

The University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
JPA 331Y: Issues in Contemporary Chinese Politics
Fall Term 2013

Lectures: Tuesday 12-2pm

Venue: Sidney Smith 1085

Instructor: Professor Lynette Ong

Office Hours: Thursday 2-4 pm at Sidney Smith Hall, Office# 3053; other times by appointment **ONLY**

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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 Republican period, 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. 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.

Requirements:

<i>Requirements</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Format</i>	<i>Due Dates</i>
In-class tests	25% (x2)	TBA	3 December 2013; 1 April 2014
Term Essays	25% (x2)	2,500 words	19 November 2013; 17 March 2014

In-Class Test: Tests will be conducted during the final lectures of the terms. Format to be ascertained.

Term Essay: A list of essay topics will be announced. To write the term essay, understanding the “required readings” is a bare minimum, the “recommended readings”

are useful. All sources must be properly cited. I have no preference for citation style as long as you are consistent throughout. A list of references should be provided.

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%.

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 the UofT bookstore.

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.

For those of you interested in general readings about political economy of modern-day China check out these two excellent books written by veteran journalists intended for general audience.

Pan, Philip P. 2008. *Out of Mao's shadow: the struggle for the soul of a new China*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

McGregor, Richard. 2011. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Leaders*. New York: HarperCollins Publisher.

Week 1 (10 Sept): Introductory Lecture

No reading.

Week 2 (17 Sept): The Republican era and Communist Rise to Power

Required:

June Teufel Dreyer, "China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition", 8th ed. (Boston, MA: Longman), Chapter 3: Reformers, Warlords, and Communists (pp.47-65) & Chapter 4: The Communist Road to Power (pp.66-84)

Recommended:

Fairbank, John King and Merle Goldman. 1999. *China: A New History*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), Chapter 14 (pp.279-289), Chapter 15 (pp.294-310), Chapter 16 (pp.312-326), Chapter 17 (pp.331-339)

Lieberthal, K. G. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company), Chapter 2 (pp.27-53), Chapter 4 (pp.84-119)

Week 3 (24 Sept): Establishment of the PRC, the Anti-Rightist Campaign, and 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 4 (1 Oct): Screening: China: A Century of Revolution. Part II: The Mao Years (1949-76). Directed and produced by Sue Williams.

Students are strongly encouraged to take notes during the screening.

Week 5 (8 Oct): The Cultural Revolution

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:

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, Jingsui. 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).

"Morning Sun" produced by Carma Hinton and Geremie Barme (117 mins)

Week 6 (15 Oct): Screening of "The Gate of Heavenly Peace" produced and directed by Richard Gordon, Carma Hinton (144 mins). <http://tsquare.tv/> or **"The Tank Man"** produced by PBS (84 mins).

Required and recommended readings:

Brook, Timothy. 1998. *Quelling the people: The military suppression of the Beijing democracy movement*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Calhoun, C.J.. 1994. *Neither gods nor emperors: Students and the struggle for democracy in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Map of Tiananmen victims: <http://www.massacremap.com/> Maps with 1) locations where all known June 4 victims were killed in 1989; 2) locations of hospitals where bodies of the victims were found in 1989.

PBS The Tank Man: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tankman/>

Virtual museum of China 1989: <http://museums.cnd.org/China89/> (in Chinese)

Testimonies of the Tiananmen Mothers' group (with English subtitles): Tiananmen Mothers website: www.tiananmenmothers.org (in Chinese)

Harvard Tiananmen Symposium: http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~tiananmen/?page_id=15

Week 7 (22 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 8 (29 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 9 (5 Nov): Political Economy of Rural Reform

Required:

Ong, Lynette, 2012, *Prosper or Perish: Credit and Fiscal Systems in Rural China*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press). Chapter 1: Local Governments, Rural Credit, and Regional Development in China, pp.3-24

Ong, Lynette, 2012, *Prosper or Perish: Credit and Fiscal Systems in Rural China*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press). Chapter 6: The Local Government–Led Path to Rural Decay, pp.126-150.

Recommended:

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.

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.

12 Nov: November Break—No Class

Week 10 (19 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 11 (26 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.

Yusuf, Shahid. 2006. *Under new ownership: privatizing China's enterprises*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Chapter 3: "The Accelerated Change in Enterprise Ownership, 1997-2003", pp.77-105.

Recommended:

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.

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

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 12 (3 Dec): In-Class Test

2013-14 Winter Term (TENTATIVE)

Week 13 (7 Jan): Political Economy of Financial Reform

Required:

Walter, C. E., and Howie, F. J. T. (2011). *Red Capitalism: The Fragile Financial Foundation of China's Extraordinary Rise*. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., Chapter 2, pp.25-44.

@Martin, M. (2012). "China's Banking System: Issues for Congress", *CRS Report for Congress*. Congressional Research Service. **NB. pp. 1-37**. Available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42380.pdf>

Week 14 (14 Jan): State-Urban Worker Relations

Required:

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

Lee, Ching Kwan, 2007, *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), Chapter 1.

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 15 (21 Jan): Short Lecture on Internal Migration followed by Screening of "Up the Yangtze" (85 mins)

Required:

@Wang, Dewen. 2008. *Rural-Urban Migration and Policy Responses in China: Challenges and Options*. ILO Asian Regional Program on Governance of Labor Migration, Working Paper. No. 15. (International Labor Organization, Regional Office of the Asia and the Pacific).

Recommended:

Chang, Leslie. 2009. *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China*, New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Solinger, Dorothy. 1999. *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press)

Murphy, Rachel. 2002. *How Migrant Labor is Changing Rural China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Week 16 (28 Jan): Fiscal Reform and 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 17 (4 Feb): Civil Society & the Middle Class

Required:

@Kang, X. and H. Han, 2008, *Graduated Controls: The State-Society Relationship in Contemporary China*. *Modern China* 34, 36-55.

@Dickson, Bruce J. 2000-01. "Cooptation and Corporatism in China: The Logic of Party Adaptation" *Political Science Quarterly*, vol.115 4 517-540.

Recommended:

Unger, Jonathan. 1996. "Bridges: Private Business, the Chinese Government and the Rise of New Associations." *China Quarterly*, vol. 147, September, 795-819.

Tsai, Kellee. "Capitalists without a Class: Political Diversity among Private Entrepreneurs in China," *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (November 2005): 1130-1158.

Dickson, Bruce. 2008. *Wealth into Power: the Communist Party's Embrace of China's Private Sector*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tsai, Kellee. *Capitalism Without Democracy: Politics of Private Sector Development in China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)

Week 18 (11 Feb): Contentious Politics and State's Responses

Required:

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

@Cai, Yongshun, 2008, "Local Governments and the Suppression of Popular Resistance in China," *China Quarterly*, vol. 193, pp. 24–42

Recommended:

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

Tomba, Luigi, 2005, "Residential Space and Collective Interest Formation in Beijing's Housing Disputes", *China Quarterly*, pp.934-951.

Michelson, Ethan, 2008, "Justice from Above or Below? Popular Strategies for Resolving Grievances in Rural China", *China Quarterly*, vol.193, pp. 43–64.

Cai, Yongshun, 2010, *Collective Resistance in China: Why Popular Protests Succeed or Fail*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

O'Brien, Kevin J. (ed), 2008, *Popular Protest in China*, Harvard Contemporary China Series 15, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

O'Brien, Kevin J. and Li Lianjiang, 2006, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press).

18 Feb: Reading Week—No Class

Week 26 (27 Feb): Screening of Qiugang Warriors

@ Goebel, Christian and Ong, Lynette H., *Social Unrest in China* (November 8, 2012). Long Briefing, Europe China Research and Academic Network (ECRAN), 2012. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2173073>

@Economy, Elizabeth, 2011, "Roots of Protest and the Party Response", Statement Prepared before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Available at <http://www.cfr.org/china/roots-protest-party-response-china/p24216>

Week 20 (4 Mar): Domestic Sources of China's Foreign Policy

Required:

Gries, Peter Hayes. (2004). *China's New Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction.

Fewsmith, Joseph & Rosen, Stanley. (2001). *The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does Public Opinion Matter?* In David M. Lampton (Ed.), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (pp. 151-187). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Recommended:

Gries, Peter Hayes. 2004. *China's New Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction, Chapters 1 & 2.

Week 21 (11 Mar): China's Environmental Problems and Climate Change Challenges

Required:

Shapiro, Judith. 2012. *China's Environmental Problems*, (Cambridge, UK: Polity), Chapter 2, pp.33-56.

@Elizabeth C. Economy. "The Great Leap Backward?; The Costs of China's Environmental Crisis", *Foreign Affairs*. Sep/Oct 2007. 86(5), 38

Week 22 (18 Mar): The Taiwan Issue

Required:

Bush, R., 2005, *Taiwan Faces China: Attraction and Repulsion*, in: D. Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA) 170-186.

@Shelley Rigger, "Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics, Taiwanese Nationalism", *Policy Studies* 26, East-West Center Washington DC.

Recommended:

Shirk, Susan L. 2007. *China Fragile Power: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise*. New York: Oxford University Press; Chapter 7.

Clark, Cal, 2006, The U.S. Balancing Role in Cross-Strait Relations: The Irony of 'Muddling Through. *Issues & Studies* 42, 129-163.

Bush, Richard, 2005, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC).

Christensen, Thomas J. 2002. "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict" *Washington Quarterly*, vol.25 4 7-21.

Week 23 (27 Mar): Implications for China's Rise for East Asia

Required:

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

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

Recommended:

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.

Shambaugh, David, 2004/05, China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order. *International Security* 29, 64-99.

Self, B., 2002, China and Japan: A Façade of Friendship. *The Washington Quarterly* 26, 77-88.

Kang, David C., 2003, Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks. *International Security* 27, 57-85.

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

Week 24 (1 Apr): Final in-class test