



The University of Oklahoma
School of International and Area Studies

Fall 2007 IAS 3143-001:

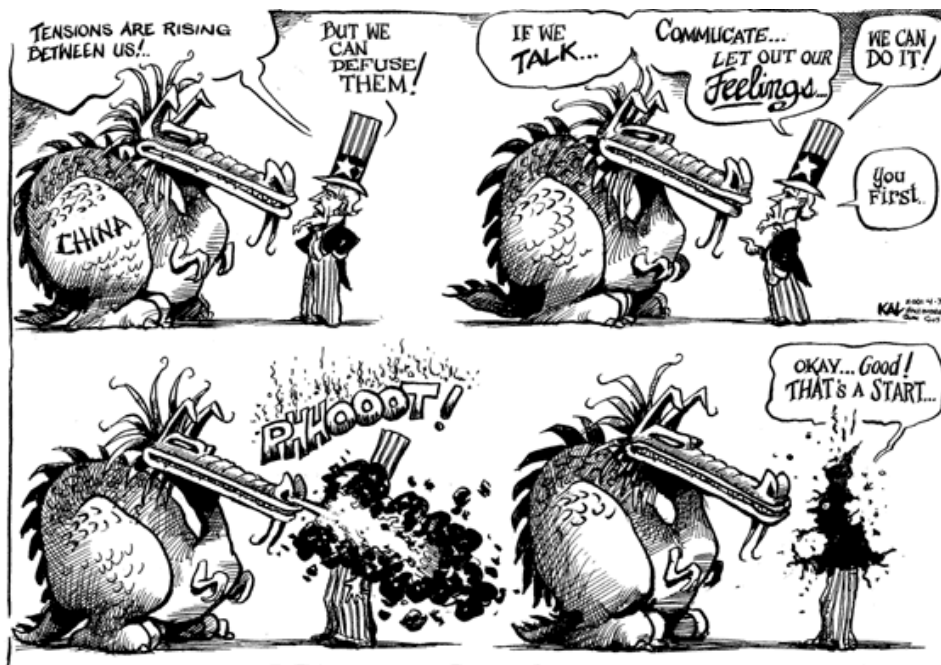
Chinese Politics

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Class meets Monday, Wednesday 3-4:15 pm in Adams Hall Rm. 112
Office Hours: Tues., Thurs. 3-4pm in 120 Hester Hall & by appointment.



Course Description

On April 1, 2001 an American E-P3 reconnaissance plane and a Chinese F-8 jet fighter collided over the South China Sea. The E-P3 made it safely to China's Hainan Island; the F-8 tore apart and crashed. Pilot Wang Wei is now presumed dead. A few days later, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs called an unusual late-night news conference: "The United States should take full responsibility, make an apology to the Chinese government and people, and give us an explanation of its actions." US Secretary of State Colin Powell initially responded with equal bluntness: "We have nothing to apologize for." After 11 days of intensive negotiations, Beijing released the 24 American servicemen being held in Hainan. Both sides quickly claimed victory.



What should we make of this “apology diplomacy”? As the above cartoon from the *Baltimore Sun* subtly suggests, many Americans have a very ambivalent image of China. Is China a fearsome dragon out to upset the global balance of power? Or is China a cuddly panda (here a cute dragon) that we can talk to?

This course provides a comprehensive introduction to Chinese politics, but should reveal as much about the West as it does about China. Why do we think and talk about China in the ways that we do? Our assumptions about politics are derived from the American experience, so studying China should reveal quite a bit about who we are.

But China is more than just a mirror. With over a fifth of the world’s population (over 1.3 billion people), an enormous economy (a 2006 nominal GDP of over 2.68 trillion), and the world’s largest standing army, China is intrinsically important. Anyone who wishes to understand 21st century world politics needs to engage the China question.

The course begins with China’s revolutionary heritage, exploring the political history of 20th century China, with emphasis on the half century since “Liberation” in 1949. How, for example, can we understand the chaos of the Cultural Revolution? It then turns to state-market-society relations in China today. Who have been the winners and losers in the last three decades of “reform and opening”? The class concludes with an exploration of China’s new nationalism and prospects for democratization.

One of the primary goals of this course is to develop critical thinking skills. Therefore, you will not just passively learn *about* Chinese politics, but will also actively *do* research and writing on Chinese politics. You will both take and administer paper and online surveys about China, do research in small groups on patterns of media coverage about China, as well as participate in the editing of a book review essay about Chinese politics. Most fundamentally, you will be asked to make arguments, which will be judged on their persuasiveness, in this class.

Readings

This class is reading heavy, and you are expected to attend class having completed the readings assigned for that day. Random pop quizzes will test whether you have read them. *Lectures will not cover the same ground as the readings, and are no substitute for them.* Four books are available for purchase at the OU bookstore and online (the reading is required; purchasing the books is not), and will be held on reserve at Bizzell Library:

- Maurice **Meisner**, *Mao’s China and After: A History of the People’s Republic*, Third Edition (NYC: Simon & Schuster, Free Press, 1999).
- Jung **Chang**, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (NYC: Random House, Anchor Books, 1991).
- Peter Hays **Gries** and Stan **Rosen**, *State and Society in 21st Century China: Crisis Contention and Legitimation* (New York: Routledge, 2004).¹
- Peter Hays **Gries**, *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California, 2004).

These books have been chosen for balance: two (Chang and Gries) should be easy (and fun) reads, while two (Meisner and the Gries and Rosen compilation) will be more difficult (but hopefully rewarding). They are all, however, passionately written; they are not neutral (and boring) textbooks. You are therefore expected to read critically. What are the author’s

¹ Any royalties accrued from the sales of my books to my own students will be contributed to the OU Health Sciences Center.



arguments? Are they persuasive? Why do you think that the authors take the positions that they do? Do you agree or not?

Additional readings will be available on the course website, and from “LORA” at the OU library webpage, <http://libraries.ou.edu/eresources/LORA/>. Search the EBSCO database.

Grading

Your final grade will be based upon data collection, class participation & pop quizzes, a small-group multi-media project, a research paper, and a final exam:

5%	survey research/data collection
15%	Class participation, pop quizzes, and homework
25%	Small-group multi-media project (9/17)
25%	Research paper (10/15, 10/29)
30%	Final exam (12/12)

1. You will administer about a dozen paper and online surveys about China to neighbors and other acquaintances.
2. The class participation grade will be based upon the quality, not quantity, of your contributions to group discussions, as well as short homework assignments, and pass/fail pop quizzes on the readings given at the beginning of class on random days throughout the semester.
3. A printout of your small-group multi-media project will be due at the beginning of class on Sept 17. Presentations will be made September 17 and 19.
4. A ten page paper will be due at the beginning of class on October 29. Late papers will not be accepted. You should submit an outline by October 15.
5. The final exam will be held on Wednesday, December 12. It will be comprehensive. Anyone with a scheduling conflict should inform me no later than November 12.

Small-group Multi-media Project: Patterns of Media coverage of Chinese politics

On Monday, August 27, you will join a team of about three students responsible for putting together a multimedia presentation exploring patterns of Western media coverage of one of the following ten topics:

1. The Tiananmen Massacre (1989)
2. Rural protest (Peasants)
3. Urban protest (Workers)
4. The Internet in China
5. Elections and Democratization
6. Women in China today
7. Population and Birth Control
8. China's Environmental Problems
9. Health (AIDS, SARS)
10. Beijing 2008 Olympics

Each team will put together a multimedia (image, text, and possibly sound) presentation (PowerPoint or website) which will be uploaded onto the web before class on September 17. In class, they will hand in a printout of their PowerPoint/website along with the link. Presentations will be made September 17 and 19. Each team will have five minutes to present their multimedia project, respond to questions, and be graded by both the instructor and their classmates.



This project presents three separate challenges: 1) working collectively in a small group; 2) data-mining the Internet for an interesting pattern in the media coverage of your topic – and developing a hypothesis/explanation for it; 3) using IT to present your argument succinctly.

Grading Criteria. The presentations will be graded 75% substance and 25% presentation.

75% Substance

- 1) ***What?*** Uncover *interesting patterns* in the ways that the *media* covers China.
 - **Media** is defined broadly: newspapers, TV, movies, music, cartoons, computer games – whatever you can find surfing the web or otherwise.
 - **Patterns** refers to similarities and differences in the coverage (for instance, of Topic, Argument, Assumptions, and/or Tone) of China.
 - **Interesting:** Patterns that are obvious are not interesting. Patterns that are puzzling, by contrast, beg explanation and make for an exciting presentation.
- 2) ***Why?*** Hypotheses/explanations about why these media patterns of similarities or differences exist.

25% Presentation: Clear, creative, concise

- 1) Be **clear**: Substance doesn't speak for itself; communicate your ideas precisely.
- 2) Be **creative**: A picture (or a sound, movie clip, etc.) can be worth a thousand words. Integrate multiple media into your presentation to get your ideas across.
- 3) Be **concise**: You only have five minutes, so limit yourselves to just a few multi-media slides that capture your most interesting material.

Grading Process. Your team grade will be determined 50% by me, and 50% by your classmates. We will grade each presentation for both substance and presentation. (See attached grade sheet.) The members of the best two teams will have five points added to their individual final exam grades.

Teamwork. Political science has an extensive literature on the “collective action” or “freerider” problem: individuals who take more than their fair share of the benefits (such as a good grade) without shouldering their fair share of the costs (such as contributing to the project). How you run your teams is your own business, but I grant each team the right (through a deadline of Feb. 14) to vote out any member that does not meet team expectations. Any student voted out of a team will have to put together their own individual presentation on another topic assigned by the instructor. Group expectations can be formalized in a signed team contract, which might include pledges to attend weekly group meetings and/or complete various web-based or other research assignments. In addition to grading other teams' projects, you will also grade the contributions of your teammates.

Server space. Every student at OU is given free server space to create websites. If no one in your group currently has a website or access to server space, one or more of you can activate your accounts at OU. OU IT is also available to help you with power points or website creation.

While these are some of the many resources available to you for completing this assignment, you alone are responsible for both the substance and presentation of your project.

Paper



A ten page research paper on China's elites will be due in class on October 29. Late papers will not be accepted. You must submit an outline by October 15. The paper should assess a puzzle or pattern that you have identified in some aspect of elite Chinese politics. You must use Chinavivae.com and at least two other websites in your research.

Classroom Policies

Respect is required. While the discreet consumption of coffee and other beverages is permitted, eating, which might disrupt your classmates, is not. Please turn off all cell phones and other devices that might disrupt class. Disparaging comments or behaviors towards your classmates will not be permitted. Anyone disrupting the educational atmosphere of the classroom will be asked to leave.

Sexual harassment will not be tolerated. Anyone experiencing harassment in the classroom should contact the instructor immediately. Harassment anywhere on the OU campus should be reported to the OU [Office of Equal Opportunity](#).

Plagiarism & Cheating

Academic honesty is presumed and required on the part of all students in the course. Use of the work of others is positively encouraged and is central to scholarship, but it must always be properly credited. When it is not credited, and when the thoughts/words/ideas of others are passed off as your own, that is PLAGIARISM. Plagiarism is serious academic misconduct and will be reported to the appropriate university office; penalties are severe. Visit www.ou.edu/provost/integrity-rights/ for details of the university's academic honesty code. If you are in doubt about how to handle quotations or citations, please consult the instructor.

Disabilities

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent her from fully demonstrating her abilities should contact me personally within the first two weeks of class.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

INTRODUCTION: CHINA THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

WEEK 1.

- 1. Monday 8/20: China: A Snapshot**
- 2. Wednesday 8/22: China through American Eyes**
 - Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Preface, Intro, & Ch. 1 in *China: Beyond the Headlines*.

THE REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

WEEK 2.

- 3. Monday 8/27. The Cultural Tradition: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism**
 - Wing-Tsit Chan, "The Humanism of Confucius." *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Ch. 2.
 - Donald Munro, "Afterword" to *Zhuangzi Speaks* by cartoonist Tsai Chih Chung.



4. Wednesday 8/29. The Dynastic Cycle & the “Mandate of Heaven”

- Frederic Wakeman, *The Fall of Imperial China*, Ch. 4: “The Dynastic Cycle.”

WEEK 3.

Monday 9/3. No class LABOR DAY

5. Wednesday 9/5. 1910s: The Fall of the Qing and the Republican Revolution

- *Wild Swans*, Ch. 1 (pp. 21-42)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part I: The Rev. Heritage (pp. 3-19)

WEEK 4.

6. Monday 9/10. 1920s: The New Culture and May Fourth Movements

- *Wild Swans* Ch. 2 (pp. 43-61)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part I: The Rev. Heritage (pp. 20-54)
- Lu Xun, “Preface to *A Call to Arms*” and “A Diary of a Madman.”

7. Wednesday 9/12. Marx and Marxism; Mao and Maoism

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.
- [“Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan”](#) (1927).

WEEK 5.

8. Monday 9/17. 1930-40s: The “War of Resistance,” Civil War, and “Liberation”

- *Wild Swans*, Chs. 3-10 (pp. 62-203)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part II: The New Order (pp. 55-154)

9. Wednesday 9/19. 1950s: The Great Leap Forward and Famine

- *Wild Swans*, Chs. 11-13 (pp. 204-255)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part III: Utopianism (pp. 155-244)

WEEK 6.

10. Monday 9/24. 1960s: The Cultural Revolution I: What?

- *Wild Swans*, Chs. 14-19 (pp. 254-340)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part IV: Thermidorian Reaction (pp. 245-290)
- [“Classes and Class Struggle”](#) from *Quotations from Chairman Mao (The Little Red Book)*.

11. Wednesday 9/26. The Cultural Revolution II: Why?

- *Wild Swans*, Chs. 20-27 (pp. 341-494)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part V: The CR and its Aftermath (pp. 291-412)

WEEK 7.

12. Monday 10/1. 1980s: Deng Xiaoping & “Reform and Opening”

- *Wild Swans* Ch. 28 (pp. 495-508)
- *Mao’s China and After* Part VI: Deng Xiaoping and the Origins of Chinese Capitalism (Chs. 21-23, pp. 413-482)



13. Wednesday 10/3. Beijing Spring and the Tiananmen Massacre (1989)

- *Mao's China and After* Part VI: Deng Xiaoping and the Origins of Chinese Capitalism (Ch. 24, pp. 483-513)
- "The Tiananmen Papers," *Foreign Affairs* 80.1 (Jan/Feb 2001). [skim]

WEEK 8.

14. Monday 10/8. Reform Renewed: Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and the 1990s

- *Mao's China and After* Part VI: Deng Xiaoping and the Origins of Chinese Capitalism (Ch. 25, pp. 514-548).
- Jon Mirsky, "Nothing to Celebrate," *The New Republic*, 11 October 1999.

15. Wednesday 10/10. Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, and the Dawn of the 21st Century

- Reading TBA

**STATE, MARKET, AND SOCIETY IN CHINA TODAY:
WHITHER THE REVOLUTION?**

WEEK 9.

16. Monday 10/15. State & Society in China Today: Frameworks

- Peter Hays **Gries** and Stanley **Rosen**, "Introduction: Popular Protest and State Legitimation in 21st century China," in Gries and Rosen, eds. *State and Society in 21st Century China*.
- Vivienne **Shue**, "Legitimacy Crisis in China?" in Gries and Rosen, eds. *State and Society in 21st Century China*.

17. Wednesday 10/17. State & Society in China Today: Normative Issues

- Henry **Rosemont, Jr.**, "China's New Economic Reforms: Replacing Iron Rice Bowls with Plastic Cups," *China: Beyond the Headlines* pp. 171-194.
- Tim **Oakes**, CU Geography, "China's Market Reforms: Whose Human Rights problem?," *China: Beyond the Headlines*, pp. 295-326.

WEEK 10.

18. Monday 10/22. Protest and Resistance

- Kevin J. **O'Brien**, "Neither Transgressive nor Contained: Boundary-Spanning Contention in China" in Gries and Rosen, eds. *State and Society in 21st Century China*.
- Patricia **Thornton**, "Comrades and Collectives in Arms: Tax resistance, Evasion, and Avoidance Strategies in post-Mao China," in Gries and Rosen, eds. *State and Society in 21st Century China*.
- [OPTIONAL: Tim **Weston**, "The Iron Man Weeps: Joblessness and political legitimacy in the Chinese Rust Belt," in Gries and Rosen, eds. *State and Society in 21st Century China*.]

Wednesday 10/24. China's Minorities

- Colin MacKerras, "What is China? Who is Chinese? Han-Minority relations, legitimacy, and the state," in *State and Society in 21st Century China*, Gries and Rosen.

WEEK 11.

20. Monday 10/29. Tibet



- Orville Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La from the Himalayas to Hollywood*, Chs. 2 & 3.
- International Campaign for Tibet website.

21. Wednesday 10/31. Women in China today

- Wang Zheng, "Gender, Employment, and Women's Resistance," in Perry and Selden, eds., *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict, & Resistance* 2nd Edition (Routledge, 2003).

WEEK 12.

22. Monday 11/5. Population, Environment and Health

- Liz Economy, "China's Environment," *Foreign Affairs*, 2007.
- Gill, Chang, and Palmer, "China's HIV Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr 2002, Vol. 81 Issue 2.

NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION

23. Wednesday 11/7. China's New Nationalism

- Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, Intro & Ch. 1.

WEEK 13.

24. Monday 11/12. National Identity

- Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, Chs. 2-5.

25. Wednesday 11/14. Nationalism: Popular Passions

- Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, Chs. 6-7.

WEEK 14.

26. Monday 11/19. Nationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy

- Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, Ch. 8.

Wednesday 11/21. NO CLASS THANKSGIVING

WEEK 15.

27. Monday 11/26. Nationalism and Taiwan

- Carol Lee Hamrin and Wang Zheng, "The floating Island: change of paradigm on the Taiwan question," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 13.39 (May 2004), pp. 339 – 349.

28. Wednesday 11/28. Democratization in Taiwan

- Rigger, Shelley. *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy*. Routledge, 1999. Chs. 1&2.

WEEK 16.

29. Monday 12/3. Democratization in China

- Ogden, Suzanne. *Inklings of Democracy in China*. Harvard 2002. Chs. 1 & 9.

30. Wednesday 12/5. Review Session

FINAL EXAM: Wednesday, 12/12, 4:30-6:30pm.