PS 126 Chinese Politics  
Fall 2009 Tufts University  
Mon, Wed 1:30-2:45, Terrace Room Paige Hall

Prof. Elizabeth Remick  
Office: 108 Packard Hall  
Phone: 617-627-5848, but email is better  
E-mail: elizabeth.remick@tufts.edu  
Office hours: Monday 3:00-4:30, Tuesday 10:00-11:30, and by appointment. I'm not available on Fridays.

Course website accessible through [http://blackboard.tufts.edu](http://blackboard.tufts.edu) 
Updates to the syllabus will be found on the website under "Syllabus." Please treat the on-line syllabus as the most recent, most definitive version.

This is a course on the domestic politics of China since the revolution of 1949. We will pay special attention to history, political economy, and the effects of great political events on the everyday lives of ordinary Chinese people. In the first part of the course we will concentrate on the evolution of political life in China during the Mao years, 1949-1976, including the revolution, the socialist economic and social transformation, and mass campaigns culminating in the Cultural Revolution. The second part of the course will focus on issues in post-Mao China: economic reform, the return of the market and the breakdown of many socialist institutions, and the social, economic and political challenges posed by these changes. Throughout the course, we will be thinking about how some of the tensions within Chinese society and political economy (city vs. countryside, plan vs. market, center vs. periphery) have affected the course of political change, and how political change has affected men and women, young and old, Han and non-Han, coast and interior, creating a great diversity of political experience in China. We will also practice reading against the grain and between the lines in a heavily politicized literature.

**Textbooks to buy, and also on reserve at Tisch:**
1. LIANG Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Son of the Revolution* (any edition)  

**Requirements:**
1. **class attendance and active participation** (15%)  
2. **Map quiz:** in class **Wednesday, Sept. 23** (5%). Sorry, no make-ups.  
3. **take-home mid-term essay exam** (20%), due Monday, **October 26** by 4 pm via the Blackboard Assignments function. Questions will be handed out in class October 19, and will also be available on the website after that time.  
4. **take-home essay final exam** (20%), due Friday, **December 11** by 4 pm via the Blackboard Assignments function. This exam will not be cumulative; it will cover material after the mid-term only. Questions will be handed out the last day of class.
10-12 page research paper applying causal analysis to a topic in contemporary domestic Chinese politics (40%). This excludes topics related to foreign relations. Please expect to visit the Harvard East Asia libraries in order to do the research for this paper. Part one: preliminary paper topics and "why" questions due on Friday, October 16 by 4 pm on the course website discussion board (5%). Part two: paper abstract and preliminary bibliography, due Friday, November 13 by 4 pm on the course website discussion board (5%). Part three: final paper, due Tuesday, December 8 by 4 pm via the Blackboard Assignments function (30%). The final grade will be based on the final paper if parts one and two are completed on time. Late penalty: +/- per day for parts one, two, and three.

The exams and the research paper are to be submitted via Blackboard. You may also email them to me as a backup if you like. I will run these assignments through Turnitin.com. I don't do this because I suspect my students of plagiarism, but because it means I don't even have to consider it as a possibility. I will set up our course account so that you can run drafts through the system to check your own work if you like. I do this with my own work and I find it to be a very useful tool.

Film Screenings:
Five films will be required viewing for this class; think of them as required texts. For your convenience, they will be screened in the Tisch Media Center, room 314:
(1) "China in Revolution," VC 3104 vol. 1, Thursday, Sept. 17, 7-9 pm
(2) "The Mao Years," VC 3104 vol. 2, Thursday, Oct. 1, 7-9 pm
(3) "The Story of Qiu Ju," VC 2231, Tuesday, Oct. 20, 7-9 pm
(4) "China in the Red," VC 5973, Tuesday, Nov. 10, 7-9 pm
(5) "The Gate of Heavenly Peace," VC 5825, Tuesday, Nov. 17, 7-9:30 pm

The films are also on reserve in the Tisch library media center for you to view whenever you wish, if it is not convenient for you to attend the group screenings. But of course it is wise to plan ahead in case someone else has the film exactly when you want to see it.

If you have a documented disability and anticipate needing accommodations in this course, please make arrangements to meet with me soon so we can discuss them.

KEEPING UP WITH NEWS ABOUT CHINA
Something interesting is always happening in China, and you should stay abreast of the news there while you are in this class. Try to approach it from several different directions, because you'll get very different stories and angles. For Western, non-US reporting, check out a UK paper, for example, The Guardian, www.guardian.co.uk. The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/, and the Christian Science Monitor http://www.csmonitor.com/ are two good American sources of news on China. For the Chinese government's point of view on the news, visit this site: http://www.china.org.cn/english/index.htm. You could also see what the English-language Taiwanese papers, Hong Kong papers, and Singaporean papers have to say.

HOW TO USE THE COURSE WEBSITE
The course website is accessible through the Blackboard site, [http://blackboard.tufts.edu/](http://blackboard.tufts.edu/). I will use it to distribute information, to update the syllabus, to make announcements between classes, to hand out web-based assignments, and also to connect you to important resources concerning China. If you have questions about the class, this is the first place to look. To get access to all the functions, you need to be officially entered into the system as an authorized user.

- If you find that you aren’t enrolled as a user, please let me know. In the meantime, you can always view the site (though you can't use the interactive functions) if you log on as a guest.
- The system automatically enters your Tufts e-mail address from the directory as the destination for mail sent to you through Blackboard. However, you can substitute a different e-mail address if you prefer, both in Blackboard and in the Tufts directory. **Please make sure that the e-mail address you list in Blackboard is one that is functional and one that you check regularly, as I will send out important course messages and contact you by email through Blackboard.**

### SCHEDULE OF TOPICS, READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

**INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

**Wed Sep 9**
Introduction to the course

**Mon Sep 14**
A sketch of the history of China during the first half of the twentieth century

**Reading:**

**Wed Sep 16**
The Revolution of 1949 and the founding of the People's Republic of China

**Reading:**

**Reading to complete by the end of the week:** Seybolt, pp. 31-49.

**Thursday Sept. 17, 7-9 pm, screening of "China in Revolution" VC 3104, vol. 1, in Tisch 314.** Please see the film sometime this week if you cannot attend the screening.

**MAO THOUGHT AND THE ’50S: LAND REFORM, COLLECTIVIZATION, AND NATIONALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY**

**Mon Sep 21**
Basic principles of Mao thought

**Reading:**
Read from "The Importance of the Peasant Problem" through "The Question of Going Too Far," and more if you can stand it. What is Mao advocating? How is it different from what other revolutionaries prescribed as the solution for China's problems?

What is his main point? Where does knowledge come from? What are the implications of that for politics? Don't spend a lot of time trying to understand every word; the object is for you to see how Mao Zedong thought reads.
If you'd like to read more of Mao's writings, check out the main site where these readings are posted, http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm.


Wed Sep 23
The revolutionary government in the countryside: from cooperatives to collectives to communes

MAP QUIZ IN CLASS TODAY. You will be given a copy of the map in this syllabus with all the place names removed, and asked to identify numbered locations. If you'd like to see a more detailed map of China with all the provinces and provincial capitals marked on it, go to one of these sites:
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/china_pol96.jpg

Reading: Saich, Ch.2, "Political History"

ULTRA-LEFTIST CAMPAIGNS AND MASS POLITICS: THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Mon Sep 28
The Hundred Flowers, the Great Leap Forward and the Four Clean-ups: the politics of mass campaigns and the beginnings of Ultra-Leftism

Reading:
(2) Seybolt, pp. 51-64
(3) LIANG and Shapiro, Chapters 1-3

Wed Sep 30
Struggles at the top and the events of the Cultural Revolution

Reading:
(1) Seybolt, pp. 65-75
(2) LIANG and Shapiro, Chapters 4-14

Thursday, Oct. 1, 7:00-9:00 pm, screening of "The Mao Years," VC 3104, vol. 2 in Tisch 314. Please view the film sometime this week if you cannot attend the screening.

Mon Oct 5
Cultural Revolution, continued: discussion of "The Mao Years" and the meaning and effects of the Cultural Revolution
Reading: LIANG and Shapiro, Chapters 15-24

OVERVIEW OF THE POST-MAO REFORMS

Wed Oct 7
Reading:
(1) Saich, Ch. 3, "China Under Reform"
(2) Seybolt, pp. 77-88, 99-130.

Monday Oct 12 No class—Columbus Day
FORMAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE PRC

TUESDAY Oct 13
Formal structures of government: the Communist Party and the State
Reading:
(1) Saich, Ch. 4 "The Chinese Communist Party," Ch. 5, "The Central Governing Apparatus," and Ch. 6, "Governance Beyond the Centre"

Wed Oct 14
Local structures of social and political control during the Mao years: the danwei (work unit) and the residents' committee
Reading:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-9118%28198311%2943%3A1%3C51%3AODACOA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4

PRELIMINARY PAPER TOPICS AND "WHY" QUESTIONS DUE ON FRIDAY OCT 16 BY 4 PM ON THE COURSE WEBSITE DISCUSSION BOARD. I will give you comments on the discussion board over the next few days, so please check to see if I've posted yours. Also, look at your classmates' topics to see what kinds of interesting things they are working on. Feel free to offer comments and suggestions.
Mon Oct 19
Analyzing administrative, economic and cultural structures in rural China: a historical perspective

**Reading:**

http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-9118%28196411%2924%3A1%3C3%3AMASSIR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S

and

http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-9118%28196502%2924%3A2%3C195%3AMASSIR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T

Note: This piece is difficult. Pay attention to the overall argument and use the study guide, available on the website under "Assignments."

**MID-TERM TAKE-HOME ESSAY ASSIGNMENT HANDED OUT IN CLASS.** Material covered up to and including today. Questions will be posted on the course website after class. Exams are due on Monday, October 26 by 4 pm via the Blackboard Assignments function.

Tuesday, Oct. 20, 7-9 pm, screening of "The Story of Qiu Ju" VC 2231 in Tisch 314. Take notes to answer the questions in the viewing guide available on our website; you do not have to turn in your responses. Please see the film at your convenience before Wed. Oct 21 if you cannot attend this screening.

Wed Oct 21
Discussion of film, "The Story of Qiu Ju"
Come in prepared to discuss the questions on the viewing guide/worksheet on "Qiu Ju."

**REFORMS IN AGRICULTURE, AND RURAL POLITICS**

Mon Oct 26
The politics of agricultural reform and the household responsibility system

**Reading:**

(2) Saich, pp. 244-253.

VILLAGE ELECTIONS AND VILLAGE REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS  
Wed Oct 28  
Which institutions have power in villages, who gets elected to office, how do they get elected, and how democratic are the elections? What do we mean by democracy to begin with?  
Reading:  
(1) Anne Thurston, "Muddling Toward Democracy: Political Change in Grassroots China," US Institute of Peace, 1998, URL:  
Read summary, Chapter One, and Chapter Three.  
(2) Lianjiang Li and Kevin O'Brien, "The Struggle over Village Elections," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 129-144.  

REFORMS IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE  
Mon Nov 2  
The transition from plan to market  
Reading:  
(1) Saich, pp. 233-244, 253-267.  
(2) Barry Naughton, "China's Transition in Economic Perspective," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 30-43.  

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMS  
Wed Nov 4  
Who has benefited and who has suffered from economic reforms?  
Reading:  
(1) Saich, Ch. 10, "Social Policy"  
(2) David Goodman, "The New Middle Class," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 241-261.  

Mon Nov 9  
Who has benefited and who suffered from economic reforms, continued  
Readings:  
Tuesday, Nov 10, 7-9 pm, screening of "China in the Red," VC 5973, in Tisch 314. Please see the film at your convenience before Weds. Nov 11 if you cannot attend this screening. Please take notes and be prepared to discuss the film in class.

Wed Nov 11 (class held on Veteran's Day)
Discussion of film "China in the Red," VC 5973

RESEARCH PAPER ABSTRACT, OUTLINE AND PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE BY 4 PM ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13 ON THE COURSE WEBSITE DISCUSSION BOARD. I will give you comments on the discussion board over the next few days, so please check to see if I've posted yours. See what your classmates are working on and feel free to offer comments and suggestions. No major topic changes will be permitted between this assignment and the final paper; a major change in response to my comments will require a revision of this assignment within a week.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND DISSENT
Mon Nov 16
How have ordinary people participated in Chinese politics? What forms has protest taken in the PRC? Democracy Wall, the 1986-87 student movement, and the June 4th movement of 1989 in historical perspective
Reading:
(1) Saich, Ch. 7, "Political Participation and Protest"

Tuesday, Nov. 18, 7-9:30 pm, screening of "Gate of Heavenly Peace" VC 5825 in Tisch 314. Please see the film before Wednesday, Nov. 18, when we will discuss it in class. A viewing guide for the film is available on the course website. Please take notes and be prepared to discuss the viewing questions in class.

Wed Nov 18
Discussion: the democracy movement of 1989 and the massacre in Beijing
Assignment:
(1) View the film "Gate of Heavenly Peace." Be sure to watch the two-hour version rather than the two-volume, three-hour version.
(2) Investigate the "Gate of Heavenly Peace" web site, including reviews, controversy, and criticism, at this URL: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gate/
(3) Prepare to discuss the film by using the viewing guide, but you do not have to turn in the worksheet.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE

Mon Nov 23
Human rights in China proper: scholarly views
What criteria should we use to evaluate China's human rights situation?

Reading:

Mon Nov 30
Human rights in China proper: advocacy, definitions, controversies
Who has something to say in cyberspace about human rights in China? What criteria do they use to evaluate China's human rights situation?

Assignment:
(1) First, use a search engine like Google to get a broad idea of the range and number of sites on human rights in China. What kinds of groups and people talk about human rights in China? Spend about five minutes on this, checking out the links that the search engine produces.
(2) Next, on the course site, there is a worksheet for thinking about how the human rights issue is discussed on a selection of different websites. Investigate in more detail the websites listed in the worksheet. Take notes and think about the questions on the worksheet. We will discuss the worksheet in class, but you do not have to turn it in.
(2) Finally, read Ren Yanshi, "A Comparison of Human Rights in China with Those in the United States," Beijing Review, April 1-7 1996, pp. 10-15, on the course website. What do you think about this piece? Identify two items that seem especially outrageous to you. On the other hand, is there anything here that makes you ask, "yeah, why don't we think about this as a human right?" Why or why not?

ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC SEPARATISM

Wed Dec 2
TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM QUESTIONS PASSED OUT IN CLASS TODAY
What is ethnicity in China? What ethnic separatist groups exist in China?

Reading:
(2) Uradyn E. Bulag, "Alter/native Mongolian Identity," in Perry and Selden, pp. 223-246
(3) Use the web to find out what kinds of ethnic separatism exist in China. On the course website is a worksheet to help guide you through reading several websites. Take notes and come to class prepared to discuss what you find, but you do not have to turn in the worksheet.

Mon Dec 7
Tibet and the Free Tibet movement
What is the "Tibet question"? Who cares about Tibet's fate, and why?
Readings:

FINAL RESEARCH PAPERS DUE BY 4 PM TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, VIA THE BLACKBOARD ASSIGNMENTS FUNCTION. I will send out an email at the deadline to let you know whose papers I have received by that time, so you can confirm yours is in. Email me a backup if you like.

Wed Dec 9
The Falun Gong movement and the government's reaction to it
What is Falun Gong? Why has the government reacted to it as it has?
Reading:
   (2) Web-based readings. Please see the course website for the latest information about the assignment and for reading questions.

TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM DUE FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11 BY 4 PM VIA THE BLACKBOARD ASSIGNMENTS FUNCTION. As with the research paper, I will send out a confirming email at the deadline. Email me a backup if you like.
Helpful hints for pronouncing Chinese words and names written in the *Hanyu Pinyin* system of romanization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Sounds like...</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Sounds like...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td></td>
<td>Letters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>&quot;eye&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ci</td>
<td>tsss, vocalized</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>ahng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*chi</td>
<td>cchhh, vocalized</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>&quot;ouch&quot; minus ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>letter a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>hard g (as in &quot;gas&quot;)</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h, clearing your throat</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slightly</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>hard j (as in &quot;jazz&quot;), but fronted</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>iang</td>
<td>yahng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>iao</td>
<td>yao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>yeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ing</td>
<td>ying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>iong</td>
<td>yong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ch (as in &quot;chat&quot;), but fronted</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>hard r (not trilled)</td>
<td>ong</td>
<td>ohng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*si</td>
<td>szzzz</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>uan</td>
<td>wahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*shi</td>
<td>sshhhh (as in &quot;be quiet!&quot;, but vocalized)</td>
<td>ue</td>
<td>ü-eh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>&quot;way&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>yün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>sh, but fronted</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>yu, fronted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*xi</td>
<td>shee, but fronted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1. Chinese vowels are each a single syllable. 2. The letter "u" after x, j, q, and y is always pronounced "ü".

*These are special consonants or exceptions to rules.*
PS 126 Chinese Politics
Map for map quiz

On the map in this syllabus, the names of provinces are in capital letters and provincial boundaries are dotted lines. Cities are marked with a single large dot. On the quiz, you will be asked to identify ten of the following places on the map:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Major rivers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang 新疆</td>
<td>Yellow River (Huang he) 黄河</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet 西藏</td>
<td>Yangtze River (Chang jiang) 长江</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghai 青海</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu 甘肃</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia 宁夏</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan 四川</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan 云南</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou 贵州</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi 广西</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong 广东</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan 海南</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan 湖南</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei 湖北</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi 江西</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian 福建</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang 浙江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu 江苏</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui 安徽</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong 山东</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi 山西</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi 陕西</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner Mongolia 内蒙古</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei 河北</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan 河南</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning 辽宁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin 吉林</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang 黑龙江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beijing 北京</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjing 南京</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai 上海</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuhan 武汉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong 香港</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangzhou 广州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengdu 成都</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing 重庆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangzhou 杭州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin 天津</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunming 昆明</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhasa 拉萨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urumqi 乌鲁木齐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some helpful memorization hints:
"bei" 北 means north
"nan" 南 means south
"xi" 西 means west
"dong" 东 means east
"shan" 山 means mountain
"he" 河 means river
"jiang" 江 means river
"hu" 湖 means lake