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Arguing for the Motion:

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A Harmonious Socialist Society or Bust: China's Quest for Sustainable Development

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The 6th Plenum of the 16th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) concluded on October 11, 2006 with the passage of a resolution to establish a harmonious society by 2020. The obvious implication from this commitment is that the present major social, economic and political trends within China might not lead to a harmonious society or, at least, not lead to a harmonious society fast enough.

Among the disharmonious features mentioned in the fifth paragraph of the "resolutions of the CPC Central Committee on major issues regarding the building of a harmonious socialist society" were:

1. there is serious imbalance in the social and economic development between the urban and rural areas, and across China's thirty-one provinces;
2. the population and environmental problems are worsening;
3. a large portion of the population find the national situation in employment, social safety nets, income distribution, education, medical care, housing, occupational safety and public order to be seriously deficient;
4. the system of public management needs improvement;
5. democracy and the rule of law are still not adequately institutionalized;
6. the capability and work style of some leaders do not meet the requirements of the new situation and the new tasks; and
7. corruption in some areas is still very serious.

The harmonious socialist society proposed by the 6th Plenum would encompass:

- a democratic society under the rule of law;
 - a society based on equality and justice;
 - an honest and caring society; and
 - a stable, vigorous and orderly society
- in which humans live in harmony with nature.

What is revealing is not the existence of these disharmonious features in Chinese society, polity and economy in 2006, but that most of the official descriptions of the envisaged harmonious society downplay the prominence of achieving a prosperous society.¹ Of the nine objectives listed in the Communiqué of the 6th Plenum, "the objective of building a moderately prosperous society" was not only listed last, it was also qualified with the condition that the prosperity should be shared "all-around." And this qualifier is actually a repetition because the narrowing of income gaps had already been listed as the second objective.

This new emphasis on democratic practice, the rule of law, and income equality represents a turning point that is just as significant as the turning point in 1992 when Deng Xiaoping omitted the word "plan" (which had been ubiquitous since 1949) from the CPC's description of its proposed "socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics." It was just as recent as in October 2005 that the 5th Plenum had reiterated the Dengist mantra that "economic development is the top priority for the CPC, all efforts should be focused on economic development ..."² This departure from past practice can also be seen in that the 5th Plenum in 2005 stressed the centrality of scientific guidance in economic construction, while the 6th Plenum in 2006 stressed the centrality of "putting people first" in social harmonisation.

Why the change from "economic construction" to "social harmony"? And why include a target date? I do not believe that this change is merely the consequence of two leaders coming to their final term in office trying to establish their historical legacy by moving out of the shadow of their predecessors. I also do not believe that this change is the response to developments that had occurred since the promotion of Hu Jintao to General Secretary of CPC and the designation of Wen Jiabao as the next Prime Minister in late 2002. Instead I believe that this switch in emphasis from "economic construction" to "social harmony" occurs because the Hu-Wen leadership is well aware that the political legitimacy of CPC rule rests largely on maintaining, one, an economic growth rate that is high enough to keep unemployment low, and, two, a growth pattern that diffuses the additional income widely enough.

Specifically, I believe that the policy change has come about because the younger and better educated CPC leadership led by Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao recognises that:

¹ For example, in the preceding four aspects of the desired harmonious society, there is no highlighting of a prosperous society. This characterization of the harmonious society is from "CPC key plenum elevates social harmony to more prominent position," People's Daily Online, October 12, 2006.

² "CPC Plenary session calls for developing the economy based on scientific concept," People's Daily Online, October 12, 2005;
http://english.people.com.cn/200510/12/eng20051012_213891.html

1. material conditions and public expectations in China have changed so much since 1978 that without accelerated institutional reforms and new major policy initiatives on a broad front, economic construction that continues using the 1978-2005 policy framework, which had produced an average annual GDP growth rate of almost 10 percent, is unsustainable; and
2. unless their new policies could produce significant improvements in social harmony by 2020, social instability would reduce China's economic growth, hence, making the leadership of CPC in Chinese politics unsustainable.

My view can be summarised in five interrelated propositions:

1. The Harmonious Society program represents root-and-branch reform of China's society because limiting the reforms to the economic sphere will not be sufficient to sustain China's economic growth.
2. The present mode of economic development is environmentally unsustainable.
3. The present mode of economic development has great difficulties in reducing extreme poverty further and in improving income distribution significantly.
4. The present mode of economic development generates immense opportunities for embezzlement of state assets, and corruption.
5. With drastic reform of the economic system and of the economic management system, China can move to a sustainable mode of economic development that will not only reduce poverty, income inequality, and financial shenanigans, but also enhance macroeconomic stability, strengthen the fiscal basis of the state, raise the efficiency of the financial sector, and lower the tensions in international economic relations.

In this brief paper, I will develop the case only for the first two propositions. The case for the third proposition is made in Woo, Li, Yue, Wu, and Xu (2004), and Démurger, Sachs, Woo, Bao, Chang, and Mellinger (2002). The case for propositions (4) and (5) is made in Sachs and Woo (2000), Woo (2001), Woo (2005), and Woo (2006).

Will China succeed in establishing a harmonious society and completing the overhaul of its economic system? My answer is a cautious yes. I am optimistic because both Chinese society and government want the economy to continue its convergence to a modern private market economy, exemplified by the developed world. My caution comes from

1. the new major reforms being technically difficult to implement (e.g. setting up social safety nets), and having few, if any, successful precedents in the world to draw upon (e.g. designing market-compatible environmental regulation); and
2. the possibility that the many potential losers from these major reforms could successfully organise to resist meaningful implementation of the reforms.

In this new situation, the decisiveness and perseverance in policy actions which had allowed the big successes in the past,³ while still very important, are less crucial. What is required more is creativity in policy formulation, program implementation, and political management; but creativity is one thing that is always in short supply. However, given the large number of people in China, it is perhaps justified to be optimistic that enough creative managers will emerge as long as accessibility to education continues to accelerate and meritocracy is upheld.

The Harmonious Society program represents fundamental reform of China's institutions, going well beyond the reform of economic institutions.

The above statement is substantiated by the identification of the first component of a harmonious society as "a democratic society under the rule of law." This point was confirmed in a meeting between Premier Wen and the Brookings Board of Trustees in October 2007, where Premier Wen dwelt at length on how China intends to make greater use of democratic mechanisms (e.g. extending free elections to above the village level) to mediate social conflicts and to improve public administration. I do not doubt his sincerity because I believe that he, like many of his countrymen, must be well acquainted with the history of democratic development in Eastern Europe and in East Asia, particularly in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

To understand the reasons behind the Hu-Wen's switch to democracy as the new important instrument in governance, it is worth quoting at length from two recent insightful analyses on social unrest in China.

In Albert Keidel's (2006) assessment:

"Large-scale public disturbances have been on the rise in China for more than a decade. Media reports describe violence, injuries, and even deaths Issues include labor grievances, taxation, land confiscation, and pollution. Corruption worsens common injustices and further inflames citizen anger

" ... It is important to emphasize that China's social unrest is not made up of street demonstrations demanding a new government or western-style

³ Some past decisive actions were the decollectivisation of the agricultural sector (which employed 70 percent of the work force) in a three year period; the conversion of the bulk of the collectively-owned rural enterprises to private enterprises in the 1993-1998 period; the restructuring and reduction of the state enterprise sector in the period that Zhu Rongji was in charge of economic management; and the entry into WTO, an organisation that specifies the form that economic institutions must take in order for the country to be considered a market economy.

democracy ... China's social unrest should be understood as the unavoidable side effects -- worsened by local corruption -- of successful market reforms and expanded economic and social choice ... Managing this unrest humanely requires accelerated reform of legal and social institutions with special attention to corruption"

Murray Scot Tanner (2004) reports from his examination of documents prepared by China's police that:

"Most available police analyses now blame unrest primarily on approximately the same list of social, economic, and political forces..., implicitly relegating enemy instigation [i.e. conspiracy theories] to the role of a secondary catalyst ... In terms of internal security strategy, this characterization typically, though not always, reduces reliance on coercion ...

"[Many] police see a new social logic taking hold, with disgruntled citizens increasingly convinced that peaceful protests is significantly less dangerous and not only effective but often unavoidable as a means to win concessions. Police sources now routinely quote a popular expression: 'Making a great disturbance produces a great solution. Small disturbances produce small solutions. Without a disturbance, there will be no solution.'

" ... Socioeconomic change may generate these underlying demands and clashes of social interest, but it is usually government failures that cause these contradictions to turn antagonistic and dangerous."

Clearly, the large economic dislocations caused by the reform of the planned economy, and the institutional failures in governance⁴ are important factors behind the higher frequency of large social disturbances.⁵ However, like Tanner, I am of the opinion that there is a third important factor behind the increasing readiness to resort to civil disorder, which is that the richer and more knowledgeable Chinese population now has higher expectations about the performance of the government.⁶ The implication of the third

⁴ To get a sense of how abusive the local leaders could be, the reader should consult Chen and Wu (2006) for documentation on 5 incidents in the 1990s in Anhui province that suggest that "[many] of China's underclass live under an unchanged feudal system."

⁵ For example, in 2004, there were 74,000 "mass incidents" involving 3.7 million people compared to 10,000 such incidents involving 730,000 people in 1994; Minxin Pei, "China is Paying the Price of Rising Social Unrest," *Financial Times*, November 7, 2005.

⁶ Tanner (2004) pointed out that the "data demonstrate that unrest began rising rapidly no later than 1993-1995 when the rate of economic growth exceeded 10 percent. Protests also show a ratchet effect, remaining quite high (and continuing to rise in at least two provinces) even as the rate of economic growth revived ..."

factor is that "Beijing may be kidding itself if it believes economic growth alone will bring unrest under control."⁷

The CPC is too astute to kid itself. In its search for new mechanisms to improve its performance on governance, it naturally had to consider democratic institutions as an option because democracy is the well-tested means of governance in all of the developed world. The two basic considerations for the CPC in deciding upon whether democracy should become the new centerpiece in its governance structure are:

1. whether democracy, the rule of law, and a stable income distribution comprise an indivisible combination that is necessary to ensure the social stability that will keep the economy on the high growth path to catch up with the United States (a vision which acts as the bedrock of CPC's legitimacy to rule)?
2. whether the CPC will be skilful and lucky enough to lead the democratic transition and emerge afterward as the most important political force?

By proposing the Harmonious Society program, the Hu-Wen leadership has replied affirmatively to both questions.

Objectively, this attempt by the CPC to reinvent itself is a difficult and risky undertaking. A functioning democracy requires not just free elections but also a free press that is responsible and a competent judiciary that is independent. So, how would the rank and file of CPC (who are used to exercising unchallenged power for 50 years) react to these institutional changes which produce a power-sharing arrangement that is alien and chaotic? Furthermore, a plan of gradual democratization might be initially lauded and endorsed by most segments of society but subsequent changes in social expectations about governmental responsiveness and personal freedom could easily outpace the actual developments as implemented according to the plan.⁸ So, would the CPC then be sufficiently pragmatic to accelerate the plan to avoid being run over by events?⁹ One possible answer to both these questions is that the CPC would rise to the demands of the occasions and transform itself into a social democratic party. An alternative answer

⁷ Tanner (2004).

⁸ For example, In the same meeting with the Trustees of Brookings Institution in October 2006, Premier Wen outlined a step-by-step extension of free election from the village level to the provincial level. While such a plan, if proposed, would most likely receive wide societal approval in 2006, it is possible that Chinese society in 2020 might have raised its expectations to that free election should also be held at the national level.

⁹ If such escalations in social expectations are natural, then it is likely that regardless of whether or not the CPC defines "democracy" the same way as the U.S. constitution (or the Taiwanese constitution), the form of the democracy that will finally emerge in China will be closer to the latter's definition. Perhaps, this is why the former Party Secretary Zhao Ziyang warned his colleagues in 1986-1987: "Democracy is not something socialism can avoid. The people's demand for democracy is a trend. We must meet their demand to the fullest extent." (Zhao's remarks are quoted in Minxin Pei, "How Far Has China to Go?" Financial Times, January 18, 2005.)

based on the experiences from the Soviet bloc is that CPC would split and social instability would follow.

While any answer to the two previous questions is necessarily speculative, what is much more definitive is the genesis of the program to achieve a harmonious society by 2020. The fact that the Hu-Wen leadership, which is well-known for its political caution, has embarked on this technically difficult and politically risky project suggests that it has concluded that new far-reaching reforms are less dangerous than partial reforms, and that, given the deep entrenchment of the disharmonious elements (a fact which I will document in the sections that follow), time might not be on its side. The proposition that "without significantly accelerated reforms and major new policy actions, China's rapid growth will unravel before its economy overtakes the U.S." is probably one that the Hu-Wen leadership would agree with.

The CPC's new objective of living in harmony with nature is not a choice because the Maoist adage of "man conquering nature" is just as realistic as creating prosperity through central planning.

China's fast growth in the last two decades has done substantial damage to the environment. Elizabeth Economy (2004, pp. 18-19) summarized the economic toll as follows:

"China has become home to six of the ten most polluted cities in the world.¹⁰ Acid rain now affects about one-third of China's territory, including approximately one-third of its farmland. More than 75 percent of the water in rivers flowing through China's urban areas is [unsuitable for human contact¹¹] ... deforestation and grassland degradation continue largely unabated¹² ... The [annual] economic cost of environmental degradation and pollution ... are the equivalent of 8-12 percent of China's annual gross domestic product."

Water shortage appears to pose the most immediate environmental threat to China's continued high growth.¹³ Presently, China uses 67 to 75 percent of the 800 to 900 billion

¹⁰ "300,000 people die prematurely from air pollution annually, which is twice the number for South Asia, which has a roughly comparable population" Economy, (2004, pp.85)

¹¹ Economy (2004, pp.69)

¹² "... degradation has reduced China's grassland by 30-50 percent since 1950; of the 400 million or so hectares of grassland remaining, more than 90 percent are degraded and more than 50 percent suffer moderate to severe degradation." Economy (2004, pp. 65)

¹³ I will not talk about air pollution in this paper, and this should not be taken to indicate that it is not a serious problem. Of the twenty cities in the world identified by the World Bank as having the dirtiest air, sixteen of them are located in China. It is shocking that lead and mercury poisoning are more common than expected, see. "China's economic miracle contains mercuric

cubic meters of water available annually, and present trends in water consumption would project the usage rate in 2030 to be 78 to 100 percent.¹⁴ The present water situation is actually already fairly critical because of the uneven distribution of water and the lower than normal rainfall in the past fifteen years. Right now, "[about] 400 of China's 660 cities face water shortages, with 110 of them severely short."¹⁵

The extended period of semi-drought in northern China combined with the economic and population growth have caused more and more water to be pumped from the aquifers, leading the water table to drop three to six meters a year.¹⁶ And a study using measurements from satellites (the Global Positioning System) has established that the part of China north of the 36th parallel latitude has been "sinking at the rate of 2 mm a year."¹⁷ Specifically, "Shanghai, Tianjin, and Taiyuan are the worst hit in China, with each sinking more than two meters (6.6 feet) since the early 1990s."¹⁸

The overall water situation in northern China is reflected in the fate of the Yellow River, "which started drying up every few years from 1972, did so for increasing periods of time over longer distances in the 1990s until 1997, when it dried up for almost the entire year over a stretch of several hundred kilometres."¹⁹

The utilization rate of Yellow River's water is 60 percent, far exceeding the internationally recommended utilization limit of 40 percent. All the mentioned factors have contributed to lowering the "amount of Yellow River water feeding into the Bohai Sea" from an annual 49.6 billion cubic meters in the 1960s to 14.2 billion cubic meters in the 1990s to the present 4.65 billion cubic meters.²⁰

threat," Financial Times, December 18, 2004; and "A Poison Spreads Amid China's Boom," Wall Street Journal, September 30, 2006.

¹⁴ "Top official warns of looming water crisis," South China Morning Post, November 7, 2006.

¹⁵ "China may be left high and dry," The Straits Times, January 3, 2004. The shortage is reported to be most acute in Taiyuan in Shanxi and Tianjin (Becker, 2003).

¹⁶ "Northern cities sinking as water table falls," South China Morning Post, August 11, 2001; and Becker (2003).

¹⁷ "Northern China sinking... as the south rises," The Straits Times, March 18, 2002. "Some 60 percent of the land in Tianjin municipality is plagued by subsistence" (Becker, 2003).

¹⁸ "Chinese cities, including Olympic host Beijing, slowly sinking," Agence France-Presse, July 23, 2004.

¹⁹ "China may be left high and dry," The Straits Times, January 3, 2004.

²⁰ "Top official warns of looming water crisis," South China Morning Post, November 7, 2006.

Water shortage and the increasing pollution of what water there is²¹ are not the only serious environmental threats to the economy of northern China. The desert is expanding (possibly, at an accelerating pace), and man appears to be the chief culprit. The State Forestry Administration reported that 28 percent of the country's land mass was affected by desertification in 1999, and 37 percent was affected by soil erosion. The report identified about 65 percent of the desert as having been created by "over-cultivation, overgrazing, deforestation and poor irrigation practices."²² The rate of desertification is 3,900 square miles a year,²³ an annual loss of a land area twice the size of Delaware. One direct upshot is a great increase in the frequency of major sandstorms²⁴ that play "havoc with aviation in northern China for weeks, cripples high-tech manufacturing and worsens respiratory problems as far downstream as Japan, the Korean peninsula and even the western United States."²⁵ In the assessment of Chen Lai, Vice-Minister of water resources: "It will take nearly half a century for China to control the eroded land and rehabilitate their damaged ecosystems in accordance with China's present erosion-control capabilities."²⁶

While northern China has been getting drier and experiencing desertification, nature as if in compensation (or in mockery) has been blasting southern China with heavier rains, causing heavy floods which have brought considerable deaths and property damage almost every summer since 1998. The sad possibility is that the northern droughts and southern floods may not be independent events but a combination caused by pollution that originates in China. I will have more to say about this possibility later.

²¹ Examples of serious water pollution are "Main rivers facing a 'pollution crisis' ," South China Morning Post, June 6, 2003; "Booming cities polluting scarce water supplies," The Straits Times, September 18, 2003; "Rivers Run Black, and Chinese Die of Cancer," New York Times, September 12, 2004; "'Cancer villages' pay heavy price for economic progress," South China Morning Post, May 8, 2006; and "Rules Ignored, Toxic Sludge Sinks Chinese Village," New York Times, September 4, 2006.

²² "Quarter of land now desert -- and Man mostly to blame," South China Morning Post, January 30, 2002.

²³ This is average of the 3,800 square miles reported in "Billion of Trees Planted, and Nary a Dent in the Desert," New York Times, April 11, 2004, and the 4,014 square miles reported in "Quarter of land now desert -- and Man mostly to blame," South China Morning Post, January 30, 2002.

²⁴ The number of major sandstorms in China was 5 in the 1950-59 period, 8 in 1960-69, 13 in 1970-79, 14 in 1980-89, 23 in 1990-99, 14 in 2000, 26 in 2001, 16 in 2002, and 11 in 2003 according to Yin Pumin, "Sands of Time Running Out: Desertification continues to swallow up 'healthy' land at an alarming rate," Beijing Review, June 16, 2005.

²⁵ "Billion of Trees Planted, and Nary a Dent in the Desert," New York Times, April 11, 2004

²⁶ "Quarter of land now desert -- and Man mostly to blame," South China Morning Post, January 30, 2002.

Clearly, without water, growth cannot endure. And in response, the government begun implementation in 2002 of Mao Zedong's 1952 proposal that three canals be built to bring water from the south to the north: an eastern coastal canal from Jiangsu to Shandong and Tianjin, a central canal from Hubei to Beijing and Tianjin, and a western route from Tibet to the northwestern provinces, and each canal will be over a thousand mile long.²⁷ Construction of the eastern canal (which would build upon a part of the existing Grand Canal) started in 2002, and the central canal in 2003. Work on the western canal is scheduled to begin in 2010 upon completion of the first stage of the central canal.

The scale of this water transfer project is simply unprecedented anywhere:

"Together, the three channels would pump about 48 billion litres of water a year -- enough to fill New York's taps for a quarter century. Only a tenth as much water flows through the next-largest water diversion project, in California."²⁸

This massive construction project will not only be technically challenging but also extremely sensitive politically and fraught with environmental risks. The central canal will have to tunnel through the foot of the huge dyke that contains the elevated Yellow River, and the western canal will have to transport water through regions susceptible to freezing. The number of people displaced by the Three Gorges Dam was 1.1 million, and this water transfer scheme is a bigger project. The enlargement of the Danjiangkou Dam (in Hubei) alone to enable it to be the source of the central canal will already displace 330,000 people.²⁹ Moving people involuntarily is certainly potentially explosive politically. The project could also be politically explosive on the international front as well. One plan for the western canal calls for "damming the Brahmaputra river and diverting 200 billion cubic metres of water annually to feed the ageing Yellow river," a scenario that is reportedly "giving sleepless nights to the Indian government ... [which is concerned that this 'Great Western Water Diversion Project] could have immense impact on lower riparian states like India and Bangladesh."³⁰

The environmental damages caused by this project are most serious for the central and western canals. In the case of the central canal,

"environmental experts [in Wuhan where the Hanjiang River flows into the Yangtze] are worried about ... [whether the annual extraction of eight billion cubic metres of water could affect] the river's ability to flush out the

²⁷ "Ambitious canal network aims to meet growing needs," South China Morning Post, November 27, 2002.

²⁸ "China approves project to divert water to arid north," South China Morning Post, November 26, 2002.

²⁹ "Massive scheme aims to quench China's thirst," South China Morning Post, May 12, 2003; a lower estimate of 300,000 is given in "China Will Move Waters to Quench Thirst of Cities," New York Times, August 27, 2002.

³⁰ "China's river plan worries India," Times Of India, October 23, 2006.

massive pollution flows released by the thousands of factories and industries along the tributaries ... The reduced flows could increase the frequency of toxic red algae blooms on the Yangtze near the confluence with the Hanjiang River. There have already been three blooms ... [by May of that year, 2003]."³¹

The western canal has generated a lively controversy. Some scientists are contending that it "would cause more ecological damage than good"³² because it "could cause dramatic climate changes ... [and] the changed flow and water temperature would lead to a rapid decline in fish and other aquatic species."³³

Many opponents of the water transfer project have argued that water conservation could go a long way toward addressing this problem because currently a tremendous amount of the water is just wasted, e.g. only 50 percent of China's industrial water is recycled compared to 80 percent in the industrialized countries,³⁴ and China consumes 3,860 cubic meters of water to produce \$10,000 of GDP compared to the world average of 965 cubic meters.³⁵ The most important reason for this inefficient use of water lies in the fact that "China's farmers, factories and householders enjoy some of the cheapest water in the world"³⁶ even though China's per capita endowment of water is a quarter of the world average.³⁷

I now want to raise the unhappy possibility that neither the price mechanism nor the three canals can solve China's water problem and make its growth sustainable unless the present mode of economic development is drastically amended. There is now persuasive evidence that China's voluminous emission of black carbon (particles of incompletely combusted carbon) has contributed significantly to the shift to a climate pattern that produces northern droughts and southern floods of increasing intensity.³⁸ The biggest source of what has been called the "Asian brown cloud" in the popular media is burning of coal and bio-fuels in China. If the pollution-induced climate change analysis is valid, it means that:

1. China's massive reforestation program will not succeed in reducing sandstorms in the north because trees cannot survive if the amount of rainfall is declining over time; and

³¹ "Massive scheme aims to quench China's thirst," South China Morning Post, May 12, 2003

³² "China Water Plan Sows Discord," Wall Street Journal, October 20, 2006.

³³ "Chinese water plan opens rift between science, state," American-Statesman, September 10, 2006.

³⁴ "China may be left high and dry," The Straits Times, January 3, 2004.

³⁵ "Alert sounded over looming water shortage," The Straits Times, June 10, 2004.

³⁶ "Water wastage will soon leave China high and dry," South China Morning Post, March 8, 2006.

³⁷ "Alert sounded over looming water shortage," The Straits Times, June 10, 2004.

³⁸ Menon, Hansen, Nazarenko, and Luo (2002), and Streets (2006).

2. the number of south-north canals will have to be increased over time in order to meet the demand for water in northern China; until China reduces its emission of black carbon significantly (presuming no new large emissions from neighboring countries (like Indian)).

The general point is that effective policy-making on the environmental front is a very difficult task because much of the science about the problem is not known. For example, China must no longer select its water strategy and its energy strategy separately. A systems approach in policymaking is necessary because the interaction among the outcomes from the different sectoral policies can generate serious unintended environmental damage. If part of the shift in China's climate is integral to the global climate change, then a sustainable development policy would require a complete rethink about the location of population centers, and types of enhanced international cooperation on global environmental management.

The uncomfortable reality for China is that unless ecological balance is restored within the medium-term, environmental limits could choke off further economic growth. And the uncomfortable reality for the rest of the world is that the negative consequences of large-scale environmental damage within a geographically large country are seldom confined within that country's borders. The continued march of China's desertification first brought more frequent sand storms to Beijing and then, beginning in April 2001, sent yellow dust clouds not only across the sea to Japan and Korea but also across the ocean to the United States. China's environmental management is a concern not only for China's welfare but also for global welfare as well.

In discussing the environmental aspects of the water transfer plan, it is very relevant for the Carnegie China debate (in which this paper is a part of) to note some important implications. There is now an open controversy in China involving a key government infrastructure project, and that this controversy is not limited to members of the technocracy. The very public nature of the controversy and the involvement of more than just scientists, engineers and economists in it reveal how very far social attitudes have progressed. The important point is that this change in social expectations will require any government in China to live in harmony with nature. However, any government will have great difficulties in doing so even if it wants to because a green growth policy involves a systems approach, and scientific understanding of many ecological sub-systems and the nature of their interactions is still rather incomplete,

Final Remarks

It might seem surprising to hear that China needs fundamental and comprehensive reform of its social, political, and economic institutions when it has experienced high growth for almost 30 years. Why meddle with success? Why fix it if it is not broken?

There are two parts to the answer. The first part is that "it is broken." The reason why growth has stayed so high for so long is because the government has continually changed policies to keep marketising the economy, deepening integration into the international economy, and, since the mid-1990s, reducing the discrimination against the private sector. In short, policies changes were the reason for keeping past growth high, and they will have to continue if future growth is to remain high.

The second part of the answer is that satisfaction with the status quo depends inversely on the level of expectations, and the expectations of the Chinese people and government have risen along with income, and, more importantly, risen along with its growing knowledge of the outside world. A Chinese government that consistently fails to produce results in line with the rise in social expectations runs the increasing risk of being challenged by another faction within the CPC. However, there has not been just rising expectations but also diversification of expectations. In this new situation, the greater use of democratic procedures is a natural way to mediate the differences in social expectations.

In today's China, doing more of the same economic policies will not produce the same salubrious results on every front because the development problems have changed. For example, in the first phase of economic development, the provision of more jobs (through economic deregulation) was enough to lower poverty significantly. At the present, many of the people who are still poor require more than just job opportunities, they need an infusion of assistance (e.g. empower them with human capital through education and health interventions) first in order to be able to take up these job opportunities. This is why the poverty rate (defined by a poverty line of a daily income of US\$1) in China has stayed at about 11 percent since 1998.

Worse yet, it appears that after 1998, the post-1978 development strategy has not able to prevent the poor from getting poorer. Woo, Li, Yue, Wu and Xu (2004) found that the average income of the rural poor fell from 72 cents in 1999 to 63 cents in 2002; and a recent World Bank³⁹ study found that the average income of the poorest 10 percent of China's population fell 2.4 percent in the 2001-2003 period. As the national average income went up in the 1998-2003 period, the implication is that the traditional trickling-down mechanism has morphed into a trickling-up mechanism. Development policymaking has now become even more challenging.

³⁹ "China's poorest worse off after economic boom," Financial Times, November 21, 2006 reported a 2.4 percent drop; and "In China, Growth at Whose Cost," The Wall Street Journal, November 22, 2006 reported a 2.5 percent drop.

On the sustainable growth front, proper management of the environment has now become critical if China is to continue its industrialisation process. Pan Yue, deputy head of the State Environmental Protection Agency, summed up the present situation in China very well when he said:

"If we continue on this path of traditional industrial civilisation, there is no chance that we will have sustainable development. China's population, resources, environment have already reached the limits of their capacity to cope. Sustainable development and new sources of energy are the only road that we can take."⁴⁰

Development policymaking has indeed become even more challenging.

The present social, economic and political ills of China have been perceptively analysed by Minxin Pei (2006) as coming from being in a *trapped transition*, "a transformative phase in which half-finished reforms have transferred power to new, affluent elites"⁴¹ who are using crony capitalism to generate high economic growth that is not sustainable. The Harmonious Society program (with its emphasis on democracy, rule of law, justice, equality, and harmony with nature), should be recognised as the attempt by the Hu-Wen leadership to take China away from its present state of *trapped transition* to a sustainable high growth path. Given the heightening social contradictions produced by the trapped transition, and the opposition from those profiting from the status quo, the Hu-Wen faction has only a limited window of opportunity to push its program through before social unrest, heavier political infighting and ecological limits push China off the high-growth path. If the Hu-Wen faction indeed means what it says, which I believe it does⁴², the world would do well to wish this group success because there can be no harmonious world without a harmonious China.

⁴⁰ Quoted in James Kynge, "Modern China is facing an ecological crisis," Financial Times, July 26, 2004.

⁴¹ Minxin Pei, "China is Stagnating in Its 'Trapped Transition'," Financial Times, February 24, 2006.

⁴² I am hence more optimistic (naive?) than Minxin Pei ("China is Stagnating in Its 'Trapped Transition'," Financial Times, February 24, 2006) who is of the opinion that:

"In a 'trapped transition', the ruling elites have little interest in real reforms. They may pledge reforms, but most such pledges are lip service or tactical adjustments aimed at maintaining the status quo."

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