

Boston University
Problems and Issues of Post-Mao China

Semester II -- 2006/2007
CLA IR 585/ PO 558
Tuesday, Thursday: 2:00-3:30
CAS 314

Professor Joseph Fewsmith
Office: 156 Bay State Road, No. 202
Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9:00-11:00
and 2:30-3:30.
Phone: 353-6344
e-mail: fewsmith@bu.edu

COURSE AIMS

The purpose of this course is to examine in depth the development of politics in Post-Mao China. This course revolves around such questions as these: How do Chinese politics in the post-Mao era work? What are the rules of the game? Have the rules changed in the post-Mao era? Is China evolving toward "normal politics"? How have changes in China's society affected the conduct of politics? How much social conflict is there in contemporary China? What is the relation between economic development and political transformation? By looking at such questions, we will ask why the process of reform broke down in June of 1989 and why it has been revived, at least in the economic sphere, since then. We will also examine Tiananmen for what it can tell us about Chinese politics. Finally, we will look at a variety of changes occurring in Chinese society and speculate on the course of future developments.

COURSE CONTENT

The course will approach this problem by weaving historical and analytic explanations together. The course starts by examining different approaches to the understanding of Chinese politics. Then the course takes a basically chronological approach to the subject, starting with the situation on the eve of reform and proceeding through several major turning points. Students are expected to keep the theoretical approaches in mind while studying the development of reform. Which approach or approaches fit the data best? What are the weaknesses of the approaches? How could they be proved? We come back to these questions at the end of the course. Throughout the course, we will ask questions about the nature of the state-society relationship, the nature of power, and how Chinese society and politics have and have not changed over the past decade and a half. Although there is no formal prerequisite for this course, students will be expected to have a basic understanding of 20th century Chinese politics. If you have not taken courses such as IR 370/PO369 (China: From Revolution to Reform) or HI 389 (Modern Chinese History), you will find it useful to read a basic text such as Kenneth Lieberthal, Governing China (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003). Actually, you would find Lieberthal's book useful even if you have had IR 370 or HI 390.

READINGS

The following books are required for the course and are available at the Barnes and Noble bookstore:

- Bruce Dickson, *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Entrepreneurs and Prospects for Political Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) ISBN 0521521432
- Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) ISBN 0521001056
- Perry, Elizabeth and Mark Selden, *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge: 2003).
- Robert Weller, *Alternative Civilities* (Westview, 2001) ISBN 083339316
- Kevin O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*. Cambridge University Press, 2006, ISBN 0521678528
- Economy, Elizabeth, *The River Runs Black* (Cornell University, 2004) ISBN 0801442206.

In addition, a number of articles will be assigned.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course is intended as an intensive examination of one period of PRC history. Therefore, much weight is placed on your attendance, preparation, and PARTICIPATION in class. This class has a larger number of students; nevertheless, I hope to retain something of the flavor of a seminar. This requires that the readings assigned are read BEFORE class (I reserve the right to give quizzes as needed).

There will be four short (3-5 page) essays for this course as well as a midterm and final exam. The papers will be e-mailed to me the night *before* the relevant class. This will facilitate class discussion (and eliminate all those broken printer excuses!).

Graduate students will be expected to write three of the four short papers and a research paper of approximately 25 pages.

Exams

There will be two exams in the course, the first on March 8, the second on May 7.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Monday, January 22: E-mail first writing assignment
Wednesday, January 30: E-mail second writing assignment
Thursday, March 8: Midterm Exam

Monday, April 23: E-mail fourth writing assignment
Monday, May 7: Final Exam (2:00-4:00)

POLICY ON ABSENCES

Because of the intensive nature of this course, students are expected to attend all classes. Absences may be excused for medical, religious, official and personal reasons. Absences for illness for more than two days require a medical certificate. Absences for religious observances and for family or personal reasons require documentation. Absence for purposes of representing the University in authorized athletic events or officially sponsored activities are excused by notification from your sponsoring department or activity. The stated University policy reads: "Any student who has been excessively absent from a course may be required to withdraw from that course without credit." I define "excessively absent" for this course to be more than three absences, excused or not.

POLICY ON "INCOMPLETES"

No incomplete grades will be reported unless the instructor and the student have conferred, the student has presented a sufficient reason why the work of the course cannot be completed on schedule, and the instructor has assigned a date within the succeeding twelve months by which time all course requirements must be completed. This must be in written form. No degree credit for incomplete courses will be granted unless the work is completed by the date assigned, which must be no later than one calendar year from the date on when the incomplete grade is reported. In the event that coursework remains incomplete on the assigned date or twelve months after the "I" grade has been awarded, whichever comes first, the "I" grade will be changed automatically and permanently to an "F" grade.

POLICY ON PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is the passing off of the ideas or words of another as your own. It is taken very seriously at Boston University as at all institutions of higher learning. Those believed to have committed plagiarism must appear before a university disciplinary board, a procedure that can result in a student's suspension or expulsion. Your papers should contain appropriate citations. It is better to use too many citations than too few. If you have any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism, please talk with me.

GRADING

Grades for the Course will be determined on the following basis:

Class Participation (including any necessary quizzes)	15%
Midterm Exam	20%
Writing Assignments	40%
Final Exam	25%

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1: Reform as a Political Process

#1 Tues., Jan. 16: Introduction

Some basic questions:

Were there some opportunities when Chinese politics had opportunities to take different directions, but chose not to? What were these times? And why did people make the decisions they did?

Has the Chinese political system changed in ways that make it more stable, predictable, and long-lasting? It is more institutionalized?

To what extent does the government at various levels provide good governance for the people of China? Has the government gotten better at governance? Worse? What are the determinants of good governance?

Is the party still a Leninist party? If so, what does this mean?

#2 Thurs., Jan. 18: What's a Leninist Party?

Reading:

Kenneth Jowitt, "Inclusion and Mobilization in European Leninist Regimes," *World Politics*, 28.1 (October 1975):69-96 (on line).

Week 2: The Dynamics of Politics and of Reform

Mon., Jan. 22: E-mail first assignment (before midnight!)

#3 Tues., Jan. 23: Approaches to the Study of Chinese Politics

Readings:

Andrew J. Nathan, "A Factional Model for CCP Politics," *The China Quarterly*, no. 53, Jan/Mar 1973, pp. 34-66 (on line).

Tsou, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Informal Groups in CCP Politics," *The China Quarterly*, January 1976, pp. 98-114 (on line).

#4 Thurs., Jan. 25: Outgrowing the plan

Reading:

"The Decision on Economic Structural Reform" (on line)

Week 3: Tiananmen

#5 Tues., Jan. 30: Toward Tiananmen

Reading:

Shi Tianjian, "The Democratic Movement in China in 1989: Dynamics and Failure," *Asian Survey*, 30.12 (December 1990):1186-1205 (on line).

Wed., Jan. 30: E-mail second assignment (before midnight)

#6 Thurs., Feb. 1: Tiananmen: What Happened and Why

Reading:

Zhao Ziyang speech to Fourth Plenum (on line).

Interview with Zhao Ziyang (on line).

Li Peng Speech to Fourth Plenum (on line).

Week 4: The Jiang Zemin Era

#7 Tues., Feb. 6: Repression and Elite Conflict

Reading:

Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, pp. 21-71.

#8 Thurs., Feb. 8: Jiang Zemin Takes Command

Reading:

Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, pp. 1-18, and 159-189.

.Week 5: Ideological Conflict

#9 Tues., Feb. 13:

Movie:

River Elegy

#10 Thurs., Feb. 15: Incrementalism and Cultural Conservatism

Reading:

Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, pp. 132-157 and 190-235.

Week 6: The Jiang Zemin Era

Tues., February 20 -- NO CLASS -- FOLLOW MONDAY SCHEDULE

#11 Thurs., Feb. 22: Nationalism and Globalization

Reading:

Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, pp. 132-157 and 190-235.

Week 7: Thinking about Social Change

#12 Tues. Feb. 27: Social Capital

Readings:

Weller, *Alternative Civilities*

#13 Thurs., Mar. 1: The Development of a Private Economy

Readings:

Dicksen, *Red Capitalists in China*, pp. 1-88

Week 8: Social Change and Political Change

#14 Tues., Mar. 6: The Impact of Social Change

Reading:

Dicksen, *Red Capitalists in China*, 89-171

Fewsmith, "Wenzhou Chambers of Commerce: Potential and Limits of 'Civil Society'" (on line)

#15 Thurs., Mar. 8: **MIDTERM EXAM**

SPRING RECESS: MARCH 12 -- MARCH 17

Week 8: Change in the Countryside

#16 Tues., Mar. 20: Reform and Resistance

Reading:

Kevin O'Brien, "Village Elections," Goldman and MacFarquhar, *Paradoxes of Reform* (on line).

#17 Thurs., Mar. 22: Rural Burdens and Village Elections

Readings:

O'Brien and Li, *Rightful Resistance*

Week 9: Migration and Workers

#18 Tues., Mar. 27: Migration and Social Change

Readings:

Hein Mallee, "Migration, Hukou, and Resistance in Reform China," in Perry and Selden, eds., *Chinese Society*, pp. 83-101.

#19 Thurs., Mar. 29: Workers

Reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, "Pathways of Labor Insurgency," in Perry and Selden, eds., *Chinese Society*, pp. 41-61.

Week 10: The Environment

#20 Tues., Apr. 3: The Environmental Problem

Readings:

Economy, *The River Runs Black*

#21 Thurs., Apr. 5: Fixing the Environment

Reading:

Economy, *The River Runs Black*

Week 11: Grassroots Change

#22 Tues., Apr. 10: Local Experimentation: Taizhou and Wenling

Reading:

Fewsmith, "Taizhou Area Explores Ways to Improve Local Governance,"
CLM, no. 15 (on line).

Fewsmith, "Exercising the Power of the Purse" CLM, no. 19 (on line)

#23 Thurs., Apr. 12: Villages

Nanjie vs. Wenzhou

Week 12: Sources of Social Control

#24 Tues., Apr., 17: The Media

Reading:

Wu Guoguang, *The China Quarterly* (on line)

#25 Thurs., Apr., 19: The Party

Readings:

Jiang Zemin, "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 80th Anniversary of
the Founding of the Communist Party of China" (on line)

"CPC Central Committee Decision on Enhancing the Party's Ability to
Govern" (on line)

Week 13: Elite Politics in a Time of Social Change

Mon., Apr. 23: E-mail fourth writing assignment (before midnight).

#26 Tues., Apr. 24: The Hu Jintao Era

Reading:

Fewsmith, China Since Tiananmen, Chapter Eight (on line)

#27 Thurs., Apr. 26: The Seventeenth Party Congress

Reading:

Fewsmith, Brookings paper

Week 14: A Summing Up

#28 Tues., May 1: Where Are We Now?

Final Exam: Thursday, May 12, 9:00-11:00