 30, 2007).
5. David Harvey’s analysis of local mechanisms of capitalist globalization is influenced by Henri Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* in resisting a spatiotemporal perception that “threatens to become fixed, frozen and ossified” (in Lefebvre 1974: 431).
6. Braudel quoted in (Arrighi 2007: 230). See also Immanuel Wallerstein’s discussion of “Braudel on capitalism, or everything upside down” in (1991: 207–217).
7. Wang Hui’s concept of “interculturality” is a critical development of Jürgen Habermas’s “intersubjectivity” limited to individual

interactive behavior and communication within a particular social or linguistic community. It thus fails “to deal with the interactions among members of different linguistic and social-cultural communities” (2011: 305–306).

2 Debating History: From “Oriental Society” to “Great Divergence”

1. Indeed, financialization fostered by “the commercialization of war and an incessant armament race” was precisely what made the European path specifically *capitalist* (Arrighi 2007: 230, 266–272, 332).
2. Marx is of the view that “it would be a mistake to place [primitive communities] all on the same level; as in geological formations, these historical forms contain a whole series of primary, secondary, tertiary types, etc.” ([1881]1989: 356–357).
3. The Chinese migration mostly to *nanyang* or Southeast Asia over centuries is part of the Asian regional economic history. An obvious and important difference here is that unlike the Europeans, the Chinese overseas had generally not been colonizer-rulers through military conquest.
4. See Rosenthal and Wong (2011: ch.5) and Rawski and Rawski (2008) for the views on local dynamics and efficiency of China’s credit markets no less than their European counterparts organized through rigid property rights and formal contracts.
5. See Han (2009: 152ff) for the critiques of silverization in trade by the Ming reformers; Wang (2010) for a critical survey of the Chinese scholarship on China’s “premodern” money culture; and Wakeman (2009) for an extensive set of references.
6. The influential “China-centered” approach (Cohen 1984), for instance, while redressing the biases in the asymmetrical binaries between active Western and passive Chinese forces, “rejects theory out of hand for the ‘facts’” and “forced its adherents to repeat native pieties” of cultural authenticity (Harootunian 2002: 163).
7. See also, Bairoch (1993) and Maddison (2007). The statistics, however, are not consistent especially on when the “great divergence” began. The gap is as wide as 500 years between ca. 1300 and 1800. A profound difference between these two takings is whether the European industrial revolution has any decisive explanatory power in the story.

8. On the stagnation of real wages in China since the early eighteenth century, see Allen et al. 2011.
9. Similarly, in the case of the Indian subcontinent, highly commercialized regions were not under global competitive or ecological pressures comparable to those that affected Britain. Then the Indians, like the Chinese, “had their own economic and political dynamism.” Taking into account agency and choice, however, “the pressures were not such that radical transformations were needed or risky paths had to be pursued” (Parthasarathi 2011: 263).

3 Chinese Socialism and Global Capitalism

1. Neil Davidson points out that the Chinese Communist Party was a workers’ party before Jiang Jieshi’s bloody coup in 1927. Afterward “the CCP had effectively ceased to be a working class party, since its entire urban membership base in that class had been destroyed and had become instead a rural guerrilla organization based on the peasantry” (2012: 252). It might be reasonable to ask a counterfactual question about historical possibilities—if the disastrous “first united front” between the communists and nationalists had not been imposed by the Comintern, would the trajectory and outcome of the revolution have been different? But taking the CCP as a peasant party is confusing more than clarifying. Similarly, Neil Faulkner’s depiction of a direct transition of the CCP leadership “from nationalist revolutionaries into a bureaucratic ruling class” (2013: 257) is a sheer oversimplification and serious error in not distinguishing between the Maoist and post-Mao policies.
2. Cf. (Schram 1966). For a case study of the early communist agitation deliberately “cultural,” see (Perry 2012).
3. See a marvelous passage in Mao’s 1927 report on the peasant movement in Hunan, quoted in Myron Cohen (1993: 151): “The gods? Worship them by all means. But if you had only Lord Guan and the Goddess of Mercy and no peasant association, could you have overthrown the local tyrants and evil gentry? You have worshipped them for centuries, and they have not overthrown a single one of the local tyrants and evil gentry for you! Now you want to have your rent reduced. Let me ask how will you go about it? Will you believe in the gods or the peasant association?”

4. Without a revolutionary break, the record of Nehru's regime, for example, was barren of any impulse of meeting even modest requirements of social equality or justice. "No land reform worthy of mention was attempted. No income tax was introduced until 1961. Primary education was grossly neglected. As a party, Congress was controlled by a coalition of rich farmers, traders and urban professionals" (Anderson 2012). Despite its more recent economic development, India has continued to fail its poorest segments, lower castes and classes, and in many aspects also women.
5. Cf. a discussion of the contrast between revolutionary and colonial modernity in Asia (Lin 2006: 52–57).
6. See Mao's speeches at the first Zhengzhou conference (November 2–10, 1958), the Wuchang conference (November 21–27, 1958), the sixth Plenary Session of the eighth Party Congress (November 28 to December 01, 1958), the second Zhengzhou conference (February 27 to March 5, 1959), the Shanghai conference (March 25, to April 01, 1959) and other occasions in June 1959 before the Lushan Conference (July 2–31, 1959). Most of these speeches are collected in (Mao [1958, 1959]1986; [1958, 1959]1999). He emerged from these speeches more sober minded than some of his seemingly more moderate or "conservative" colleagues as was usually portrayed.
7. Wim Wertheim (1995) reports that Chinese demographers in the 1950s privately doubted the accuracy of the census of 1953, upon which calculations of the scale of deaths are often based, because the census was conducted unscientifically, registering "an unbelievable increase of some 30 percent in the period 1947–1953" in the Chinese population. Consequently "the claim that in the 1960s a number between 17 and 29 million people was 'missing' is worthless" if the 600-million figure for 1953 was itself doubtful. Yang Songlin (2013), incorporating the statistician Sun Jingxian's research, further examines China's census data 1955–60, 1958–61, 1964, and 1982, and depicts their methodological inconsistencies, thoroughly discrediting the widely and irresponsibly circulated numbers about famine death. See also Joseph Ball, "And Mao Did Not Want Half of China to Starve to Death: A Key Document in Frank Dikotter's Book *Mao's Great Famine*," <http://www.maoists.org/dikottermisinterpretation.htm>.
8. An example is India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The country experienced both its worst famine in history and largest grain exports, supplying nearly a fifth of Britain's

- wheat consumption (Davis 2001: ch.9). The inability of the post-independent Indian government to eradicate extreme poverty along with persistent starvation affecting a large portion of its population is also a shame on its transplanted democracy.
9. Examples are (Hou Yangfang 2003) and (Deng Wei et al. 1997).
 10. The puzzle remains unsolved because of the obscure information about China's grain import and export 1959–61, and whether and in what quantity China repaid the Soviet Union part of its debt in grain during the famine period, the role of local governments in the worst-hit provinces, and the extent of confusion on the part of a willful and misinformed central leadership.
 11. Commenting on revolutions, French, Russian, and Chinese, Perry Anderson is fair in noting that they “typically accomplish only twenty per cent of what they set out to achieve, at a cost of sixty per cent. But without them there is no leap of society in history” (2011: 120).
 12. See Gao Liang 高粱's 2005 research, “Warning against multi-nationals seizing the opportunity of SOE reforms to annex China's backbone enterprises in the machine manufacturing industry 警惕跨国公司借改制之机吞并我装备制造业骨干企业” (<http://www.dajunzk.com/jingtikuag.htm>). The alarming figures were used in a petition to the National People's Congress (NPC) in March 2006, signed by a group of concerned citizens, arguing for national autonomy and industrial innovation to prevent “economic colonization.”
 13. Samir Amin, “The implosion of global capitalism, the challenge for the radical left,” speech at Qinghua University, Beijing, December 14, 2012.

4 The Politics of China's Self-Positioning

1. James Areddy and James Grimaldi, using data from the Shanghai research firm Hurun Report, “Defying Mao, Rich Chinese Crash the Communist Party,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 26, 2012.
2. According to an expert report, the wealth of the 70 richest members of the legislature rose to \$89.8 billion in 2011, a gain of \$11.5 billion from 2010, in comparison with the \$7.5 billion combined net worth of all 660 top officials in the three branches of the US government (Tyler Cowen, quoting figures from the Hurun Report in “China Fact of the Day,” *Marginal Revolution*, Feb. 27, 2012). Much of the *New York Times*' revelation of Premier Wen Jiabao's

family wealth (Oct. 25, and Nov. 24, 2012) along with similar information about other highly placed officials and regulators has been spread as “rumors” in China for a long time. The NPC convention of March 2013 is nicknamed a “parent meeting of the children studying abroad” on the Internet. And in the popular online discussions of corruption and related issues, contrasts are often made between the present and first-generation communist leaders.

3. *The Southern Metropolis Daily* (南方都市报), Dec. 20, 2012.
4. The NPC “may boast more very rich members than any other such body on earth” (James Areddy and James Grimaldi, “Defying Mao,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 26, 2012).
5. Unsure about whether a self-surgery is still possible, he admits that “we are falling like a landslide” (John Garnut, “The Rot Inside,” *The Age*, Apr. 14, 2012).
6. High-profile places include the Jilin province and the municipalities of Chengdu and Chongqing. In the Hegang city in Heilongjiang, land speculation was prohibited. Nonspeculative real estate activity was encouraged to achieve affordable housing on the one hand and safeguard arable agricultural land on the other (Wang 2001). More up-to-date reports are currently lacking.
7. Goran Therborn, “If the rulers of the People’s Republic were to conclude that China requires a socialist economic base to underpin its national strength, or that further progress along the capitalist road would imperil social cohesion, they still have the power and the resources to change track” (2012: 8–9). For example, Chinese labor costs are estimated to account for only 1 to 3 percent of the final sales price of the iPhone or iPad. Sharp upward retention here is China’s goal and also key to its ambitions in all industrial sectors. “Remarkably, few in the western world have understood the depth of this ambition” (Klaus Zimmermann, “Robots Can Solve China’s Labor Problem,” *Financial Times*, Apr. 16, 2012).
8. Aditya Chakraborty’s report begins with the story of one worker in one of Foxconn’s factories in Shenzhen: “Tian Yu worked more than 12 hours a day, six days a week. She had to skip meals to do overtime. Then she threw herself from a fourth-floor window” (“The woman who nearly died making your iPad,” *The Guardian*, Aug. 5, 2013).
9. *China Labor Bulletin*, Dec. 19, 2012, <http://www.clb.org.hk/en/node/110187>.
10. Eli Friedman notices the issue in a discussion of workers’ strikes in China: “Dispersed, ephemeral, and desubjectivized insurgency

- has failed to crystallize any durable forms of counter-hegemonic organization capable of coercing the state or capital at the class level....it is only through an ideological severing of cause from effect at the symbolic level that the state is able to maintain the pretense that workers are in fact ‘weak’” (“China in Revolt,” *Emancipation Essays* 7–8, 2012, <http://jacobinmag.com/2012/08/china-in-revolt/>).
11. *Xinmin Weekly* 682, 2012, 11: 36.
 12. See Martin Hart-Landsberg, “China and Neoliberalism,” Feb 2, 2012, <http://media.lclark.edu/content/hart-landsberg/2012/03/02/china-and-neoliberalism/>.
 13. See <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/China-2030-complete.pdf>.
 14. Guo Shuqing, then the Chairman, “Building up a More Open and Inclusive Capital Market,” speech at the Asian Financial Forum, http://www.csrc.gov.cn/pub/newsite/bgt/xwdd/201301/t20130114_220399.htm.
 15. Cf. Mark Leonard’s introduction to his edited volume *China 3.0: Understanding the New China*, published by the European Council on Foreign Relations: “One group of Chinese intellectuals thinks that the way out of the stability trap is to find ways of institutionalizing Chinese politics. The New Right, which does not believe in removing the roots of inequality, wants to use politics to make it more legitimate,” http://ecfr.eu/content/entry/china_3.0.

5 Can There Be a Chinese Model?

1. The position I elaborate in this chapter shares the main elements summarized below by Arif Dirlik: China’s developmental successes are seen as uniquely “products of the legacy of revolution: an efficient party state with deep roots in the population that has successfully converted itself from an instrument of revolution to a manager of development; a coherent nation that is the product of the organizational and to some extent ideological integration of the nation that the revolution created; a national purpose the search for which had been a motivation for political change since the late Qing; and obsession with sovereignty and autonomy ...; a work force, both urban and rural, that had been mobilized and trained to do its utmost in the service of collective goals, national development among them; a highly egalitarian society where encouragement of the pursuit of equality also stimulated civic engagement; and even an entrepreneurial ethic fostered by

the pressure to innovation in the cause of collective welfare that always conflicted with the bureaucratic prerogative of stability and routine; and last but not least, the economic foundation and organization that had been established, modeled on socialist premises, that now had to be converted into a functioning machinery of development within the context of global capitalism” (2011a: 301).

2. Danny Quah: “From 1981 to 2005 China, on a population base of a billion, succeeded in lifting over 600 million of its citizens out of grinding poverty—this is transformation on a scale never before experienced in all of human history, and larger than total poverty reduction on the entire planet. World poverty reduction has taken place on the back of China’s poverty reduction” (public lecture at LSE, Oct 12, 2011, http://econ.lse.ac.uk/~dquah/index_own.html).
3. The PRC has a distinguished tradition of providing considerable economic aid to the developing countries, and “China in Africa,” for example, is by no means a new phenomenon. Changed however is that while in the past it was all about socialist internationalism and third world solidarity that was complicated also by the Sino-Soviet conflict, today large projects in the African continent managed by Chinese SOEs are motivated mainly by securing energy supply for China, as discussed and debated in a growing literature.
4. Fredric Jameson is reviewing Francis Spufford’s *Red Plenty* about the lasting impact of original Soviet idealism.
5. Read a typical cry from manual labor in old China: “I have the misfortune to be born Chinese / And the greater misfortune to be an enslaved worker...like cattle and horses.../ In the past we workers dare not even mention it / But now we have the chance to make the future / Just to talk of liberation is vain / We have to bring it about ourselves / Come workers! Let us hasten to see justice done” (poem by an anonymous worker, *Laodong zhoukan [Labor Weekly]* 12: Nov. 5, 1921; quoted in Smith 2002). The year “1949” stands undisputably for liberation in everyday Chinese in new China.
6. Dirlik is thus of the view that to the extent that it is possible to speak of a “Chinese model,” “it is only in the sense of a local version of a modernization paradigm,” or a paradigmatic articulation of the contradictions of Chinese development as of global modernity (2011a: 306).
7. The State Statistics Bureau had provided an annual assessment of China’s “comprehensive state capacity” for some years by a set

of comparative indicators with the major global economies. The notion is designed to count on the connotations considered positive for national development. For an overview of state capacity, especially the agenda setting power of a functioning state, see (Wang 2003, 2006).

8. See (Lin 2006: ch.3) for a discussion of the rights and wrongs of a verbally redundant “people’s democracy” in China.
9. “The majority of accidents involve mines or mining practices, where safety has been preciously compromised by corruption and collusion between local officials and the businesses that run the small private operations; afterward, mine employers and local officials work together to cover up the deaths” (Pai 2012: 78).
10. Referring to “state capitalism” more than socialism, Samir Amin observes that in China today “the Plan remains imperative for the huge infrastructure investments” from massive housing projects for new urban inhabitants to “an unparalleled network of highways, roads, railways, dams, and electric power plants,” from opening up the Chinese countryside to developing the country’s continental west. “The Plan also remains imperative—at least in part—for the objectives and financial resources of publicly owned enterprises (state, provinces, municipalities)” (2013).
11. The poverty line was set in 2011 at 2,300 *yuan* (\$363) per annum, by which standard 128 million were considered in poverty. In July 2011, there were 22.8 million people in the government’s urban subsistence security system and 52.4 million in its rural system, plus 5.5 million covered by the “five guarantees” under the collective responsibility and 62.3 million in various state priority schemes of social relief. An unknown number of unregistered people living in poverty are not included in these figures released by the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*People’s Daily*, Aug 29 2011).
12. *China news net*, Jan 18, 2013.
13. Ma Jiantang, the bureau chief, admitted that “we feel that our urban Gini coefficient reading based on a survey of urban residents is too low. The main reason is it’s hard to access the true figure for the high-income group.” As Wang Xiaolu points out, the problem is twofold: many with high-incomes avoid taking the survey, eventually causing part of the high-income group to be omitted. Those survey-takers meanwhile do not necessarily provide a full picture, especially when they have significant gray income or income from extralegal sources. The fact that China suffers

- rampant corruption “is the root cause of unreliable income statistics” (“The real problem with those Gini numbers,” *CaixinOnline*, <http://english.caixin.com/2013-02-04/100489583.html>, Feb 5, 2013).
14. It is in the nature of despotism that it should foster single-minded material desires and propagate their havoc, lowering the collective morale (quoted in Daniel A. Bell, “After the Tsunami,” *New Republic*, Mar 9, 1998: 25).
 15. Marc Blecher observes that “while most authoritarian states seek to insulate themselves from society by repressing it into quiescence, the Maoist state chose instead to rule by activating society. It wanted believers, not subjects” (1997: 220).
 16. Based on a summary of his many publications, Wang Shaoguang explains some of these ideas in a lecture “Democracy, Chinese style,” Sept 18, 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bigideas/chinademocracy/4314066> and http://confucius.adelaide.edu.au/gallery/video/2012/Democracy-Chinese_Style.pdf.
 17. “On the Soviet textbook of political economy,” 1959/60, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64185/189968/11568297.html>.
 18. In the Chinese debate, apart from the “socialist market,” such syntheses as “socialist republicanism,” “liberal socialism” and “ecosocialism” are also influential. Many agree that socialism is intrinsically and simultaneously republican, liberal, and environmentalist in its vision and foundation.

6 Class, Direct Producers, and the Impasse of Modernization

1. “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society,” http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_1.htm. A related text by Mao is “How to Analyze Rural Classes” written in 1933 as a guide to land and rent reforms in the Jiangxi Soviet base area.
2. Echoing Mao, Carl Schmitt insists that a free people must determine for itself this distinction “therein resides the essence of its political existence.” Against liberal “political romanticism,” for him the political defines the human, and diminishing the political is to diminish humanity. The danger of evading political decisions is that “if a people no longer possesses the energy or the will to maintain itself in the sphere of politics, the latter will not thereby vanish from the world. Only a weak people will disappear” (2007: 49, 53).

3. See “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship” (1949), http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_65.htm.
4. See Huang (1995) for a sketch especially of rural transformation during 1946 to 1976, from the start of large-scale land reform through socialist reconstruction to the end of the Cultural Revolution. His critique of a perceived discrepancy between “representational and objective realities” in the land reform is controversial.
5. Sociologists disagree on any single defining factor of income, occupation, or educational attainment. There are also many theoretical difficulties, such as the effect of cultural capital or the “contradictory class locations” concerning splitting domination and exploitation (Bourdieu 1986, ch.2; Wright et al. 1989: 24–28).
6. Mao was clear that “the serious problem is the education of the peasantry.” For, as he explained, the peasant economy is scattered, and the socialization of agriculture will require a long and patient work. Yet “without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism” ([1949]1991: 419).
7. Chris Hann and Keith Hart describe the global division between rich and poor economies as thus: “Now the cheapest agricultural products come from Brazil, the cheapest manufactures from China, the cheapest information services from India, and the cheapest educated migrant labor from the ruins of the Soviet empire” (2011: 118).
8. There is a large literature on modern cooperative movements worldwide. For a market friendly model of the movement see the 2012 Declaration of International Summit of Cooperative, <http://www.sommetinter2012.coop/site/communication/declaration/en>. In a related but more visionary vein, see the “future of work” debate initially influenced by the French thinker Andre Gorz among others around a “third sector” between market and state (e.g., Offe and Heinze 1992; Miller 2010; Rifkin 1995, 2011).
9. The main arguments of these debates are traced in (Stedman Jones 2004: chs.1–3). For an updated traditional Marxist critique of a “new ‘true’ socialism,” see (Wood 1999).
10. Cui’s sources of inspiration are widely drawn: Proudhon, Lassalle, John Stuart Mill, Silvio Gesell, Fernand Braudel, James Meade, Henry George, James Joyce, Charles Sabel, Fei Xiaotong, and Roberto Unger. See his most influential writings in his personal website at Qinghua University, <http://www.cui-zy.cn/>.
11. Compare the Chinese system with Marx’s idea in “The nationalization of the land,” written for the *International Herald*

- (no. 11, June 15, 1872). Marx argues that agriculture and all other branches of production should be organized “in the most adequate manner,” and “national *centralisation of the means of production* will become the national basis of a society composed of associations of free and equal producers, carrying on the social business on a common and rational plan.” He sees the project of nationalization of land as a “*Social Necessity*” due to capitalist modernization of agriculture, which requires large-scale farming receptive to modern technology and machinery. Ultimately, however, for him nationalization, as the proletarian state itself, is merely transitional. In a dialectic of the negation of negation, only communal organization or communism is the future. See <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/04/nationalisation-land.htm>.
12. Lenin wrote a series of influential articles between 1911 and 1913 in support of Sun’s land policy and “China’s democracy and populism,” which for him signified “the awakening of Asia,” <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/may/07b.htm>.
 13. The explanation for the end of communal TVEs through various forms of privatization in the late 1990s remains subject to debate. According to Wen Tiejun, at least in southern Jiangsu, it was because “local state corporatism” aided by various rational mechanisms in engaging village communities had managed to “complete primitive accumulation for local industrialization” (2011: 1). On how the village collectives lost control over their enterprises see, for example, (Naughton 2006: 272–292).
 14. The annual pace of reduction since 2008 has been 180 to 200 million *mu*, resulting in a land deficit of 390 million *mu* by 2012 (Yan Yuhua, “Worrying thoughts on our arable land ‘red line,’” *China Reform Forum*, Jan 21, 2012, http://www.chinareform.org.cn/economy/Agriculture/Forward/201201/t20120122_132973.htm. According to the World Bank, China’s ratio of arable land in hectares per person was only 0.08 in 2009, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.ARBL.HA.PC>.
 15. *XinhuaNet*, Feb 7, 2013.
 16. According to Chen Xiwen, by the end of 2012, 52.6 percent of China’s total population lived in cities and county towns, of which about one-third have no *hukou* or are not formally urban residents. Discounting them China’s urbanization rate would be 35.2 percent. Among migrant workers, in 2011, less than 20 percent were ensured for pension and medical care and less than 10 percent for unemployment (“Food, Land and People in Urbanization,” 三农中国 <http://www.snzg.cn>. Apr 12, 2013).

17. “The East Is Grey,” *The Economist*, Aug 10, 2013.
18. For the latest example of air pollution, see a report on Beijing in January-February 2013, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/feb/16/chinese-struggle-through-airpocalypse-smog>. The smog “has become more than a health hazard in China—it has become a symbol of widespread dissatisfaction with the government’s growth-first development strategy.” The question asked is, “Should growth be paid for by health?”
19. The EPI is annually published by the Yale University Press. See the 2012 reports <http://www.epi.yale.edu/epi2012/countryprofiles>.
20. He Xuefeng, *Global Times*, Apr 6, 2012, <http://opinion.huanqiu.com/roll/2012-04/2586575.html>.
21. So far China has managed its agricultural production to keep pace with urban transformation. “This is a remarkable and exceptional result, unparalleled in the countries of the ‘capitalist South,’ in spite of a major handicap: China’s agriculture feeds 22% of the world’s population with only 6% of world’s arable land” (Amin 2013).
22. China’s current geo-sociological “urban” has the following components: the old urban core, upstart cities, new suburban centers of metropolis, the rural fringe of urban transition, and “villages inside the city” (*cheng zhong cun*) (Hsing 2010). There are two kinds of such villages: one refers to those originally agricultural but now encircled by urban expansion—owing to collective land right the residents become rentiers and distribute rent mostly through a shareholding arrangement. The other refers to those hosting migrant workers, which are loosely administered by municipal governments to ensure basic electricity and water supply, hygiene, and service facilities. These provisions, by and large in place, distinguish such “villages” from typical urban slums.
23. The Dalai Lama, for example, consistently differentiates the earlier communist policies from the later ones. In an interview with BBC on June 24, 2012, he reconfirmed his “very good relations” with Mao, “like father and son”. He also recounted that he was attracted by the idea of equal distribution in the Marxist theory. <http://www.ibtimes.com/dalai-lama-says-mao-considered-himself-son-recalls-his-attraction-communism-704140>. The Tibetan elites in the end rejected that idea, but that is another story.
24. He developed his work written in the late 1940s (Fei 1992) in many speeches and articles in the 1980s, which has a large following in China, making a notable policy impact.
25. *China Securities News*, www.cs.com.cn, Dec 17, 2012; *China Digital Times*, Feb 21, 2013.

26. “Food sovereignty” is defined thus: “It is essential that food be produced through diversified, farmer-based production systems. Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to define their own agriculture and food policies, to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade in order to achieve sustainable development objectives, to determine the extent to which they want to be self-reliant, and to restrict the dumping of products in their market” (La Via Campesina, quoted in McMichael 2009: 294). The food sovereignty movement in the global south spotlights the relationship between corporate commercial agriculture and the rural and urban crisis of social reproduction caused by accentuated hunger, poverty and destruction of communities (McMichael 2009: 304–308). See also (Wittman et al. 2011).
27. Official data show that China has become a net importer since 2004 at an annual average of 50 million tons of grain varieties, running a large trade deficit.
28. *Xinhua Net*, Feb 1, 2013.
29. Transfer of collective land to urban and industrial use amounted to 160,000 hectares in 2008, 209,000 hectares in 2009, and 428,000 hectares in 2010. The income from land trading accounted for 60 percent of local government revenue in the same period (Gao 2013).
30. See He Xuefeng, *Global Times*, Apr 6, 2012, <http://opinion.huanqiu.com/roll/2012-04/2586575.html>; and (He 2007).
31. Cui Zhiyuan here introduces the republican-socialist idea of Henry George and others, followed by Sun Zhongshan. Huang Qifan, the mayor of Chongqing, explains why a government land-banking system is the foundation of fiscal equilibrium and urban construction in an interview given to *China Business*, Mar 5, 2013.
32. From one perspective, “China remains extremely important when considering the continued salience of the agrarian question because, as a consequence of neoliberal globalization, many agrarian economies have promoted an agricultural export-led strategy, and China is a very important source of demand for agricultural exports.” The implications of this situation are, first, that “rural accumulation in many countries is reliant on China’s ongoing capitalist transition”; and, second, that “China’s capitalist transition is now a global driver of accumulation in the North and in the South” (Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2009: 323–324).
33. For a short summary of Lenin’s position see his “The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution,

- 1905–07”, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1907/agrprogr/ch01s5.htm>. For a comprehensive review of Lenin’s work on this question see Howard and King (1988).
34. Li Changping, “Chinese Villages Will Thoroughly Take the Philippine Road,” <http://chinastudygroup.net/2008/12/chinese-villages-will-thoroughly-take-the-philippine-road/> (Dec 23, 2008). See also *China Left Review* 1, Spring 2008, http://chinaleftreview.org/?page_id=98. “Latin Americanization” is a more common concern in the Chinese debate. See, for example, Wen Tiejun discussed in (Day 2008: 54–55).
 35. Chen, *Xinhua Net*, Feb 1, 2013.
 36. As established in classical economics by Malthus and Ricardo on the finite resources and diminishing returns: “The productivity of the land set limits to the scale of industrial activity no less than to the level of food consumption. Each of these two great consumers of the produce of the land was necessarily in competition with the other for the use of a factor of production whose supply could not be expanded” (Wrigley 2004: 101–102, 243–245). Modern science and technology may mitigate such limits but cannot transcend them.

7 The Rise of the Social: For a Communist Moral Economy

1. Some of the green revolution’s detrimental long term consequences began to emerge only after the fact. See, for example, Harvey, “while the green revolution raised productivity and is credited with preventing mass starvation, it did so with all manner of negative environmental and social consequences. The vulnerabilities of monoculture meant heavy investments in oil-based fertilizers and pesticide.” In many places it has also consolidated a class of wealthy producers while reducing others to the status of landlessness (2010: 186).
2. E. A. Preobrazhensky used the phrase “primitive socialist accumulation” in the 1920s in debating the New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia. See Miller (1978). That debate, known as the Bukharin debate, was a focus in intellectual search and policy reflections at the beginning of China’s market reform.
3. For a more detailed discussion see Lin Chun and Tian Yu Cao, *Reorienting Socialism in the 21st Century: The Chinese Experience and Beyond*, ch. 4, London: Routledge (forthcoming).

4. The foremost classical treatments of the agrarian origins of capitalism within the Marxist perspective are by Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (1894), Karl Kausky, *The Agrarian Question* (1899), and Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899). Marx focuses on the English path as the most typical. Lenin compares the Prussian and American paths: in the former “pre-capitalist feudal landed property transforms itself into capitalist commodity production, converting its previous labor force of peasants into dependent wage workers”; while in the latter “without feudalism and transition from it; capitalist farming emerged from once-independent smallholders who become increasingly subject to the economic compulsions of commodity relations from the late 18th century” (Bernstein 2010: 30–32). The East Asian path debated among the comparative economic historians is reviewed in Chapters 2 and 7.
5. Polanyi: “To separate labor from other activities of life and to subject it to the laws of the market was to annihilate all organic forms of existence and to replace them by a different type of organization, an atomistic and individualistic one” (1957: 72, 163).
6. The textbook case in reformist liberal economics of early Fordism aiming at enabling workers to purchase the cars they produce is not analogous to the case of direct producers not selling labor as a commodity. But it speaks of direct consumption as a matter of both incentive and justice, which, not fundamentally but still meaningfully, affects the nature of the plant.
7. Mao declared in 1959 that “the fundamental solution for agriculture is mechanization.” The notable effort of capital intensification in the 1960s, however, intentionally or unintentionally did not so much save labor as allow for further labor intensification in multiple cropping (Huang 2011: 111).
8. In the case of historical moral economy in England, if the market is where working people are exposed to exploitation, it is also where “they could most easily become organized” (Thompson 1971: 132). In China, uniquely, a decisive factor that remains singularly weightier than the market is party and government involvement in organizing the peasantry.
9. The concept was introduced by Hayami Akira in relation to Tokugawa Japan (in Arrighi 2007: 32–39, 93) and was later borrowed elsewhere to convey different meanings.
10. See also, Xia Mingfang (夏明方), “Real and Fake Adam Smith—Evolution of Rural Economy in Early Modern China in Terms of ‘Market without the Social Division of Labor’” (“真假亚当·

- 斯密—从“没有分工的市场”看近世中国乡村经济的变迁”, *Humanities and Society* (人文与社会), Oct 2012, <http://wen.org.cn/modules/article/view.article.php/3551>.
11. As Amin observes, “The Chinese peasantry as a whole is not reactionary because it is not defending the principle of private property, in contrast with the Soviet peasantry, whom the communists never succeeded in turning away from supporting the kulaks in defense of private property” (2013).
 12. See, for example, Griffin, Khan, and Ickowitz (2002) and Bramall (2004). Bramall’s defense of collective agriculture, however, is done at the cost of being unnecessarily negative about the preceding land reform.
 13. See a collective discussion of “China in the 1970s” “70年代中国”, *Open Times 开放时代* 1, 2013.
 14. See Elson (1988; 2000) for a conceptual clarification between “socialized market” and “market socialism”; (Schweickart 2011: ch.3) for “economic democracy” central to a socialist market economy. The controversial idea that socialism and market can cohere continues to generate important scholarship; see Lin (2009: 22–27) for selective references.
 15. Exclusive intellectual property rights might be required by normal market function, but their limits and absurdity are obvious in any true “knowledge economy” or “information society.” However outrageous the current Chinese practices—which are often against formal laws and intended regulations—might be, in principle privatization of knowledge and information is obsolete. Cf. Eben Moglen, “The dotCommunist Manifesto”, 2003, http://emoglen.law.columbia.edu/my_pubs/dcm.html.
 16. G. D. H. Cole discusses John Stuart Mill’s praise for Fourierism, which “assigned in the first place a basic income to all and then distributed the balance of the product in shares to capital, talent or responsibility” (1956: 310). Apart from a regular literature (see Lin 2000: 548–550), see also the BIEN (basic income earth network) news flash <http://www.basicincome.org/bien/news.html> and its latest issue 26(68), Winter 2013, <http://www.basicincome.org/bien/pdf/Flash68.pdf>.
 17. “Providing adequate food, clean water and basic education for the world’s poorest people could be achieved for less than the West spends annually on make-up, ice cream and pet food” (Hann and Hart 2011: 104).
 18. As Amartya Sen has pointed out, “starvation is the characteristic of some people not having enough food to eat. It is not the

characteristic of there being not enough food to eat.” He sees ownership as one kind of entitlement relation and starvation as “a function of entitlements and not of food availability.” Decisive is society’s “legal, economic, political, and social characteristics” (1983: 7, 162).

19. See Hussain (2007). China has recently witnessed (1) the emergence of a new social security system; (2) a demographic transition set by the downward fertility rate and its salient feature—the changing age structure of the population and the rise of the dependency ratio of the elderly; and (3) the transformation of an agrarian into an urban economy dominated by industry and services (99). In response the government focuses on the “three pillars” of social security (97–98).
20. The only political—and fundamentally revolutionary—message of *Capital I*, according to Fredric Jameson, is “enforced idleness” of unemployment as a structural feature and source of miseries of capitalism that would engender “a new kind of transformatory politics on a global scale” (2011: 151).
21. On the future of work and leisure debate by the motto of “all shall work, and all shall work less,” see Fourier (1996); Gorz (1985); Offe and Heinze (1992); and Rifkin (1995). See also David Graeber, “On The Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs” (Aug 17, 2013), <http://www.strikemag.org/bullshit-jobs/>. The assumption of our intrinsic need for work as an essential human instinct is extensively questioned, examined, and reaffirmed in the literature.
22. He writes about the “economic possibilities for our grandchildren”: “When the accumulation of wealth is no longer of high social importance, there will be great changes in the code of morals...All kinds of social customs and economic practices...which we now maintain at all costs, however distasteful and unjust they may be in themselves, because they are tremendously useful in promoting the accumulation of capital, we shall then be free, at last, to discard...We shall once more value ends above means and prefer the good to the useful. We shall honor those who can teach us how to pluck the hour and the day virtuously and well” ([1930]1972: 329–331).
23. During the communist effort at land reform in the late 1940s, Mao identified “an agricultural socialist idea of a reactionary, backward and regressive nature, which must be firmly opposed.” He used the label “agricultural socialism” to refer to unconditional egalitarianism in land redistribution and likened it to Russian populism and

the land program of the Taiping uprising. He also saw it as a false understanding of socialist construction without industrialization, for “the level of industrial development is a basic indicator of the overall level of the forces of production” (quoted in Bo 2008: 7, 210).

24. Mao wrote and spoke on these ideas on various occasions between 1958 and 1967, for example in a letter to Lin Biao at the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution on May 7, 1966 (<http://www.wengewang.org/read.php?tid=24255>). A major factor in the background was China’s strategic “preparation for attacks and natural disasters” (*bei zhan bei huang*) in response to perceived external threats.

8 Toward a Historical Materialist Universalism

1. In addition, already saddled with a huge public debt that included reimbursing the stockholders of the East India Company and paying the costs of the 1857 revolt, India also had to finance British military adventures in Asia and Africa (proxy warfare with Russia on the Afghan frontier and the Indian Army in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Sudan). Military expenditures thus never made up less than 25 percent of India’s annual budget (Davis 2001: ch.10).
2. The debate, initially stimulated by Maurice Dobb in *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946) and carried on in many other works, has culminated in the “Brenner debate” (Aston and Philpin 1985).
3. Domestically, as Harvey notes, “The original accumulation of capital during late medieval times in Europe entailed violence, predation, thievery, fraud and robbery. Through these extra-legal means, pirates, priests and merchants, supplemented by the users, assembled enough initial ‘money power’ to begin to circulate money systematically as capital” (2010: 47).
4. But there could be other choices outside the dichotomy, such as anticolonial traditionalism “between orientalism and nationalism.” Such a stance under traditionalist or religious banners has been taken in extremely complicated circumstances. The secular nationalist (and socialist) Ben Bella typically stated that “it’s an error to believe our nationalism is the nationalism of the French Revolution....Algerian nationalism and Arab nationalism is

a cultural nationalism essentially based on Islam” (quoted in Yegenoglu 1998: 141). His and similar statements have to be read in context.

5. In response to this predicament, Dipesh Chakrabarty’s “provincializing Europe” is a project to have European thought and its genealogy “renewed from and for the margins” (2000: 16).
6. New Confucianism promoted in its official or consumerist forms is a case of self-exoticizing “reverse orientalism.” This fake “alternative” is “fraught with contradictions made no less acute by the realities of over 100,000 protests and large-scale demonstrations annually against the daily depredations of capital’s reach in China today” (Mazumdar 2009: 71).
7. “China and the Environment: The East Is Grey,” *The Economist*, Aug 10, 2013. <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21583245-china-worlds-worst-polluter-largest-investor-green-energy-its-rise-will-have>.

9 Marxism and the Interpretation of China

1. *China Daily*, Feb 28, 2012.
2. In a leaked secret report to the US government, Henry Kissinger, after a visit to Chongqing in September 2011, allegedly wrote that “we must destroy the Chongqing model,” for “the greatest danger of the Chongqing Model is that it increases the legitimacy and public support for China’s government...[and] has ideological attraction...[which] is a threat to US strategic space,” <http://www.eastbound88.com/showthread.php/2923-Henry-Kissinger-We-must-destroy-the-Chongqing-Model>.
3. 一群普通共产党员的困惑, <http://opinion.dwnews.com/news/2012-04-09/58693862-all.html>.
4. The role of a very extensive Internet politics in China, regulated highly selectively, deserves a separate treatment. It is interesting to note, for example, how much the censors are biased in stifling social critiques. If you google “Wen Jiabao, corruption,” tons of information is there about his family grabbing wealth. But if you put in the same words in *Baidu*, China’s most used search machine, everything that pops up is about how he fights corruption.
5. Heiko kho, “After the fall...Bo Xilai and the Crisis in the CPC,” Apr 12, 2012, <http://www.karlmarx.net/topics/china-1/afterthefallboxilaiandthecrisisinthepc>.

6. Telling the reporter about their feelings, a woman in a red tracksuit said that “95% of us common people support Bo. He was a good leader.” And Mr. Shi, a 59-year-old man, said that “now Chongqing people want to take him back.” Jonathan Kaiman writes in the *Los Angeles Times* that “Bo’s mark will be difficult to erase. Many live in public housing he built and on pension plans he created” (Apr 12, 2012).
7. “Will China’s leaders regret Bo Xilai’s fall?” BBC News China, Sept. 23, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-24019450>. The Bo trial in August 2013 was significant but too new to be treated here.
8. In fact, “Chongqing had been widely lauded as an economic success. Multinational companies, including Hewlett-Packard and Ford, established outposts in Chongqing, creating tens of thousands of jobs. Chongqing’s growth is evident in its ubiquitous concrete villages sitting half-demolished among the residential high-rises flanking its freshly paved thoroughfares. The Yangtze River, which cuts through the city, is now traversed by so many bridges that many residents don’t know their names” (ibid.).
9. In response to the critics, Huang Qifan, the mayor, clarifies that the municipal government is not guilty of so-called land finance. The existing system since 2002 is about transparent government control over land use, supply, rent and revenue, which is crucial for a stable real estate market and securing public housing construction. The government debt at the rate of 60 percent is also the lowest among local governments in China (*China Review News*, May 5, 2012, <http://www.chinareviewnews.com/doc/1020/9/8/0/102098073.html?coluid=45&kindid=0&docid=102098073&mdate=0505113301>).
10. Marx’s critic was M. Mikhailovsky. The letter was written in French and was translated and published in English for the first time in *The New Internationalist* 1(4): 110–111, Nov. 1934 (<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol01/no04/marx.htm>).
11. *Financial Times*, Apr 6–7, 2013.
12. Arif Dirlik has later indicated that China has “emerged since the 1990s as one of the cores of the global capitalist economy” (2011b: 7). The question, however, remains as whether this development is still incomplete and reversible.
13. Samir Amin also points out the consequences of China’s continuing leaning to the United States, negative toward global social movements, from the Palestinian cause to green politics,

- but positive toward capitalist globalization, including intensified global resource competition. China should rectify its position and join the reconstruction of a “Southern front” or “Bandung 2” (2013).
14. Part I, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01d.htm>.
 15. For “universal history engages in a double liberation, of the historical phenomena and of our own imagination.” (Buck-Morss 2009: 149). See also Daniel Bensaid’s caution against the notion (2002: 31–35) if it contains any assumption of linear or homogenous history, or is used without a sense of historicity and politics.
 16. “Note of a publicist,” Feb 1922, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/feb/x01.htm>.
 17. “*Left-Wing Communism, and Infantile Disorder* (1920), <http://www.marx2mao.com/Lenin/LWC20.html>.

References

- Aglietta, Michel (2008) "Into a New Growth Regime," *New Left Review* 54, Nov/Dec: 61–74.
- Akram-Lodhi, A. Haroon, and Cristobal Kay (2009) *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, New York: Routledge.
- Allen, Robert and Jean-Pascal Bassino, Debin Ma, Christine Moll-Murata, and Jan Luiten van Zanden (2011) "Wages, Prices, and Living Standards in China, 1738–1925: In Comparison with Europe, Japan and India," *Economic History Review* 64(S1): 8–38.
- Amin, Samir (1976) *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- (1980) *Class and Nation*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- (2013) "China 2013," *Monthly Review* 64(10), <http://monthlyreview.org/2013/03/01/china-2013>.
- Anderson, Kevin (2010) *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, Perry (1974) *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London: New Left Books.
- (1992) *A Zone of Engagement*, London: Verso.
- (2005) *Spectrum*, London: Verso.
- (2010) "Two Revolutions," *New Left Review* 61, Jan/Feb: 59–96.
- (2011) "Lucio Magri," *New Left Review* 72, Nov/Dec: 111–121.
- (2012) "After Nehru," *London Review of Books* 34(15), Aug 2, 2012: 21–36.
- Andreas, Joel (2012) "Sino-seismology," *New Left Review* 76, Jul/Aug: 128–135.
- Arendt, Hannah (1963) *On Revolution*, New York: Viking.

- Arrighi, Giovanni (1994) *The Long Twentieth Century*, London: Verso.
- (2007) *Adam Smith in Beijing*, London: Verso.
- (2009) “The Winding Paths of Capital,” *New Left Review* 56, Mar/Apr: 61–94.
- Arrighi, Giovanni and Takeshi Hamashita and Mark Selden (2003) (eds) *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- Aston, T. H. and C. H. E. Philpin (1985) (eds) *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Struggle and Economic Development in Pre-industrial Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Avineri, Shlomo (ed) (1969) *Marx on Colonialism and Modernization: His Dispatches and Other Writings on China, India, Mexico, the Middle East and North Africa*, New York: Anchor Books.
- Badiou, Alain (2010) *The Communist Hypothesis*, London: Verso.
- Bairoch, Paul (1993) *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ball, Joseph (2006) “Did Mao Really Kill Millions in the Great Leap Forward?” *Monthly Review* <http://monthlyreview.org/commentary/did-mao-really-kill-millions-in-the-great-leap-forward>.
- Banaji, Jairus (2010) *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation*, Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Barlow, Tani (1997) (ed) *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bensaid, Daniel (2002) *Marx for Our Times: Adventures and Misadventures of a Critique*, London: Verso.
- Benton, Gregor and Lin Chun (2009) (eds) *Was Mao Really a Monster? The Academic Responses to Chang and Halliday’s “Mao: The Unknown Story,”* London: Routledge.
- Bernal, Martin (1987) *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, London: Vintage.
- Bernhardt, Kathryn (1992) *Rents, Taxes, and Present Resistance: Lower Yangzi Region, 1840–1950*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bernstein, Henry (2001) “‘The Peasantry’ in Global Capitalism: Who, Where and Why?” *The Socialist Register* 37: 25–51.
- (2009) “Agrarian Questions from Transition to Globalization,” in Akram-Lodhi and Kay (eds) *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, New York: Routledge.
- (2010) *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*, Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.
- (2013) “Historical Materialism and Agrarian History,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13(2): 310–329.
- Blackburn, Robin (1975) *Explosion in a Sub-continent: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ceylon*, London: Penguin.

- Blaut, James M. (1993) *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Blecher, Marc (1997) *China against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform*, London: Pinter.
- Bo, Yibo 薄一波 (2008) *Several Major Decisions and Events in Retrospection 若干重大决策与事件的回顾*, Vols. 1 and 2, Beijing: Central Party History Publisher 中央党史出版社.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1986) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, London: Routledge.
- Bramall, Chris (2004) "Chinese Land Reform in Long-Run Perspective and in the Wider East Asian Context," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4(1/2): 107–141.
- (2009) *Chinese Economic Development*, London: Routledge.
- Branstetter, Lee and Nicholas Lardy (2008) "China's Embrace of Globalization," in Loren Brandt and Thomas Rawski (eds) *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braudel, Fernand (1980) *On History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1984) *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, Vol. 3, London: Fontana Press.
- (1992) *The Wheels of Commerce: Civilization and Capitalism*, Vol. 2, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brenner, Robert (2001) "The Low Countries in the Transition to Capitalism," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1(2), Apr: 169–241.
- Brenner, Robert and Chris Isett (2002) "England's Divergence from China's Yangzi Delta: Property Relations, Micro-economics and Patterns of Development," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61(2), May: 609–662.
- Brook, Timothy (ed) (1989) *The Asiatic Mode of Production in China*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Buck-Morss, Susan (2009) *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Buck-Morss, Susan (2010) "The Second Time as Farce... Historical Pragmatics and the Untimely Present," in Costas Douzinas and Slavoj Žižek (eds) *The Idea of Communism*, London: Verso: 67–80.
- Buraway, Michael (2009) "Working in the Tracks of State Socialism," *Capital and Class* 98: 33–64.
- Cartier, Carolyn (2002) "Origins and Evolution of a Geographical Idea: The 'Macroregion' in China," *Modern China* 28(1): 79–143.

- Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chan, Kam Wing (2012) "Migration and Development in China: Trends, Geography and Current Issues," *Migration and Development* 1(2) Dec: 187–205.
- Cheek, Timothy (1998) "From Market to Democracy in China: Gaps in the Civil Society Model," in Juan D. Lindau and Cheek (eds) *Market Economics and Political Change: Comparing China and Mexico*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield: 219–254.
- Chen, Kuan-Hsing (2010) *Asia as Method*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Cohen, Myron (1993) "Cultural and Political Inventions in Modern China: The Case of the Chinese 'Peasant,'" *Daedalus* 122 (2) Spring: 151–170.
- Cohen, Paul (1984), *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cole, Andrew and D Vance Smith (2010) *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages: On the Unwritten History of Theory*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Cole, G. D. H. (1956) *Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, 1789–1850 (A History of Socialist Thought Vol.1)*, London: Macmillan.
- Cui, Zhiyuan 崔之元 (1996) "Angang Constitution and Post-Fordism" "鞍钢宪法与后福特主义", *Raading 读书*, 1: 11–12.
- (2005) "Liberal Socialism and the Future of China: A Petty Bourgeois Manifesto," in Tian Yu Cao (ed) *The Chinese Model of Modern Development*, London: Routledge: 157–174.
- (2011) "Partial Intimations of the Coming Whole: The Chongqing Experiment in Light of the Theories of Henry George, James Meade, and Antonio Gramsci," *Modern China* 37(6), November: 646–660.
- Cummings, Bruce (2011) "The 'Rise of China'?" in Katherine Lynch, Robert Marks, and Paul Pickowicz (eds) *Radicalism, Revolution, and Reform in Modern China*, Lanham, MD: Lexington: 185–208.
- Dahl, Robert (1985) *A Preface to Economic Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity.
- (1989) *Democracy and Its Critics*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Dallmayr, Fred and Zhao Tingyang (2012) *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought: Debates and Perspectives*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

- Davidson, Neil (2012) *How Revolutionary Were the Bourgeois Revolutions?* Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Davis, Mike (2001) *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nino Famines and the Making of the Third World*, London: Verso.
- Dawson, Raymond (1964) *The Legacy of China*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Day, Alexander (2008) "The End of the Peasant? New Rural Reconstruction in China", *Boundary 2*, Summer: 49–73.
- Day, Alexander (2013) *The Peasant in Postsocialist China: History, Politics, and Capitalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deng, Wei, Gu Xingyuan, and Zha Bo (1997) "Changes and Trends of China's Mortality Rates," 邓伟, 顾杏元, 查波, "中国人口死亡率的变化及趋势", *The Chinese Journal of Health Statistics* 中国卫生统计, 14(3): 31–33.
- Dirlik, Arif (1978) *Revolution and History: The Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919–1937*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1989) "Postsocialism? Reflections on 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,'" in Dirlik and Maurice Meisner (eds) *Marxism and the Chinese Experience*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- (1994) *After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- (2011a) *Culture and History in Post-Revolutionary China: The Perspective of Global Modernity*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- (2011b) "Back to the Future: Contemporary China in the Perspective of Its Past, circa 1980," *Boundary 2*, 38(1), Spring: 7–52.
- Douzinis, Costas (2010) "Adikia: On Communism and Rights," in Costas Douzinis and Slavoj Žižek (eds) *The Idea of Communism*, London: Verso: 81–100.
- Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen (2002) *India: Development and Participation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Du, Jianguo 杜建国 (2012) "Do Not Underestimate China's High End Manufacturing," 别低估中国高端制造业, *Global Times* 环球时报, 23 July.
- Duara, Prasenjit (1997) *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (2009) *The Global and Regional in China's Nation-Foundation*, London: Routledge.
- (2010) *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Eagleton, Terry (2010) "Communism: Lear or Gonzalo?" in Costas Douzinas and Slavoj Žižek (eds) *The Idea of Communism*, London: Verso: 101–110.
- (2011) *Why Marx Was Right*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Elson, Diane (1988) "Market Socialism or Socialism of the Market," *New Left Review*, Nov/Dec: 3–44.
- (2000) "Socialized Market, Not Market Socialism," *The Socialist Register* 36: 67–85.
- Elvin, Mark (1973) *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, London: Methuen.
- Elvin, Mark (2004) "Some Reflections on the Use of 'Styles of Scientific Thinking' to Disaggregate and Sharpen Comparisons between China and Europe from Song to mid-Qing times," *History of Technology* 25: 53–103.
- Elvin, Mark (2008) "The Historian as Haruspex," *New Left Review* 52, Jul/Aug: 83–109.
- Engels, Friedrich ([1849]1977) "The Magyar struggle," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, New York: International Publishers: 227–238.
- Epstein, S. R. (2000) *Freedom and Growth: The Rise of States and Markets in Europe, 1300–1750*, London: Routledge.
- Ertman, Thomas (1997) *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, Peter (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fairbank, John King (1957) *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Faulkner, Neil (2013) *A Marxist History of the World: From Neanderthals to Neoliberals*, London: Pluto.
- Fei, Xiaotong (1992), *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society*, translated and introduced by Gary Hamilton and Wang Zheng, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fiskin, James, Baogang He, Robert Luskin, and Alice Siu (2010) "Deliberative Democracy in an Unlikely Place: Deliberative Polling in China," *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(2): 435–448.
- Fourier, Charles (1996) *The Theory of the Four Movements*, Gareth Stedman Jones and Ian Patterson (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frank, Andre Gunder (1978) *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

- (1998) *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Friedman, Eli and Ching Kwan Lee (2010) “Remaking the World of Chinese Labor: A 30-Year Retrospective,” *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 48(3), Sep: 507–533.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2011) *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, London: Profile.
- Gao, Liang 高粱 (2013) “Changing Developmental Pattern Requires Systematic Thinking 转变发展方式需要系统性的思考,” *Political Economy Review 政治经济学评论* 3.
- Gao, Mobo (2008), *The Battle for China’s Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*, London: Pluto.
- Gellner, Ernest (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Glete, Jan (2001) *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-military States, 1500–1660*, London: Routledge.
- Goldstone, Jack (2008), *Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History, 1500–1850*, Maidenhead, Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Goody, Jack (2006) *The Theft of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2010) *The Eurasian Miracle*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Gorz, Andre (1985) *Path to Paradise: On the Liberation from Work*, London: Pluto.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (eds) London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gray, Jack (1974) “Politics in Command: The Maoist Theory of Social Change and Economic Growth,” *Political Quarterly* 45(1): 26–48.
- Griffin, Keith, A. R. Khan, and Amy Ickowitz (2002) “Poverty and Distribution of Land,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2(3): 2002: 279–330.
- Guo, Sujian (2006) *The Political Economy of Asian Transition from Communism*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Han, Dongping (1999) “The *hukou* System and China’s Rural Development,” *Journal of Developing Areas*, 33(3): 355–378.
- Han, Yuhai 韩毓海 (2009) *Who Made the History of Past 500 Years: China and the World since 1500; 五百年来谁著史*, Beijing: Jiuzhou Publisher 九州出版社.
- Hann, Chris M. (1998) (ed) *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hann, Chris and Keith Hart (2011) *Economic Anthropology*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Hardt, Michael (2010) "Production of the Common," in Stas Douzinas and Slavoj Žižek (eds) *The Idea of Communism*, London: Verso, 131–144.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2005), *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, London: Penguin.
- Harootunian, Harry (2002) "Postcoloniality's Unconscious/Area Studies' Desire," in Masao Miyoshi and Harootunian (eds) *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press: 150–174.
- Harvey, David (2001) "Globalization and the spatial fix", *Geographische Revue* 2: 23–30.
- Harvey, David (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, David (2006) *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, London: Verso.
- Harvey, David (2010) *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawthorn, Geoffrey (1991) *Plausible Worlds: Possibilities and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- He, Xuefeng (2007) "New Rural Construction and the Chinese Path," *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 39(4): 26–38.
- He, Xuefeng 贺雨峰 (2010) *The Logic of Land Right: Wither China's Rural Land System?* 地权的逻辑：中国农村土地制度向何处去？ Beijing: University of Political Science and Law Press 中国政法大学出版社.
- Heilmann, Sebastian and Elizabeth Perry (2011) (eds) *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hess, Charlotte and Elinor Ostrom (2007) "Introduction: An Overview of the Knowledge Commons," in Charlott and Ostrom (eds) *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons: From Theory to Practice*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 3–26.
- Hindess, Barry and Hirst, Paul (1977) *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*, London: Routledge.
- Hoare, Quintin and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (1971) (eds) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hobsbawm, Eric ([1964]2011, "Marx on Pre-Capitalist formations", in *How to Change the World: Marx and Marxism 1840–2011*, London: Little, Brown: 127–175.

- (1994) *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- (1998) *On History*, New York: The New Press.
- (2012) *How to Change the World: Reflections on Marx and Marxism*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hodgson, Marshall (1974) *The Venture of Islam (vol.3): The Gunpower Empires and Modern Times*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Horkheimer, Max and Adorno, Theodor (1972) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York: Herder and Herder.
- Hou, Yangfang (2003) “The Gross National Death Rate in Republic China,” 侯杨方, “民国时期中国人口的死亡率”, *The Chinese Journal of Population Science* 中国人口科学 (5).
- Hough, Jerry (1977) *The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Howard, Michael C. and John E. King (1988) “Lenin’s Political Economy, 1905–1914: The Prussian and American Paths to the Development of Capitalism in Russia,” *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 15(3): 497–521.
- Howell, Jude (2012) “Civil Society, Corporatism and Capitalism in China,” *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 11(2), Dec: 271–297.
- Hsing, You-Tien (2010) *The Great Urban Transformation: Politics of Land and Property in China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hsueh, Roselyn (2011) *China’s Regulatory State: A New Strategy for Globalization*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Huang, Philip C. C. (1990) *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350–1988*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- (1995) “Rural Class Struggle in the Chinese Revolution: Representational and Objective Realities from the Land Reform to the Cultural Revolution,” *Modern China* 21(1): 105–143.
- (2011) “China’s New-Age Small Farms and Their Vertical Integration: Agribusiness or Co-ops?” *Modern China* 37(2): 107–134.
- (黄宗智) (2012a) “Introduction” to *China’s Hidden Agrarian Revolution* 中国的隐性农业革命导论, Beijing: The Law Press 法律出版社.
- (黄宗智) (2012b) “The Basic Unit of China’s Economy, Past and Present: The Family or the Individual?” “中国过去和现在的基本经济单位: 家庭还是个人?” *Scholarship Frontier* 学术前沿 3: 76–93.
- Huntington, Samuel (1968) *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Hussain, Athar (2007) "Social Security in Transition," in Vivienne Shue and Christine Wong (eds) *Paying for Progress in China: Public Finance, Human Welfare and Changing Patterns of Inequality*, London: Routledge: 96–116.
- Jacques, Martin (2011) *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, London: Penguin.
- Jameson, Fredric (2011) *Representing Capital: A Reading of Volume One*, London: Verso.
- (2012) "Red Plenty," *New Left Review* 75, May/June: 119–127.
- Jin, Xiaoding (2009) "A Critique of Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, Mao: The Unknown Story," in Gregor Benton and Lin Chun (eds) *Was Mao Really a Monster? The Academic Responses to Chang and Halliday's "Mao: The Unknown Story"*, London: Routledge: 135–161.
- Jossa, Bruno (2005) "Marx, Marxism and the Cooperative Movement," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 29: 3–18.
- Kaiwar, Vasant (2009) "Hybrid and Alternative Modernities: A Critical Perspective on Postcolonial Studies and the Project of Provincializing Europe," in Sucheta Mazumdar, Vasant Kaiwar, and Thierry Labica (eds) *From Orientalism to Postcolonialism: Asia, Europe and the Lineages of Difference*, London: Routledge: 206–238.
- Karl, Rebecca (2002) *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Keynes, John Maynard ([1930]1972) "Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren," in *Essays in Persuasion*, London: Macmillan.
- Kuruville, Sarosh, Ching Kwan Lee, and Mary Gallagher (2011) (eds) *From Iron Rice Bowl to Informalization: Markets, Workers, and the State in Changing China*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Verso.
- Lee, Chin Kwan (2007) *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri (1974) *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Leibold, James (2012) "Toward a Second Generation of Ethnic Policies?" *China Brief* 12(13), 6 July.
- Lenin, Vladimir ([1905]1972) "Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism", *Proletary* 24, 7 Nov, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Moscow: Progress Publisher, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/oct/25.htm>.
- ([1913]1977a) "The Awakening of Asia," *Pravda*, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Moscow: Progress Publisher: 65–66.
- ([1913]1977b) "Backward Europe and Advanced China," *Pravda*, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Moscow: Progress Publisher: 99–100.

- ([1920]1964) “Left-Wing” Communism: An Infantile Disorder, *Collected Works* 31, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/>.
- Leonard Mark (ed) (2012) *China 3.0*, London: The European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Levy, Marion J. (1963) *The Family Revolution in Modern China*, New York: Octagon Books.
- Li, Bozhong (李伯重) (2003) *The Economic History of Jiangnan in Multiple Perspectives*, 多视角看江南经济史, Beijing: Sanlian Publisher 三联书店.
- Li, Qiang, Chen Yulin, and Liu Jingming (2012) “A Study of the ‘Dynamic Advance Model’ of China’s Urban and Township Expansion,” “中国城镇化‘推进模式’研究”, *Xinhua Digest 新华文摘* 20: 25–29.
- Lieberman, Victor (2009) *Strange Parallels vol.2, Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands; Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.800–1830*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lin, Chun (2000) “Participation and Recognition: The Transforming of (un)employment in China,” *New Political Science* 22(4): 529–552.
- (2005) “What Is China’s “Comparative Advantage”? in T. Y. Cao (ed) *The Chinese Model of Modern Development*, London: Routledge, 264–276.
- (2006) *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- (2008a) “Against Privatization in China: A Historical and Empirical Argument,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 13(1): 1–27.
- (2008b) “In Defence of a Participatory Socialism,” “为参与社会主义一辩,” *The Leader 领导者*, Winter: 151–160.
- (2009) “Challenging Privatization: A Conceptual and Theoretical Argument,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 14(1): 21–48.
- Lindblom, Charles (1977) *Politics and Markets: The World’s Political-Economic Systems*, New York: Basic Books.
- Losurdo, Dominico (2011) *Liberalism: A Counter History*, London: Verso.
- Lowe, Donald (1966) *The Function of “China” in Marx, Lenin and Mao*, Berkeley: University of California University Press.
- Lu, Qiyuan 卢麒元 (2012) “Reflections and Conclusions on the Economic System since the 14th Party Congress” (“对十四大以来经济制度与政策的思考与总结”), *Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly* vol. 427.

- Lv, Xinyu, 吕新雨 (2007) "Rural Construction, Nation State and China's Path of Modernization," "乡村建设、民族国家与中国的现代化道路," in Huang Ping 黄平(ed) *Earthbound China and Cultural Self-consciousness 乡土中国与文化自觉*, Beijing: Sanlian Publisher 三联书店.
- 吕新雨 (2012a) "City and Country in the Chinese and Western Perspectives," "中西视野中的城市与乡村," *Tianxia 天下* 4.
- 吕新雨 (2012b) *The Rural World and Revolution: Three Critical Essays on Neoliberalism in China 乡村与革命 - 中国新自由主义批判三书*, Shanghai: East China Normal University Press 华东师范大学出版社.
- Lynch, Catherine (2011) "Radical Visions of Time in Modern China: The Utopianism of Mao Zedong and Liang Shuming," in Lynch, Robert Marks, and Paul Pickowicz (eds) *Radicalism, Revolution, and Reform in Modern China*, Lanham, MD: Lexington: 29–54.
- Ma, Jun (2012), "Accountability without Elections," in Mark Leonard (ed) *China 3.0*, London: the European Council on Foreign Relations: 80–88.
- Ma, Shexiang 马社香 (2012) *An Oral History of Cooperative Movement in China's Agriculture 中国农业合作化运动口述史*, Beijing: Central Documentary Compilation Publisher 中央文献出版社,
- MacPherson, C. B. (1962) *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maddison, Angus (2007) *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective: Historical Statistics*, Brussels: OECD.
- Mann, Michael (1986) *The Sources of Social Power, Vol. I: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mao, Zedong ([1939]1991) "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works II*, Beijing: People's Publishing House.
- ([1944]1983) "To Qin Bangxian," Aug 31, in *Selected letters of Mao*, Beijing: People's Publishing House.
- ([1949]1991) "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works IV*, Beijing: People's Publishing House.
- ([1955]1991) "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside," *Selected Works V*, Beijing: People's Publishing House.
- ([1958, 1959]1986) *Selective Writings of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 8, Beijing: Renmin Publishing House.
- ([1958, 1959]1999) *Selective Reading of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 2, Beijing: Renmin Publishing House.

- ([1959]1977) *A Critique of Soviet Economics*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Marx, Karl (1844) *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>.
- ([1852]2005) *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, New York: Mondial.
- ([1853]1979a) “Revolution in China and in Europe,” *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 12, New York: International Publishers: 93–100.
- ([1853]1979b) “The Future Results of British Rule in India,” *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 12, New York: International Publishers: 217–221.
- ([1857]1964) *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- ([1857-]1973) *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, New York: Penguin.
- ([1858]1983) “To Engels,” *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 40, New York: International Publishers: 345–346.
- ([1861]1989) *Economic Manuscript of 1861–63*, in *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 31, New York: International Publishers.
- (1867) *Preface to the first German edition of Capital*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p1.htm>.
- ([1867]1971) *Capital I: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- ([1871]1968) *The Civil War in France*, New York: International Publishers.
- ([1874]1989) “Notes on Bakunin’s book *Statehood and Anarchy*,” *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 24, New York: International Publishers: 485–526.
- ([1877]1942) “Letter to the editorial board of *the Otechestvenniye Zapiski*,” in *Marx and Engels Selected Correspondence: 1846–1895*, New York: International Publishers: 352: 353.
- ([1881]1989) “First Draft of Letter to Vera Zasulich,” *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol.24, New York: International Publishers, Vol. 24: 346–358.
- ([1894]1993) *Capital III: A Critique of Political Economy*, London: Penguin.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels ([1846]1968) *The German Ideology*, Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- ([1848]1998) *The Communist Manifesto*, London: Verso.
- Masioli, Itelvina and Paul Nicholson (2011) “Seeing Like a Peasant: Voices from La Via Campesina,” in Hannah Wittman et al (eds)

- Food Sovereignty: Reconnecting Food, Nature and Community*, Oxford: Pambazuka Press: 33–44.
- Mazumdar, Sucheta (2009) “Locating China, Positioning America: Politics of the Civilizational Model of World History,” in Mazumdar, Vasant Kaiwar, and Thierry Labica (eds) *From Orientalism to Postcolonialism: Asia, Europe and the Lineages of Difference*, London: Routledge.
- McMichael, Philip (2009) “Food Sovereignty, Social Reproduction and the Agrarian Question,” in Akram-Lodhi and Kay, *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, New York: Routledge: 288–312.
- Meisner, Maurice (1963) “The Despotism of Concepts: Wittfogel and Marx on China,” *The China Quarterly* 16, Oct-Dec: 99–111.
- (1982) *Marxism, Maoism, and Utopianism: Eight Essays*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- (1989a) “Marx, Mao and Deng on the Division of Labor in History,” in Arif Dirlik and Maurice Meisner (eds) *Marxism and the Chinese Experience*, Armonk, NY: M. E, Sharpe: 79–116.
- (1989b) “The Deradicalization of Chinese Socialism,” in Arif Dirlik and Maurice Meisner (eds) *Marxism and the Chinese Experience*, Armonk, NY: M. E, Sharpe: 341–361.
- (1996) *The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978–94*, New York: Hill & Wang.
- (1999) “The Significance of the Chinese Revolution in World History,” London: *LSE Asia Research Centre Working Papers* 1.
- (2007) “Capitalism, Communism, and Democracy in China: A Review Essay,” *The Progressive* 71:11, November.
- Meszaros, Istvan (2008) *The Challenge and Burden of Historical Time*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Miller, Ethan (2010) “Solidarity Economy: Key Concepts and Issues,” in Emily Kawano, Tom Masterson, and Jonathan Teller-Ellsberg (eds) *Solidarity Economy I: Building Alternatives for People and Planet*, Amherst, MA: Center for Popular Economics: 25–42.
- Miller, James (1978) “A Note on Primitive Accumulation in Marx and Preobrazhensky,” *Soviet Studies* 30(3), July: 384–393.
- Mills, C. Wright (1951) *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Barrington (1966) *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston, MA: Beacon.
- Naughton, Barry (2006) *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Needham, Joseph (1976) *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nolan, Peter (1976) "Collectivization in China: Some Comparisons with the USSR," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 3(2): 192–220.
- (2011) "Who Are We? Who Are They?" *New Perspectives Quarterly* 28(3), Summer, http://www.digitalnpq.org/archive/2011_summer/17_nolan.html.
- (2012) *Is China Buying the World?* Cambridge: Polity.
- (2013) "Imperial Archipelagos: China, Western Colonialism and the Law of the Sea," *New Left Review* 80, Mar/Apr: 77–95.
- Offe, Claus and Ulrich Preuss (1991) "Democratic Institutions and Moral Resources," in David Held (ed) *Political Theory Today*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press: 143–171.
- Offe, Claus and Rolf Heinze (1992) *Beyond Employment: Time, Work and the Informal Economy*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Oi, Jean C (1992) "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China," *World Politics* 45(1), Oct: 99–126.
- Olson, Mancur (1982) *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Pai, Hsiao-Hung (2012) *Scattered Sand: The Story of China's Rural Migrants*, London: Verso.
- Panitch, Leo and Sam Gindin (2012) *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*, London: Verso.
- Parthasarathi, Prasanna (2011) *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patnaik, Utsa (2002) "On Famine and Measuring 'famine deaths,'" in Sujata Patel, Jasodhara Bagchi, and Krishna Raj (eds) *Thinking Social Science in India: Essays in Honor of Alice Thorner*, London: Sage.
- Patnaik, Utsa and Sam Moyo (2011) *The Agrarian Question in the Neoliberal Era: Primitive Accumulation and the Peasantry*, Oxford: Pambazuka Press.
- Pearson, Margaret M. (2007) "Governing the Chinese Economy: Regulatory Reform in the Service of the State," *Public Administration Review*, 67(4): 718–730.
- Perry, Elizabeth (1983) *Rebels and Revolutionaries in North China, 1845–1945*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- (1999) "From Paris to the Paris of the East and Back: Workers as Citizens in Modern Shanghai," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41(2), Apr: 348–373.

- (2012) *Anyuan: Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Polanyi, Karl (1957) *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd edn. Boston, MA: Beacon.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth (2000) *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (2008) "Chinese Development in Long-Run Perspective," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 152(1) Mar: 83–100.
- Poulantzas, Nicos (2008) "Contemporary Classes in Capitalism," in *The Poulantzas Reader: Marxism, Law and the State*, London: Verso.
- Pun, Ngai and Chris King-Chi Chan (2008) "The Subsumption of Class Discourse in China," *Boundary 2*, 35(2): 75–91.
- Pun, Ngai and Jenny Chan (2012) "Global Capital, the State, and Chinese Workers: The Foxconn Experience," *Modern China* 38(4): 383–410.
- Pye, Lucien (1992) "Social Science Theories in Search of Chinese Realities," *China Quarterly* 132, Dec: 1161–70.
- Qin, Hui and Su Wen 秦晖, 苏文 (1996) *Eclogue and Rhapsody: The Guanzhong Model and An Reexamination of Early Modern Society 田园诗与狂想曲 – 关中模式与前近代社会的再认识*, Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press 中央编译出版社.
- Rapp, John (1987) "The Fate of Marxist Democrats in Leninist Party-States: China's Debate on the Asiatic Mode of Production," *Theory and Society* 16: 709–740.
- Rawski, Evelyn and Thomas Rawski (2008) "Economic Change around the Indian Ocean in the Very Long Run," paper presented at the Harvard-Hitotsubashi-Warwick Conference, Venice, July.
- Rifkin, Jeremy (1995) *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, New York: Tarcher.
- (2011) *The Third Industrial Revolution: How Lateral Power Is Transforming Energy, the Economy, and the World*, London: Palgrave.
- Riskin, Carl (1991) "Feeding China: The Experience since 1949," in Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen (eds) *The Political Economy of Hunger* Vol. 3, Oxford: Clarendon: 15–58.
- (1998) "Seven Questions about the Chinese Famine of 1959–61," *Chinese Economic Review* 9(2), autumn: 111–124.
- (2012) "Harmony, Crisis, and the Facing of the Lewis Model in China," in Amiya K Bagchi and Anthony D'Costa (eds) *Transformation and Development: The Political Economy of*

- Transition in India and China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 152–172.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan (2003) “Was Mancur a Maoist? An Essay on Kleptocracy and Political Stability,” *Economics & Politics* 15, Jul: 163–180.
- Rosenberg, Justin (1996) “Isaac Deutscher and the Lost History of International Relations,” *New Left Review* 215, Jan/Feb: 3–15.
- Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent and Wong, Bin (2005) “Another Look at Credit Markets and Investment in China and Europe before the Industrial Revolution,” *Yale University Economic History Workshop*,
 ——— (2011), *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rousset, Pierre (2009), “Marxism(s), Revolution, and the Third World: Thoughts on the Experiences of Successive Generations in Europe and East Asia,” in Sucheta Mazumdar et al. (eds) *From Orientalism to Postcolonialism: Asia, Europe and the Lineages of Difference*, London: Routledge: 154–173.
- Runciman, W. G. (ed) (1978) *Weber: Selections in Translation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1987) *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Schmitt, Carl (2007) *The Concept of the Political*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schram, Stuart (1966) *Mao Tse-Tung*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Shultz, Theodore (1964) *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Schumpeter, Joseph (1962) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 3rd edn., New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Schweickart, David (2011) *After Capitalism*, 2nd edn. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Scott, James (1976) *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- (1985) “Socialism and Small Property—or, Two Cheers for the Petty Bourgeoisie,” *Peasant Studies* 12(3): 185–197.
- Selden, Mark (1982) “Cooperation and Conflict: Cooperative and Collective Formation in China’s Countryside,” in Selden and Victor Lippit (eds) *The Transition to Socialism in China*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Sen, Amartya (1983) *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2000) *Development as Freedom*, New York: Knopf.

- (2011) “Quality of Life: India vs. China,” *New York Review of Books*, 12 May.
- Shanin, Theodore (1983) *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Shi, Zhengfu and Liu Chang (2012) “Socialization of Property Rights: A Strategy for SOE Reform in China,” *Modern China* 38(6): 677–693.
- Skinner, William (1977) *The City in Late Imperial China*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- (1985) “The Structure of Chinese history,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 44(2), Feb: 271–292.
- Skocpol, Theda (1979) *State and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Adam ([1776]1976) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Steve A (2002) *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai 1895–1927*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Stedman Jones, Gareth (1975) “Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution,” *New Left Review* 90, Mar/Apr: 35–69.
- (2004) *An End to Poverty: A Historical Debate*, London: Profile Books.
- Strange, Susan (1986) *Casino Capitalism*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sugihara, Kaoru (1996) “Agriculture and Industrialization: The Japanese Experience,” in Peter Mathias and John Davis (eds) *Agriculture and Economic Growth*, Oxford: Blackwell, 148–166.
- Sugihara, Kaoru (2003) “The East Asian Path of Economic Development: A Long-Term Perspective,” in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Selden (eds) *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspective*, London: Routledge: 78–123.
- Sullivan, Lawrence (1990) “The Controversy over “Feudal Despotism”: Politics and Historiography in China, 1978–1982,” *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 23: 1–31.
- Therborn, Goran (2012) “Class in the 21st Century”, *New Left Review* 78, Nov/Dec: 5–29.
- Thompson, Edward P. (1971) “The Moral Economy of the English Crowds in the 18th Century,” *Past and Present* 50: 76–136.
- Tilly, Charles (1984) *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- (1992) *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992*, Oxford: Blackwell.

- Trotsky, Leon (1959) *The Russian Revolution: The Overthrow of Tsarism and the Triumph of the Soviets*, -F. W. Dupee (ed) New York: Anchor Books.
- Unger, Roberto (1987) *Plasticity into Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1997) *Politics: The Central Texts*, London: Verso.
- Unger, Roberto and Cui Zhiyuan (1994) “China in the Russian Mirror,” *New Left Review* 208, Nov/Dec: 78–87.
- van Zanden, Jan Luiten (2011) “Before the Great Divergence: The Modernity of China at the Onset of the Industrial Revolution,” *VOX*, 26 Jan, <http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/6051>, accessed October 15, 2011.
- Veblen, Thorsten (1990) *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Vukovich, Daniel (2012) *China and Orientalism: Western Knowledge Production and the P. R. C.*, London: Routledge.
- Wade, Robert (1990) *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wade, Robert (2004) “The Ringmaster of Doha,” *New Left Review* 25, Jan/Feb: 146–152.
- Wakeman, Frederic (2009) *Telling Chinese History: A Selection of Essays*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1991) *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- (1999) *The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science for the 21st Century*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- (2004) *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wang, Gungwu (2006) “Tianxia and Empire: External Chinese Perspective,” Inaugural Tsai Lecture, Asian Center, Harvard University, May.
- Wang, Hui (2006) “Depoliticized Politics, from East to West,” *New Left Review* 41, Sep/Oct: 29–45.
- (2007) “The Politics of Imagining Asia: A Genealogical analysis,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 8(1): 1–33.
- (2012a) “Political Repression and the Resurgence of Neoliberalism in China,” in Mark Leonard (ed) *China 3.0*, London: The European Council on Foreign Relations: 94–99.
- (2012b) “The Rumor Machine,” *London Review of Books*, 34(9) May: 13–14.

- Wang, Shaoguang (2003) "The Problem of State Weakness," *Journal of Democracy* 14(1): 35–42.
- (2008) "The Great Transformation: The Double Movement in China," *Boundary 2*, 35(2):15–47.
- (2013) "The Story of Soybeans" "大豆的故事," *Open Times 开放时代* 3.
- Wang, Xiaoqiang 王小强 (2001) "Managing Cities as Managing State Asset: Real Estate without Bubbles in Hegang," "把城市作为国有资产来整体经营 鹤岗房地产没有泡沫," *Shanghai State Asset 上海国资* 11.
- 王小强 (2010) "Only Socialism Can Save China—part 3" "只有社会主义才能救中国—之三," *Sunny Research Advance 香港传真* 9: 1–93.
- 王小强 (2011) "Only Socialism Can Save China—part 4" "只有社会主义才能救中国—之四," *Sunny Research Advance 香港传真* 44: 1–110.
- Watts, Michael (2009) "The Southern Question: Agrarian Questions of Labor and Capital," in Akram-Lodhi and Kay, *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, New York: Routledge: 262–288.
- Weber, Max (1968a) *The Religion of China*, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- (1968b) *Economy and Society*, New York: Bedminster.
- (1978) *Weber: Selections in Translation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1986) *The City*, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Wen, Tiejun 温铁军 (2005) *The Sannong Problem and a Fin de Siecle Reflection 三农问题与世纪反思*, Beijing: Sanlian Publisher 三联书店.
- 温铁军(1999) *An Investigation of Rural China's Basic Economic System 中国农村基本经济制度调查*, Beijing: China Economy Publisher 中国经济出版社.
- 温铁军 (2011) *Reading Southern Jiangsu 解读苏南*, Suzhou: Suzhou University Press 苏州大学出版社.
- Wertheim, Wim (1995) "Wild Swans and Mao's Agrarian Strategy," *Australia China Review*, August.
- Wittfogel, Karl (1957) *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Wittman, Hannah, Annette Aurelie Desmarals and Nettie Wiebe (2010) (eds) *Food Sovereignty: Reconnecting Food, Nature and Community*, Oxford: Pambazuka Press.

- Wolf, Eric (2010) *Europe and the People without History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2nd edn.
- Wong, Bin (1997) *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins (1999) *The Retreat from Class: A New "True" Socialism*, London: Verso.
- (2009) "Peasants and the Market Imperative: The Origins of Capitalism," in Akram-Lodhi and Kay, *Peasants and Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question*, New York: Routledge: 37–56.
- Wood, Tony (2012) "Collapse as Crucible," *New Left Review* 74, Mar/Apr: 5–38.
- Wright, Erik Olin, et al. (1989) *The Debate on Classes*, London: Verso.
- Wrigley, A. E. (2004) "Malthus on the Prospects for the Laboring Poor," in A. E. Wrigley (ed) *Poverty, Progress and Population*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229–248.
- Yang, Mao 杨毛 (2009) "No Land Reform, No China's Modernization 没有土地改革就没有中国的现代化," *Sunny Research Advance 香港传真* 38.
- Yang, Songlin 杨松林 (2013) *Someone Has to Tell the Truth: On "30 Million of Famine Death" 总要有有人说出真相: 关于"饿死三千万"*, Haikou: Southern Sea Publishing House 南海出版公司.
- Yegenoglu, Meyda (1998) *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zarrow, Peter (2005) *China in War and Revolution, 1895–1949*, London: Routledge.
- Zhang, Qian Forrest and John Donaldson (2008) "The Rise of Agrarian Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Agricultural Modernization, Agribusiness and Collective Land Rights," *The China Journal* 60: 25–47.
- Zhao, Huaquan 赵华荃 (2012) "A Quantitative Analysis and Evaluation of the Mainstay of Public Ownership" (关于公有制主体地位的量化分析和评价), *Contemporary Economic Research 当代经济研究*: 3.
- Zhao, Tingyang (2011) *The Tianxia System: Introduction to the Philosophy of World Institutions*, 天下体系: 世界制度哲学导论, Beijing: People's University Press, 人民大学出版社.
- Zhao, Yuezhi (2008) *Communication in China: Political Economy, Power, and Conflict*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Zhao, Yuezhi (2009) "Communication, the Nexus of Class and Nation, and Global Divides: Reflections on China's Post-Revolutionary Experiences," *Nordicom Review*, Jubilee Issue: 91–104.

——— (2012) "The Struggle for Socialism in China: The Bo Xilai Saga and beyond," *Monthly Review*, October: <http://monthlyreview.org/2012/10/01/the-struggle-for-socialism-in-china>.

Žižek, Slavoj (2009) *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce*, London: Verso.

Index

- Adorno, Theodor, 189
agrarian question, 118, 145, 154, 161
Amin, Samir, 10, 25, 160, 206, 219, 223, 227, 231, 235
Anderson, Perry, 56, 122, 169, 183, 187, 218, 219
Angang Constitution, 108, 173
Apple suppliers, 75
Arab
 markets, 181
 nationalism, 233–4
 world, 27, 36, 38
area studies, 4, 8
Arrighi, Giovanni, 10, 13, 36, 156, 185, 215, 216, 230
Asian
 Age, 28, 36, 37, 191
 economies, 158
 tigers, 185
 values, 191, 203

Badiou, Alain, 45
Bakunin, Mikhail, 249
Bandung, 192
Barshefsky, Charlene, 57
basic income, 167, 168, 231
Beijing consensus, 82, 83, 193
Ben Bella, Ahmed, 233
Benjamin, Walter, 208
Blecher, Marc, 224, 239
Bo, Xilai, 200, 201, 234, 258
Braudel, Fernand, 12, 33, 36, 60, 215, 225

Brazil, 57, 61, 117, 123, 205, 225
 landless workers' movement, 124
Brenner, Robert, 32, 182, 183, 233
Brown, Kerry, 202
bureaucratic
 bourgeoisie, 114
 capitalism, 5, 56
 privileges, 51
 ruling class, 217
 statism, 152

capital
 bureaucratic, 49, 65, 79, 82, 198
 comprador, 58, 71, 98, 185
 financial, 11, 22, 29, 49, 60, 74, 157
 financialization of, 11, 27, 33, 60, 156, 198
Carnegie Endowment for
 International Peace, 200
Central Party School, 69
cheap labor, 31, 101, 151, 168
Chen, Xiwen, 139, 142, 226
China model, 81, 82, 83, 84, 168
Chinese Academy of Social
 Sciences (CASS), 68, 101, 215
Chinese Communist Party (CCP),
 21, 54, 68, 79, 80, 161, 207,
 219
Chongqing model, 69, 200, 201,
 202, 234

- civil society, 68, 78, 88, 106, 107, 240
- Cold War, 20, 28, 64, 71, 80, 86, 144, 195, 196
- collectivization, 48, 52, 70, 105, 125, 163, 172, 251
- colonialism, 7, 23, 53, 83, 184, 186, 188, 189, 192
- commercial capitalism, 12, 21, 181
- commons, 135, 149, 152, 166, 170, 173, 187, 195, 207
- communism, 24, 44, 48, 81, 86, 101, 106, 115, 136, 150, 175, 203, 226, 227, 236
- Condorcet, Marquis de, 18, 50, 167
- Constitution (PRC), 6, 8, 58, 80, 88, 94, 207
- cooperation (in agriculture), 49, 52, 123, 135, 137–9, 153–4, 171, 174
- cooperative movement, 165, 225
- Cui, Zhiyuan, 97, 109, 123, 141, 167–8, 202, 225, 228
- Cultural Revolution, 15, 19, 51, 54–6, 71, 164, 193, 203, 225, 233
- Cumings, Bruce, 191
- Dahl, Robert, 104, 108
- Dalai, Lama, 227
- danwei*, 105
- Davis, Mike, 53, 143, 181, 185, 219, 233
- decollectivization, 105, 118, 125, 163
- deethnicization, 91
- deglobalization, 73
- degrainization, 135, 140
- deindustrialization, 27, 61, 114
- democracy, 5, 7
 - bourgeois, 211
 - capitalist, 107, 210
 - direct, 152
 - economic, 108, 212, 231
 - liberal, 109
 - minimalist, 211
 - people's, 88, 211, 223
 - social, 101, 228
 - socialist, 108
- Deng, Xiaoping, 21, 66, 79
- dependency theory, 88, 99, 151, 185
- developmentalism, 66, 91, 102
- developmental state, 13, 52, 84, 99, 144
- direct producers, 113, 150, 164, 174, 199
- Dirlik, Arif, 19, 35, 50, 186, 194, 196, 205, 221–2, 235
- Dobb, Maurice, 233
- double management, 143
- Duara, Prasenjit, 4, 35, 49
- earthbound China, 133, 171
- East Asian miracle, 84, 157
- East India Company, 233
- ecosocialism, 224
- Elvin, Mark, 30, 31, 37, 158
- empire, 5, 6, 7, 25, 26, 31, 34, 180, 181, 183, 215, 225
 - Chinese, 22, 32, 38, 156
 - and nation, 7, 38
- Engels, Friedrich, 9, 17, 18, 24, 208, 230
- England, 28, 32, 34, 36, 182, 183, 230
- environment
 - costs, 71–2, 102, 130
 - crises, 37, 194
 - devastations, 185
 - pollution, 56, 67, 104, 129, 130, 136, 205, 227
 - protection, 97
- ethnic, 56, 91, 92
 - multi-, 3, 92
 - nationalism, 92
 - religious identity, 91
 - tension, 132

- ethnicity, 6, 91, 132
 Eurasia, 7, 22, 39, 117, 179–80, 188
 Eurocentrism, 30, 189
 European social model, 64, 212
 famine
 in China, 53, 218, 219
 death, 52, 218
 in India, 181, 218
 federalism, 6, 91
 quasi-, 91
 Fei, Xiaotong, 133, 159, 160, 225, 227
 feudal, 38, 49, 129, 156, 171, 172, 183, 230
 -ism, 5, 20, 25, 26, 182, 230
 socialism, 120
 financial-military state, 5, 22
 Food First, 193
 food sovereignty, 143, 228
 Fourier, Charles, 232
 Foxconn, 75, 220
 French Revolution, 233
 Friedman, Eli, 220

 Gellner, Ernest, 5, 193
 George, Henry, 225, 228
 German, 18, 24, 26, 109, 208, 236
 Germany, 43, 230
 Global Environmental
 Performance Index, 130
 Graeber, David, 232
 Gramsci, Antonio, 79, 107, 207, 208
 Great Leap Forward, 51, 238
 Green Revolution, 131, 136, 148, 158, 229
 Guangdong model, 200
 Gunder Frank, Andre, 10, 33, 36, 181, 184
 Guo, Shuqing, 221

 Haitian Revolution, 189
 Hann, Chris, 194, 225, 231

 Hardt, Michael, 117, 122
 Hart, Keith, 225, 231
 Harvey, David, 10, 11, 57, 61, 64, 73, 103, 115, 143, 149, 150, 182, 215, 229, 233
 He, Xuefeng, 134, 135, 227, 228
 Hegel, G.W.F., 17, 18, 19, 39, 106
 historical materialism, 10, 46, 179, 197
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 26, 117, 150, 155, 213
 Hoover Institution, 200
 Horkheimer, Max, 189
 Hu, Jintao, 77
 Huang, Philip C.C., 31, 123, 137, 139, 156, 158, 225, 230
 Huang, Qifan, 228, 235
hukou, 129, 226

 imperialism, 5, 7, 11, 20, 33, 61, 149, 183–5, 186, 189, 192, 195, 204
 India, 17, 19, 27, 33, 38, 53, 57, 99, 117, 145, 156, 181, 185, 188, 205, 218, 225, 233
 industrial capitalism, 13, 15, 21, 23, 28, 35, 37, 136, 181, 184, 186–7, 189, 196
 industrialism, 23, 27, 44, 125, 143, 156, 187, 189
 industrialization, 8, 12, 28, 31, 33, 34, 38, 47, 52, 106, 114, 127, 133, 141, 143, 147–9, 158–9, 164, 172, 181–2, 188, 202, 226, 233
 industrial revolution, 28–9, 34, 37, 120, 156, 158, 160, 179, 181–2, 216
 industrious revolution, 157, 158, 160, 195
 internationalism, 5, 45, 145, 184, 189, 192
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 74
 involution, 32, 37, 49, 137

- Jiang, Zemin, 79
 Johnson, Chalmers, 215
- Kausky, Karl, 230
 Keynes, John Maynard, 169
 Korean War, 5
- labor
 NGOs, 75
 surplus, 25, 102, 126, 129, 142, 151, 153–4, 157, 168, 183
 unions, 11, 61, 75, 108, 131
- land
 privatization of, 147
 reform, 49, 125, 163, 218, 225, 231, 232
 revolution, 45, 49, 118
 right, 30, 38, 127–9, 138, 141, 227
 system, 29, 38, 126, 141, 160, 244
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 225
 La Via Campesina, 228
- legal
 -ist, 23
 -ity, 29, 90
 -ization, 89
 ownership, 128, 140
 property relation, 25
 reform, 89
 right, 75
- Lenin, Vladimir, 5, 19, 26, 92, 141, 171, 208, 212–13, 226, 228–9, 230, 236
- Li, Changping, 141
 Li, Keqiang, 77
 Liang, Shuming, 159
 Lin, Zulian, 76
 line struggle, 200
 Lukacs, Georg, 208
 Luxemburg, Rosa, 11
- Malthus, Thomas Robert, 157, 183, 229
- Mao, Zedong, 15, 45, 48, 49, 52, 54, 72, 74, 85, 101, 105, 113, 172, 191, 208, 218
 on agriculture, 126, 153, 155, 172, 230, 232
 and Chinese revolution, 20, 43, 45, 70, 113, 193, 195, 200, 217
 on class analysis, 105, 172, 224, 225
 and Cultural Revolution, 15, 52, 54, 193 *see also* Cultural Revolution
 and democracy, 109, 173, 193, 233
 and economic strategy, 163–4, 172
 and Great Leap Forward, 52
 and new democracy, 46
 on politics in command, 207
 and populism, 89, 105
 and West, 55–6, 106
- Marx, Karl, 11, 15, 29, 43, 108, 153, 183, 237, 238, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 254
 and agrarian question, 230
 on commodified labor, 103, 139, 149–50
 on communist revolution, 208, 212
 conception of history, 13, 25, 44, 45, 165, 203, 204, 205, 208
 on counterrevolution, 15, 198
 critique of colonialism, 9, 181, 182, 183, 185
 on democracy, 193, 194
 on direct producers, 119–20, 123
 on financialization, 11
 on modernity, 15, 27, 44
 on nationalization of land, 225–6
 on national liberation, 18

- on nature, 103, 136, 169
- on Oriental Society, 17–19, 20–4, 26, 28, 155, 179, 235
- on petty bourgeois socialism, 120, 122, 123, 171
- on pre-capitalist formations, 17, 18, 24–6, 30, 32, 216, 225
- on world history, 9, 23, 150, 183–5, 199
- Marxism, 15, 23–4, 123, 172, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 234
 - official, 47, 69, 70
 - on pre-capitalist formations, 23
 - Sinification of, 209
 - Sinified, 48, 192
 - western, 208
- mass line, 46, 94, 105, 108, 201, 207, 211
- Meade, James, 96, 225
- Meisner, Maurice, 22, 48, 55–6, 69, 78, 109, 152, 194, 207
- Mexico, 26, 61, 117
- middle class, 104, 115, 116, 123
- Middle East, 36, 188
- Mill, John Stuart, 189, 225, 231
- minsheng*, 99, 100, 103, 129, 168, 202
- mode of production, 9, 21, 24, 26, 28, 151, 165, 174, 183
 - Asiatic, 18–21, 23–6, 34, 39, 90, 125, 155, 191
 - capitalist, 24, 182
 - feudal, 24
 - tributary, 25
- modernity, 7, 24, 81, 105, 144, 161, 173–5, 179, 187, 190, 194–5, 212
 - anti-, 136
 - capitalist, 15, 28, 124, 159, 190, 195, 212, 226
 - colonial, 50, 88, 186, 218
 - Euro-, 189, 196
 - global, 40, 65, 117, 143, 222
 - pre-, 7, 35, 175, 210
 - revolutionary, 50
 - socialist, 40, 48, 50
- Moore, Barrington, 49
- moral economy, 100, 138, 162, 173
 - ancient, 22
 - communist, 147, 161, 229
 - local and national, 147
 - modern, 143
 - new, 148, 154, 162, 165
 - traditional, 210, 230
- Morgan, L.H., 165
- multitude, 122, 195
- nationalism, 7, 92, 100
 - Algerian, 233
 - Chinese, 4
 - cultural, 234
 - economic, 85, 144
 - revolutionary, 5
- National People's Congress (NPC), 68, 76–7, 159, 167, 173, 219–20
- neoliberal, 46, 69, 101, 133, 139
 - authoritarianism, 80
 - globalization, 228
 - ideologues, 95
 - ideology, 71
 - ism, 64, 93, 194, 221
 - policy, 203, 206
- Netherlands, 37
- New Economic Policy, 92, 212, 229
- occidentalism, 18, 23, 180
- occupy, 64, 122
- Olson, Mancur, 193, 215
- Opium War, 5, 181
- Orient, 18, 23, 28, 36
- oriental despotism, 18, 21, 256
- orientalism, 191, 233, 246, 250, 253, 255, 257
 - reverse, 191, 234
 - self-, 191

- Paine, Thomas, 120, 167
 pan-Asianism, 191
 Paris Commune, 173, 193, 194
 participatory society, 105–6,
 167–8, 170, 175, 195
 Patnaik, Utsa, 53, 54, 145
 peasant, 21, 45, 49, 120–1, 135,
 155, 172, 212
 association, 217
 economy, 225
 movement, 217
 rebellion, 37, 141, 192
 revolution, 45, 118, 161, 175
 peasantry, 25, 113, 116–18, 145,
 161, 217, 225, 230–1
 last, 121, 148
 Soviet, 231
 people's commune, 118, 129, 154,
 164, 171
 People's Liberation Army (PLA),
 68, 173
 People's Political Consultative
 Conference, 68
 petty bourgeoisie, 113, 120,
 121–2, 123, 137, 155, 161,
 171, 172
 petty bourgeois socialism, 120, 246
 Polanyi, Karl, 11, 74, 143, 150,
 199, 230
 political reform, 78
 Pomeranz, Kenneth, 31, 36, 157,
 183
 populism, 89, 105, 170, 172, 226,
 232
 possessive individualism, 194, 210
 postcapitalist, 83, 118, 125,
 147–8, 153, 175, 205
 postcolonial, 4, 8, 23, 49, 63, 81,
 161
 postcommunist, 63, 73, 126, 198,
 204, 209
 postindustrial, 27, 121, 143, 147,
 148, 170
 post-socialist, 70, 75, 85, 88, 170,
 205, 213
 pre-capitalist, 9, 17–18, 23, 25–6,
 31, 118, 148, 153, 161, 165,
 170, 174, 184, 204, 230
 “precariat”, 115
 pre-socialist, 170
 primitive accumulation, 37, 74,
 149, 150, 160, 180, 229
 private owned enterprise (POE),
 59, 96, 97
 privatization, 58, 65, 71, 77, 78,
 91, 95, 98, 110, 114, 126,
 128–9, 140–2, 147, 150, 171,
 199, 226, 231
 privilege of backwardness, 9, 87
 proletarianization, 115, 135, 156
 Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 225
 Proudhonism, 120, 123
 public good regime, 51, 100
 public sector, 58, 59, 94, 96, 97,
 99, 108
 Pye, Lucien, 7

 Qin, 34
 Qing, 6, 28, 30, 35, 36
 Quah, Danny, 222

 racism, 189, 210
 Rand Corporation, 200
 red army, 45, 213
 revolution
 bourgeois, 46, 47
 color, 211
 communist, 5, 45–7, 50–1, 84,
 105, 121, 125, 193, 204, 208
 democratic, 46, 204
 1848, 120
 1911, 19
 1917, 43
 peasant, 45, 118, 161, 175
 Russian, 44, 219, 228
 social, 14, 17, 26, 45, 50, 100,
 122–3, 141, 161, 184, 193,
 207
 socialist, 43, 72, 186, 190
 Ricardo, David, 229

- Riskin, Carl, 53
- Russia
 mir, 44, 165
 narodnik, 9, 44, 171
 Tsarist, 26
- Sartori, Giovanni, 55
- Schultz, Theodore, 157
- Schumpeter, Joseph, 11
- Scott, James, 148, 155
- Sen, Amartya, 53, 231
- Shanghai Commune, 173
- sinology, 8, 38
- Skinner, William, 29, 156
- Skocpol, Theda, 50
- slave, 9, 18, 24, 26, 48, 122, 180, 181, 182
 labor, 37
 trade, 181
- slavery, 18, 26, 48, 181–2
- Smith, Adam, 12, 13, 15, 37, 156, 194, 222, 230
- socialism
 agricultural, 170, 232
 and backwardness, 51
 communal, 172, 173
 European, 19
 utopian, 167, 187
- socialist accumulation, 229
 democracy, 106–8
 market economy, 58, 65, 74, 92–4, 97–8, 101–2, 110, 123, 150, 162, 165, 170–1, 174, 212, 220, 224, 231
 modernization, 28, 40, 46, 50, 87, 99, 126, 148, 161
- social wage, 167, 168, 169
- South Korea, 185
- soviet, 211
- Soviet bloc, 64, 115
- Soviet Union, 6, 48, 213, 219
- Stalinist model, 164
- state
 local, 90, 226
 multinational, 7, 91
- PRC, 79, 85, 93, 155, 161
 social, 93, 155
 socialist, 69, 73, 75, 87, 89, 92–3, 99, 102, 106, 108, 150, 155, 162, 167, 174–5
 workers', 47, 75
- State Council, 67, 69, 78, 136, 199
- state owned enterprise (SOE), 59, 60, 65–6, 75, 94–8, 110, 114–15, 150, 199, 202, 206, 219, 222
- State Securities Regulatory Commission, 78
- State Statistics Bureau, 58, 222
- statism, 81, 106, 152, 170, 175, 193
- Stedile, Joao Pedro, 124
- Sugihara, Kaoru, 157
- Sun, Jingxian, 218
- Sun, Zhongshan, 85, 228
- surplus retention, 73, 102, 151
- Taiwan, 83, 185
- Tao, Xingzhi, 159
- Therborn, Goran, 49, 117, 220
- Third World Forum, 117
- Thompson, E.P., 148, 230
- three people's principles, 100, 192
- Tibet, 5, 91, 132, 227
- Tilly, Charles, 22
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 106
- township and village enterprise (TVE), 90
- trade unions, 75, 76
- tragedy of uncommons, 163
- Trotsky, Leon, 10
- uneven development, 9–10, 87, 149, 175, 189
- Unger, Roberto, 108, 109, 123, 209
- United States, 11, 58, 66, 144, 185, 198
- urban bias, 52, 105
- urbanism, 125, 143, 187

- urbanization, 71, 127–9, 130–1, 143–4, 147, 150, 154, 195, 202, 226
 - and township-ization, 133
- urban-rural integration, 73, 133, 167
- utopian capitalism, 203, 205
- wage labor, 9, 27, 38, 45, 59, 115, 116, 119, 121, 134, 150, 169, 182
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, 10, 37, 74, 215
- Wang, Hui, 7, 93, 161, 200, 206, 207, 215, 223
- Wang, Shaoguang, 74, 136, 223–4
- Washington consensus, 83
- Weber, Max, 29, 34, 215
- Wen, Tiejun, 119, 126, 140, 226, 229
- Wertheim, Wim, 53, 218
- worker-peasant alliance, 45, 113, 151, 161, 175
- workers, 27, 45, 56, 60, 72, 74–6, 96, 101, 102, 109, 114, 115–16, 120, 123, 131, 142, 150, 161, 165, 168, 192, 194, 201, 204, 213, 220–2, 230
- dispatch, 115
- domestic, 131
- migrant, 56, 66–7, 71–2, 75, 119, 123, 127–8, 131, 134, 160, 168, 226, 227
- workers' assembly, 98
- workers' control, 108
- working class, 45, 70, 76, 113–14, 118, 120–1, 123, 161, 217
- World Bank, 74, 77, 199, 226
- World Social Forum, 117
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 57, 65, 99, 136
- Wukan, 76, 129
- Yan, Yangchu, 159
- Yang, Songlin, 53, 218
- Zanden, Jan Luiten van, 37
- Zasulich, Vera, 165
- Zhao, Huaquan, 58–9
- Zhao, Yuezhi, 71, 110, 201, 202, 203
- Žižek, Slavoj, 203
- Zoellick, Robert, 77