



ENGAGE. EXPERIENCE. EMBRACE. EDUCATE.

## Study Center in Shanghai, China

<b>Course name:</b>	Political Development in Modern China
<b>Course number:</b>	EAST 3006 SCGC/POLI 3001 SCGC
<b>Programs offering course:</b>	Shanghai Accelerated Chinese Language, Shanghai Business, Language and Culture, Shanghai China in a Global Context
<b>Language of instruction:</b>	English
<b>U.S. Semester Credits:</b>	3 semester/4.5 quarter hours
<b>Contact Hours:</b>	45
<b>Term:</b>	Spring 2018

### Course Description

The first half of this course will survey chronologically the major eras of modern China's political change and development, from the Late Qing to the present day. The second half will focus on different aspects of Chinese political practice and development, including exploring the relationships between nationalism, Marxism and Confucianism; elite politics and Leninism; threats to Party rule; democratic development; constitutional developments and rule of law; the "China Model;" and "decentralized authoritarianism."

Many questions will be raised in class discussion, such as: "Who and what have been and are the central political forces in China during the modern period and how might we understand them?", "What were the central political conflicts between the Kuomintang and the CPC?", "What are the fundamental similarities and differences between the Maoist and post-Maoist eras?", "What are China's prospects for democracy and the development of the rule of law?", and "What is the "China Model" and what is "decentralized authoritarianism," and how are these concepts if not practices shaping China and the world today?"

### Learning Objectives

Students will begin to create or, more likely, substantially add to their knowledge and understanding of politics in China during its turbulent modern period as a means for better understanding China's present and emerging future.

### Course Prerequisites

None.

### Methods of Instruction

The course will rely primarily on lecture, discussion, and assigned readings, and will include a midterm exam and final exam. Lectures will be complemented with PowerPoint and other contemporary instructional aides.



***Students are not expected to complete all of the readings—this would be unreasonable if not impossible—but instead, they are encouraged to sample each and focus on those that enrich the historical narratives they deem most compelling and interesting.*** The purpose of lecture and discussion is to bring these various narratives together in a sensible, student-driven, instructor-guided way.

### **Assessment and Final Grade**

1. Attendance and Participation	30%
2. Midterm	20%
3. Final Exam	50%

### **Course Requirements**

#### **Attendance and Participation**

Students are expected to arrive prepared for each class, including the fieldtrip, to have completed the assigned readings in advance, and to remain for the entire duration of each class. Since class preparation and active participation in class are very important to an effective learning community, this will represent 30% of the final grade. Any student who due to unexcused absences misses more than four classes may receive a grade of F and lose credit for the course. Late submissions are not permitted. Active participation includes asking questions, participating in discussion, and helping to drive the course forward in a meaningful way. Each unexcused absence reduces the final course grade by 3 points.

#### **Midterm Exam**

Worth 20 points, i.e., 20% of the final grade, the midterm will consist of one question designed to cover material discussed in class.

#### **Final Exam**

Worth 50 points, i.e., 50% of the final grade, the final exam will consist of two questions, each worth 25 points. Questions will be sufficiently complex as to offer students the chance to illustrate at least eight aspects in each answer, and therefore potentially qualify for full credit. Partial credit is possible.

### **Weekly Schedule**

**Week 1      Orientation Week, No Class**

***Part I: A Survey of Major Political Developments from the Late Dynastic Period to the Present***

**Week 2      Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Politics**

*Description:* Provide an overview of the contemporary Chinese political system.



### **Week 3 Before the Republic**

*Description:* First half—Introduce course and provide a historical overview of key developments in Chinese history as a whole, with a focus on 19<sup>th</sup> century events leading up to the modern period.

*Readings:*

Dardess, *Governing China*, 52-102.

Fairbank and Goldman, *China: A New History*, 143-234.

### **Field trip to Propaganda Museum and the Site of the First CPC Congress**

### **Week 4 The 1911 Republic, the Kuomintang and the Rise of the CPC**

*Description:* Review the history of the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, the founding of the Republic of China, the rise of the Warlord Era, the May Fourth Era, Japanese Invasion, the successes and failures of the Kuomintang, and the rise of the Communist Party of China. Provide a overview of the political developments of the CPC during the War with Japan, the Chinese Civil War, and the founding of the People's Republic of China.

*Readings:*

Lu, "Preface to *Call to Arms*" and "Diary of a Madman," pp. 33-51.

Fairbank and Goldman, *China: A New History*, 235-342.

Liu, "How to Be a Good Communist," 107-168.

Zhou, "On Chinese Fascism, The New Autocracy," 160-176.

Mao, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," 195-212.

### **Week 5 The Mao Era Before and After Liberation**

*Description:* Focus on the Mao Era of Chinese political development.

*Readings:*

Mao, "On New Democracy," pp. 339-384.

Mao, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1971), pp. 371-388.

Mao, "On the Correction Handling of Contradictions Among the People," 432-479.

"Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party...", 1-86.

MacFarquhar, ed. *The Politics of China*, 5-247.

### **Week 5 The Deng and Jiang Eras**

*Description:* Focus on the Deng and Jiang Eras of Chinese political development.

*Readings:*

Roderick MacFarquhar, ed. *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*, pp. 248-532.



From Deng Xiaoping:

- “Speech at the All-Army Conference on Political Work,” 124-136.
- “Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts and United as One Looking to the Future,” 150-163.
- “Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles,” 168-191.
- “We Should Make Use of Foreign Funds...,” 166-167.
- “Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai,” 358-370.
- “Address to the Officers at the Rank of General and Above...,” 294- 299.

From Jiang Zemin:

- “Speech at the Rally in Celebration of the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China.”
- “Eulogy at Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s Memorial Ceremony,” 611-624.
- “Order for the Hong Kong Garrison” and “The Handover of Hong Kong,” 633-635.

## **Week 6          The Hu and Xi Eras; Midterm**

*Description:* Focus on the Hu and Xi Eras of Chinese political development

*Readings:*

- Introduction to the Scientific Outlook on Development*, Beijing, CCTP, 2006.
- Hu Jintao, “Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism...,” 1-73.
- Wu, “China in 2010: Dilemmas in ‘Scientific Development,’” 18-32.
- Andreas, *Rise of the Red Engineers*,” 248-259.
- Mahoney, “On Xi Jinping’s Mass Line Campaign.”
- Mahoney, “On the Chinese Dream.”

## **Week 7          Cultural excursion. No Class.**

### ***Part II: Issue-Focused Histories***

## **Week 8          The Roles of Nationalism, Marxism and Confucianism in Political Development**

*Description:* Focus on major schools of thought, issues and trends that influence political development in the PRC.

*Readings:*

- Chen, *Economic Transition and Political Legitimacy in Post Mao China*, 197-210.
- Mahoney, “Legitimizing Leninism,” 99-128.
- Seckington, “Nationalism, Ideology and China’s ‘Fourth Generation Leadership,’” 23-33.
- Callahan, “National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation and Chinese Nationalism,” 198-218.

## **Week 9          Spring Break. No class.**

## **Week 10        Elite Politics and Legitimacy**



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*Description:* Explain and discuss how elite politics and transfers of power work in China, from one generation to another.

*Readings:*

Guo, "China's Peaceful Development, Regime Stability and Political Legitimacy," 39-60.

Bo, *China's Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization*, 17-174.

Miller, "The Case of Xi Jinping and the Mysterious Succession."

## **Week 12 Threats to Party Rule and National Integrity**

*Description:* Focus on various challenges to CPC-rule and PRC national integrity.

*Readings:*

"On the Question of Stalin," 1-23.

"Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party..." 1-13.

Deng, "Speech at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly," 1-22.

Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, 144-167.

Ownby, *Falun Gong and the Future of China*, 229-235.

Wan, *Inequality and Growth in Modern China*.

Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*.

## **Week 13 Democracy Development**

*Description:* Focus on attempts to foster democracy in modern China.

*Readings:*

Kerry Brown, *Ballot Box China*, 5-29.

Bo, *China's Elite Politics*, 383-392.

Yu, *Democracy is a Good Thing*, xvii-90.

Cheng, "Intra-Party Democracy in China: Should We Take It Seriously?"

## **Week 14 The "China Model," "The Chinese Dream," "De/Recentralized Authoritarianism"**

*Description:* Provide a conclusion for the course with reference to theories and policies associated with recent political developments, followed by a brief exam review

*Readings:*

Mahoney, "What Should We Learn from China."

Chun, *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*, 251-287.

Landry, *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China*, 257-268.

Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0," 995-1012.

## **Week 15 Final Exam**

## Course Readings

*Restricted digital access will be provided for all readings.*

- Andreas, Joel, *Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 248-259.
- Brown, Kerry, *Ballot Box China: Grassroots Democracy in the Final Major One-Party State* (London: Zed Books, 2001), pp. 5-29.
- Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization* (Singapore, World Scientific, 2010).
- Chen, Feng, *Economic Transition and Political Legitimacy in Post Mao China: Ideology and Reform* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), pp. 197-210.
- Cheng Li, "Intra-Party Democracy in China: Should We Take It Seriously?" *China Leadership Monitor*, 30 (Fall 2009) [<http://media.hoover.org/documents/CLM30CL.pdf>].
- Chun, Lin, *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 251-287.
- Dardess, John W., *Governing China: 150-1850* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2010), pp. 52-102.
- Deng Xiaoping, "Speech at the All-Army Conference on Political Work" (1978), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. II* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1984), pp. 124-136.
- , "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts and United as One Looking to the Future" (1978), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. II*, pp. 150-163.
- , "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles" (1979), *Ibid.*, pp. 168-191.
- , "We Should Make Use of Foreign Funds and Let Former Capitalist Industrialists and Businessmen Play their Role in Developing the Economy" (1979), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. II*, pp. 166-167.
- , "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai" (1992), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994) pp. 358-370.
- , "Speech at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly" (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1974), pp. 1-22.
- , "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1966), pp. 1-13.
- Fairbank, John King and Merle. R. Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 143-234.
- Guo Baogang, "China's Peaceful Development, Regime Stability and Political Legitimacy," in *China's "Peaceful Rise" in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Domestic and International Conditions*, Sujian Guo, ed. (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 39-60.
- Hu Jintao, "Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism...: Report to the 17<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 15, 2007," *Documents of the National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2007), pp. 1-73.
- Introduction to the Scientific Outlook on Development, Beijing, CCTP, 2006.
- Jiang Zemin, "Speech at the Rally in Celebration of the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China" (Beijing: New Star Publishers, 2001).
- , "Eulogy at Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Memorial Ceremony" (1997), *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Vol. I* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2010), pp. 611-624.
- Landry, Pierre F., *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 257-268.

- Liu Shaoqi, "How to Be a Good Communist" (1939), *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi, Vol. I*, pp. 107-168.
- , "Constitution of the PRC, 1954" (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1954), pp. 69-101.
- Lu Xun, "Preface to *Call to Arms*" and "Diary of a Madman," *Selected Works, Vol. I* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1959), pp. 33-51.
- MacFarquhar, Roderick, ed. *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Mahoney, Josef Gregory "Legitimizing Leninism," forthcoming, 2011. Josef Gregory Mahoney, "On the Way to Harmony: Marxism, Confucianism, and Hu Jintao's Hexie Concept." *China in Search of a Harmonious Society*. Sujian Guo, Ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), pp. 99-128.
- Mao Zedong, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (1938), *Selected Works, Vol. II* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), pp. 195-212.
- , "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1971), pp. 371-388.
- , "On the Correction Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1971), pp. 432-479.
- , "On New Democracy," *Selected Works, Vol. II* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), pp. 339-384.
- Mertha, Andrew, "'Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0': Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process," *The China Quarterly*, 200 (Dec. 2009), pp. 995-1012.
- Miller, Alice L., "The Case of Xi Jinping and the Mysterious Succession," *China Leadership Monitor*, 30 (Fall 2009) [<http://media.hoover.org/documents/CLM30AM.pdf>].
- "On the Question of Stalin," (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1963), pp. 1-23.
- Ownby, David, *Falun Gong and the Future of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 229-235.
- "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," *Resolution of CPC History* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1981), pp. 1-86.
- Scobell, Andrew, *China's Use of Military Force* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 144-167.
- Seckington, Ian, "Nationalism, Ideology and China's 'Fourth Generation Leadership,'" *Journal of Contemporary China*, 14 (February 2005), pp. 23-33.
- Shirk, Susan L., *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Wan Guanghua, *Inequality and Growth in Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Wu Guoguang "China in 2010: Dilemmas in 'Scientific Development,'" *Asian Survey*, 51:1 (Jan./Feb. 2001), pp. 18-32.
- Yu Keping, *Democracy is a Good Thing* (Washington: Brookings, 2008), pp. xvii-90.
- Zhou Enlai, "On Chinese Fascism, The New Autocracy" (1943), *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai, Vol. I* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1981), pp. 160-176.

### **Course Instructor**

约瑟夫·格雷戈里·马奥尼 / Josef Gregory Mahoney, Ph.D., Professor of Politics and Director of the International Graduate Program in Politics, East China Normal University; Assistant Editor, US-based *Journal of Chinese Political Science*; Editor, the *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*; Co-Editor of the *ECNU Review*; and formerly Senior Researcher, Central Compilation and Translation Bureau (Beijing); and Research Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Fudan University. His publications have appeared in Chinese and Western journals, including *The China Journal*, *Marxism and Reality*, *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, *Science & Society*, *Rethinking Marxism*, and others. He was a member of the Chinese team that translated Jiang Zemin's *Selected Works* into English.