

Media and Popular Culture in Post-Mao China

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China's "open door" policies and economic reforms since the death of Mao Zedong and the end of the Cultural Revolution have radically altered the state's ability to control the mass media and popular cultural production. This course examines the implications of this process for national, ethnic and gender identities among diverse citizens of the Chinese state on one hand, and for CCP efforts to maintain its political hegemony on the other. Through readings, film and video clips and discussions, we will explore different genres of cultural production in contemporary China in their sociohistorical contexts and in relation to recent Marxist and feminist debates about the production, interpretation and subversion of dominant ideologies in mass media. This perspective will shed light on the actually complex processes through which "popular" and "elite", "state" and "local" contexts are constructed in China, and allow us to interrogate recent assumptions construing "globalization", "westernization", "sinification", or "modernization" as inevitably homogenizing and leveling forces.

Course Requirements

Late Paper Policy: Deadlines are strict. Barring personal crisis, family emergency, or severe illness (please let me know ahead of time if you can), all late papers will be subject to one half grade off per day late. Except for abrupt crises, no requests for extensions will be heard within 48 hours before the deadline (that includes for reasons of computer malfunctioning, minor illnesses or being "behind").

Summary of Requirements

- Avid Participation:
- Regular attendance
- Prompt completion of assignments
- Discussion questions and leadership
- Discussion participation
- 4 2-page informal Film Commentaries (Due Fridays after film screened outside of class)
- 2-page informal Theory Commentary 1
- 2-page informal Theory Commentary 2
- [5-7 page Midterm Paper](#)
- [7-10 page Final Paper](#)

Course Organization

Classes will revolve around student-led discussions and presentations. There will be two formal analyses and 6 informal commentaries, 2 on theoretical paradigms we discuss in the beginning of the semester and 4 (out of a possible 9) film commentaries on films screened outside of class.

I will expect your avid participation--including regular attendance, prompt completion of assignments, and active involvement in in-class discussions whenever possible. In fact, class participation and attendance will comprise a significant portion of your grade.

Reading and writing assignments are meant to encourage close, critical engagement with the texts and the issues they raise. The reading load is moderate to heavy and it is assigned thematically per week. Weekly further readings and website links are provided for your use. The further readings are ones that are especially relevant or provide differing viewpoints; they offer points of departure for deepening your understanding of particular issues.

1) Perspectives on Media and Social Power

Week One - Goals and Perspectives

[Chronology: The Trajectory of Reforms in China](#)

Film: PBS Frontline, "[The Persuaders](#)", 2004. (Watch online).

Class 1 First Day: Introductions and Goals

Class 2 Perspectives: shifting terrains and mobile identities

- Ong, Aihwa. Intro., *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Duke, 1999. (24 pp).
- Dutton, Michael. "Streetlife Subalterns: An All-Consuming China," in *Streetlife China*. (13 pp.).
- Liu Kang. "Popular Culture and the Culture of the Masses in Contemporary China," Dirlik and Zhang, (Eds.), *Postmodernism and China*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000. (19 pp.).

Week Two - Perspectives on "Media" and "The Masses"

Class 1: Commodities, Alienation and Deception?

- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1968. (25 pp.)
- Adorno and Horkheimer. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment and Mass Deception" in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. (47 pp.).

Class 2: Contested Meanings: The Cultural Politics of Representation and Mass Communication

- Ginsburg, Faye, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin. "Introduction," in Ginsburg et al, eds., *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA press, 2002. (25 pp).
- Spitulnik, Debra. "Media," in Duranti, (Ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture*. Blackwell, 2001. (3 pp.).
- Hall, Stuart. "Encoding/Decoding," in *Media Studies: a Reader* (10 pp.)
- Williams, Raymond. "Hegemony," "Traditions, Institutions, Formations," "Dominant, Residual, Emergent" in *Marxism and Literature*, 1977. (19 pp)

Commentary 1 Due Friday

Week Three - Difference and Power in Globalization

[Chronology: Nation-State Building in China](#)

Class 1: Contesting National Communities

- Anderson, Benedict. "Introduction," and "Ch. 3: The Origins of National Consciousness," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2003 [1983]. (12 pp).
- Foster, Robert J. "Making National Cultures in the Global Ecumene", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20, 1991. (20pp).
- Fitzgerald, John. "The Nationless State: the Search for a Nation in Modern Chinese Nationalism," in Jonathan Unger, (Ed.), *Chinese Nationalism*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1996. (27 pp).

Class 2: "Globalizing" Forces and their Discontents

- Curran, James and Myung-Jin Park. "Beyond Globalization Theory," in Curran and Park, (Eds.), *De-Westernizing Media Studies*. London: Routledge, 2000. (12 pp.).
- Mazzarella, William. "Culture, Globalization, Mediation," in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2004.33:345–67.

Commentary 2 Due Friday

II) Historical Precedents: The Emergence of Mass Culture in China

Week Four - Late Imperial and Republican Era

[Chronology: Late Imperial and Early Modern Transitions in China](#)

Class 1: Foundations: Ming-Qing transitions

- Rawski, Evelyn. "Economic and Social Foundations of Late Imperial Culture," in Johnson, Nathan and Rawski, (Eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1985. (30 pp.).
- Johnson, David. "Communication, Class and Consciousness in Late Imperial China," in Johnson, Nathan and Rawski, (Eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1985. (38 pp.).

Class 2: Popular and New Mass Genres: Republican Era

- Leo Ou-Fan Lee and Andrew Nathan. "the Beginnings of Mass Culture: Journalism and Fiction in the Late Ch'ing and Beyond," in Johnson, Nathan and Rawski, (Eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1985. (35 pp.).
- Arkush, David. "Love and Marriage in North Chinese Peasant Operas" in Link, Madsen and Pickowicz, (Eds.), *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic*. San Francisco: Westview Press, 1989. (10 pp.).

Week Five - The proganda state? Popular media and the "mass line" during the Maoist years

[Chronology: The Maoist Years in China](#)

Film assignment: "Yellow Earth", 90 min (Bio 19, 5 pm)

Class 1: Producing the "broad masses": Maoist thought work

- Mao Zedong. 1942. Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art. **[Online at marxist.org](#)**
- Wen Ho Chang. *Mass Media in China: The History and the Future*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989. pp. 30-45.

- Chu, Godwin and Philip Cheng. "Revolutionary Opera: An Instrument for Cultural Change," in Chu, (Ed.), *Popular Media in China: Shaping New Cultural Patterns*. Honolulu: Univ. of HI press, 1978. (26 pp).
- Poon, David Jim-tat. "Tatzepao: Its History and Significance as a Communication Medium," in Chu, (Ed.), *Popular Media in China: Shaping New Cultural Patterns*. Honolulu: Univ. of HI press, 1978. (22 pp.).

Film clip: Mao's Little red video

Class 2: Interpretations and subversions?

- Xiaomei Chen. "Growing up with Posters in the Maoist Era," in Evans and Donald, (Eds.), *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield, 1999. (18 pp.).
- Padma 'bum. *Six stars with a crooked neck : Tibetan memoirs of the Cultural Revolution / Padma-'bum ; translated by Lauran R. Hartley*. Dharamsala, Distt. Kangra, H.P. : Bod kyi dus bab, 2001, pp 85-148.

Midterm Paper Handout

III) China's 2nd Revolution? Reform-era Transitions

Week Six - Shifting Identities: The Shape of Everyday Life

Chronology: The Trajectory of Reforms in China

Film Assignment: Ermo (1994), 93 min (5 pm, Bio 19)

Class 1: Competing Attempts to Produce and Control "the Masses":

"Modernization", Economic Shifts and the State

- Lull, James. "Modernizing China: The Predicament of Reform," in *China Turned On: Television, Reform and Resistance*. London: Routledge, 1991. (15 pp.)
- Dutton, Michael. *Streetlife China*. pp. 42-69, pp. 81-98, pp. 115-129, pp. 214-231 (75 pp.).

Class 2: Re-shaping everyday life through consumption and new communications infrastructure

- De Certeau, Michel. 1984. Ch. II "Popular Cultures: Ordinary Language," and Ch. III "Making Do: Uses and Tactics," in Part I: A Very Ordinary Culture. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Univ. of Calif. Press. (pp. 15-43)
- Davis, Deborah. "Introduction: a Revolution in Consumption," in Davis, (Ed.), *The Consumer Revolution in Urban China*. Berkeley: Univ. of Ca Press, 2000. (21 pp.).
- Erwin, Kathleen. "Heart-to-Heart, Phone-to-Phone: Family Values, Sexuality, and the Politics of Shanghai's Advice Hotlines," in Davis, (Ed.), *The Consumer Revolution in Urban China*. Berkeley: Univ. of Ca Press, 2000. (25 pp.)

Week Seven - Mass Media and the Reform-Era State

Chronology: The Trajectory of Reforms in China

Film Assignment: [The Gate of Heavenly Peace](#), 77 min (5 pm, Bio 19)

Class 1: The expansion of state-sponsored media

- Brady, Anne-Marie. Chs. 1-3, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Lanham, MD: 2008. (60 pp.)
- Zhao, Yuezhi. "Ch. 1 Party Journalism in China: Theory and Practice," in *Media, Market and Democracy in China*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. (19 pp.).

Class 2: Proliferating Genres and Voices: Dangers to the state

- Pickowicz, Paul. "Popular Cinema and Political Thought in Post-Mao China," in Link, Madsen and Pickowicz, (Eds.), *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic*. San Francisco: Westview Press, 1989. (15 pp.).
- Yang, Mayfair. "Film Discussion Groups in China: State Discourse or Plebian Public Sphere?" in *Visual Anthropology Review* 10/1, 1994, pp 112-125.
- Latham, Kevin. "[Nothing but the Truth: News Media, Power and Hegemony in South China](#)," *The China Quarterly*, No. 163 (Sep., 2000), pp. 633-654.

Midterm Paper due Friday

Spring Break: March 21-25

Week Eight - Advertising, Culture and Commercialization

Film Assignment: *Big Shot's Funeral* (5 pm, Bio 19), 100 min

Tues, March 29 The state and the lure of commercialization

- Williams, Raymond. "Advertising: the Magic System," in *Media Studies: A Reader*. (5 pp.).
- Barne, Geremie. "Ch. 9: CCP & Adcult PRC," in *In the Red*. (20 pp.).
- Jing Wang. "Ch. 1 Local Content," *Brand New China: Advertising, Media and Commercial Culture*. Harvard University Press 2008. (30 pp). bookstore and book reserve.

Thurs. March 31: Producing consumer identities and spaces

- Dutton, Michael. "Market Trainings", in *Streetlife China*. (12 pp.).
- Notar, Beth. "Of Labor and Liberation: Images of Women in Current Chinese Television Advertising," *Visual Anthropology Review* 10(2) Fall: 29-44, 1994.
- Jing Wang. "Ch. 2 Positioning the New Modern Girl," *Brand New China: Advertising, Media and Commercial Culture*. Harvard University Press 2008. (30 pp).

IV) Media Effects Media Uses: Interpretations and Subversions

Week Nine: Television and the Reshaping of Everyday Life

Film Assignment: *No Sex, No Violence, No News*, 1995 (5 pm, Bio 19), 55 min

Class 1: TV and Everyday Life

- Ma, Eric Kit-wai. "Rethinking Media Studies: The Case of China," in Curran and Park, (Eds.), *De-Westernizing Media Studies*. London: Routledge, 2000. (10 pp.). On [ereserve](#) and book reserve.
- Curtin, Michael. "Introduction," and "Ch. 9 Reterritorializing Star TV in the PRC," in *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. (~40 pp). (bookstore, book reserve).
- Hai Ren. "[Life Spectacles: Media, Business Synergy, and Affective Work in Neoliberal China](#)," *Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2, July 2009. *Post-Mao, Post-Bourdieu: Class and Taste in Contemporary China*, Special Issue, guest edited by Yi Zheng and Stephanie Hemelryk Donald. (Online).

Class 2: Consuming Shows: Television Spectatorship

- Jianying Zha. "Ch. 2 Yearnings," in *China Pop*, New York: The New Press, 1995. (26 pp.).
- Rofel, Lisa B. "Yearnings: televisual love and melodramatic politics in contemporary China" in *American Ethnologist* 21:700-22 Nov '94. (15 pp.).
- Friedman, Sara L. "[Watching Twin Bracelets in China: The Role of Spectatorship and Identification in an Ethnographic Analysis of Film Reception](#)," *Cultural Anthropology*. Volume 21. Issue 4. November 2006 (Pages 603 - 632).

Week Ten -New Virtual Worlds: The Cultural Politics of the Internet

Class 1: State and "Civil Society"

- Zhou Yongming. 2006. Intro, Ch. 6-7. *Historicizing online politics: telegraphy, the Internet, and political participation in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. (66 pp).
- Barmé, Geremie. "[The Harmonious Evolution of Information in China](#)," on *The China Beat* blog, January 29, 2010.
- Bandurski, David. "[Weighing in on Google's predicament in China](#)", on *China Media Project* blog, January 14, 2010.

Class 2: Censorship and Subversions

- Zhou Yongming. 2006. Ch. 8, Conclusion. *Historicizing online politics: telegraphy, the Internet, and political participation in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Chase, Michael, James Mulvenon and Nina Hachigian. "Comrade to Comrade Networks: the Social and Political Implications of peer-to-peer networks in China," in Jens Damm and Simona Thomas, eds., *Chinese Cyberspaces: Technological Changes and Political Effects*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Lindter, Silvia. "[Google.cn & Beyond: Politics of Digital Media](#)," on *The China Beat* blog, March 25, 2010.

Final Paper Handout

Week Eleven - Video Gaming, Subcultures and the Construction of Youth

Film Assignment: [Gold Farmers](#), (Bio 19, 5 pm), 39 min.

Class 1: Online Communities and Youth

- Wilson, Samuel and Leighton Peterson. "[The Anthropology of Online Communities](#)," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 449-467, 2002.
- Golub and Lingley. "Just Like the Qing Empire": Internet Addiction, MMOGs, and Moral Crisis in Contemporary China, *Games and Culture* 3: 59-75, January 2008.
- Giese, Karsten. "Speaker's Corner or Virtual Panopticon: Discursive Construction of Chinese Identities Online," Mengin, Françoise, ed. *Cyber China: Reshaping National Identities in the Age of Information*. Palgrave, 2004.

Class 2: Online Games and Gold Farming

- Cao, Y., & Downing, J. D. (2008). The realities of virtual play: video games and their industry in China. *Media, Culture & Society*, 30(4), 515-529.
- Dean Chan. "[Negotiating Intra-Asian Games Networks: On Cultural Proximity, East Asian Games Design, and Chinese Farmers](#)," *Fibreculture* 8, Nov. 2006.

Week Twelve - Constructing Gender and Sexuality

Film assignment: *Through Chinese Women's Eyes*, (5 pm, Bio 19), 53 min

Class 1: Consumer Sexuality and Shifting Gender Identities

- Evans, Harriet. "Comrade Sisters: Gendered Bodies and Spaces," in Evans and Donald, (Eds.), *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield, 1999. (13 pp.).
- Yang, Mayfair. "From Gender Erasure to Gender Difference: State Feminism, Consumer Sexuality, and Women's Public Sphere in China," in Yang, (Ed.), *Spaces of Their Own : Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China (Public Worlds, V. 4)*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. (30 pp.)
- L.H.M. Ling. "Sex Machine: Global Hypermasculinity and Images of the Asian Woman in Modernity," *Positions* 7.2, 1999. (29 pp.)

Class 2: Virtual Gendered Spaces

- Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Khun Eng Kuah. Intro and Ch. 11, Maggie Leung, "On Sale in Express Package: Chinese Female Bodies as Commodities in Cyberspace," *Chinese Women and the Cyberspace*, Amsterdam : Amsterdam Univ. Press, 2008. (24 pp).
- Farrer, James. "China's Women Sex Bloggers and Dialogic Sexual Politics on the Chinese Internet," *Current Chinese Affairs* 4, 2007.

Week Thirteen - Chineseness and Contested Nationalisms in the Media Age

Film Assignment: [Boomtown Beijing](#) (Online)

Class 1: The Olympic Year and Spectacular Nationalism

- Hubbert, Jennifer. "Spectacular Productions: Community and Commodity in the Beijing Olympics," *City and Society* 22(1): 119-142. (16 pp).

- Zhang, Xiaoling (2011) 'From Totalitarianism to Hegemony: the reconfiguration of the party-state and the transformation of Chinese communication', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20: 68, 103 — 115.
- Liebold, Jim. "[Duelling Dreams at the 2008 Beijing Olympics](#)," on *The China Beat* blog, July 2008.

Class 2: New Hanism and the future of "Multinational" China

- Jiang, Rong. Excerpt. 2004. *Wolf Totem*. Penguin Press HC, First Printing edition (March 27, 2008). ([ereserve](#)) (bookstore and book reserve).
- Liebold, James. "[Sheep in Wolves' Clothing? The Book the Han Nationalists Love to Loath](#)," on *The China Beat* blog, January 7, 2010.
- Callahan, William. "[Wolf Totem's "Rational Exploration" of Civilization and Barbarians](#)," on *The China Beat* blog, Sept 29, 2009.

Final Paper Due Mon

The Trajectory of Reform in China

"An early spring has arrived in the south of China...As we embark on a new year, the heroic stature of Shenzhen will allow it to make yet another grand advance on the road of the open door and reform. Deng Xiaoping, the grand architect of the open door and reform policies, the dearly beloved comrade of all the peoples of China, has visited Shenzhen! (Journalist Chen Xitian's preface to his report on Deng's Tour of the South, 1992).

1949 Communist victory, in civil war against the Guomindang (GMD or KMT). "Liberation" of China, establishment of PRC under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

1958 Great Leap Forward. Mao tries to mobilize country to quickly modernize and achieve pure Communism in one step. Mass kitchens, day care organized, women encouraged to work, industry emphasized. These policies led to massive famine 1959-61.

1966-1976 The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". In order to re-establish his power in Beijing, Mao encourages radical youth to organize (as "Red Guards") and destroy the "elites", launches "Destroy the 4 olds" Campaign. Red Guard factional fighting sends country into anarchy.

1976 Death of Mao Zedong. His widow, Jiang Qing, tries to maintain radical policies.

1978 Rise of new moderate government. Jiang Qing and 3 associates (called the "Gang of Four") arrested, imprisoned, and scapegoated for failures of the Cultural Revolution.

Dec. 1978 The dominance of Deng Xiaoping is confirmed at the 3rd plenum of

11th Central Committee. Deng introduces new pragmatic economic reforms--initiated the decollectivization of agriculture, the beginning of the "household responsibility system", and declared an "open door" to foreign investment. Advocates policies for "4 modernizations".

1979 Govt. designated SE coastal regions Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen and Shantou as "Special Economic Zones" (SEZ) to encourage foreign trade.

1978-9 Rise and suppression of Democracy Wall movement. Students and intellectuals such as Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua protesting for greater political freedoms arrested and imprisoned.

1980-81 Govt. campaign against "bourgeois liberalism" in the arts and media.

1982 New state and party constitutions, new codes of law implemented.

1983-1985 Full set of moderate economic reforms introduced and systematized.

1983 Household responsibility system introduced. Scope of mandatory economic planning reduced, state enterprise autonomy increased, foreign trade decentralized.

1983 Govt. campaign against "spiritual pollution" in ideology and culture.

Begins with criticism of critical neo-Marxist intellectuals and extends to attempts of local leaders to restrict youth from indulging in "western" popular culture.

1985-89 Emboldened by political reforms aimed at combating govt. corruption and direct administrative control over the economy, students and intellectuals engage in intensive "culture fever" debates about the future of China and political reform.

Dec. 1986 Student protests in several Chinese cities over university issues coalesce into more general calls for greater "freedom" and "democracy". The Party moves to suppress dissent, and the more radical reform-minded general secretary of the Party, Hu Yaobang, was forced to resign.

Jan. 1987 Renewed campaign against "bourgeois liberalization".

Spring 1989 Massacre in Tiananmen square. Deng Xiaoping calls in PLA troops to crackdown on massive student protests in Beijing demanding "democracy", and an end to official corruption. Begin period of purging of intellectuals, suppression of media expression in a renewed campaign against "spiritual pollution".

January 1992 Deng Xiaoping's "Tour of the South"; after period of social and economic retrenchment, Deng takes inspection tour of the south. His speeches oppose cautious party purists and urged people to experiment with radical economic opening up in order to achieve prosperity. (Ironically) calls for more "liberalization of thought".

Nation/State-building in China

late 1700s - Europeans come to China to trade for silk, porcelains and tea. They are confined by the Qing court to the southern port of Canton.

1839 - Chinese authorities in Canton seize and destroy millions of dollars worth of British opium, British retaliate with punitive expedition, thus starting Opium Wars.

1842 - China loses the Opium Wars and is forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing, opening China to foreign trade and giving Hong Kong Island to Britain.

1898 - Emperor Guang Xu announces a series of reforms to prepare the way for a constitutional monarchy. Dowager Empress Ci Xi leads a coup d'etat and has Emperor Guang Xu imprisoned. The British acquired a ninety-nine-year lease over the so-called New Territories of Kowloon which increased the size of their Hong Kong colony. Britain, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium each gained spheres of influence in China.

1911 Fall of last imperial dynasty, the Qing, to Republican forces. Sun Yatsen returns from the U.S. But powerful regional leader Yuan Shikai had taken power. Yuan Shikai was sworn in as provisional president of the Republic of China 1912.

1911-1949 Tumultuous period of nation-building; centralized political control collapses into competing regional warlords and civil war between KMT and CCP. Threats and humiliating defeats from imperialist Japan and western states.

-1912-1927 Early Republican

-1928-1949 Nationalist

May 4, 1919 May Fourth Movement; Chinese students and merchants protest Japanese interference and corruption in the warlord govt. in Beijing, new national identity formed--"the Chinese People" (Zhonghua Minzu). Intellectual movement called "New Culture Movement"

Oct. 1919 Sun Yatsen establishes Guomindang (KMT) in Guangdong as rival to govt. in Beijing.

1920 In March the Society for Study of Marxist Theory was founded by Li Dazhao. In May the Chinese Communist Party was secretly founded in Shanghai, with Chen Duxiu as the leader.

1925 Death of Sun Yatsen. Chiang Kaishek succeeds him. Leads troops on Northern Expedition to conquer northern warlords. By 1926 he represses opposition to become paramount leader of KMT. Conflict between his faction and Communists grows.

1927 Chiang Kaishek purges Communists from KMT, and destroys Communist headquarters in Shanghai, establishes anti-Communist govt. in Nanjing.

1931 Japan seizes Manchuria.

1934 Mao Zedong rises as leader of Communist Red Army after organizing among peasants in Hunan. Leads 100,000 communists fleeing KMT persecution on Long March across the country. Set up headquarters at Yan'an in Shaanxi province. Organizes peasants and sets down vision for national future.

1945 Defeat of Japan, and return to civil war between KMT and CCP forces.

1949 CCP wins civil war; establishes the "multinational state" of the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek and a few hundred thousand Nationalist troops fled from the mainland to the island of Taiwan.

1953 Chinese scholars begin massive effort to investigate and define "minzu" groups. 400 different groups initially claim separate identities; 56 eventually recognized by the state, with "Han" defined as the majority, all others as "minority" minzu.

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