

**The University of Toronto**  
**Department of Political Science**

**POL 300H Topics in Comparative Politics: Contemporary Politics of China**  
**Fall Term 2010**

**Lectures:** Thursday, 10-12pm

**Venue:** Alumni Hall (AH) 107, 121 St. Joseph Street

**Instructor:** Professor Lynette Ong

**Office Hours:** Thursday, 2-4pm (at Sidney Smith Hall, Office# 3053)

**Contact Information:** [Lynette.Ong@utoronto.ca](mailto:Lynette.Ong@utoronto.ca); Tel: 416-978 6804

**Course Description:**

This course covers topics of interest for those who want to gain an enhanced understanding of the politics of China, beginning from the Communist takeover in 1949 through to the reform period of the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The emphasis in the pre-reform era is on defining historical events, namely the famine caused by the “Great Leap Forward” and social disturbance during the Cultural Revolution. In the post-reform period, the course places an emphasis on understanding the politics behind the reform, and how the reform affects the dynamics of state-society relations. A comparison of the relative importance between elite politics and formal political institutions is another theme of the course. The course will also address aspects of China’s diplomacy related to its growing economic power.

I use **Blackboard Academic Suite** to communicate with students enrolled in the course. It is the students’ responsibility to check the course site on blackboard regularly to obtain updated information on the course. **All questions related to the course should be raised through the blackboard site. Only questions of personal nature should be directed to my email address. I will respond to your questions raised in Blackboard more quickly than those that go directly to my email address.**

**Requirements:**

<i>Requirements</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Format</i>	<i>Due Dates</i>
Take-home quiz	10%	Short-answer questions	Released on 14 October. Due on 21 October 2010 (beginning of the class)
Major Essay	30%	3,000 words	25 November 2010 (beginning of the class)
Exam	60%	To be announced	To be announced

***Take-home quiz:*** The objective of the take-home quiz is to ensure that you have been keeping up with the required readings and the lectures. The quiz, consisting of a series of questions requiring short answers, will be made available on 14 October. It is due a week later on 21 October at the beginning of the class.

***Major Essay:*** A list of essay topics will be announced. To write the major essay, understanding the “required readings” is a bare minimum, the “recommended readings” are useful. But you are not expected to conduct further research on your own.

***Word limit:*** The major essay has 10% +/- margin.

***Handing in work:*** You are strongly advised to keep draft work, hard and/or soft copies of your essay until the marked work have been returned. All essays and assignments should be typewritten, preferably in Times New Roman, font 12, double-spaced. The Department of Political Science does *not* accept assignments submitted by email or fax.

All good essays need to have sound and logical arguments that are effectively communicated and supported by adequate evidence. Communication and presentation of ideas can count as much as the ideas at times! Therefore, writing style, grammar, footnotes and referencing (no preference on what style you use as long as you are consistent throughout an essay) should be used appropriately. I encourage you to consult with Writing Labs of the UofT and at your affiliated Colleges. Make appointments early in the term to avoid peak period of essay submission!

***Plagiarism (for further information, see university handout)***

Plagiarism is a serious offence and will be dealt with according to UofT’s formal rules and regulations. Plagiarism includes failing to cite sources or to cite them accurately and/or failing to place within quotation marks material taken from a source, regardless of whether the material is acknowledged with a citation. **Resubmitting work for which credit was previously obtained is also considered plagiarism.** For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto’s policy on Plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

***Late penalty:*** A penalty of three percentage points per day (Saturday, Sunday or public holiday each counted as one day) applies for the first seven days. After this seven-day period, papers will no longer be accepted. For instance, if you were originally assigned 75% but were five days late, your final grade will be 60%.

***Final Exam:*** The format and date of the final exam will be announced in due course.

### **Required Readings:**

You have to complete the “required readings” before attending the lectures. A course pack containing all required readings except journal articles is available for purchase from Canadian Scholars' Press Inc. (CSPI), 180 Bloor St. West, Suite 801, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2V6; tel: 416 929-2774.

All journal articles (marked @) are available for download from the UofT electronic library. Go to <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/home/>. Click on the tab “e-journals” and search the journal title, e.g. Washington Quarterly, and then choose the appropriate link that provides you full text access to the desired article.

## **Week 1 (16 Sept): Introductory Lecture & The Great Leap Forward**

### ***Required:***

Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. 1999. *China: A New History*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), Chapter 18 & 19 pp. 345-382.

Yang, Dali L. 1996. *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Great Leap Famine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), Chapter 2, pp.42-67.

### ***Recommended:***

Yang, Dali L. 1996. *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Great Leap Famine*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), Chapter 1.

Teiwes, Frederick C. 1997. "The Establishment and Consolidation of the New Regime, 1949-57." In MacFarquhar, R., eds., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* 5-86. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Lieberthal, Kenneth. 1997. "The Great Leap Forward and the Split in the Yan'an Leadership, 1958-65." In MacFarquhar, R., eds., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* 87-147. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Lieberthal, K. G. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company), Chapter 4 (84-112).

## **Week 2 (23 Sept):**

Screening of “To Live” by Zhang Yimou (125 mins)

--*Students are strongly encouraged to take notes during the screening. Screening will start at 10am sharp. Please turn up on time.*

Venue: Current Periodicals Area, Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library at Robarts Library.  
NB: this is not a room but an open space outside the Tibetan Room.

Robarts Library has two copies of “To Live”, held at the East Asian Library and the Media Commons.

## **Week 3 (30 Sept): The Cultural Revolution I**

Screening of "Morning Sun" produced by Carma Hinton and Geremie Barme (117 mins)  
--Students are strongly encouraged to take notes during the screening.

Venue: Current Periodicals Area, Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library at Robarts Library.  
NB: this is not a room but an open space outside the Tibetan Room. *Screening will start at 10am sharp. Please turn up on time.*

Robarts Library has two copies of "Morning Sun", held at the East Asian Library and the Media Commons.

***Required:***

Zheng, Xiaowei. 2006. "Passion, Reflection, and Survival: Political Choices of Red Guards at Qinghua University, June 1966-July 1968." In Esherick, J. W., P. G. Pickowicz and A. G. Walder, eds., *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* 29-63. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

He, Jianguo. 2006. "Death of a Landlord." In Esherick, J. W., P. G. Pickowicz and A. G. Walder, eds., *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* 124-152. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

**Week 4 (7 Oct): The Cultural Revolution II**

***Required:***

Meisner, Maurice. 1999. *Mao's China and After*. (New York: Simon and Schuster), Chapter 17, "The Concept of Cultural Revolution", pp. 291-311.

Meisner, Maurice. 1999. *Mao's China and After*. (New York: Simon and Schuster), Chapter 18, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", pp.312-351.

***Recommended:***

Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. 1999. *China: A New History*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), pp. 383-405.

Blecher, Marc. 2003. *China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform*. (New York, NY: Continuum), pp. 72-82.

Unger, Jonathan. 2007. "The Cultural Revolution at the Grassroots" *China Journal*, vol.57 109-137.

Lee, Hong Yung. 1978. *The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Case Study*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).

**Week 5 (14 Oct): Formal Political Institutions**

**Required:**

Saich, Tony. 2001. *Governance and Politics in China*. (New York, NY: Palgrave), Chapter 4, pp. 80-106.

Lieberthal, K.G. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company), Chapter 6, pp.157-182.

**Recommended:**

Lieberthal, K.G. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc; Chapter 7.

Blecher, Marc. 2003. *China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform*. (New York, NY: Continuum), pp. 114-136.

Shirk, Susan. 1993. *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), Chapter 3 (pp. 55-62)

**Week 6 (21 Oct): Elite Politics**

**Required:**

@Shambaugh, David. 2001. "The Dynamics of Elite Politics during the Jiang Era" *The China Journal*, vol.45 January 2001 101-111.

@Fewsmith, Joseph. 2002. "Generational Transition in China" *The Washington Quarterly*, vol.25 4, pp. 23-35.

**Recommended:**

Fewsmith, Joseph. 2001. *Elite Politics in Contemporary China*. Armonk, (New York: M. E. Sharpe). Chapter 4; pp. 86-117.

Li, Cheng. 2001. *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), Chapter 2, pp. 25-50.

Li, Cheng. 2001. *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), Chapter 3, pp. 51-86.

Li, Cheng. 2007. "Was the Shanghai Gang Shanghaied?-The Fall of Chen Liangyu and the Survival of Jiang Zemin's Faction" *China Leadership Monitor*, vol.20 Winter 2007. (Available at China Leadership Monitor's website: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/clm/issues>)

**Week 7 (28 Oct): Changing Central-Local Relations**

**Required:**

Saich, Tony. 2001. *Governance and Politics in China*. (New York, NY: Palgrave), Chapter 6, pp.141-163.

@Tsui, Kai-Yuen and Youqiang Wang. 2004. "Between Separate Stoves and a Single Menu: Fiscal Decentralization in China." *China Quarterly*, vol. 177, 71-90.

**Recommended:**

Whiting, Susan. 2001. "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grassroots: The Paradox of Party Rule." In Naughton, B.J. and D.L. Yang, eds., *Holding China Together*, (New York, NY): Cambridge University Press, pp.101-119.

Li, Cheng. 2006. "Think National, Blame Local: Central-Provincial Dynamics in the Hu Era" *China Leadership Monitor*, vol.17 Winter 2006. (Available at China Leadership Monitor's website: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/clm/issues>)

Montinola, Gabrielle, Yingji Qian and Barry R. Weingast. 1996. "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success." *World Politics*, vol. 48, 1, 50-81.

**Week 8 (4 Nov): Political Economy of Rural Reform**

**Required:**

Naughton, Barry J. 2007. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions & Growth* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), Chapter 4, "Market Transition: Strategy and Process", pp.85-107.

Naughton, Barry J. 2007. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions & Growth*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), Chapter 12, "Rural Industrialization: Township and Village Enterprises", pp.271-293.

**Recommended:**

Naughton, Barry J. 2007. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions & Growth*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), Chapter 10, "Rural Organization", pp.231-248.

Ong, Lynette. 2006. "The Political Economy of Township Government Debt, Township Enterprises and Rural Financial Institutions in China," *The China Quarterly*, 186, 377-400.

Park, Albert , Scott Rozelle, Christine Wong and Changqing Ren. 1996. "Distributional Consequences of Reforming Local Finance in China" *China Quarterly*, vol.147 September 1996 751-778.

Saich, Tony. 2001. *Governance and Politics in China*. New York: Palgrave (pp. 241-246, 257-261).

Putternam, Louis. 1997. "On the Past and Future of China's Township and Village-Owned Enterprises" *World Development*, vol.25 10 1639-1655.

Oi, Jean C. 1992. "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China." *World Politics*, vol.45, 1, October 1992, 99-126.

Lin, Justin Yifu, Fang Cai and Zhou Li. 2006. *The China Miracle: Development Strategy & Economic Reform*. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press), pp.149-156.

Susan L. Shirk. 1993. *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), Chapter 8 (pp. 129-146).

Barry J. Naughton. 1996. *Growing Out of the Plan: Chinese Economic Reform 1978-1993*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), Introduction (pp. 3-25).

Yang, Dali L. 1996. *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Great Leap Famine*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; Chapter 6.

## **Week 9 (11 Nov): State-Peasants Relations**

### ***Required:***

@O'Brien, Kevin. 2002. "Collective Action in the Chinese Countryside" *China Journal*, vol.48 July 2002, pp.139-154.

@Bernstein, Thomas P and Xiaobo Lu. 2000. "Taxation without Representation: Peasants, the Central and the Local States in Reform China" *The China Quarterly*, vol.163 September 2000; pp.742-763.

### ***Recommended:***

O'Brien, Kevin. 1996. "Rightful Resistance" *World Politics*, vol.49 1 31-55.

Kennedy, John James. 2007. "The Implementation of Village Elections and Tax-for-Fee Reform in Rural Northwest China," in Perry and Goldman, eds., *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press/Harvard Contemporary China Series), pp.48-74.

Bianco, Lucian. 2001. *Peasants Without the Party*. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe; pp. 244-56. ISBN-10: 1563248409

Guo, Xiaolin. 2001. "Land Expropriation and Rural Conflicts in China" *China Quarterly*, vol.166 June 2001 422-439.

Li, Lianjiang and Kevin O'brien. 1996. "Villagers and Popular Resistance in Contemporary China" *Modern China*, vol.22 1 January 1996 28-61.

Zhou, Kate X. 1996. *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Kelliher, Daniel. 1992. *Peasant Power in China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

## **Week 10 (18 Nov): Political Economy of State-owned Enterprise Reform**

### ***Required:***

Lardy, Nicholas. 1998. *China's Unfinished Economic Revolution*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; Chapter 2; pp.21-58.

@Lee, Chingboon. 1993. "China's Transition towards the Market: "Socialization" of the Safety Net" *China Economic Review*, vol.4 2, pp.169-180.

@Gamble, William. 2003. "Going Bust: Overcoming a Dysfunctional Credit System," *Harvard International Review*, 25, 2.

### ***Recommended:***

Perkins, Dwight. 1993. "Summary: Why Is Reforming State Owned Enterprises so Difficult?" *China Economic Review*, vol.4 2 149-151.

Steinfeld, Edward S. (1998). *Forging Reform in China: The Fate of State-Owned Industry*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Chapter 3.

Tenev, Stoyan and Zhang Chunlin. 2002. *Corporate Governance and Enterprise Reform in China: Building the Institutions of Modern Markets*. (Washington, DC: World Bank and the International Finance Corporation); Chapter 2 (pp.5-28).

Lin, Justin Yifu, Fang Cai and Zhou Li. 2006. *The China Miracle: Development Strategy & Economic Reform*. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press), pp.149-156, 215-230.

## **Week 11 (25 Nov): State-Urban Workers Relations**

### ***Required:***

@Cai, Yongshun. 2002. "The Resistance of Laid-off Workers in the Reform Period" *China Quarterly*, vol.170 June 2002, pp.327-344.

@Hurst, William and Kevin J. O'Brien. 2002. "China's Contentious Pensioners" *China Quarterly*, vol.170 June 2002, pp.345-360.

@Hurst, William. 2004. "Understanding Contentious Collective Action by Chinese Laid-off Workers: The Importance of Regional Political Economy," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 39, 2, pp. 94-120.



*Recommended:*

Blecher, Marc. 2002. "Hegemony and Workers' Politics in China" *China Quarterly*, vol.170 June 2002 283-303.

Lee, Ching Kwan. 1998. "The Labor Politics of Market Socialism: Collective Inaction and Class Experience among State Workers in Guangzhou" *Modern China*, vol.24 1 January 1998 3-33.

Whyte, Martin King. 1999. "The Changing Role of Workers." In Goldman, M. and R. MacFarquhar, eds., *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* 173-196. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

**Week 12 (2 Dec): China's Diplomacy and the World Order**

*Required:*

Oksenberg, M. and E. Economy, 1999, Introduction: China Joins the World, in: E. Economy and M. Oksenberg, eds., *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, NY) 1-41.

@Evan S. Medeiros and Taylor M. Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, 82, 6, 2003. 22.

*Recommended:*

Medeiros, E. S., 2009, *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA), Chapter Two, "China's Foreign Policy Outlook", pp.7-16.

Medeiros, E. S., 2009, *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA), Chapter Five, "China's Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit", pp.61-89.

Johnston, A. I., 2003, Is China a Status Quo Power? *International Security* 27, 5-56.

Shirk, S. L., 2007, *China Fragile Power: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise* (Oxford University Press, New York), Chapter 5, "The Responsible Power", pp. 105-139.

Acharya, A., 2003, Will Asia's Past Be Its Future? *International Security* 29, 149-164.

Denny Roy, "Southeast Asia and China: Balancing or Bandwagoning?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 27, 2, 2005. 305-322.