

**The History & Politics of Modern China**  
**Political Science 368/History 383**  
**Syllabus for Autumn 2008**  
**Dr. Paul E. Schroeder**

China has scuttled Mao Zedong's call for permanent revolution and ideological orthodoxy, replacing it with an effort to raise Chinese living standards and make the country one of the major nations in the world.

This course explores the changes and continuities between traditional and modern China to aid our understanding of a country *still* in transition. A series of economic and structural reforms raise questions for the country's future:

How is China changing? Where does power lie? Can the Chinese Communist Party maintain political control over a rapidly growing civil society increasingly differentiated by new-found wealth, education, and opportunities? What has replaced Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought that gives the society a moral grounding? Will the Communist dynasty collapse, as so many other dynasties have, or will it evolve?

To answer these questions, we must consider the strength -- or fragility -- of what many see as the world's rising power. To do so, we examine the historical and political issues that have shaped development of the People's Republic, including the slow rot of the Qing Dynasty, the incursion of the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, efforts at reform, and the revolution that toppled the last imperial regime.

We continue by examining the birth of the People's Republic, its organization, and the near ruin wrought by Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution. We also consider the social, economic, and political issues that may assist or limit China's further development as an economic and political power.

Running through the entire course is the question: How can a people fall for the strategy and tactics of someone who is genuinely evil? This comes out in our reading of Jung Chang's biography *Mao: The Unknown Story*.

**STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES:** Success in this course is accomplished through an understanding of the material presented in the assigned readings and lectures. Success depends on *keeping up with the readings and attending class*.

There will be one mid-term and a final exam, plus a research paper. The mid-term counts for 20% of the grade and will cover all material through Section 13. The final and research paper each count for 40%. The final exam will cover material only from Section 14 to the end. The midterm exams will consist of several short identification questions plus one essay question. The final will consist of two essay questions. Make-up exams are not offered unless there are extenuating and documented mitigating circumstances.

**RESEARCH PAPER:** China today is undergoing considerable change, including economic reform, the shift to a market economy, environmental degradation, and declining legitimacy of the Communist Party. For a society steeped in the Confucian tradition, these changes may be only quantitative, not qualitative. This possibility begs two questions. First, how permanent are these changes? Second, will any quantitative change in China's economic performance lead to qualitative changes in China's political culture?

Pick any issue of change that is of interest to you and, in 10 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font), discuss the change that has occurred, the difficulties that may impede this change, then provide your assessment as to whether the change will permanently impact the political culture or system.

The paper grade is based on how you organize your thinking on the topic, the breadth of your research, and how you use this research to arrive at and defend your arguments. The purpose of the paper is to expose you to additional issues and literature not covered in the assigned readings and lectures, and to offer you the opportunity to practice critical thinking and communications. I expect your writing to reflect an effort to communicate effectively. Include footnote citations (not endnotes) as well as a bibliography of materials used.

Please note: I am very familiar with the literature on China. Do not plagiarize another's writing in your research paper. If you quote portions of another's work, give proper credit. Plagiarism will lead to a zero for the paper if it is discovered.

#### READING ASSIGNMENTS:

Reading assignments are not onerous if you keep up with them. Please note that success in the exams depends greatly on answers that integrate class discussions and reading.

#### Books for Purchase:

1. June Teufel Dreyer: *China's Political System*, Sixth Edition, Pearson/Longman, 2008
2. Immanuel C. Y. Hsü: *The Rise of Modern China*, 6th Edition, Oxford U. Press, 2000.
3. Jung Chang: *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Book on Loan: Lucian W. Pye: *China, An Introduction*, any edition, Little, Brown.

Material posted on Blackboard is marked with an \* and includes selections from the following:

1. Lucian Pye (#2): *The Mandarin and the Cadre*
2. Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*
3. Harry Harding: *Organizing China*.
4. Mao Zedong: *Selected Writings and Speeches*.
5. Hong Yung Lee: *The Politics of the Cultural Revolution*.
6. Edward S. Steinfeld: *Forging Reform in China*.
7. Paul Schroeder, *Territorial Actors as Competitors for Power*.
8. Paul Schroeder: *Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China*.
9. David Shambaugh: *China's Communist Party, Atrophy and Adaptation*.
10. Kristen A. Day: *China's Environment and the Challenge of Sustainable Development*.
11. Elizabeth Economy: *The River Runs Black*.
12. Barry Naughton: *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*.
13. Richard Louis Edmonds: *Managing the Chinese Environment*.
14. Fung Yu-lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*
15. Charles R. McElwee II: *Who's Cleaning Up This Mess?* **CBR** January-February 2008.
16. Cheng Li: *China's Economic Decision-makers*, **CBR** March-April 2008.
17. Simon Elegant: *Roused by Disaster* in **Time**, **June 2, 2008**.
18. James Fallows: *The Connection Has Been Reset* in **Atlantic Monthly**, March 2008.
19. Abigail Cutler: *Penetrating the Great Firewall* in **Atlantic.com**, February 18, 2008.
20. Interviews with Peng Shuzi

## Schedule

There is no specific schedule for what follows. The mid-term exam is *tentatively* scheduled for Oct. 16. The date will be reconfirmed closer to that time. The midterm will cover all material through session 13.

### 1. Introduction

## LEGACIES

What's left of traditional China? Has the past given way to the present and future? Has the Dynastic Cycle been put in the dust bin of history? We can't begin to answer these questions without considering the past.

2. Confucianism, Legalism, & Chinese Cultures (That's right, plural)
 

Dreyer, Ch. 1	Pye, Chs 2-3	*Pye (#2), Ch 2
*Fung: Ch. 14	Chang, Chs. 1-2	
  
3. The Imperial System
 

Dreyer, Ch 2	Hsü, Chs. 3 & 4	Pye, Ch. 4
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4. System Decay, Western Opportunism
 

Pye, Chs. 5 & 6	Hsü, Chs. 6, 7, 8 & 9
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5. Response & Collapse
 

Dreyer, Ch. 3	Hsü, Chs. 11 – 17
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6. Revolution, Republic, & Warlords
 

Pye, Ch. 7	Hsü, Ch. 20
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7. World War I, Versailles & the New Cultural Movement
 

Hsu, Ch. 21
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## TWO PATHS

The KMT and CCP had considerable interaction during this period. For purposes of clarity, however, we will discuss each party separately in terms of intra-party disputes. We will consider the inter-party cooperation and lack thereof in the final section. Further, our goal is to understand the development of Mao Zedong Thought as prelude to the events that helped shape the first 30 years of the People's Republic of China.

8. Warring States, Warring Parties
 

*Map
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9. The Kuomintang (1916 – 1927)
 

Pye, Ch. 8	Hsü, Chs. 22 & 23
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10. The Communists (1920 – 1927)
 

Dreyer, Ch. 4	Pye, Ch. 9 (pp. 151-159)
*Mao Zedong, <i>Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan</i>	
*Pictures of Ruijin	Chang: Chs. 3-4

11. Wary Allies, Bitter Enemies, Part One (1927 – 1934)
  - \*Mao Zedong, *The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains*.
  - \*Mao Zedong, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*
  - Pye, Ch. 9 (pp. 159-171).      Chang: Chs. 5-10
12. Wary Allies, Bitter Enemies, Part Two (1935-1945)
  - Hsü, Chs. 24, & 25      \*Snow: pages 185-206
  - \*Mao Zedong, *On New Democracy*      Chang: Chs. 15-25
13. Civil War & CCP Coalitions (1945-1949)
  - \*Mao Zedong, *On Coalition Government* (Part IV)      Chang: Chs. 26-31

## **14.      MIDTERM EXAM OCTOBER 16**

### **FOUNDING:    ORGANIZATION & CONSOLIDATION**

15. Organizational Structure & Socialist Transformation (1949 - 1956)
  - Part One – The New Order and Seeds of Conflict
  - Part Two – Rectification Campaigns: the Need for Control
  - Part Three – Land Reform
  - Part Four – Industrialization and Russian Relations
    - Dreyer, Ch. 5      Pye, Chs. 10 & 12      \*Harding, Chs. 1, 3-4
    - Chang: Ch. 37      Film Segments: *China: A Century of Revolution*
    - \*Mao: Two Prefaces to *On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture*
    - \*PRC Government Structure      \*Naughton pp. 231-240
16. The Great Leap Forward: Limits of Ideology & Leadership (1956 - 1961)
  - Movie: *China: A Century of Revolution*
  - Part One – High Tides, Fragrant Flowers & Stinking Weeds
  - Part Two – The Great Leap Forward
  - Part Three – The Great Leap Backward
  - Part Four – The Three Hard Years
    - Dreyer, Ch. 5      Pye, Ch. 13      Chang: Chs. 39-41      \*Harding Ch 6
    - \*Shapiro, Introduction & Ch. 1      \*Provincial Death Rates
17. Recovery and the Contest for Power (1961 - 1965)
  - Pye, Ch. 14      Chang: Chs. 44 and 46      \*Harding Ch. 7
  - \*Interviews with Peng Shuzi

### **CHAOS**

18. The Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976)
  - Part One – The Context
  - Part Two – Coalitions
  - Part Three – Four Phases
  - Part Four – Chronologies
  - Part Five – Lin to Hua to Deng
  - Film segments: *Farewell My Concubine* and *China: A Century of Revolution*
  - \*Lee: Introduction & Ch. 11      Chang: Chs. 47-56      \*Pye (2), Ch. 4
  - \*20<sup>th</sup> Century Genocides

19. Succession and the Third Plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee (1976 - 1979)  
Hsü, Chs. 32-33                      Chang: Chs. 57-58
20. Mao Zedong Thought & Succession Politics  
Pye, Ch. 11

## **THE SECOND FOUNDING**

21. The Politics of Reform  
\*Schroeder: *Territorial Actors as Competitors for Power*.  
\*Schroeder: *Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China*
22. The Reform Era  
\*Steinfeld, Chs 1-2                      \*Naughten, Ch 4                      Hsü, Chs 35-37

## **WEALTH IS GOOD, BUT CONTROL IT**

23. Economic Development  
\*Cheng Li: *China's Economic Decision-makers*  
\**Economic Policy Making in the PRC*  
\*Naughton, pp. 240-249 & Chs. 13, 16, 17      \* Smil in Edmonds, pp. 211-227
24. Environmental Degradation  
\*Economy in Day, Ch. 4                      \*Zusman & Turner in Day, Ch 5  
\*Economy: Chs 1-2                      \*McElwee                      \*Shapiro, Ch. 5  
\*Liu & Diamond

## **A NEW SOCIETY: WILL THE CYCLE BREAK?**

25. The Media and Growth of an Informed Society  
\*Shirk, Chs. 1-4                      \*Economy, Chs 5-6                      \*Cutler                      \*Fallows
26. China on the Edge  
\*Shambaugh: Chs. 1, 6, & 8.                      \*Elegant

**END**