

Politics of China

Politics 141 • 62169 • Spring 2019
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

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Instructor's web site:	https://benread.net
Course web site:	https://canvas.ucsc.edu/
Course meetings:	Tues. & Thurs., 11:40a to 1:15p, in Rachel Carson Academic 252
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Date of this syllabus:	<u>April 2, 2019</u> . 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, goods, and ideas. This course aims to help the student acquire an understanding of this country's tortuous political development and its recent rise to global prominence. The first three sessions provide essential background to the People's Republic, and the next six sessions cover essential episodes in the political history of the PRC, looking at the Communist Party's efforts to transform Chinese society, the Cultural Revolution, and the tensions and achievements of the early reform era, including the 1989 protest movement. The second half of the course explores the institutions through which China is governed and several themes of current politics: the party and its leadership, political participation (e.g., village elections and popular protests), media and public opinion, associations and civil society, and China's state-capitalist mode of economic development. We also look at the special regions of Hong Kong, Tibet, and Xinjiang. No background in the study of Asia is assumed for this undergraduate course.

Readings:

The book below can be read online as an e-book via the UCSC Library website, and is also available for purchase at the Bay Tree bookstore (and, of course, at online stores.) I recommend that you acquire a copy right away.

- William A. Joseph (ed.), *Politics in China: An Introduction*, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, ISBN: 978-0199339426). Be sure to get this edition, and not the first edition.

The many other required readings will be available on the course Canvas site (<http://its.ucsc.edu/canvas/index.html>).

Assignments and Ground Rules:

- Please read the following carefully before deciding to stay enrolled in this course.
- **Self-introduction:** please send me an email in the first week of class introducing yourself. You may wish to lay out such basic facts as your year in school; college; major; prior courses (if any) in Asian languages, history, or politics; international travel experience (if any); future career interests. I'd also like to know what you're most excited about in school and in your life; any challenges you're facing; and anything else you would like me to know about you. It can be useful for me to know such things, but really I am just curious to know whatever you would like to tell me about yourself.
- **Attendance:** Attending class, on time, is firmly required. I'm not indifferent to whether you're there or not. Quite the contrary: it matters a lot to me, and more importantly, to you. Your being there helps you learn and makes the class work. Attendance will be taken at the beginning of each class. Good attendance is rewarded with a modest bonus. Unexcused absences will lower your quarter grade. 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. It is entirely possible to fail the course through non-attendance;

this has happened before. I am quite understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences. If you miss class, explain the circumstances via email in advance if possible.

- **Classroom participation and etiquette:**
 - Come prepared for class, and contribute actively to class discussion. Participation in class counts for part of your class grade.
 - Please do not use electronic devices (computers, tablets, phones) in class.
 - Please use the bathroom prior to the start of each session, and try not to disrupt class by getting up at other times except in cases of utmost urgency. If you need to leave class early, please let me know ahead of time.
- **Reading:** 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 (except the first day). 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. I will circulate discussion questions at least 24 hours before class to help guide you and to set the stage for in-class discussion.
- **Email:** You must use and regularly check your official UCSC email account, i.e., the one that AIS sends mail to. Make sure Canvas sends announcements to this account.
- **Grading:** Most assignments are scored on a 0-100 scale, where 90-100 is an A, 80-89 is a B, etc. Grades of A minus or higher are reserved for work of exceptionally high quality. The grade of B is for work that is truly good although not great. The grade of C is for minimally acceptable work.
- **Grade weighting:** Your final grade for the quarter will be calculated per the following, though the exact percentages are subject to adjustment.
 - Map quiz (in class, Thursday, April 11, 2019): **5 percent** of course grade
 - Class participation: **20 percent**
 - Pop quizzes: **25 percent**
 - Take-home midterm examination (due Saturday, April 27, 2019, 5pm): **20 percent**
 - Final exam (Tuesday, June 11, 2019, noon to 3:00pm): **30 percent**
- **Time commitment:** The UCSC Academic Senate reminds us: “Systemwide Senate Regulation 760 specifies that one academic credit corresponds to three hours of work per week for students during a 10-week quarter. This means that the average workload for a 5-credit course is 150 hours or 15 hours per week.” With this in mind, expect to spend each week, on average:
 - Lectures and discussion: 3 hours and 10 minutes
 - Reading, note-taking, the take-home midterm, and review for the final exam: 11 hours and 50 minutes, i.e., something like 5 hours for each class session.
- **Accommodations:** UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. We would also like to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. We encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu.
- **Course materials:**
 - **Slides and audio recording:** Within a few days after each lecture I will post the slides and an audio recording. The recording is mainly in case you had to miss class for some good reason. Please bear in mind that these are for your personal use only and shouldn't be distributed or posted on the public internet. The Academic Senate has asked faculty to include a note to this effect, as follows:
 - **Warning from the university about distribution of lecture notes and materials:** Please note that students may be disciplined for selling, preparing, or distributing course lecture notes, including notes created independently by students. The unauthorized sale of lecture notes, handouts, readers or other course materials is a violation of campus policies as well as state law. Violation by distribution to the public may also constitute copyright infringement subject to legal action.

Part I / Fundamentals and Pre-PRC Background

Tuesday, April 2: [First Meeting]

- William A. Joseph, “Studying Chinese Politics,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 3–26 [partial chapter]
- Manfred Elfstrom, “Inside China: Xi’s Risky Power Play,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Spring 2019, <https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/52/inside-china-xis-risky-power-play/>

Optional further reading:

- Arthur Kroeber, “Rising China and the Liberal West,” *China Economic Quarterly* (March 2008)

Thursday, April 4: [Imperial System, Confucianism, and Colonialism]

- R. Keith Schoppa, “From Empire to People’s Republic,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 41–53 [partial chapter]
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, preface and pp. 1–18
- Go to “Map and map quiz material” under “Resources” in the Canvas site. Familiarize yourselves with the maps of China, and study the map terms. You may need to make use of the web (even Google Maps) or printed atlases to find some of them. The map quiz will likely require somewhat more preparation than you expect.

Tuesday, April 9: [Republican China and the Communist Insurgency]

- R. Keith Schoppa, “From Empire to People’s Republic,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 53–69 [partial chapter]
- John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 294–341
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 19–30

Part II / Political History of the People’s Republic of China, 1949–1989

Thursday, April 11: [Socialist Transformation] [Map quiz]

- Frederick Teiwes, “Mao Zedong in Power,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 72–87 [partial chapter]
- William A. Joseph, “Ideology and China’s Political Development,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 5, pp. 149–174 [partial chapter]
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 31–49 (chapters 2 and 3)

Tuesday, April 16: [The Great Leap Forward]

- Frederick Teiwes, “Mao Zedong in Power,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 87–96 [partial chapter]
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 51–64
- Yang Jisheng, “Anxious in Anhui,” chapter 8 of *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958–1962* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), pp. 269–319

Thursday, April 18: [The Cultural Revolution (1)] [Take-home midterm assignment will be handed out]

- Frederick Teiwes, “Mao Zedong in Power,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 96–103 [partial chapter]
- Andrew G. Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 88–122
- 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

Tuesday, April 23: [The Cultural Revolution (2)]

- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 65–76
- Andrew G. Walder, “Bending the Arc of Chinese History: The Cultural Revolution’s Paradoxical Legacy,” *The China Quarterly* 227 (September 2016), pp. 613–631
- Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik and Cui Jinke, “Whodunnit? Memory and Politics before the 50th Anniversary

- of the Cultural Revolution,” *The China Quarterly* 227 (September 2016), pp. 734–751
- Frederick Teiwes, “Mao Zedong in Power,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 103–116 [partial chapter]

Thursday, April 25: [Deng Xiaoping and the Early Reforms]

- Bruce Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and his Successors,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 119–129 [partial chapter]
- Zhao Ziyang, selections from *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang*, translated and edited by Bao Pu, Renee Chiang, and Adi Ignatius (Simon & Schuster, 2009): pp. 91–110, 161–182
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 77–88 and 89–98, on decollectivization and the state of the village as of the late 1980s

Saturday, April 27, 5pm: [Deadline to turn in take-home midterm (via email attachment)]

Tuesday, April 30: [No class; instructor will be attending UC Education Abroad Program training in Santa Barbara]

- Peter J. Seybolt, *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse*, pp. 99–130

Thursday, May 2: [The Protest Movement and Political Crisis of 1989]

- Prior to class, watch the 3-hour documentary “Gate of Heavenly Peace” (1995), by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon. It’s available online (Part I: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Gtt2JxmQtg> Part II: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o0lgc4fWkWI>) and in the McHenry Library media center.
- We will begin class with a quiz on the documentary.
- Bruce Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and his Successors,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 129–132 [partial chapter, giving a bare-bones overview]

Optional further reading:

- 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

Part III / Key Themes and Topics in Contemporary Chinese Politics

Tuesday, May 7: [The CCP’s Post-1989 Recovery]

- Louisa Lim, “Student,” chapter 4 of *The People’s Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 83–104
- Bruce Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and his Successors,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 132–144 [partial chapter]
- William A. Joseph, “Ideology and China’s Political Development,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 5, pp. 174–188 [partial chapter]
- Bruce Dickson, “Introduction: The CCP’s Strategy for Survival,” in *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1–29

Thursday, May 9: [Structures of Governance, and Xi Jinping’s China]

- Cheng Li, “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power,” in *Politics in China*, pp. 192–223
- Elizabeth C. Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State* (Oxford University Press, 2018), chapters 1 “Introduction” and 2 “Heart of Darkness,” pp. 1–54

Optional further reading:

- Evan Osnos, “Born Red,” *The New Yorker*, April 6, 2015 [Profile of Xi Jinping]
- Richard McGregor, “The Keeper of the Files: The Party and Personnel,” in *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010), pp. 70–103

Tuesday, May 14: [China’s Political Economy (1): Drivers of Growth and Competitiveness]

- David Zweig, “China’s Political Economy,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 8
- Arthur R. Kroeber, “Industry and the Rise of the Export Economy” and “Urbanization and Infrastructure,” chapters 3 and 4 of *China’s Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- James Fallows, “China Makes, the World Takes,” *The Atlantic* (July/August 2007), <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200707/shenzhen>

Thursday, May 16: [China’s Political Economy (2): What Remains of Socialism?]

- Barry Naughton, “Is China Socialist?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2017), pp. 3–24
- Martin King Whyte, “China’s Post-Socialist Inequality,” *Current History* (September 2012), pp. 229–234
- Ching Kwan Lee, “Precarization or Empowerment? Reflections on Recent Labor Unrest in China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 75:2 (May 2016), pp. 317–333

Optional further reading and viewing:

- Charlotte Goodburn, “The End of the Hukou System? Not Yet,” China Policy Institute Policy Paper (2014)
- Leslie T. Chang, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2009)
- Documentary: “We the Workers,” (2017) trailer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ndY1294mVDk>
- Documentary: “Plastic China,” (2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3Oz7Yp40EY>
- Arthur R. Kroeber, *China’s Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016

Tuesday, May 21: [Media, Internet, and Public Opinion]

- Elizabeth C. Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State* (Oxford University Press, 2018), chapter 3 “Chinanet,” pp. 55–90
- Bruce Dickson, “Generating Support,” chapter 5 of *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 213–259

Optional further reading:

- Evan Osnos, “The Forbidden Zone,” *The New Yorker* (July 20, 2009) [on Hu Shuli and Caijing magazine]
- Michael Wines, “China’s Censors Misfire in Abuse-of-Power Case,” *New York Times*, November 17, 2010 [About the “My father is Li Gang” affair]

Thursday, May 23: [Contention and Civil Society]

- William Hurst, “Urban China: Change and Contention,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 10
- Andrew G. Walder, “Unruly Stability: Why China’s Regime Has Staying Power,” *Current History* (September 2009), pp. 257–263
- Diana Fu, “Disguised Collective Action in China,” *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 50, no. 4 (2017)

Optional further reading:

- Andrew C. Mertha, *China’s Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Tuesday, May 28: [Local Elections and Democracy]

- Prior to class, watch the documentary “Wukan: China’s Democracy Experiment,” created by Lynn Lee and James Leong and broadcast on Al Jazeera. It’s in six parts, each about 20 minutes. The first is at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mglQckQGwbG>.
- We will begin class with a quiz on the documentary and on the following reading:
- Bruce Dickson, “Defining Democracy,” chapter 6 of *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 260–299

Optional further reading:

- John James Kennedy, “Rural China: Reform and Resistance,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 9
- 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

- Jacques deLisle, “What’s Happened To Democracy In China? Elections, Law And Political Reform” *Foreign Policy Research Institute* (April 2010)

Thursday, May 30: [The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region]

- Sonny Shiu-hing Lo, “Hong Kong,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 17
- Sebastian Veg, “Legalistic and Utopian: Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement,” *New Left Review* 92 (March/April 2015), pp 54–73

Tuesday, June 4: [Xinjiang and Tibet]

- Gardner Bovingdon, “Xinjiang,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 16
- James Millward, “‘Reeducating’ Xinjiang’s Muslims,” *The New York Review of Books*, February 7, 2019
- Robert Barnett, “Tibet,” in *Politics in China*, chapter 15
- Evan Osnos, “The Next Incarnation,” *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010

Optional further reading:

- *The Economist*, “Who is Chinese? The Upper Han,” November 19, 2016
- James Leibold, “The Spectre of Insecurity: The CCP’s Mass Internment Strategy in Xinjiang,” *China Leadership Monitor*, March 1, 2019

Thursday, June 6: [Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future]

- A debate in the pages of *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013):
 - Eric X. Li, “The Life of the Party”
 - Yasheng Huang, “Democratize or Die: Why China’s Communists Face Reform or Revolution”

Optional further reading:

- Arthur Kroeber, “Here Is Xi’s China: Get Used to It” (December 2014)
- David Shambaugh, “The Coming Chinese Crack-up” (March 2015)

Final exam: Tuesday, June 11, 2019, noon–3:00pm

- Note that the final exam must be taken at the above time; alternative times cannot be arranged.