

Research Series on the Chinese Dream
and China's Development Path

Peilin Li
M. K. Gorshkov *Editors*

Life Expectations of the People

A Comparative Sociological Analysis
of China and Russia



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Research Series on the Chinese Dream and China's Development Path

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Drawing on a large body of empirical studies done over the last two decades, this Series provides its readers with in-depth analyses of the past and present and forecasts for the future course of China's development. It contains the latest research results made by members of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This series is an invaluable companion to every researcher who is trying to gain a deeper understanding of the development model, path and experience unique to China. Thanks to the adoption of Socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the implementation of comprehensive reform and opening-up, China has made tremendous achievements in areas such as political reform, economic development, and social construction, and is making great strides towards the realization of the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation. In addition to presenting a detailed account of many of these achievements, the authors also discuss what lessons other countries can learn from China's experience.

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Series Preface

Since China's reform and opening began in 1978, the country has come a long way on the path of Socialism with Chinese characteristics, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Over 30 years of reform, efforts and sustained spectacular economic growth have turned China into the world's second largest economy and wrought many profound changes in the Chinese society. These historically significant developments have been garnering increasing attention from scholars, governments, and the general public alike around the world since the 1990s, when the newest wave of China studies began to gather steam. Some of the hottest topics have included the so-called China miracle, Chinese phenomenon, Chinese experience, Chinese path, and the Chinese model. Homegrown researchers have soon followed suit. Already hugely productive, this vibrant field is putting out a large number of books each year, with Social Sciences Academic Press alone having published hundreds of titles on a wide range of subjects.

Because most of these books have been written and published in Chinese, however, readership has been limited outside China—even among many who study China—for whom English is still the lingua franca. This language barrier has been an impediment to efforts by academia, business communities, and policy-makers in other countries to form a thorough understanding of contemporary China, of what is distinct about China's past and present may mean not only for her future but also for the future of the world. The need to remove such an impediment is both real and urgent, and the *Research Series on the Chinese Dream and China's Development Path* is my answer to the call.

This series features some of the most notable achievements from the last 20 years by scholars in China in a variety of research topics related to reform and opening. They include both theoretical explorations and empirical studies and cover economy, society, politics, law, culture, and ecology, the six areas in which reform and opening policies have had the deepest impact and farthest-reaching consequences for the country. Authors for the series have also tried to articulate their visions of the “Chinese Dream” and how the country can realize it in these fields and beyond.

All of the editors and authors for the *Research Series on the Chinese Dream and China's Development Path* are both longtime students of reform and opening and

recognized authorities in their respective academic fields. Their credentials and expertise lend credibility to these books, each of which having been subject to a rigorous peer review process for inclusion in the series. As part of the Reform and Development Program under the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television of the People's Republic of China, the series is published by Springer, a Germany-based academic publisher of international repute, and distributed overseas. I am confident that it will help fill a lacuna in studies of China in the era of reform and opening.

Shouguang Xie

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Chapter 1

Introduction 1: The Origin, Meaning and Analytical Framework of the Chinese Dream



Peilin Li

The Sino-Russia Social Comparative Study Program is a long-term cooperative program between the Institute of Sociology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Sociology at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Now in its seventh year, the Program was originally established in 2009 by Professor M.K. Gorshkov, Director of the Institute of Sociology at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and myself, Director of the Institute of Sociology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The comparative study of the “Chinese Dream” and the “Russian Dream” is the third phase of the program. The first and second phases involved the study of Sino-Russian social stratification and Sino-Russian youth, respectively. The first-phase Sino-Russian social stratification study was included in a larger-scale comparative study of the BRIC countries, which resulted in the publication of the 800-page *Handbook on Social Stratification in the BRIC Countries* written in English, *Changes and Comparison of Social Stratification in the BRIC Countries* in Chinese and *Sino-Russia Social Stratification Study* in Russian. The outcome of the second phase, the Sino-Russian youth study, resulted in the book titled *Youth and Social Change: A Sino-Russia Comparative Study*, written in Chinese and Russian. The comparative study of the Chinese Dream and the Russian Dream was first proposed by Professor M.K. Gorshkov when he visited the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 2011 to explore themes for the third phase of the cooperative study. When he suggested comparing dreams between our two countries, I was very surprised. The word “dream” has only recently become an analytical concept in humanities and social sciences in China. Moreover, Chinese sociology, which focuses on empirical studies, does not even touch upon this field of research. Even in Western humanities

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and social sciences, dreams are rarely an object of study, other than the book *The Interpretation of Dreams* written by the master of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. Furthermore, the word “dream” is often associated with fantasy in traditional Chinese culture, such as in the famous “Butterfly Dream”,¹ “Golden Millet Dream”,² “Nanke Dream”³ and “Dream of the Red Mansion.”⁴ Professor M.K. Gorshkov explained his idea of comparative research on dreams to me in detail, as well as the reasons Russian sociology attaches such importance to the study of dreams. He also informed me that they were conducting a national sample survey on Russian dreams. I still thought that it was a very philosophical topic, but agreed to consider it seriously.

On November 29, 2012, Xi Jinping, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), led the new central collective leadership in a visit to an exhibition at the National Museum of China called “The Road to Rejuvenation.” In a speech he noted that “everyone has personal ideals and pursuits as well as dreams. All people are now talking about the Chinese Dream. I think that the realization of China’s great rejuvenation is the grandest dream of the Chinese nation in modern times. It is a coalescence of the hopes of the Chinese people over many generations, demonstrates the overall interests of the Chinese nation and its people, and reflects an aspiration shared by all Chinese people.” Ever since, the idea of the “Chinese Dream” has grown in significance and has now become a powerful

¹ The “Butterfly Dream” is from the writing of Chuang Tzu, an ancient Chinese philosopher. According to *Chuang-Tzu: Qiwulun* (Equality of Things), the author dreams he is a butterfly, and returns to human form again when he wakes up. He is unable to tell whether he was the one who turned into a butterfly or whether it was a butterfly that turned into him. The point of this story is that the universe is relative, without differences between him and other things, “things and I form a single being”.

² The “Golden Millet Dream” originated from the book *Pillow Story* written by Shen Jiji, a historian and novelist from the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907) of China. According to the book, when Lu Sheng came across a Taoist named Lv Weng at an inn in Handan, he sighed at his poverty. Lv Weng then took a celadon pillow out of his bag and let Lu Sheng sleep on the pillow while the inn owner was cooking. Lu Sheng fell asleep and enjoyed wealth and prosperity in his dreams. When he woke up, the millet was still cooking. He asked with wonder, “Was it a dream!?” Lv Weng said with a smile, “Everything is actually like this!” Afterwards, “pipe dream” became a Chinese idiom, signifying that wealth and prosperity can vanish like a bubble.

³ The “Nanke Dream” sprang from the book *The Biography of the Nanke Governor*, written by Li Gongzuo during the Tang Dynasty of China. According to the book, Chun Yufen was reading in his study, which had a window facing south. Outside the window, there was an old Chinese scholar tree with two nests of ants. When he was tired of reading, he often watched the ants crawling around. One day, he unwittingly fell asleep as he was reading and dreamed that he went to Huai’an State to act as the governor of Nanke prefecture. He had a princess as his wife, and enjoyed great wealth and glory, but was sent back after the defeat of his expedition. He woke up to find that there was an ant hole in the tree in front of his window, namely the capital of Huai’an State in his dream, and Nanke prefecture was the other ant nest under a limb on the south side of the Chinese scholar tree. The Chinese idiom “Nanke Dream” refers to illusiveness as well as inconstant gains and losses of wealth.

⁴ *Dream of the Red Mansion* represents the pinnacle of Chinese classical novels. Set against the backdrop of a family’s rise and fall, with love and marriage as the main storyline, the novel demonstrates the dreamlike aspect of life and the inconstancy of human relationships through the tragic fate of its rebels.

expression of China's development goals and philosophy. Within this context, it was decided that the third phase of the cooperative study would focus on "Comparative Research on the Chinese Dream and the Russian Dream."

1.1 Historical Origins of the Chinese Dream

China's civilization goes back more than 5000 years. With diligence and wisdom, the Chinese nation was the leading civilization in the ancient world. However, China fell behind when history entered modern times. After the Opium War of 1840, a series of Western powers engaged in aggressive wars against China. The corrupt and weak feudal emperors were forced to sign numerous unequal and humiliating treaties, ceding sovereign control of large territorial areas to foreign aggressors. The culmination of these unequal treaties was reached when the *Boxer Protocol* was signed.

In the 50 plus years between the Opium War of 1840 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China paid a total of thirty-nine million and twenty thousand taels (a tael is equal to 37.3 g) of silver in war reparations. The first war reparation of the Qing Dynasty came during the First Opium War, in which China paid a total of seventeen million five hundred twenty thousand taels of silver in war reparations. In August 1842, the comprehensive failure of the Qing government's military resistance resulted in the signing of the first unequal treaty in modern Chinese history—the *Treaty of Nanking*. The treaty stipulated that China should pay Britain six million silver dollars (Spanish Carolus dollar) in opium costs, three million silver dollars as total fees owed to British businessmen, and twelve million silver dollars for military expenditures, totaling twenty-one million silver dollars. In addition, the Qing government ceded Hong Kong and five other trading ports to the British, as well as the consular jurisdiction shared by Englishmen in China.

During the Taiping Rebellion in China, which occurred between the years of 1851 and 1864, Britain and France successively passed the grossly unfair "Treaty of Tianjin" and the "Beijing Treaty." These treaties forced the Qing Government to pay 16 million taels of silver in compensation for the Second Opium War.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 in the Yellow Sea resulted in the obliteration of the Beiyang Navy. Li Hongzhang, as representative of the Qing government, signed the humiliating "Treaty of Shimonoseki" with Japan, which forced China to pay a huge indemnity of two hundred million taels of silver. According to historical data, the Qing government's annual income was only seventy to eighty million taels at that time.

In September 1901, the Qing government signed the "Boxer Protocol" with the imperialist powers, which not only resulted in the invasion and oppression of China by those powers, but also made the Qing Dynasty a semi-colony politically. According to the treaty, China would pay compensation of nearly four hundred fifty million taels of silver to the eight countries. Because the Qing government was unable to make these payments, the compensation became a loan to be paid off over thirty-nine