

diktátorskému režimu. Jsme možná svědky toho, že se Čína pozvedá nejen ekonomicky, ale také neodolatelně k silnému státu.

Z toho, co víme, lze ještě usuzovat, že Si Ťin-pching zatím nemusí být plně v zajetí ideologie. Může jen experimentovat se sloganem, které fungují. Avšak zahrávat si s ideologií znamená zahrávat si s ohněm. Si Ťin-pching může touto nebezpečnou hrou, byť třeba nevědomky, uvolnit síly, které jsou nejen mocné, ale také děsivé, které mohou začít žít svým vlastním životem a ovláhnout svého původce tak, jak sám ani nepředpokládal. Velká a silná země, mocný stát, chytří a ambiciozní vůdce – to dává součet sil, se kterými se musí počítat. Velká a silná země, mocný stát, chytří a ambiciozní vůdce, vedoucí ideologie – to dává součet sil, kterých je třeba se obávat.

Toto je dle mého mínění druhý nejpravděpodobnější scénář. Pokud je Čínský stát na cestě k tomu, aby se proměnil v silný stát, pak to musí být stát ideologický. A zda se, že není k dispozici žádná jiná použitelná ideologie než ta, která má fašizoidní rysy. Ve volbě mezi dvojicí mych nejpravděpodobnějších scénářů má navrh ideologie. Jestli čínský stát stále funguje jako správce ekonomického růstu a politické kontroly a tuto roli vykonává efektivně, je pravděpodobné, že zůstane diktátorským režimem, byť pragmatickým. Pokud se stává stále víc závislý na ideologii a opírá se o narrativ, v jehož rámci jsou jednotlivci zahrnuti v prvé řadě do národa, učiní ze sebe totalitní stát toho nejpochmurnějšího a nejhrozivějšího druhu; druhu, ve kterém se člověk stává pouze součástí „masy“ a vůbec nezáleží na jeho individualitě. Ideologický silný stát je na základě historických zkoušeností nebezpečný. Pokud si začne libovat ve svém vlastním příběhu o národní slávě, je nepravděpodobné, že by u něj převážil pragmatismus, a nikdo nemůže s jistotou říct, co bude následovat. Na základě svého průběžného sledování slova a činů nového vedení jsem se přiklonil k závěru, že můj první scénář je výsloce pravděpodobný. Nyní, v okamžiku dokončování tohoto výzkumu, mi instinkt napovídá, že naopak nejpravděpodobnější z mych scénářů je ten závěrečný.

Bibliografie

- Adams, James Truslow. *The Epic of America*. New York, 1931.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York, 1951.
- Asian Development Bank. *People's Republic of China: Toward Establishing a Rural Health Protection Scheme*. Manila: ADB, 2002.
- Beardson, Timothy. *Stumbling Giant: The Threats to China's Future*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Bell, Daniel A. *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Bell, Daniel A. *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Berlin, Isaiah. *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*. London: John Murray, 1990.
- Bosker, Bianca. *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.
- Briggs, Asa. „The welfare-state in historical perspective.“ *Archives européennes de Sociologie* 2, no. 2 (1961): 221–59.
- Callahan, William A. *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Callahan, William A. *China: The Pessimistic Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Gallik, Rowan. *The Party Forever: Inside China's Modern Communist Elite*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Cardenal, Juan Pablo, and Heriberto Araújo. *China's Silent Army: The Pioneers, Traders, Fixers and Workers Who Are Remaking the World in Beijing's Image*. London: Allen Lane, 2013.
- Carillo, Beatrice, and Jane Duckett, eds. *China's Changing Welfare Mix: Local Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- CCP. *Decision on Several Key Issues Concerning the Establishment of the Socialist Market Economy System*. Third Plenum of the 14th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Beijing, 14 November 1993.
- Coase, Ronald, and Ning Wang. *How China Became Capitalist*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Cook, S., N. Kabeer, and G. Suwanarat, eds. *Social Protection in Asia*. Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2003.

- Davis, D., and F. Wang, eds. *Creating Wealth and Poverty in Postsocialist China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Dickson, Bruce J., and jie Chen. *Allies of the State: Democratic Support and Regime Support among China's Private Entrepreneurs*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Dikötter, Frank. *The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945–1957*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Dorfman, Mark C., Robert Holzmann, Philip O'Keefe, Dewen Wang, Yvonne Sin, and Richard Hinz. *China's Pension System: A Vision*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013.
- Eimer, David. *The Emperor Far Away: Travels at the Edge of China*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Fenby, Jonathan. *Tiger Head, Snake Tails: China Today, How It Got There and Where It Is Heading*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
- Fenby, Jonathan. *Will China Dominate the 21st Century?* London: Polity Press, 2014.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Finer, S. E. *The History of Government*. Vols. 1–3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Gao, Qin. „Redistributive nature of the Chinese social benefit system: Progressive or regressive?“ *China Quarterly* 2 (2010): 1–19.
- Gao, Qin, Sui Yang, and Shi Li. „The Chinese welfare-state in transition: 1988–2007.“ *Journal of Social Policy* 42 (2013): 743–62.
- Gao, Q., I. Garfinkel, and F. Zhai. „Anti-poverty effectiveness of the minimum living standard assistance policy in Urban China.“ *Review of Income and Wealth* 55 (2009): 630–55.
- Garnaut, Ross, Cai Fang, and Ligang Song, eds. *China: A New Model for Growth and Development*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2013.
- Givens, John Wagner. „Suing dragons? Taking the Chinese state to court.“ *DPhil thesis. St. Antony's College, University of Oxford*, 2012.
- Greenhalgh, Susan. *Just One Child: Science and Policy in Deng's China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Gustafsson, Björn, Li Shi, and Hiroshi Sato. „Data for studying earnings, the distribution of household income and poverty in China.“ *China Economic Review* 30 (2014): 419–31.
- Gustafsson, Björn, Li Shi, and Terry Sicular, eds. *Inequality and Public Policy in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Gustafsson, B., and Q. Deng. „Dihao receipt and its importance for combating poverty in urban China.“ *Poverty & Public Policy* 3 (2011): 1–32.
- Holdstock, Nick. *China's Forgotten People: Xinjiang Terror and the Chinese State*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2015.
- Holliday, I., and P. Wilding, eds. *Welfare Capitalism in East Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Hsu, Jennifer Y.J., and Reza Hasmath, eds. *The Chinese Corporatist State: Adaptation, Survival and Resistance*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Huang, Yasheng. *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Chan, C. K., K. L. Ngok, and D. Phillips. *Social Policy in China: Development and Well-being*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2008.
- Chang, Jung, and Jon Halliday. *Mao: The Unknown Story*. London: Vintage, 2006.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. New York: Norton, 2015.
- Jacques, Martin. *When China Rules the World*. London: Penguin, 2012.
- Johnson, Ian. *Wild Grass: China's Revolution From Below*. New York: Penguin, 2015.
- Joseph, William A., ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Keynes, John Maynard. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. London, 1936.
- Kinkel, Jonathan, and William Hurst. „Access to justice in post-Mao China: Assessing the politics of criminal and administrative law.“ *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11 (2011): 467–99.
- Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. New York: Penguin, 2011.
- Knight, John, and Sai Ding. *China's Remarkable Economic Growth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Knight, John, and Lina Song. *Towards a Labour Market in China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Kwon Huck-ju. „The reform of the developmental Welfare-state in East Asia.“ *International Journal of Social Welfare* 18 (2009): 12–21.
- Kwon Huck-ju, ed. *Transforming the Developmental Welfare State in East Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Kwong, Julia. *The Political Economy of Corruption in China*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997.

Lam, Willy Wo-Lap. *Chinese Politics in the Era of Xi Jinping: Renaissance, Reform, or Retrogression?* London: Routledge, 2015.

Lampton, David M. *Following the Leader: Ruling China, From Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Laruelle, Marlène, and Sebastian Peyrouse. *The Chinese Question in Central Asia: Domestic Order, Social Change and the Chinese Factor*. New York: Herst, 2012.

Lee, Il-Houng, Murtaza Syed, and Liu Xueyan. „Is China over-investing and does it matter?“ IMF Working Paper, Asia and Pacific Department, November 2012.

Leibold, James, and Chen Yangbin, eds. *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014.

Leonard, Mark. *What Does China Think?* London: Fourth Estate, 2008.

Leung, J. C. B., and R. Nann. *Authority and Benevolence: Social Welfare in China*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1995.

Li Shi, Hiroshi Sato, and Terry Sicular, eds. *Rising Inequality in China: Challenges to a Harmonious Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 2004.

Lieberthal, Kenneth G., Cheng Li, and Yu Keping, eds. *China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2014.

Lim, Louisa. *The People's Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Link, Perry. „Politics and the Chinese language.“ *ChinaFile*, 24 December 2012.

Loh, Christine. *Underground Front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010.

Lora-Wainwright, Anna. *Fighting for Breath: Living Morally and Dying of Cancer in a Chinese Village*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Luttwak, Edward N. *The Rise of China Vs. The Logic of Strategy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Madsen, Richard. *China and the American Dream: A Moral Inquiry*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

McGregor, Richard. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. London: Penguin, 2012.

Miller, Tom. *China's Urban Billion: The Story behind the Biggest Migration in Human History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Mitter, Rana. *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Mitter, Rana. *China's War with Japan, 1937–1945: The Struggle for Survival*. London: Allen Lane, 2013.

Mitter, Rana. *Modern China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Murphy, Rachel. *How Migrant Labour Is Changing Rural China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Nathan, Andrew J., and Andrew Scobell. *China's Search for Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

O'Brien, Kevin J., ed. *Popular Protest in China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Orwell, George. *Orwell in Spain*, edited by Peter Davison. London: Penguin, 2001.

Osburg, John. *Anxious Wealth: Money and Morality among China's New Rich*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Oshio, Evan. *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth, and Faith in the New China*. New York: Ferrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Pantsov, Alexander V., and Steven I. Levine. *Deng Xiaoping: A Revolutionary Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Paulson, Henry M., Jr. *Dealing with China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower*. New York: Twelve, 2015.

Pei Minxin. *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Pettis, Michael. *The Great Rebalancing: Trade, Conflict, and the Perilous Road Ahead for the World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Read, Benjamin L. *Roots of the State: Neighborhood Organization and Social Networks in Beijing and Taipei*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Ringen, Stein. *Nation of Devils: Democratic Leadership and the Problem of Obedience*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Ringgen, Stein. *What Democracy Is For: On Freedom and Moral Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Ringen, S., Huck-ju Kwon, Ilcheong Yi, Taekyoon Kim, and Jooha Lee. *The Korean State and Social Policy: How South Korea Lifted Itself from Poverty and Dictatorship to*

Affluence and Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Rose-Ackerman, Susan, and Paul Lagunes, eds. *Greed, Corruption, and the Modern State: Essays in Political Economy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2015.

- Rosen, Daniel H., and Beibei Bao. *A Better Abacus for China*. New York: Rhodium Group, 2015.
- Saich, Tony. *Governance and Politics of China*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Saich, Tony. *Providing Public Goods in Transitional China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Saich, Tony, and Bitiang Hu. *Chinese Village, Global Market: New Collectives and Rural Development*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Schell, Orville, and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Random House, 2013.
- Shambaugh, David. *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Shambaugh, David. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Shambaugh, David. *The Modern Chinese State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Shirk, Susan L. *China: Fragile Superpower*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Shue, Vivienne, and Christine Wong, eds. *Paying for Progress in China: Public Finance, Human Welfare and Changing Patterns of Inequality*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Simon, Karla W. *Civil Society in China*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Sicular, Terry, Yue Ximing, Björn Gustafsson, and Li Shi. „The urban-rural income gap and inequality in China.“ *Review of Income and Wealth* 53 (2007): 93–126.
- Snow, Edgar. *Red Star over China*. New York, 1938.
- Solinger, Dorothy J. *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migration, the State, and the Logic of Market*. Berkeley: University of California, 1999.
- Solinger, Dorothy J. „Social assistance under capitalist, authoritarian rule: Two management models in Chinese municipalities.“ *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 44 (2014): 500–520.
- Temple, William. *Citizen and Churchman*. London, 1941.
- Thornton, Patricia M. *Disciplining the State: Virtue, Violence and State-Making in Modern China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Paris, 1835, 1840.
- Tsai, Kellee. *Capitalism without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Tsang, Steve. „Consultative Leninism: China's new political framework.“ *Journal of Contemporary China* 18, no. 62 (2009): 865–80.
- Vogel, Ezra F. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Walder, Andrew G. *China under Mao: A Revolution Derailed*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Wasserstrom, Jeff. *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Wedeman, Andrew. *Double Paradox: Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750*. London: Bodley Head, 2012.
- Whyte, Martin K. *One Country, Two Societies: Rural-Urban Inequality in Contemporary China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Whyte, Martin King, Wang Feng, and Yong Cai. „Challenging myths about China's one-child policy.“ *The China Journal* 74 (July 2015): 144–59.
- Wong, Linda. *Marginalization and Social Welfare in China*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1998.
- World Bank and Development Research Center of the State Council. *China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative China*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013.
- Wu, Harry. *Re-estimating Chinese Growth*. New York: Conference Board, China Center Special Briefing Paper, 2014.
- Xi Chen. *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Yang Dali. *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Yang Jisheng. *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958–1962*. New York: Ferrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013.
- Yongshun Cai. *Collective Resistance in China: Why Popular Protests Succeed or Fail*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Zhang Weiwei. *The China Horizon: Glory and Dream of a Civilization State*. London: World Scientific, 2015.
- Zheng Gongcheng. *China's Social Security during Thirty Years*. Beijing: Renmin University, 2008 (in Chinese).
- Zhu Yapeng. „Housing policy in China at the crossroads: Trends and prospects.“ *China Journal of Social Work* 7 (2014): 189–201.