

POLITICAL HISTORIES OF CHINA SINCE 1949

Course number:

Term: Fall 2010

Instructor: Hengda Yang

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Course Description

This course will examine the evolution of China by studying the birth and the development of the Communist Party to the present day. Our efforts will begin by examining the reasons for the establishment of the Party in 1921, its alliance and break with the Nationalist Party, and the sources of its triumph in the Chinese Civil War. The class will then survey some of the ideological underpinnings and philosophies of the Communist Party under Mao Zedong. We will then address the major look at the debates that sought to drive policy in China, from the aftermath of the Communist victory to the present day. How China was seen by its leaders and its citizens will be compared with first-hand accounts of foreigners who remained. Special attention will be paid throughout the course on different perspectives and conclusions—different histories—of China as presented by various interests in and outside China. We will not seek to make judgments or render verdicts on policies, politics, or people. Rather, we will examine what comprised Chinese political history in the eyes of both its makers and its observers, relying especially on first-hand accounts, speeches, and commentaries in written and video formats.

Course Outcomes

Lectures, readings, paper assignments, presentations and discussions are designed to help you develop the skills to:

- Think critically, and write and speak persuasively.
- Grasp the sources, basic elements and possibilities of future development of the contemporary Chinese politics on the basis of historical facts.
- Develop the skills of political analysis, especially of the different forms of so-called “politics takes command” policy and their roles in the different stages since 1949, thereby understand the problems and challenges faced by the current Chinese politics.
- Develop the practice of reading texts of political history within their peculiar Chinese social, cultural and mental contexts.
- Construct original, complex, logical and insightful observations and interpretations of the political histories of China since 1949.

Course Requirements and Form of Assessment

During the course, at least three presentations, including a relatively detailed one about one of the four great famous novels, should be made by each student. There will be three short papers (at least 6 pages each) based on the presentations, and one longer final paper (at least 12 pages). The short paper average will count for 45% of the final grade. The final paper will count for 30% of the final grade, and class participation will count for 25%. Late paper policy: All students are allowed one late paper among the three short papers, provided it is not more than one week late. The second late paper will result in a full grade reduction for the course. The third late paper will result in failure for the course.

Attendance Policy

An excused absence requires a written medical excuse or written approval from the school’s administration office. All other absences are considered to be unexcused. Unexcused absences will affect your grade (see below). Arriving more than 10 minutes late for any three classes will cumulatively count as one unexcused absence, while arriving 30 minutes late for any class will count as an unexcused absence.

Penalties for unexcused absences:

- 1 absence – class participation grade drops one full letter grade (example: A- to B-)
- 2 absences – class participation grade drops two full letter grades
- 3 absences – class participation grade drops three full letter grades
- 4 or more absences – class participation grade is a failing grade

Any absence, whether excused or not, will require catch-up reading.

Academic Honesty

Please refer to the following web link for policies on academic honesty:

http://www.luc.edu/cas/pdfs/CAS_Academic_Integrity_Statement_December_07.pdf

Required Text

1. MacFarquhar, Roderick, *Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (the Second Edition), Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1997, (POC).
2. Baum, Richard, *Burying Mao*, Princeton University Press, 1994, (BM).
3. Neuhauser, Charles, "The Chinese Communist Party in the 1960's: Prelude to the Cultural Revolution," *The China Quarterly*, No. 32 (Oct.-Dec. 1967), pp. 3-36, (TCCP).
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/651404>

On Reserve at the TBC Library

1. Meisner, Maurice, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, Third Edition (Paperback), The Free Press, 1999, (MCAA).

2. Teiwes, Frederick, *Politics and Purges in China, Rectification and the Decline of Party Norms, 1950-1965*. 2nd Ed., M.E. Sharpe, 1997, (PAPIC).
3. MacFarguhar, Roderick & Schoenhals, Michael, *Mao's Last Revolution*, the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2006, (MLR).
4. Gittings, John, *The Changing Face of China*, Oxford University Press, 2006, (TCFOC).
5. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State*, Simon & Schuster, 2009, (POTS).
6. Fewsmith, Joseph, *China since Tiananmen*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, (CST).
7. Gries, Peter Hays, *China's New Nationalism*, University of California Press, 2004, (CNN).
8. Saich, Tony, *Governance and Politics of China*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, (GAPOC).
9. Chang, Jung, *Mao: the Unknown Story*, Globalflare Ltd., 2005, (MTUS).
10. De Jaegher, Raymond J., *The Enemy Within*, St. Paul Publications, 1952, (TEW).
11. Worden, Minky, *China's Great Leap*, Seven Stories Press, 2008, (CGL).
12. Li Zhishui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, David Lindroth Inc., 1994, (PLCM).

Class Schedule

Week One a) Class Introduction; b) Requirements of the course; c) A short introduction to the historical facts and intellectual background that influenced the political histories of China since 1949; 4) A short survey of the key issues in different stages of the political histories of China since 1949.

Reading assignments: Mao Zedong, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," (1927), Tony Saich (ed.), *The Rise to Power of the CCP*, M.E. Sharpe, 1996; Part II & Part III of TEM, pp.71-182; Chaps. 8, 13, 14, 18-23, 25, 30 of MTUS.

Week Two The first stage: the first prime of Mao's power (I), "Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun" and the creation of the myth of a "Great Savior". Discussion: How did Mao get into power and hold it firmly in his own hand? Why was the "Great Savior" myth created? What did the Chinese intellectuals, democracy and Marxism mean for Mao?

Reading assignments: Chap. 1 of POC; Chap. 2 of PLCM; Chap. 31 of MTUS; Chaps. 5, 7, 9 of MCAA; Chaps. 4-8 of PAPIC.

Week Three The first stage: the first prime of Mao's power (II), Mao's thought of "politics in command" and "people's democratic dictatorship" and its carrying-out: three antis, five antis, Gao-Yao Anti-Party Clique, Fu Feng Anti-Party Clique, land reform and agricultural collectivization, socialist transformation of the capitalist industry and commerce, Anti-Rightists, Great Leap Forward, etc. Discussion: How did Mao concentrate power in his own hand? What results did his political ambition bring to China? What kind of political significance did all these political campaigns and movements have to his dictatorship?

Reading assignments: Chap. 2 of POC; Chap. 3 of PLCM; Chaps. 10-13 of MCAA; Chaps. 32-46 of MTUS; Chaps. 8-11 of PAPIC.

Week Four The first stage: the first prime of Mao's power (III) & (IV), Mao's dream to be a powerful leader both domestically and internationally: domestically striving to surpass England in economic development and rushing to realize communism, internationally Korean war, Anti-US, trying to be the leader of socialist movement and national liberation movement all over the world; challenges to Mao's absolute authority: Peng Dehuai's suspicion of the Great Leap Forward, Seven Thousand Cadres Conference and limitations were set to Mao's power, etc. Discussion: How far is Mao's propaganda of "serving the people" and "liberating the Chinese people and people all over the world from their sufferings" from the reality in which he tried to realize his political ambition? Did the Chinese really stand up as Mao declared on Tienanmen Tower in 1949? Why?

Reading assignments: TCCP, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651404>; Chap. 3 of POC; Chap. 4 of PLCM; Chaps. 17, 18 of MCAA; Chaps. 5-7, 15, 16 of MLR; Chaps. 3, 4 of TCFOC.

FIRST PAPER DUE (on the historical and political logic of Mao's "Great Savior" myth.)

Week Five The second stage: the second prime of Mao's power (I) & (II), Mao's preparation for the Cultural Revolution: strengthening his control over the military through Lin Biao, stirring up further personal cult, seizing back control over propaganda, and relying on his wife to break through first in the fields of literature and arts; Mao's political purposes of the Cultural Revolution: taking revenge on his rivals and getting rid of those who were formerly underground communists led by Liu Shaoqi in the KMT areas, making use of less educated people to support his absolute authority, and carry out his theory of continuous revolution. Discussion: Why did Mao think so much of the military and the propaganda in his taking revenge on his political rivals? Why did he rely on Lin Biao and his wife? What purposes he had in his mind to launch the Cultural Revolution? What impacts did Mao's theory of continuous revolution have abroad?

Reading assignments: Chap. 4 of POC; Chaps. 19-21 of MCAA; Chaps. 8, 19 of MLR.

Week Six The second stage: the second prime of Mao's power (III) & (IV), the Cultural Revolution's disastrous influences on China and its future: the thorough destruction of the nation's virtues, values, legal conception, sympathy, and social justice and integrity, further damaging histories and the normal ability of judgment and human feelings, and very precious cultural legacies were ruined, and so many innocent people and victims were cruelly persecuted, even to death; challenges again to Mao's absolute authority: Lin Biao's death, armed conflicts with the Soviet Union and violent fighting within the country, economy in a mess, conflicts for power, etc. Discussion: What are the disastrous influences of the Cultural Revolution on China and its future? Should Mao merely be considered as a dictator or a tyrant? Why? Why the Revolution is called Cultural?

Reading assignments: Chap. 22 of MCAA; Chaps. 1-3 of BM.

Week Seven The third stage: Deng Xiaoping Era (I), Deng's De-Maoization and its limitation: from class struggle to economic construction, evaluation of the

Cultural Revolution, rehabilitation of most of the former officials, the trial of the “Gang of Four”, abolishing the life long freehold of offices, trying to re-evaluate Mao but putting off at last, inheriting Mao’s style in some way, etc. Discussion: What are the contents of Deng’s De-Maoization? What’s the purpose? What’s the limitation? Why?

Reading assignments: Chap. 4 of BM; Chap. 5 of TCFOC; Chap. 23 of MCAA.

Week Eight The third stage: Deng Xiaoping Era (II), Deng’s pragmatic strategy to carry out reforms in China: seek truth from facts or practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, white cat & black cat, a few people getting rich first, crossing a river by feeling stones under water, the primary stage of socialism, socialism with Chinese characteristics, socialist market economy, science and technology is the first productivity, development is the absolute reason, stability is in the first place, etc. Discussion: How was Deng’s pragmatic strategy effective in carrying out the reforms in China? What kinds of problems are left over to later generation? What are the Chinese characteristics? Is the phrase helpful to the politics of China?

Reading assignments: Chaps. 5-15 of BM; Chaps. 24, 25 of MCAA.

SECOND PAPER DUE (on Maoism in the Cultural Revolution or Deng’s De-Maoization)

Week Nine The third stage: Deng Xiaoping Era (III) & (IV), vibration between the left and the right: de-collectivization and dismantling commune system, four modernizations, crackdown on Democracy Wall, four cardinal principles, capitalism without democracy, a dual price system and corruption, campaign against bourgeois liberalization, socialist spiritual civilization, suppression of the student movement, southern tour, etc.; challenges to Deng’s policies: Wei Jingsheng, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, and pressures from the old die-hards, etc. Discussion: What is Deng’s dilemma in his vibration? What did Deng mean by socialist spiritual civilization? How to evaluate Deng?

Reading assignments: Chaps. 4, 5 of CST; Chaps. 9, 10 of GAPOC.

Week Ten The fourth stage: Jiang-Hu Era (I), Jiang and elite politics in an era of globalization and nationalism: “three represents”, capitalists with the membership of the Party, intellectuals’ position improved, rights of survival as human rights, beginning with a privatization plan to reduce the state’s ownership and control of some of China’s 300,000 industries, corruption and anti-corruption, system of public servants, abolishing of dual price system, *Falungong*, WTO membership, Sino-US relations, etc. Discussion: What’s the relationship between the Party and the state during Jiang’s period? What’s the problems caused by Jiang’s privatization plan? What’s the relationship between Jiang’s “three represents” and the elite politics? Why did *Falungong* become a trouble for Jiang? What do the Sino-US relations mean for Jiang?

Reading assignments: Chap. 8 of CST; Chaps. 2, 3 of CNN; Chap. 1 of Daniel A. Bell, *China’s New Confucianism*, Princeton University Press, 2008; Chaps. 16, 19-23 of CGL.

Week Eleven The fourth stage: Jiang-Hu Era (II), Hu: a turn to the left? Outlook of scientific development, humanity-orientation, stability in the first place and a harmonious society, enhancing governing capacity, eight honors & eight disgraces (*ba rong ba chi*), Olympic Games, corruption and anti-corruption, criticism of universal values, the state advances while the private sector retreats (*guo jin min tui*), a wealthy government, the 60th anniversary celebration of the PRC, Liu Xiaobo, Shanghai Expo, cultural nationalism and Confucianism, peaceful rise of China, China’s core interests, control on internet, etc. Discussion: Why Hu put forth the outlook of scientific development? Why on one hand eight honors & eight disgraces are advocated, on the other hand there is so serious a materialistic trend? What’s your understanding of “the state advances while the private sector retreats”? Why cultural nationalism in the context of globalization?

Reading assignments: Chaps. 2, 18 of CGL; Chap. 7 of CNN; Part 6 of POTS; Chap. 14 of TCFOC.

Week Twelve The fourth stage: Jiang-Hu Era (III), Mao’s ghost is still haunting China: a new form of politics in command, highly concentrated power, grass root Party branch, Party over legal system, Mao is still considered as a symbol

of the great leader who has made the Chinese stand up and get rid of the burdens of the three mountains, people's misreading of history because they have no official channel to know about the historical facts, difficult to rewrite history because of Mao's existing huge influence throughout the country, Mao's damage to the good Chinese cultural tradition has made the nation lose its soul and code of ethics, Mao's damage to the education has made most of the Chinese almost ignorant to humanities, Mao's "political power comes out of the barrel of a gun" thought is still instilling ideas of violence into the mind of the Chinese, without a thorough De-Maoization it will be difficult to find a common platform for dialog between the Chinese and other peoples, the left are making use of Mao as a banner against reforms in China. Discussion: Why in current China, it is so important to know clearly the historical facts about Mao? What happens if the Chinese know little of or refuse to know a real Mao? What preconditions there should be if the Chinese want to restore the position of Confucianism in China?

Reading assignments: Chap. 5 of Minxin Pei, *Chia's Trapped Transition*, Harvard University Press, 2008; Chap. 13 of Duncan Hewitt, *China: Getting Rich First*, Pegasus Books, 2008.

THIRD PAPER DUE (on the dilemma of Deng in his politics of De-Maoization or the rise of China)

Week Thirteen The fourth stage: Jiang-Hu Era (IV), challenges to the present politics: the huge gap between the rich and the poor, corruption getting more serious, pressures from both the left and the right, problems of Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang, religious issues, ethical issues, decline of China's international image, widespread materialistic pursuit, crisis of faith, human rights, events of group conflicts, *Falungong*, problems left over from Mao's era, Google event, a swollen government and huge fiscal waste, one party state, tangled government-enterprise relationship, monopoly of the state enterprises, government involved in the real estate, etc. Discussion: Among all these problems, what is the most urgent one to be solved? How to realize social justice? How to solve the problem of high concentration of power? Is there a possibility to find the universal

values commonly accepted by all peoples?

Week Fourteen FINAL PAPER DUE (on China's road to democracy)