

**Materialism, Middle Class Aspirations, New
Youth Lifestyles and Behavior, and a Growing
Self-Confidence:
The Implications of a Rising China
for American Business**

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Will Chinese Communism Survive?
[*Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2013]



The Life of the Party

The Post-Democratic Future Begins in China

By [Eric X. Li](#), *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb, 2013

- China has survived and thrived because of the **CCP's adaptability, meritocracy and legitimacy**. In the next decade, China will continue to rise, not fade. The world might witness the birth of a post-democratic future.
- But China's political model will never supplant electoral democracy because, unlike the latter, it does not pretend to be universal. It cannot be exported.

Democratize or Die

Why China's Communists Face Reform or Revolution

Yasheng Huang response to Eric Li,

Foreign Affairs, Jan-Feb, 2013

- Is the CCP adaptable? There has been no true accountability for past mistakes such as the GLF and GPCR, and no system of checks and balances. Top CCP leaders like Premier Wen Jiabao warn of the dangers in the absence of political reform.
- Is the CCP meritocratic? Research shows that what matters most for promotion in the CCP is **patronage**, not the fostering of economic development. A **Bo Xilai** could never rise so high in the U.S.
- Is the CCP legitimate? Undermined by corruption and the abuse of power; the most respected leaders were founders of the revolution and reform like Mao, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, not the current leaders. Legitimacy depends on continued economic growth.

China at the Tipping Point?

[*Journal of Democracy*, January 2013]



January 2013, Volume 24, Number 1 \$12.00



China at the Tipping Point?

Andrew J. Nathan ■ Zhenhua Su et al. ■ Cheng Li ■ Tiancheng Wang
Xi Chen ■ Carl Minzner ■ Louisa Greve ■ Xiao Qiang & Perry Link

Egypt: Why Liberalism Still Matters

Michele Dunne & Tarek Radwan

Tocqueville and the Struggle Against Corruption

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

Charles Fairbanks & Alexi Gugushvili on Georgia

Gustavo Flores-Macias on Mexico

Jorgen Moller & Svend-Erik Skaaning on Sequencing

R.J. May on Papua New Guinea

Benjamin Reilly on Southeast Asia

Debating the Arab Transformation

Hillel Fradkin ■ Olivier Roy

ARE YOU PART OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

在中国……

谁属于中产阶级

你离中产阶级有多远

你怎样才能进入中产阶级



许海峰
编著

你「中产」了吗？

经济日报 出版社

In China, Widening Discontent Among the Communist Party Faithful (*NY Times*, 1/19/13)



- Barely two months into their jobs, the Communist Party's new leaders are being confronted by the challenges posed by a constituency that has generally been one of the party's most ardent supporters: the middle-class and well-off Chinese who have benefited from a three-decade economic boom.

Will the Middle Class Shake China?

The New Yorker, 3/8/2013

- Let's be clear: the Chinese middle class is not preparing to take to the ramparts. But for years, people talked about the Chinese middle class as one caricature or another: an ardent protector of the status quo, or a ticking time bomb. On the ground, the men and women at the heart of it have turned out to be something more complicated: they have no appetite for outright revolution, but they are **weary of injustice and unfairness**, and the oligarchy provides a **vanishingly small outlet for them to seek redress on the issues they care about most**: the **availability of safe food, fair access to good education and health care, and, more and more, safe air.**

An Unhappy Middle in the Middle Kingdom

(*Wall Street Journal*, 3/7/2013)

- China has 408 billionaires, more than the 317 who live in the U.S., according to Hurun Global Rich list 2013.
- **Although basic goods in China are still relatively cheap, it is costly to lead a middle-class life in China.** A [Starbucks](#) grande latte costs \$4.81 in Beijing, compared with \$3.55 in San Francisco and \$3.87 in Hong Kong. A locally made [Volkswagen](#) Passat sedan retails for up to \$50,000 in China, versus up to \$33,000 in the U.S. Goods that are made in China, including clothing and electronics, are often more expensive there than they are abroad, partly due to inefficient distribution.
- The middle class in China also suffers from high housing costs. Average rent jumped 9% in Beijing in January, according to the Statistics Bureau. "If only because of rent, it is hard to save a lot of money in top-tier cities for the middle class"

Pollution in Beijing





This is Tiananmen Square

This is the Forbidden City

This is the Great Wall

This is the Temple of Heaven

This is the Summer Palace

This is China's Silicon Valley

“This is Tiananmen.”



此处就是天安门

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1月29日，一位市民在雾霾中骑行经过天安门广场。

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Number of dead pigs flooding Shanghai river in Shanghai rises to nearly 6,000 [Since increased to more than 16,000]

(Associated Press, 3/12/2013)



- Chinese officials maintain drinking water is still safe despite surge in swine found in city's Huangpu River. Carcasses are believed to have been dumped by farmers following police efforts to halt illegal trade of pork products from diseased pigs.

Life Of Pig

posted by artist Du Shi Xiong
(大尸凶的漫画) to Sina Weibo



From Xiao Qiang, China Digital Times



“Here’s
some meat
to eat. If it
kills me, at
least I’ll die
of a
bloated
stomach!”

Gou Ben (勾犇漫画)

KEY POINTS AND ISSUES TO DISCUSS

- Does the change in leadership to Xi Jinping mean different policies from the Hu Jintao/Wen Jiabao decade? What have we seen so far in terms of media, culture, state-society relations and public opinion?
- What is the “China Dream” and what are the implications for American business and US-China relations?
- What do the recent problems of Western companies such as Apple and Volkswagen suggest?
- How do China’s youth and the rising middle class relate to consumerism , quality of life issues like environmental and product safety, and patriotism/nationalism (a rising standard of living vs. the rise of China to superpower status)?
- Can Xi’s one size fits all “China Dream” reconcile the social contradictions and meet the diverse “China Dreams” that divide society? Can his anti-corruption campaign succeed?

王义桅：中国梦也应是世界梦

(Wang Yiwei, “The China Dream Should Also Be the World’s Dream,” Xinhuanet, 3/6/2013)

- "Nowadays, everyone is talking about the China Dream. In my view, realizing the great renewal of the Chinese nation is the Chinese nation's greatest dream in modern history." [Xi Jinping, Xinhuanet, 12/23/2012]
- *People's Daily* devoted days of coverage to an alleged outpouring of popular enthusiasm for a phrase from Xi's speech, “the Chinese dream.” According to [these stories](#), the idea of the Chinese dream has taken ahold of Weibo users, inspiring them to share their dreams of a resurgent and powerful nation – in this telling, it is a **collectivist counterpoint to the American dream**. The [most dramatic](#) of the stories’ claims has Xi's words inspiring overseas Chinese, emigrant families, and exchange students to reclaim their national pride and dream of a strong China.

Now Sharper, Xi Jinping's 'China Dream' Marks Departure From Past [*Wall Street Journal*, 4/3/13]: Russell Leigh Moses

- A *People's Daily* editorial makes it clear that Xi's early political program will center on the "China Dream." It addresses what the central leadership believes that dream means. Up to now, there's been a raging debate, with everyone from the armed forces to various provinces speaking on the subject, with no consensus.
- One departure is the editorial's **emphasis on China's "humiliation," particularly at the hands of foreign powers.** There've been hints of the same theme of victimhood in other essays, but none expressed so directly and forcefully as it was here. **Evidence of this attitude is visible in Beijing's recent attacks on "arrogant" Apple over alleged anti-Chinese discrimination and in the subsequent crowing in state-media after Apple CEO Tim Cook apologized earlier this week.**

Can China Deliver the China Dream(s)?

The New Yorker, 3/26/13, Evan Osnos

- Since Xi Jinping rose to the top job, his nation has mustered the full force of its political apparatus around the concept of the China Dream, a slogan that is intended to serve simultaneously as a target, a standard, and a warning; China analyst Bill Bishop [summed](#) it up for the *New York Times* as a term that has come to encompass “national rejuvenation, improvement of people’s livelihoods, prosperity, construction of a better society and military strengthening as the common dream of the Chinese people that can be best achieved under one party, Socialist rule.”
- Xi Jinping has sought to inspire his people by raising the flag of the China Dream, but they have interpreted it as China *Dreams*—plural. Talk to just about anyone these days and she can tell you what she wants, what is standing between her and her goals, and how she will define success in reaching it. And that—the proliferation of 1.3 billion China Dreams—will prove either the wisdom of the concept or the potential danger embedded it.

DOES THE CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP TO XI JINPING MEAN DIFFERENT POLICIES?

POTENTIALLY POSITIVE SIGNS:

- Long banned film “*V for Vendetta*” shown on CCTV
- The “*Nanfang Zhoumo*” censorship protest
- **Celebrities** increasingly vocal against **censorship**
- “**Liberal**” forces encouraged after Wang Lijun, Bo Xilai and Yi Junqing **scandals**
- “**Problematic**” **individuals** appear on popular magazine covers (e.g., lawyer Pu Zhiqiang)
- Three new “**Lei Feng**” films bomb; reported in press
- Microblogger **Zhu Ruifeng** and posting online sex tapes

BUT,

- **Xi's internal speech in December 2012** criticizing Soviet leaders like Gorbachev and Yeltsin for not being “man enough” to save the Communist regime
- Pushback from the “**New Left**” or “**Mao Faction**”

Vows of Change in China Belie Private Warning

(NY Times, 2/15/2013)

- When [China](#)'s new leader, [Xi Jinping](#), visited the country's south to promote himself before the public as an audacious reformer following in the footsteps of Deng Xiaoping, he had another message to deliver to Communist Party officials behind closed doors.
- Despite decades of heady economic growth, Mr. Xi told party insiders during a visit to Guangdong Province in December, China must still heed the “deeply profound” lessons of the former Soviet Union, where political rot, ideological heresy and military disloyalty brought down the governing party. In a province famed for its frenetic capitalism, he demanded a return to traditional Leninist discipline.
- “Why did the Soviet Union disintegrate? Why did the Soviet Communist Party collapse? An important reason was that their ideals and convictions wavered,” Mr. Xi said, according to a summary of his comments that has circulated among officials but has not been published by the state-run news media.

Debate Over Whether Xi Jinping Will Initiate Major Reforms

- Nicholas Kristof (*NY Times*, Jan. 5, 2013): Here is my prediction about China: The new paramount leader, Xi Jinping, will spearhead a **resurgence of economic reform, and probably some political easing** as well. Mao's body will be hauled out of Tiananmen Square on his watch, and Liu Xiaobo, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning writer, will be released from prison.

- ***Is Xi Jinping a Reformer? It's Much Too Early to Tell***

A Response to Nicholas Kristof (Rachel Beitarie and Jeff Wasserstrom, *Chinofile*, Jan. 13, 2013): China's newest top leader doesn't have a track record of making bold moves. Much of what Kristof is saying now was said about Hu Jintao a decade ago, when he was the new leader about whom we knew very little. **NO ONE KNOWS!**

Xi Jinping vows “power within cage of regulations”

- (**Xinhua**, 1/22/13): Xi Jinping vowed to unswervingly fight against corruption and keep power reined within the cage of regulations. Xi said the Party should **crack down on "tigers" and "flies"**. "No exception will be made when it comes to Party discipline and law," Xi said. "Cases will be investigated completely and no leniency will be meted out no matter who is involved."
- (**Daily Telegraph London**, 1/22/13): Thousands of Chinese communist officials have been panicked into a fire sale of their illicit properties and billions of pounds have been smuggled overseas as the country's new leaders intensify a campaign to root out corruption. Luxurious properties are being dumped on the market in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou for anyone able to pay in cash as officials try to cover their tracks.

China Targets Corruption, Luxury Brands Mourn, by Evan Osnos, *New Yorker* Blog, 2/7/13



- Global luxury sales and epic Chinese political corruption have become so inextricably intertwined over the last decade that the recent kerfuffles in Chinese politics—the investigations and convictions and pledges of propriety—have been nothing but trouble for the privileged few. That became clear last fall, when political disorder in Beijing made it difficult to know which faction would end up on top, and **one luxury-brand representative told the *Journal* that sales were down because “no one knows who to bribe.”**

China takes aim at Apple. Why?

Christian Science Monitor, 3/28/13

- State media are charging that Apple treats customers poorly. Some speculate that the sustained vitriol could be in retaliation for US treatment of Chinese tech giants.
- Apple may not have helped its cause with its initial response to the CCTV report. The company issued a brief statement, ignoring the complaints leveled against it and striking a self-congratulatory tone.
- Nobody who is prepared to talk about it has a clue. In the absence of any indications as to where the decision to launch the campaign came from, they can only guess.
- Volkswagen was also targeted in the CCTV program, accused of selling vehicles with faulty transmissions. The company quickly announced that it would recall 384,181 cars to fix the problem. No Chinese newspaper nor TV station has since breathed a word about the issue.

Apple apologizes to blunt a coordinated attack in state media (1)

- Last week, Chinese state media continued a coordinated attack against Apple that began in mid-March. For several consecutive days, the evening news program of state broadcaster China Central Television (CCTV), which is watched by tens of millions of viewers in China and must be aired during prime time on multiple channels, ran segments criticizing the U.S. technology giant. The reports were followed by related articles in other state-run media. The Communist Party print mouthpiece, the *People's Daily*, published multiple stories attacking Apple, including one accusing it of “**incomparable arrogance.**” The official Xinhua news agency noted that the State Administration for Industry and Commerce had demanded **more stringent legal supervision of the company.**

APPLE APOLOGY (2)

- In a March 29 commentary, the Communist Party–owned *Global Times* warned Apple not to “entangle itself into political debates” between China and the United States. At the center of the controversy were allegations that Apple’s customer service conditions violate Chinese laws. Responding to the campaign on April 1, Apple chief executive Tim Cook apologized through a letter posted on the company’s official Chinese-language website. “We are aware that a lack of communications ... led to the perception that Apple is arrogant and doesn’t care or attach enough importance to consumer feedback.” He vowed to improve the company’s customer service policies.
- The clearly coordinated nature of the campaign, which appeared disproportionate to the alleged offenses, has triggered much speculation as to the true motive behind the vitriol.

Apple Apology (3)

- Suggested explanations include a shakedown by CCTV to encourage Apple to advertise on its channels, retaliation for U.S. government restrictions on Chinese firms like Huawei, and an effort to weaken foreign firms in the mobile operating system market in favor of emerging domestic rivals. The third theory was strengthened by the March 28 launch of Smartisan, an operating system created by the Chinese company Hammer Technologies. At the launch event, the firm's chief executive said, "Our objective is to kill off Apple eventually." Last month, an official white paper warned of the market dominance enjoyed by another U.S.-made mobile system, Google Android. *The Economist* noted: "Nobody outside the official inner circle has a clue what is really going on."

China's Richer-Than-Romney Lawmakers Reveal Reform Challenge (Bloomberg News, 3/6/2013)

- The ranks of [China](#)'s ultra-wealthy in its legislature swelled 20 percent this year, highlighting the vested interests that may oppose any measures by incoming President Xi Jinping to reduce the nation's wealth gap.
- Ninety members of the National People's Congress are on a list of China's 1,000 richest people published by the Shanghai-based Hurun Report, up from 75 last year. Everyone on the Hurun list had a fortune of at least 1.8 billion yuan (\$289.4 million), more than former Republican presidential candidate [Mitt Romney](#).
- The growing presence of wealthy people in the legislature coincides with efforts by Xi to stem corruption and the public display of luxury by officials as he seeks to address concern the Communist Party no longer represents interests of ordinary Chinese.

China bans luxury advertising in Beijing: *The Telegraph* 3/24/11 banned words: **luxury, royal, supreme, high class**



Beijing Review, Cover Story, 3/8/12

- Forever Young Lei Feng
- Our times need the spirit of an altruist hero more than ever



Beijing Review, 3/8/12

- Hurun Rich List 2012 Released
- Five Chinese entrepreneurs win honors for amassing personal fortunes of \$10 billion or more



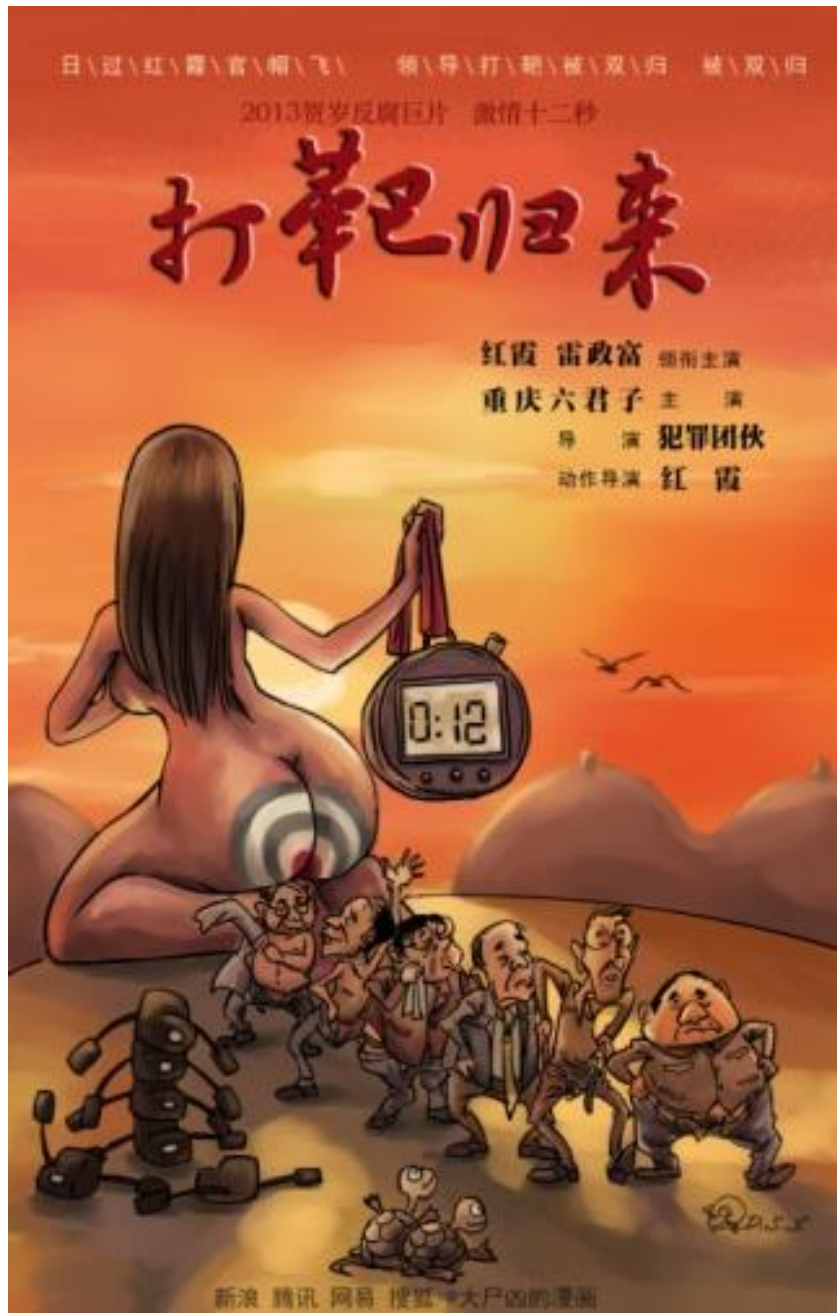
Chinese Blogger Zhu Ruifeng Thrives as Muckraker, *NY TIMES*, 2/5/13



- A former migrant worker with a high school education, Mr. Zhu has become an overnight celebrity in China in the two months since he posted online secretly recorded video of an 18-year-old woman having sex with a memorably unattractive 57-year-old official from Chongqing. The official lost his job. Mr. Zhu gained a million new microblog followers.

Chongqing Party Official Lei Zhengfu Caught in “Honey Trap” (the power of microblogs)





Chongqing officials and sex scandal

赵红霞是谁？

10名重庆被免职官员中
她陪睡6人

IBTimes, January 25, 2013

- Zhao Hongxia, the woman who taped her sex session with Lei Zhengfu to blackmail him, slept with five other Chongqing officials, identifying herself with her real name and two other fake identities. (The stopwatch indicates Lei's "stamina" in the video.)

Sex scandal whistle-blower weathers the storm

(Sina.com English, 2/7/13)

- Zhu refused to hand over his evidence in order to protect his source, who was a member inside the city's police system, during the seven-hour negotiation on January 28 with two Chongqing police officers. "I told them, what I'm doing echoes General Secretary Xi Jinping's recent anti-graft speech and they looked discouraged," Zhu told the Global Times
- The reaction of both the public and the authorities has been divided between praise and condemnation. As Xinhua reports extolled his virtues, he was being locked out of his Weibo accounts, with posts also being deleted.
- Zhu's Sina Weibo account was silenced just hours after his initial call for help, but a microblog operations manager at Tencent surnamed Gao told the Global Times that he promoted Zhu's account as much as possible until the negotiations were over, saying he was "trying to give it as much influence as possible."
- Cheng Hai, one of Zhu's lawyers, also told the Global Times that his Weibo entries gathered a lot of attention, especially from celebrities, which prevented the Chongqing police from taking further action.

Protest Grows Over Censoring of China Paper

NY Times, January 7, 2013

- Hundreds of people gathered outside the headquarters of a newspaper company in southern China on Monday, intensifying a battle over media censorship that poses a test of the willingness of China's new leadership to tolerate calls for change.
- The demonstration was an outpouring of support for journalists at the relatively liberal newspaper **Southern Weekend**, who erupted in fury late last week over what they called overbearing interference by local propaganda officials.
- At the same time, **the embattled newsroom received backing on the Internet from celebrities and other prominent commentators that turned what began as a local censorship dispute into a national display of solidarity.**





李冰冰发文支持《南周》： 严冬里期待春天的到来

- **李冰冰原文：**早安，连上8天班，周末不是周末，周一却还是周一。早安，南方无暖气，大家保重。早安，严冬里期待春天的到来。



Solzhenitsyn, Yao Chen, and Chinese Reform,

The New Yorker, 1/8/13, E. Osnos

- When a Chinese ingénue, beloved for her comedy, doe-eyed looks, and middle-class charm, is [tweeting](#) her fans the words of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, we may be seeing a new relationship between technology, politics, and Chinese prosperity.
- Solzhenitsyn [ended his Nobel lecture](#) with a Russian proverb: “One word of truth shall outweigh the whole world.” This week, the [actress Yao Chen](#), who has more followers on social media than anyone else on the planet sent that line out to her thirty-one million fans on Weibo, as a show of support for a Chinese newspaper locked in a battle over censorship



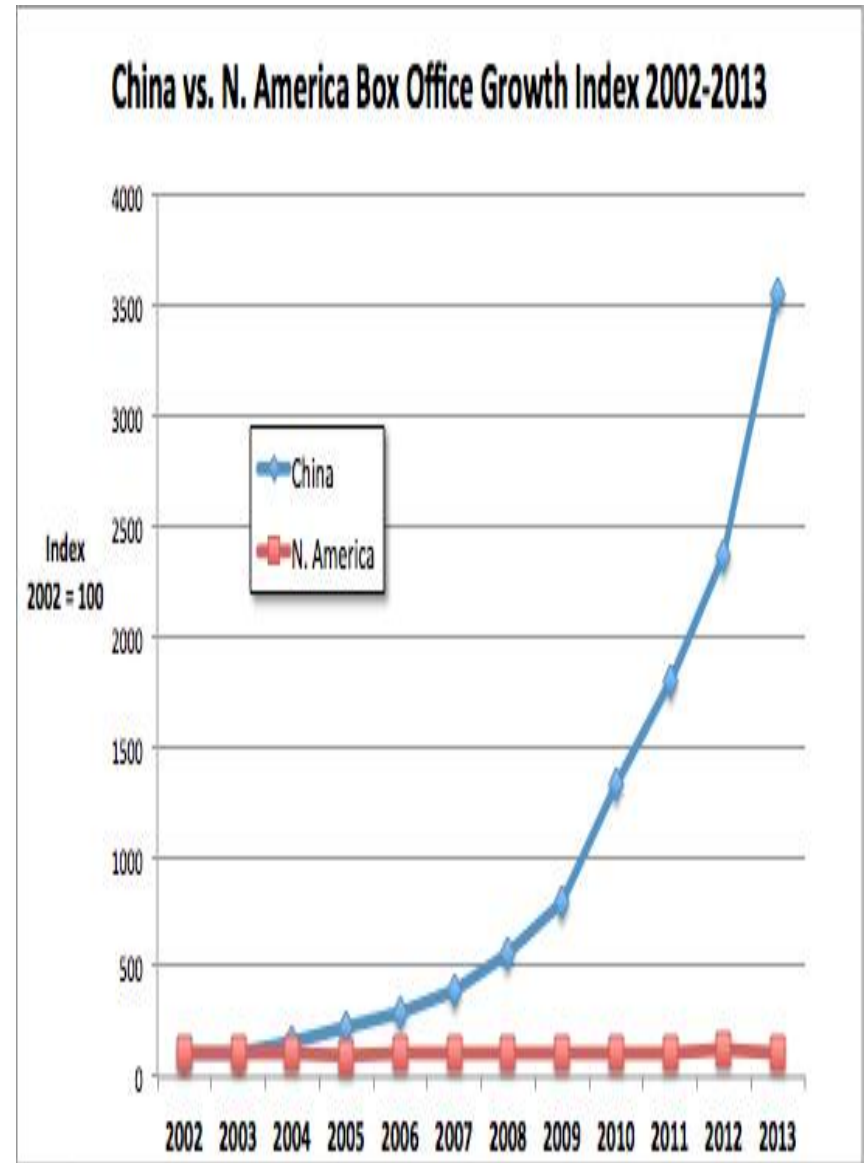
Counter-Protest at *Nanfang Zhoumo*



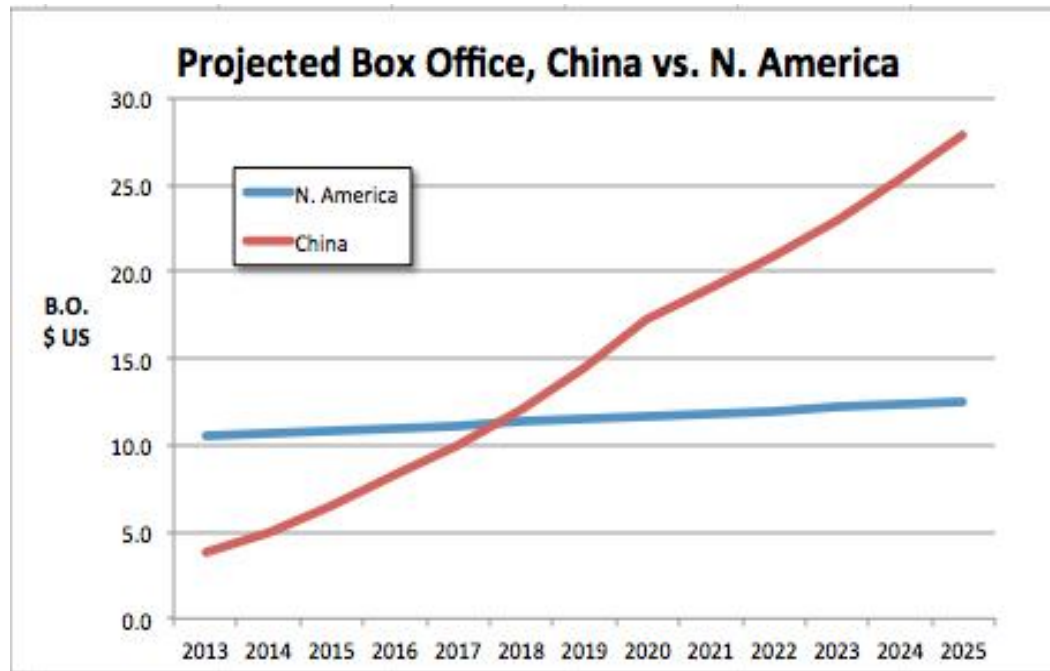
- The Party loyalists who turned out to represent the opposing view did their best to argue that criticizing censorship was un-Chinese. “*Southern Weekend* is having an American dream.” “**We don’t want the American dream, we want the Chinese dream.**”
- **But it’s getting a lot harder to know exactly who represents the Chinese dream.**

“The Increasingly Astonishing Rise of China’s Film Business” (R. Cain, *Chinafilmbiz*, 4/6/13)

- 1. China is undergoing the largest and most rapid development of a middle class in human history.
- 2. Cinema construction is booming. Thousands of new screens are opening each year.
- 3. The Chinese public has embraced movies, both foreign and domestic Chinese movies, despite high ticket prices and generally mediocre films.

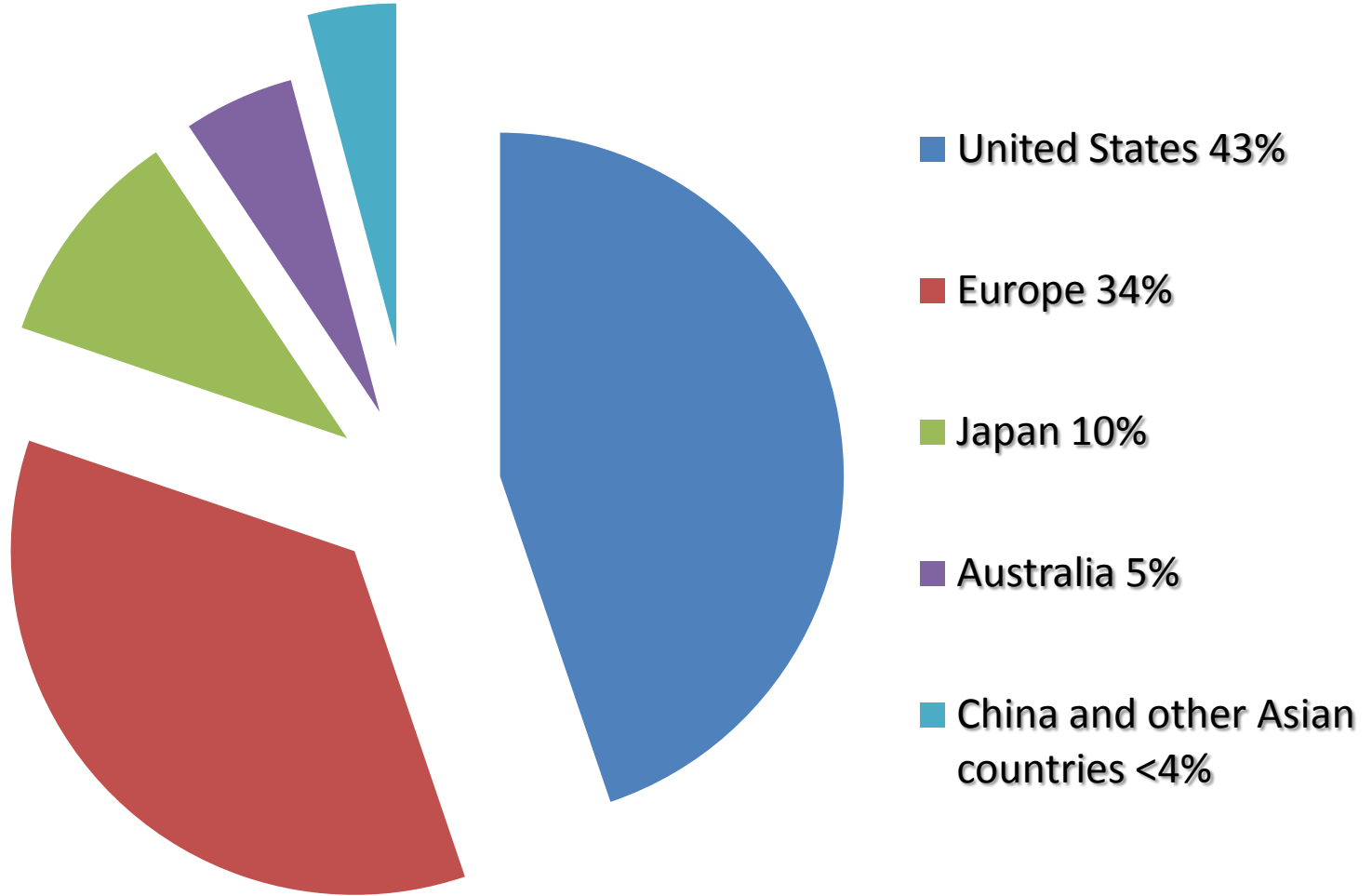


China's Film Business (2): Growth



- 1. From 2001 to 2007, theatrical revenue increased at a 34 percent compound annual rate (as measured in US dollars); from 2008 to 2012 the pace quickened to 43 percent per year. So far in 2013 China's movie revenue has increased 51 percent, and there's no sign of a slowdown.
- 2. Assumption 1: Box office growth in China slows down to 30 percent for the next 3 years, then 20 percent for the following 4 years, then 10 percent for the following 5 years until 2025.
- 3. Assumption 2: Growth in North America maintains its 1.5 percent historical annual growth.
- 4. China's box office doubles that of N. America by middle of the next decade.

Cultural Industry Market Share



(数据来源SOURCE: *Blue Book on Cultural Soft Power: Report on Chinese Cultural Soft Power 文化软实力研究蓝皮书*
[Beijing: Social Science Academic Press 北京社会科学文献出版社, 2011])

China's President Pushes Back Against Western Culture

[*New York Times*, 1/3/12]

- President [Hu Jintao](#) has said that [China](#) must strengthen its cultural production to defend against the West's assault on the country's culture and ideology, according to an essay in a Communist Party policy magazine published this week. The publication of Mr. Hu's words signaled that a new major policy initiative announced last October would continue well into 2012.
- The essay, which was signed by Mr. Hu and based on a speech he gave in October, drew a sharp line between the cultures of the West and China and effectively said the two sides were engaged in an escalating war. It was published in Seeking Truth (求是), a magazine that evolved from a publication founded by Mao as a platform for establishing Communist Party principles.
- “We must clearly see that **international hostile forces are intensifying the strategic plot of westernizing and dividing China, and ideological and cultural fields are the focal areas of their long-term infiltration,**” Mr. Hu said, according to a translation by Reuters.

Xi Jinping may have a more nuanced attitude, unless the “China Dream” includes the limitation of Western culture.

CCTV Airs V for Vendetta, What Does it Signify, if Anything?

(12/14/2012)

- *V for Vendetta*, the 2005 film about a secretive, anti-totalitarian masked crusader, has long been banned in China. So when CCTV aired the uncut film today, viewers couldn't believe their eyes. The event is now the second-most discussed topic on Weibo.
- The official Weibo account @CCTV6WatchMoviesonTV announced this breakthrough moment:

CCTV6WatchMoviesonTV: V for Vendetta is on tonight at 9:52 p.m. We'll post the plot synopsis in advance. Movie-lovers, get ready for a treat!

- CCTV6's weibo was reposted over 400 times, but has zero comments. It's likely any comments posted were deleted.
- **Shocked netizens are wondering what this moment could mean for the future of censorship in China**, although CCTV has rendered the film's title as "V Commando Team" (V字别动队), instead of using the common "V Revenge Killing Squad" (V字仇杀队).



@中国特务联盟
weibo.com/terror

PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE AFRAID OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS.
GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE AFRAID OF THEIR PEOPLE.



Chinese director Xie Fei sounds off on censorship (*Global Times*, 12/18/2012)

- Celebrated Chinese director Xie Fei urged authorities stop censorship and implement a film rating system in an open letter on his Sina Weibo account **December 15**.

“China’s film industry will have no future if reform doesn’t take place. The system of censorship in place restricts the prosperity of the culture and entertainment markets, smothers artistic exploration and wastes administrative resources. A film rating system based on applicable laws and regulations and managed by the industry should be adopted”

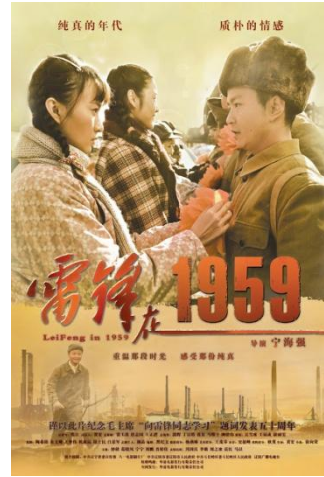
Chinese Directors Unite in Demand for Censorship Reform

(*Hollywood Reporter*, 12/18/2012)

- Prominent directors such as **Zhang Yuan** (*Beijing Bastards*, *Crazy English*), **Wang Xiaoshuai** (*Beijing Bicycle*, *11 Flowers*), **Gao Qunshu** (*The Message*, Golden Horse award-winner *Beijing Blues*), **He Ping** (*Warriors of Heaven and Earth*, *Wheat*) and **Zhang Yang** (*Shower*, *Getting Home*) have spoken out on Sina Weibo (China's version of Twitter) in support of **Xie Fei**'s letter, addressed to the state-run Film Bureau.
- This surge of dissent among filmmakers follows similar comments demanding reforms of censorship laws from industry figures like [Yu Dong](#), CEO of China's biggest film distributor Bona Films, and [Wang Jianlin](#), China's second richest man and owner of Wanda Group, which this year acquired American theater chain AMC Entertainment.



Chinese Cinemas Cancel Propaganda Film Screenings
(*Hollywood Reporter*, 3/5/2013)



Screenings of *Young Lei Feng*, a biopic about a revolutionary long immortalized in Chinese official discourse for his reportedly selfless contributions to the Communist Party, were called off at cinemas in the cities of Nanjing and Xi'an because no tickets were sold. Ironically, the cancelation came on the very day the government designated as "Lei Feng Day."

Perhaps aware of the challenges of marketing *Young Lei Feng* and two other similarly themed productions (*Lei Feng in 1959*, *Lei Feng's Smile*) to the public, **SARFT** issued a communique on Monday instructing party cadres to promote the films through organized group viewings and rural tours, and urged cinemas to come up with proper publicity campaigns to stir public interest in the films.

In China, Cinematic Flops Suggest Fading of an Icon (*NY Times*, 3/11/2013)



- National celebrations of “Learn From Lei Feng Day,” which was observed last Tuesday, turned into something of a public relations debacle after the party icon’s celluloid resurrection in not one but three films about his life was thwarted by a distinctly capitalist weapon: the box office bomb.
- In cities across the country, many theaters were unable to sell even a single ticket, an embarrassment for the Communist Party, which has been seeking to burnish its moral luster during the annual legislative sessions of China’s rubber-stamp Parliament taking place in the capital.

广电总局关于认真做好电影《青春雷锋》
《雷锋在1959》和《雷锋的微笑》
发行放映工作的通知

(State Administration of Radio, Film and TV, 3/5/2013)

- 二、各发行公司、院线公司和电影院，要积极制定宣传发行放映营销策划方案，及时提供满足市场需求的电影拷贝和宣传品，**以团体票或优惠的票价和优质的服务吸引更多的观众走进电影院**。要充分利用影院大厅、电子屏幕、**宣传橱窗**做好影片的阵地宣传工作，保证足够时间和场次排映影片。

Changes in News Programs

- **National News Bulletin** emphasizes constructive/positive reporting (正面报道)——reassures the CCP while appeasing the public; the program is instructed to utilize the web but not blindly follow the web and be vigilant for rumors and misleading info--so primetime news on **CCTV will serve as a watchdog for misleading news on the web.**
- **Evening News** (20 minutes to 30 minutes; less political news and more human interest stories & bread and butter issues related to popular concerns (Sept. 2012))
- **Focal Point** (13 mins to 17 mins, from single story to two or more stories per episode, in depth report on breaking/major news, adding a new segment on citizen-reporting, adding heavy-weight commentators)
- **BUT, YOUNGER GENERATION ISN'T WATCHING SO IT MAY NOT MATTER!**

Basic Contradictions among Youth Values and among Party-State Policies

- Reconciling **Consumerism**, **Internationalism** and **Nationalism** (Youth)
- Reconciling **Promotion of High Living Standards** and **Promotion to Middle and Upper Class** with **Growing Inequalities** and **“Red Eye Disease”** (Party-State)
- Socialization of Youth into **Highly Contradictory Values**

Chen Xi, Institute of Sociology, CASS, “An Analysis of
China’s Post-80’s Youth”

领导参阅, *Lingdao canyue [Reference Reading for Leaders]*, No. 10, 2010 (Sept. 5)

- “It may appear that post-80’s youth have no particular ideology, and any belief system or ism is pretty far from their daily concerns. But they do react politically. They can manifest a defense of CCP leadership, enthusiastically support Western multi-party politics, or take part in patriotic activities. But the bottom line is their concern for their own benefits. It doesn’t matter which political system, so long as it can ensure their development it will gain their support, if it doesn’t, they will oppose it. They are increasingly worldly (世俗化).”
- It is estimated that employment opportunities will be reduced, but already for the large majority their income does not meet their expectations. Housing prices and income inequalities cause more and more of them to be intensely dissatisfied with their income, especially those with low skills.

Reasons Why University Students in China Choose a Profession (N=942)

- **Income: 45%**
- Work Environment: 24%
- Interest: 15%
- Opportunities for Advancement: 12%
- Needs of Society: 4%
- **But, Graduates won't take jobs considered beneath their status, regardless of high pay**

SOURCE: Du Kunlin and Zhu Fengjuan, "Empirical Analysis on the Value Orientations of Post-90's College Students," *中国青年研究* [China Youth Study] No. 3 (March), 2012, p. 54. Study conducted at a university in Zhejiang, 2011.

Actual Values Compared to Socially Sanctioned Values (N=1,168)

- **What Is Your Belief System?**
- Buddhism: 17.3%
- Christianity: 5.6%
- Islam: 2.5%
- Communism: 17.8%
- Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought: 7.7%
- **No Belief System: 41.4%**
- The researchers interpreted the results as “a belief system crisis for society”
- SOURCE: Zhang Jianfeng, “Research on the Social Psychological Basis of the Socialist Core Value System Popularization from the Perspective of Political Science,” *中国青年研究* [China Youth Study], No. 3, March 2012, p. 27. The study was conducted in three districts of Zhejiang province at the end of 2010.

Reasons Why University Students Become Party Members

- **It's an Advantage in Finding a Job: 48.4%**
- I Can Make a Contribution to Society: 17%
- I'm Just Following the Trend: 15.6%
- **I Believe in Communism: 3.9%**
- SOURCE: Zhou Liping and Lin Shaozhen, "Research on the Evolving Value Concepts and Behavior of University Students in Shanghai Since the 1990's," 思想理论教育 (*Ideological Theory Education*), No. 1, 2007, reprinted in Zheng Weidong, 上海当代青年调查 (*Survey on Shanghai Contemporary Young Generation*) [Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, December 2011], p. 35.

CHINESE YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD WESTERN 'CULTURAL PENETRATION'

(N=629, FROM 33 CHINESE UNIVERSITIES) [Conducted by the Institute of World History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

QUESTION 1: "ON THE ISSUE OF BELIEF SYSTEMS"

"STRIVE TO REALIZE COMMUNISM":	17.2%
"STRIVE FOR INDIVIDUAL SUCCESS":	72.7%
"DON'T KNOW":	10.0%

QUESTION 2: "DO WESTERN VISUAL CULTURE PRODUCTS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY PROPAGATE WESTERN POLITICAL CONCEPTS AND LIFESTYLES"?

"YES":	82.2%
"NO":	11.6%
"NOT CERTAIN":	6.2%

QUESTION 3: "ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE AMERICAN CULTURAL CONCEPTS BEING PROPAGATED BY AMERICAN VISUAL CULTURE"

"IDENTIFY WITH THEM":	51.2%
"DON'T IDENTIFY WITH THEM":	17.2%
"IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE" (<i>wusuowei</i>)	31.7%

SOURCE: "Dui woguo qingnian xuesheng zai xinyang deng 21 ge zhongda wentishang de wenzhuan diaocha ji jianyao fenxi" [A Brief Analysis of Responses to a Survey Questionnaire on Belief Systems and 21 other Important Questions given by Young Chinese Students], in *Lingdao canyue* [Reference Reading for Leaders] No. 19, July 5, 2007, pp. 24-28. The title of the survey was "The Influence of Western 'Cultural Penetration' and our Countermeasures".

Chen Shengluo survey comparing university student attitudes toward **Chinese** and **American** political systems (1)

- Students at elite universities in Beijing preferred the American system.
- **Particularly admired the separation of powers**
- Sample of 505 students

31.7% “liked it a great deal”

43% “somewhat” liked it

21.1% said “so-so”

4.2% “somewhat” disliked it

No one “entirely disliked it”



Chen Shengluo survey comparing university student attitudes toward Chinese and American political systems (2)

- Interpretation of results: Students felt that the **Party's monopoly of power would make it difficult to solve the problem of corruption** – the number one grievance in Chinese society, based on other survey data – and that the **American system did a better job on this problem.**



China TV Grows Racy, and Gets a Chaperon, *New York Times*, 12/31/11 **“If You Are The One”**



- The men boasted of their bank accounts, houses and fancy cars. The women were svelte and sassy, dousing suitors with acid putdowns. But mixed into the banter were social issues that urban Chinese from their 20s to 40s grapple with, living together before marriage, the unabashed pursuit of wealth or the one-child policy.

Women “Occupy” Men’s Toilets



Investigation of Ownership of Private Planes in China (9/15/10):

People think all the new airports being built will mostly be used by wealthy people who own private planes.



“Red-Eye Disease”
in China: 2009 Book

中国公众意见领袖
薛涌◎著

仇富

THE HATRED AGAINST THE RICH

 当下中国的贫富之争

中国社会底层的“仇富”情绪，基本合理。开发商想拆你的房子就拆你的房子，还不许人仇恨吗？换你你也仇。

人类文明的两大遗产，民主和基督教，都和仇富有关。仇富就是民主的开始。基督教不是仇富吗？它说贫困给人带来美德，富人进天堂比骆驼穿过针眼还难，对财富批评得非常厉害。亚当·斯密也可以说仇富，因为他对工商势力攻击得非常厉害。美国不仇富吗？美国当然仇富啊。爱德华兹竞选总统本来势头不错，后来因为他花了400块钱理个发，他的总统梦就此基本就终结了。

我可以做个和主流相反的、不成熟的预言：中国现在其实还处于最好的日子之中，但二十年后可能会衰落，原因绝对不是没有保护富人。

凤凰出版传媒集团
江苏文艺出版社
JIANGSU LITERATURE AND ART
PUBLISHING HOUSE

China's Super-Rich Group

[from 领导参阅, No. 27, 2011, 9/25/11]

·热点剖析·

我国巨富群体的现状和影响

中国社科院“新社会群体研究”课题组

随着我国经济迅猛增长,人民生活水平整体提高的同时,社会财富分配失衡和阶层分化问题也日渐凸显。在先富起来的人群中,出现了一定数量的拥有千万元人民币以上财富的社会成员,这是当代中国社会中的“巨富群体”,或称“巨富阶层”。了解巨富阶层的基本情况及其社会影响,是我们保持政治稳定、维护社会和谐的重要课题。

一、巨富群体的基本情况

1.基本规模。根据相关研究,我们可以将私营企业主划分为4个亚群:小私营企业主(企业投资规模在100万元以下的),中等私营企业主(投资规模在100万元至1000万元之间),大私营企业主(投资规模在1000万元至1亿元之间),以及特大私营企业主(投资规模在亿元以上),4个亚群在总体中的分布频率依次约为70%、30%、1%、1%,按国家工商行政管理总局公布的截至2007年全国实有私营企业主人数为1396.5万户推算,在我国私营企业主中,2007年就已有千万富豪约14万户,其中约1.4万是亿万富豪。

SURVEY: PEOPLE ARE UNHAPPY: 人民网 2009.12.24

- **“腐败问题突 民众承受底线” corruption [82.3%]**
- **“贫富差距拉大，分配不公激化社会矛盾”
increasing income gap [80.6%]**
- **“基层干群冲突” cadre-mass local conflicts
[63.2%]**
- **“高房价与低收入的 矛盾” housing too
expensive for many [62.8%]**
- **“诚信危机，道德失 范” crisis of trust,
absence of moral standards [61.7%]**
- **“民主政治改革低于公众预期” democratic
reforms don't meet expectations [52.3%]**
- **“环境污染，生态 坏” pollution and ecological
damage [51.6%]**

China Is Unhappy
[best-selling book]



中国不高兴

↑ 大时代、大目标及我们的内忧外患 ↓

宋晓军 王小东 黄纪苏 宋强 刘仰 著
The Great Time, Grand Vision and Our Challenges
UNHAPPY CHINA

凤凰出版传媒集团
江苏人民出版社

Anti-Japanese Demonstrations

