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**Contemporary Chinese Politics in Comparative Perspective**  
( POS G8471)  
Spring 2000, Thursday 2:10-4:00pm

This is a graduate seminar that presumes a basic familiarity with contemporary Chinese politics and society. Students who have limited knowledge of Chinese politics are welcome to take this seminar on the condition that they read a few textbooks before the semester begins. The course will cover major theoretical and methodological approaches in the field of Chinese politics with an emphasis on more recent literatures and a comparative perspective (especially with other transition systems). We shall immerse ourselves in the available primary (and secondary) materials with two goals in mind: first, to explore the strengths and weaknesses of competing approaches; and second, to lay a foundation for future research projects in Chinese politics. Since there will be some readings in Chinese, students are generally expected to have some basic reading skills in Chinese. However, with instructor's consent, students who do not read Chinese may be exempted.

Requirements:

1. Depending on the number of students, each student will have at least one opportunity to lead a session of discussion. Active participation in discussion is expected. 25% of the grade.
2. Each student will write a review of a required reading and a review of a recommended reading (4-6 pages each). Students can combine these reviews with leading discussion sessions. The book reviews will be distributed to the whole class. 25% of the grade.
3. A final research paper (25-30 pages in length). A research design/outline will be required. 50% of the course grade.

Readings: All the required readings and most recommended readings are on reserve at the J.V. Starr East Asian Library (Kent Hall). Most of the required and recommended books are available for purchase at the Labyrinth bookstore.

Useful websites:

News about China: <http://www.surfchina.com/html/home1.html>  
China information: <http://zealsoft.hypermart.net/undchn.html>  
China internet information center: <http://www.china.org.cn/>  
China info search:  
<http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Area.Programs/Asia/china/dosearch.htm>  
Far Eastern Economic Review: <http://www.feer.com/>

Inside China: <http://www.insidechina.com/>  
Chinese propaganda posters <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/>

## Part I. The Origins of the Reform

1. (1/20) Introduction:
2. (1/27) Contemporary China: An Overview:  
Goldman and MacFarquhar, *Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms*, Harvard University Press, 1999.

Recommended readings:  
Fewsmith, *Dilemmas of Reforms in China*.

3. (2/3) Maoist Legacy and Path-Dependence:  
Ken Lieberthal, *Governing China*, chapters 1-4.  
Barry Naughton, *Growing out of the Plan*, Introduction and Chapter 1.  
Minxin Pei, "Microfoundations of state-socialism and Patterns of Economic Transformation," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v.29, n. 2 (1996).

Recommended Readings:  
Walder, *Waning of the Communist State*.  
David Stark, "Path Dependence and Privatization Strategies in East-Central Europe," in Medar, ed., *Changing Political Economics*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

4. (2/10) Choice and Constraints: Origins of the Reform:  
Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform*, University of California Press, 1993, Chapters 1, 2, 9-14.

Recommended Readings:  
Danniel Kelliher, *Peasant Power in China*, Yale University Press, 1992 (This book is out print).  
Steven Solnick, "The Breakdown of Hierarchies in The Soviet Union and China," *World Politics*, 48: 209-238.  
Ma Licheng and Ling Zhijun, *Jiaogeng* (Clash), Beijing: Jinri Zhongguo chubanshe, 1998, 1-151.

## Part II. State, Society, Center, and Localities

5. (2/17) State-Society Relations:  
R. Baum and A. Sevchenko, "The State of the State," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, *Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms*.  
V. Nee and R. Mathews, "Market Transition and Societal Transformation in Reforming State Socialism," *Annual Review of Sociology*, v22, 1996.  
Tony Saich, "Negotiating the State: the Development of Social Organization in China," *China Quarterly*, March 1999.

Xiaobo Lu and E. Perry, eds, *Danwei: Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, M.E. Sharpe, 1997.

Recommended Readings:

Walder, *Communist Neotraditionalism*.

Vivianne Shue, *the Reach of the State*.

Barret McCormick, "China's Leninist Parliament and Public Sphere," in McCormick and Unger eds., *China after Socialism*.

6. (2/24) Central-Local Relations:

Qian Yingyi, Gabriella Montinola and Barry Weingast, "Federalism, Chinese Style" *World Politics*, 48: 50-81.

Shaoguang Wang and Angang Hu, *The Political Economy of Uneven Development: the Case of China*, M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Zhang Leyin, "Chinese Central-Provincial Fiscal Relationships, Budgetary Decline and Impact of the 1994 Fiscal Reform" *the China Quarterly*, 157 (1999): 115-141.

Recommended Readings:

Linda Li, *Centre and Provinces*, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Wang Shaoguang, chapter in Walder, *the Waning of the Communist State*.

Guan Shan and Jiang Hong, *Kuaikuai jingjixue* 快速增长的中国经济 (Economics of blocs), Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1990, 1-37.

7. (3/2) The Local State:

Peter Evans, "Predatory, Developmental and Other Apparatuses," *Sociological Forum*, 1989.

Sally Sargeson and Jian Zhang, "Reassessing the Role of the Local State," *the China Journal*, 42 (1999): 77-99.

Jonathan Unger and Anita Chan, "Inheritors of the Boom," *the China Journal*, 42 (1999): 45-74.

Xiaobo Lu, "Politics of Peasant Burdens in Reform China," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1997.

8. (3/9) Political Reform and Democracy:

Andrew Nathan, *Chinese Democracy*.

Daniel Kellier, "The Chinese Debate over Village Self-Government," *the China Journal*, vol. 37, pp. 63-86, 1997.

Lianjiang Li, "the Two-Ballot System in Shanxi Province: Subjecting Village Party Secretaries to Popular Vote," *the China Journal*, vol. 42, pp.103-118, 1999.

K. O'Brien and Lianjiang. Li, "Accommodating 'Democracy' in a One-party State," unpublished paper, 1999.

Recommended Readings:

Bruce Dickson, *Democratization in China and Taiwan*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

9. (3/23) Social Actors and Collective Action:
- a. Workers:
    - Greg O’Leary, *Adjusting to Capitalism*, M.E. Sharpe, 1998.
    - Anita Chan, “Revolution or Corporatism? Workers and Trade Unions in Post-Mao China,” *Australian Journal of Chinese Studies*, 1993.
  - b. Peasants:
    - O’Brien and Li, “Politics of Lodging Complaints in Rural China,” *the China Quarterly*, no. 143 (1995).
    - Bernstein and Lu, “Taxation without Representation: State and Peasants in the New Reform Era,” forthcoming, *the China Quarterly*.
  - c. Intellectuals:
    - Merle Goldman’s chapter in Goldman and MacFarhuhar.
    - Jeffery Wasserstrom and E. Perry, eds, *Popular Protest and Political Culture in China*, Stanford University Press, 1991.

Recommendation Readings:

Stephen Crowley, “Barrier to Collective Action: Steelworkers and Mutual Dependence in the Former Soviet Union,” *World Politics*, pp 589-615.

Sebastian Heilmann, “The Social Context of Mobilization in China,” *China Information*, v.8, no. 3, 1994.

1. (3/30) Civil Society:

Timothy Brook and M. Frolic, eds., *Civil Society in China*, M.E. Sharpe, 1997.

Gu Xin, “A Civil Society and Public Sphere in China? An Overview of Western Publications,” *China Information*, v.8, n3, (1994).

Anita Chan, “Revolution or Corporatism? Wokers and Trade Unions in Post-Mao China,” *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, n.29, 1993.

Recommended Readings:

Gordon White, *In Search of Civil Society*, Oxford University Press, 1996.

He Baogang, *Democratic Implications of Civil Society in China*, St. Martin, 1997.

2. (4/6) Bureaucracy and Corruption:

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, 1995, chapters 6-8.

Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform*, Chapters 3-8.

Xiaobo Lu, *Cadres and Corruption*, (forthcoming, 2000), Chapters 5-7.

J. Reinganum and T. Pixley, “Bureaucratic Mergers and Acquisitions,” *China Business Review*, may-June 1998.

### **Part III. Political Economy**

3. (4/13) Political Economy of Transition:

Barry Naughton, *Growing out of the Plan*, Chapters 2-9.

Yingyi Qian, “Institutional Foundations of China’s Market Reform,” World Bank paper, 1999.

4. (4/20) Property Rights, Privatization, and SOE Reform:  
Jean Oi and Andrew Walder, *Property Rights and Economic Reforms in China*, Stanford University Press, 1999.  
Oi, *Rural China Takes Off*, chapter 1-3.  
Edward Steinfeld, *Forging Reforms in China: the Fate of State-Owned Industry*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.  
Nicolas Lardy, *China's Unfinished Revolution*, Brookings, 1998, chapter 2.
5. (4/27) The Politics of Fiscal Reforms:  
Jean Oi, "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundation of Local State Corporatism," *World Politics*, 42 (1992): 99-126  
Susan Whiting, "Fiscal Aspects of China's Unfinished economic Revolution," unpublished paper, 1998.  
Zhang Leyin, "Chinese Central-Provincial Fiscal relationships, Budgetary Decline and the Impact of the 1994 Fiscal Reform" *China Quarterly*, no. 157 (1999), pp. 115-41.  
Wang Shaoguang, "China's 1994 Fiscal Reform: An Initial Assessment," *Asian Survey*, vol. 38, n.9 (1997).

Recommended readings:

- Christine Wong, *Fiscal Management and Economic Reform*, Oxford University Press, 1996.  
Nicolas Lardy, *China's Unfinished Revolution*, chapter 1, 3, 4 and 5.  
He Fan, *Wei shichang jingji lixian*

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