

Politics of China

Politics 141 • 53141 • Winter 2010
University of California, Santa Cruz
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Course web site: http://ic.ucsc.edu/services/learning_management_system/
Course meetings: Tues. & Thurs. 8a to 9:45a in Engineering 2, room 194
Office hours: Tues. & Thurs. 10a to 11:30a in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex, and by appointment
Date of this syllabus: December 18, 2009. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview:

China is home to more than one-fifth of the world's people. For well over a century and a half its history has continually intersected with that of the United States in geopolitics, in trade, in war, and in flows of migrants, culture, capital, and ideas. This course aims to help the student acquire an understanding of this country's tortuous political development. It devotes six weeks to an overview of China's political history, providing a quick primer on the late imperial state and the Republican Era, then covering the rise to power of Mao's Communist Party, its efforts to transform Chinese society, the Cultural Revolution, and the tensions and achievements of the reform era. It also explores the institutions through which China is governed and several themes of current politics: political participation (including village elections and popular protests), associations and civil society, property rights and economic development, and other major policy challenges. No background in the study of Asia is assumed for this undergraduate course.

Readings:

The book below is on reserve at McHenry Library, and is also available for purchase at the Bay Tree bookstore. If you wish to own the book but want to try to save a little money, you might try the used books search on Amazon.com or other such services.

- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse: Portrait of a Village Leader in China, 1923-1995* (1996, ISBN: 0-8133-3131-5)

The many other required readings will be available on the course WebCT site.

Assignments and Ground Rules:

- Please read the following items carefully before deciding to stay enrolled in this course.
- Class attendance is a firm requirement. Attendance will be taken at every session at the beginning of class. I am quite understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if verifiable documentation is provided. See my web page for the absence form, which must be printed, filled out, and signed. Two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every unexcused absence. To put that in perspective, the difference between a B+ and a C+ is ten percentage points.
- This course involves a substantial amount of reading and you are required to do it. Readings must be completed before the class meeting for which they are assigned. Note that although I have strived to make it easy for you to find the readings, it is your responsibility to obtain and read these items. In particular, download the electronic readings ahead of time.
- You must use and regularly check your official email account, i.e. the one that AIS or MyUCSC sends mail to.
- Self-introduction: please send me an email in the first week of class explaining your year in school; college; major; prior courses in Asian languages, history, or politics; all international travel; and anything else you'd like me to know about you.
- Map quiz (in class, Thursday, January 14, 2009) — 5 percent of course grade
- Class participation and pop quizzes — 20 percent
- In-class midterm examination (Tuesday, February 2) — 30 percent
- Final exam — 45 percent
- The percentages above are subject to adjustment. All grades are given on a 0-100 scale, where 90-100 is an A,

80-89 is a B, etc. A-range grades are reserved for work of exceptionally high quality.

Week 1: Introduction and the imperial system

Tuesday, January 5: Handing out this syllabus only. **Attendance not required today.**

- Usually we cover introductory material on the first day, but this year is an exception.

Thursday, January 7: Lecture / Discussion

- Seybolt, preface and pp. 1-18
- Ted C. Fishman, "The Chinese Century," *New York Times Magazine*, July 4, 2004
- Arthur Kroeber, "Rising China and the Liberal West," *China Economic Quarterly* (March 2008)
- Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 6th edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 45-80. This is an overview of political, economic and social institutions in the Qing dynasty, 1644-1911.
- Familiarize yourselves with the map of China (note that there is also a map in the Seybolt text). Study the map terms found on the WebCT site. You may need to make use of the web (even Google Maps) or printed atlases to find some of them. The quiz is next week.

Week 2: 1911 Revolution; Kuomintang; rise of the CCP

Tuesday, January 12: Lecture / Discussion

- John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 235-293

Thursday, January 14: Lecture / Discussion and **Map Quiz**

- John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 294-341
- Seybolt, pp. 19-30

Week 3: Socialist transformation and the Great Leap Forward

Tuesday, January 19: Lecture / Discussion

- Frederick Teiwes, "The Establishment and Consolidation of the New Regime, 1949-57," in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (2nd ed.), pp. 5-86
- Seybolt, pp. 31-50

Thursday, January 21: Lecture / Discussion

- Kenneth Lieberthal, "The Great Leap Forward and the Split in the Yan'an Leadership, 1958-65," in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (2nd ed.), pp. 87-147
- Seybolt, pp. 51-64
- Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), pp. 130-149

Week 4: The Cultural Revolution

Tuesday, January 26: Lecture / Discussion

- Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, "Introduction," *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 1-13
- Maurice Meisner, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969," *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, 3rd edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999), pp. 312-351

Thursday, January 28: Lecture / Discussion

- Seybolt, pp. 65-76
- Elizabeth J. Perry and Xun Li, "Rebels: The Workers' General Headquarters," in *Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Cultural Revolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 29-69

Week 5: Deng Xiaoping and the early reform era

Tuesday, February 2: Lecture and **In-Class Midterm Exam**

- Maurice Meisner, "The Aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and the Close of the Maoist Era, 1969-1976," *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, 3rd edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999), pp. 376-410

Thursday, February 4: Lecture / Discussion

- Maurice Meisner, "The Rise of Deng Xiaoping and the Critique of Maoism," and "Market Reforms and the Development of Capitalism," in *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, 3rd edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999), pp. 427-482
- Seybolt, pp. 77-88, on decollectivization

Week 6: The crisis of 1989, and overview of the post-1989 era

Tuesday, February 9: Lecture / Discussion

- Richard Baum, "The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese Politics in the 1980s," in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 431-467
- Craig Calhoun, "Cultural Crisis," "Claiming Democracy," and "To Be Worthy of the Cause," chapters 6, 7, and conclusion of *Neither Gods Nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 213-270

Thursday, February 11: Lecture / Discussion

- Cheng Li, "The Rise of Technocrats: Elite Transformation in the Reform Era," in *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), pp. 25-50
- Seybolt, pp. 89-130

Week 7: Structures of governance and economic development

Tuesday, February 16: Lecture / Discussion

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, 2nd edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), pp. 171-242
- Richard McGregor, "The Party Organiser," *Financial Times* (September 30, 2009)
- Lily L. Tsai, "The Struggle for Village Public Goods Provision: Informal Institutions of Accountability in Rural China," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Merle Goldman, eds., *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), chapter 6

Thursday, February 18: Lecture / Discussion

- James Fallows, "China Makes, the World Takes," *The Atlantic* (July/August 2007), <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200707/shenzhen>
- Barry Naughton, "Growth and Structural Change," in *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2007), pp. 139-159
- Eric Thun, "Shanghai: A Local Developmental State," in *Changing Lanes in China: Foreign Direct Investment, Local Governments, and Auto Sector Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter four, pp. 100-135

Week 8: Political participation and the multiple forms of power in today's China

Tuesday, February 23: Lecture / Discussion

- *Washington Post* series of articles by John Pomfret on the nature of power in China (2002-3)
 - "One Corrupt City Reflects Scourge Plaguing China," March 6, 2002
 - "Band Hits Sour Note in China," June 10, 2002
 - "For China's Local Bigwigs, New Money Means Power," July 7, 2002
 - "Bringing Revolution to China's Villages," September 15, 2002
 - "In U.S.-China Firm, a Struggle for Power," November 18, 2002

- “Evangelicals on the Rise in Land of Mao,” December 24, 2002
- “Defense Lawyers in China Find State is Judge and Jury,” December 31, 2002
- Evan Osnos, “The Forbidden Zone,” *The New Yorker* (July 20, 2009)
- Rebecca MacKinnon, “Flatter World and Thicker Walls? Blogs, Censorship and Civic Discourse in China,” *Public Choice* (2007) vol. 134, pp. 31-46
- George J. Gilboy and Benjamin L. Read, “Political and Social Reform in China: Alive and Walking,” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 31 No. 3 (2008), pp. 143-64

Thursday, February 25: Lecture / Discussion

- Kevin J. O’Brien and Rongbin Han, “Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China,” *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 18 No. 60 (June, 2009), pp. 359-378
- William Hurst, “Understanding Contentious Collective Action by Chinese Laid-Off Workers: The Importance of Regional Political Economy,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 39 No. 2 (2004), pp. 94-120
- Laura M. Luehrmann, “Facing Citizen Complaints in China, 1951-1996,” *Asian Survey* Vol. 43 No. 5 (2003), pp. 845-66

Week 9: Civil society and social welfare

Tuesday, March 2: Lecture / Discussion

- Andrew C. Mertha, *China’s Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 94-149
- Benjamin L. Read, “Assessing Variation in Civil Society Organizations: China’s Homeowner Associations in Comparative Perspective,” *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 41 No. 9 (2008), pp. 1240-65

Thursday, March 4: Lecture / Discussion

- Mark Frazier, “After Pension Reform: Navigating the ‘Third Rail’ in China,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Summer 2004, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 45-70
- Jane Duckett, “State, Collectivism and Worker Privilege: A Study of Urban Health Insurance Reform,” *The China Quarterly* 2004 No. 177 pp. 155-173

Week 10: Taiwan and Tibet

Tuesday, March 9: Lecture / Discussion

- Shelley Rigger, “Political Reform under Chiang Ching-kuo (1972-1988),” chapter 5 of *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 103-130
- Tun-jen Cheng, “Strategizing Party Adaptation: The Case of the Kuomintang,” *Party Politics* Vol. 12, No. 3 (2006), pp. 367-394

Thursday, March 11: Lecture / Discussion

- Melvyn C. Goldstein, “The United States, Tibet, and the Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 8, No. 3 (2005), pp. 145-164
- Barry Sautman, “Protests in Tibet and Separatism: The Olympics and Beyond,” *China Left Review* No. 1 (2008)
- Robert Barnett, “Thunder from Tibet,” *New York Review of Books* Vol. 55 No. 9 (May 29, 2008)

Final exam: Thursday, March 18, 2010, 8a-11a