

proposed in the book. Other conclusions feel similarly optimistic. The former leader of Guangdong Province, Wang Yang, is praised for his apparent resolution of the Wukan uprising (118), but a foreign journalist returned to Wukan in 2017 to find pervasive surveillance and citizens terrified to speak to journalists—not an inspiring model for transparency and openness (James Pomfret, “In China’s ‘Democracy Village,’ No One Wants to Talk Any More,” *Reuters*, November 10, 2017).

A second prediction of the concluding chapter, that China’s reforms favoring transparency and participation have cultivated a citizenry better suited to democratic processes of governance, remains apt. The new institutions discussed in the book emerged within a rapidly transforming society characterized by the spread of new ideas among young people. As I completed this review, a group of Chinese youth invigorated by Marxist teachings tried to publicize grievances of migrant workers, using the internet to amplify news of rights abuses against workers, paralleling several cases in this book. Their organization and protest exemplified a modern civil society, informed about happenings across the country and using communication technology to disseminate their political views.

Yet China’s security services responded by sweeping up these young Marxists in a crackdown. Many of China’s citizens appear ready for a greater say in governing their country, but it remains unclear whether their leaders are ready to listen.

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The China Questions: Critical Insights into a Rising Power, edited by Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szonyi. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. xi+337 pp. US\$27.95 (cloth).

This landmark collection of essays on China’s past, present, and future has an ambitious basic aim: to address the United States’ “understanding deficit” with China, as Michael Szonyi explains in the introduction. The book commemorates the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University’s Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, and each of the book’s 36 chapters is authored by a scholar affiliated with the center. Each chapter tackles one pressing question about the world’s most populous country, ranging from “Is the Chinese Communist Regime Legitimate?” to “How Has the Study of China Changed in the Past 60 Years?”

If the “China questions” are quite broad, the answers are quite short. The chapters are typically less than 10 pages, and one might fault the book for “teasing” the reader with such short essays. Depth was never the point, however. The

book's concise and highly readable essays are clearly designed to attract a popular readership—an understandable strategy given the book's underlying goal. Moreover, the impressive range of expertise should appeal to academic observers of China, particularly those interested in a broader view.

Many of the chapters challenge comfortable ideas and easy assumptions. Susan Greenhalgh laments the massive human costs of the one-child policy, yet she also argues that the retreat of state control over reproduction carries downsides, particularly as it exacerbates growing inequality. Iain Johnston shows that Chinese citizens who see their country as extremely peaceful are ironically more likely to perceive other countries as unfriendly and more likely to support higher levels of military spending. Li Wai-ye explains how contemporary Chinese fiction manages to be both utopian and dystopian at the same time. Meg Rithmire offers a more hopeful perspective on China's nearly empty "ghost cities," some of which, she suggests, could be inhabited in the future as state-managed urbanization unfolds. Roderick MacFarquhar remains unsure whether the military leadership would rescue Xi Jinping in a political crisis, as it did Mao during the Cultural Revolution and Deng at Tiananmen.

Some of the chapters offer arresting facts about the world's most populous country. In 2013, Tony Saich notes, China's top one hundred philanthropists combined gave away less money than Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg and his wife did. As of 2015, he adds, China ranked a mere 144th in the World Giving Index. Arthur Kleinman writes that a quarter or more of Chinese will suffer from depression, anxiety, substance abuse, dementia, or some other mental health condition at some point during the course of their lives. Jie Li tells us that "The East is Red" grew out of a love song—with an opening line about sesame oil and cabbage hearts—and that in some ways it remains one. James Robson notes that more Chinese attend church on Sunday than do all Europeans combined.

Some chapters offer perspectives that China's leaders ought to consider. Wang Yuhua's chapter on regime durability and leadership succession observes that only half of China's 282 emperors died in office, while the other half were forced out. Emperors who named a successor were 64 percent less likely to be deposed. Elizabeth Perry warns that efforts to base regime legitimacy on propagandistic distortions of history are unlikely to succeed in the long run, and she calls for far greater commitment to social justice. Richard Cooper and Dwight Perkins offer sobering perspectives on the Chinese economy, particularly if more enthusiasm for reform is not forthcoming. Joseph Fewsmith faults Xi Jinping's anti-corruption campaign for the dearth of theoretical efforts to explain why so much corruption exists in China.

The book might have said more about some key questions. While it includes two chapters on environmental challenges, more attention to these issues would have been welcome given the scale and intensity of China's environmental problems. In addition, very little is written about China's drive to become a world leader

in technological innovation, despite the government's avid pursuit of this goal in recent years. The legacy of the Soviet Union and Russia are only rarely mentioned as well.

Even so, the book succeeds in covering a remarkable amount of ground, and it does so with admirably lucid and insightful prose. Taken together, this collection of essays is an excellent contribution to the global conversation surrounding China's rise in the modern era. One hopes it will help reduce not only Americans' "understanding deficit" with China but the understanding deficit evident in many other countries as well.

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End of an Era: How China's Authoritarian Revival Is Undermining Its Rise, by Carl Minzner. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. vii+255 pp. £19.99 (cloth); also available as an eBook.

With *End of an Era*, Carl Minzner joins an ongoing debate on China's "failure" to proceed along the path from authoritarianism to liberalism. Many in the West assumed China had started down this path when Deng Xiaoping and his reformist coalition pushed the Maoists and then Hua Guofeng aside in the late 1970s. At that time, it was widely thought that Deng's decision to move the Chinese economy away from the plan and toward the market while opening China to the outside world would culminate in political reforms and, ultimately, the end of one-party rule by the Communist Party. Such views survived the suppression of antigovernment demonstrations in 1989. Liberal optimism about China's political future, however, began to dissipate in 2008–9 as a mounting wave of illegal protests and ethnic unrest triggered increased repression. Hope for an orderly political transition away from hard authoritarianism faded further during 2011–12 when the Arab Spring produced a new "Chinese Winter" in which political dissidents and civil society activists were detained and, in some cases, sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

According to Minzner, the "Chinese Winter" actually started in the period immediately after the 1989 Tiananmen demonstrations. Faced with demands for greater political accountability, he argues, the Party progressively moved China off the Dengist path. Rather than build a market economy, the Party used economic reforms and "responsive authoritarianism" to build a degenerate form of "crony capitalism" in which a new red "imperial elite" enriched itself at the expense of society. At first, Minzner implies, movement in that direction was disguised by the rapid expansion of the middle class and significant gains in in-