

## State and Society in Post-Mao China

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PLSC 390 / EAST 357 / 557 / EP&E 293

Spring 2015

Wednesdays 3:30-5:20

Office Hours Tuesdays 1:30-2:30 or by appointment, Rosenkranz Hall 335

This seminar examines state-society relations in the People's Republic of China, focusing on the post-Mao period. Themes include popular protest and social mobilization, growth and impact of the internet, nationalism, commercialization of the media, and prospects for political reform and democratization. No prior coursework on China is assumed, and no knowledge of Chinese is required.

### READINGS

Most of the course readings are available online or on e-reserve, hyperlinked via the electronic version of this syllabus or in the Resources folder of Classes\*v2. Others are available at Bass Library. Because we read substantial portions of these books, students may wish to purchase:

- Zhao, Dingxin. 2001. *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Shambaugh, David. 2008. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. University of California Press.
- Parker, Emily. 2014. *Now I Know Who My Comrades Are: Voices from the Internet Underground*. Sarah Crichton.

Students may also find it helpful to consult the following as background:

- Wasserstrom, Jeffrey. 2010. *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2003.

### REQUIREMENTS

#### 1. Written assignments (60%)

Three response papers (20% each) of between 1000 and 1200 words (approx. 4 pages) that incorporate and discuss the assigned readings and three additional short news pieces or policy commentary (six for graduate students) from sources such as *NYT*, *WP*, *FT*, *Economist*, *Straits Times*, *China Daily*, *People's Daily*, *South China Morning Post*, *FP.com*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Council on Foreign Relations*, *Brookings*, *China Leadership Monitor*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *New Yorker*, et al.

Response papers are due before the start of class. At least one paper must be submitted by week 6. Before class, students will upload their response papers and copies of additional news pieces to classes\*v2 forum for the class to read and comment during the following week.

#### 2. In-class participation and presentations (40%)

Active participation is essential in a seminar setting. In addition to participating in the general discussion, each student turning in a response paper for a given week will present the main points and questions of his or her paper in 5 minutes or less.

## SCHEDULE

❖ denotes recommended but not required reading

### 1. Introduction (1/14)

### 2. Overview (1/21)

- Shambaugh, David. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*, [Introduction \(p. 1-10\)](#)
- Teets, Jessica, Stanley Rosen, and Peter Hays Gries. "[Political Change, Contestation and Pluralization in China Today.](#)" *Chinese Politics: State, Society and the Market*. Peter Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds. New York: RoutledgeCurzon. 2010.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. "[The Reform Era,](#)" (chapter 5) and "[The State and Society,](#)" (chapter 11) in *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2003.

### 3. Views of the State (1/28)

- Huntington, Samuel. 1968. [Political Order in Changing Societies](#). Yale University Press, Chapter 1, p. 1-33.
- Shambaugh, David. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*, [Chapter 4, "The Chinese discourse on Communist party states," \(p. 41-86\)](#), Chapter 5, "The Chinese discourse on Noncommunist party states," (p. 87-102), and excerpt from Chapter 7, "Rebuilding the Party: The Organizational Dimension," (p. 128-147).

❖ Lieberthal and Oksenberg, *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes*

### 4. Views of Society (2/4)

- Saich, Tony. "[Negotiating the State: The Development of Social Organizations in China,](#)" *The China Quarterly*, No. 161 (Mar., 2000), pp. 124-141.
- Teets, Jessica. "[Post-Earthquake Relief and Reconstruction Efforts: The Emergence of Civil Society in China?](#)" *The China Quarterly* 198. June 2009: 330-347.
- Mertha, Andrew. "'[Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0:](#)' [Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process,](#)" *The China Quarterly*, vol. 200, 2009, pp 995-1012

❖ Beja, Jean-Philippe. "[The Changing Aspect of Civil Society,](#)" *Social Research* 73.1, 2006.

### 5. Tiananmen (2/11)

- Zhao, Dingxin. 2001. *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. [Introduction, chapter 6, 7, 9, and conclusion.](#)
- Walder, Andrew G. "[Workers, Managers and the State: The Reform Era and the Political Crisis of 1989,](#)" *The China Quarterly*, No. 127, Special Issue: The Individual and State in China (Sep., 1991).

❖ Kuran, Timur. 1991. "[Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.](#)" *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations* 44(1): 7-48.

### 6. FILM: Gate of Heavenly Peace (2/18)

- Begin reading Parker, Emily. 2014. *Now I Know Who My Comrades Are: Voices from the Internet Underground*

## 7. Protest and Social Mobilization (2/25)

- Sidney Tarrow. 1998. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge University Press, chapter 5, "Political Opportunities and Constraints," p. 71-90.
- Tanner, Murray Scot. 2004. "[China Rethinks Unrest](#)." *The Washington Quarterly* 27(3): 137-56.
- Cai, Yongshun. 2008. "[Power Structure and Regime Resilience: Contentious Politics in China](#)," *BJPS* 38:411-432.
- Perry, Elizabeth, "Popular Protest: Playing by the Rules," in *China Today, China Tomorrow* ed. Joseph Fewsmith (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010)
- Wasserstrom, Jeffrey. 2003. "[Current Chinese Protests and the Prism of Tiananmen](#)," *Press/Politics* 8(1), p. 81-86.
- ❖ Kevin J. O'Brien, "[Rightful Resistance](#)," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Oct., 1996), pp. 31-55.
- ❖ Tarrow, Sidney. "[The New Contentious Politics in China: Poor and Blank or Rich and Complex?](#)" in *Popular Protest in China*, ed. Kevin O'Brien, 2008.

## 8. Information Controls, Media Commercialization, and the Internet (3/4)

**GUEST SPEAKER: EMILY PARKER, AUTHOR OF NOW I KNOW WHO MY COMRADES ARE**

- Pool, Ithiel de Sola. 1973. "[Communication in Totalitarian Societies](#)," in *Handbook of Communication*, edited by Chicago, Rand McNally College Pub. Co.
- Perry Link, "The Anaconda in the Chandelier," *New York Review of Books*, April 11, 2002.
- Han Han, "No fire without smoke: business as usual for China Central Television," in *This Generation: Dispatches from China's Most Popular Literary Star*, ed. Allan H. Barr., p.89-94.
- Stockmann, Daniela and Mary E. Gallagher. 2011. "[Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China](#)," *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(4), 436-467.
- Yang, Guobin. "[Contention in Cyberspace](#)," in *Popular Protest in China*, ed. Kevin O'Brien, 2008.
- King, Pan, and Roberts. 2013. "[How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression](#)," *American Political Science Review* 107(2), 326-343.
- ❖ "[Can China Gain Journalistic Credibility?](#)" NYTimes.com "Room for Debate," July 12, 2010.
- ❖ "China: A Populist Rising," *The Financial Times*, March 9, 2010.
- ❖ "['Body double' blocked online amid speculation about Gu Kailai](#)," WSJ.com China Realtime Report, August 21, 2012.
- ❖ "['Fans' of Xi Jinping fawn online over 'Pingping,' China's new leader](#)," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2012.

SPRING BREAK

## 9. Nationalism, part I: Concepts and Historical Examples (3/25)

- Haas, Ernst B., "[What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?](#)" *International Organization*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Summer, 1986), pp. 707-744.
- Brubaker, Rogers, "[The Manichean myth: Rethinking the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism](#)," in *Nation and National Identity*, Kriesel et al, eds., Verlag Ruedger, 1999.
- Spence, Jonathan D. "[Three Sides of Nationalism](#)" (p. 230-237), "[Nationalists and Socialists](#)" (p. 256-261), "[Qing Fall](#)" (p. 262-68), "[The Facets of May Fourth](#)" (p. 310-318), in *The Search for Modern China*, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1999.

- Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. 1991. "[Epilogue: The May 4<sup>th</sup> Tradition in the 1980s](#)," in *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China*. Stanford University Press, p. 295-316.
- ❖ Hechter, Michael. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, 2000. Available online at <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/019924751X/toc.html>.
- ❖ Liu Xiaobiao. 2005. "[Marketing Nationalism in China](#)"

#### 10. Nationalism, part II: Current Examples and Issues (4/1)

- Zhao, Suisheng. 2005. "[China's Pragmatic Nationalism: Is It Manageable?](#)" *Washington Quarterly*
- Zhao, Dingxin. 2003. "[Nationalism and Authoritarianism: Student-Government Conflicts During the 1999 Beijing Student Protests after the Belgrade Embassy Bombing](#)." *Asian Perspective*
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2013. "[Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China](#)," *International Organization*.
- Osnos, Evan. 2008. "[Angry Youth: The New Generation's Neocon Nationalists](#)," *The New Yorker*, July 28, 2008.
- Helen Gao, "[Diaoyu in Our Heart: The Revealing Contradictions of Chinese Nationalism](#)," *Atlantic.com*, August 22, 2012.
- Li Chengpeng, "[Patriotism with Chinese Characteristics](#)," *New York Times*, May 25, 2012.
- ❖ Gries, Peter Hays. "[Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing](#)," *The China Journal*, No. 46 (Jul., 2001), pp. 25-43.
- ❖ Gladney, Dru. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. Harvard University Asia Center, p. 1-7, 293-340.

#### 11. Adaptation, Decay, and Innovation (4/8)

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1999. "The Decay and Breakdown of Communist One-Party Systems," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2, pp. 323-43.
- Nathan, Andrew, "[Foreseeing the Unforeseeable](#)," Li, Cheng, "[Top-Level Reform or Bottom-Up Revolution?](#)"; and Minzner, Carl, "[The Turn Against Legal Reform](#)," in "China at the Tipping Point?" *Journal of Democracy*, January 2013.
- Stern, Rachel E. and O'Brien, Kevin J., "[Politics at the Boundary: Mixed Signals and the Chinese State](#)," *Modern China*, Vol. 38, No. 2, March 2012, pp. 174-98.
- O'Brien and Deng, "[Relational Repression in China: Using Social Ties to Demobilize Protesters](#)," *China Quarterly*, forthcoming

#### 12. Religion & Spirituality (4/15)

- Potter, Pitman B. 2003. "[Belief in Control: Regulation of Religion in China](#)," *The China Quarterly*, 174, pp 317-337.
- Madsen, Richard. 1998. *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*, ch. 1.
- Tong, James. 2002. "[An Organizational Analysis of the Falun Gong: Structure, Communications, Financing](#)," *China Quarterly*
- Frontline video, "Jesus in China: Is Christianity Transforming China?" [http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/china\\_705/](http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/china_705/)
- "China's 'Fault Lines': Yu Jie on His New Biography of Liu Xiaobo," *New York Review of Books*, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/jul/14/china-fault-lines-yu-jie-liu-xiaobo/>
- ❖ Elizabeth J. Perry. "[Challenging the Mandate of Heaven: Popular Protest in Modern China](#)," *Critical Asian Studies*, June 2001, Vol. 33, Issue 2, p163-180.

### 13. China's Future (4/22)

- Callahan, William. 2013. "Introduction: China is the Future," and "The American Dream and Chinese Exceptionalism" (chapters 1 and 6) in *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future*. Oxford University Press.
- Shirk, Susan. "[China's Weakness, America's Danger](#)," in *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 255-70.
- Bachman, David. "China's democratization: what difference would it make for US-China relations?" (Chapter 7) in *What If China Doesn't Democratize?* p. 195-223.