We can forgive Larson’s hapless equestrian. China has surprised many people — both its own leaders and people as well as foreign observers, including your humble professor — more often than most of them care to remember, and its recent history poses a profound set of puzzles. The Chinese Communist Party and its government, the People’s Republic of China, comprise the largest Communist Party-run surviving state in the world, one of only a handful of any size. It is a rather unlikely survivor. Between 1949 and 1976, it presided over perhaps the most tempestuous of the world’s state socialisms. Nowhere — not in Eastern Europe, the USSR, Cuba, Vietnam or North Korea — did anything occur like the Great Leap Forward, when the country tried to jump headlong into
communism, or the Cultural Revolution, when some leaders of the socialist state called on the people to rise up against the socialist state’s own bureaucracy. Indeed, the Cultural Revolution brought China to the brink of civil war. The radical policies of the Maoist period were extremely innovative and iconoclastic, and they accomplished a great deal; but they also severely undermined the foundations of Chinese state socialism. Yet somehow it survived.

Then in 1979 the Chinese state switched course, pioneering broad-gauged structural reform way ahead of any other state socialist country. Economic forms that were quite inconsistent historically and theoretically with rule by a communist party and its government proliferated, taking mixed “market socialist” forms in the 1980s, the social reaction to which almost overcame the socialist state in the famous 1989 protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and across the country. Indeed, the comparison with Russia and Eastern Europe was stunning: in China a huge phalanx of furious citizens engaged in massive demonstrations all over the country lasting almost two months. Nothing like this occurred in Russia and Eastern Europe, where gradual political openings were being contemplated and embarked upon. Yet state socialism there would be brought down amidst popular movements that were minuscule in scope and duration compared with the Chinese. But again the People’s Republic of China managed to survive, this time by moving more sternly, decisively and successfully against popular demands for reform than any other socialist state did at the time.

Starting in the 1990s, China began the transition to full-fledged capitalism — interestingly and paradoxically, without the massive outburst of protest seen in 1989 after a decade of much more tentative change. What can be called market Leninism — China’s combination of repressive politics and free-market economics — has not just lasted a good deal longer than most observers expected, but it seems unexpectedly resilient at least for the foreseeable future. This has defied the confident theories held by western liberals, modernization theorists, and most major western politicians — known as the “Washington Consensus” — that capitalism and markets go hand in hand with democracy (even as the individualism and the rise of a middle class, which are meant to stimulate democracy, have indeed occurred). Moreover, China’s market Leninism has not just survived, but has chalked up significant successes. It has produced continuous spurts of economic growth that have often surprised even its own promoters. Market Leninism has also made China a more influential force on the world stage than ever before in its history. Many scholars, policy makers and politicians are even beginning to speak of a “Beijing Consensus” replacing the “Washington Consensus”.

Yet, today Chinese market Leninism is also shot through with contradictions. The country’s overall quiescence does not necessarily indicate political stability or social peace; on the contrary, protests, strikes, riots and small insurrections have become a daily fact of life. Nor do China’s palpable industriousness and economic dynamism necessarily reflect the happy equilibrium of an upward spiral of development. What powers the Chinese economy today? Will the country consolidate market Leninism or break with it? If it makes a break, will the process be smooth and gradual, or rough and sudden? And what would emerge from such a break? Does China hold out the prospect of a “third way” — a hybrid combining in a new way features of state socialism and capitalism? China is too complex, its present situation too unprecedented, and social science too indeterminate to permit easy or sure answers. But to make educated guesses, we need to analyze the many contradictory economic, social and political forces at play. Some of them are the subject of Politics 313.
The same “reform” movement that is ruining primary and secondary education is now taking aim at us, requiring faculty to list “learning goals” for all courses. These are being used to measure what we’re doing, all the better to encourage still further the growing hegemony of market forces in education. Thus, I am obliged to tell you that the goal of *The Transition to Capitalist Society in China* is for you to learn about the transition to capitalist society in China, and to get some practice reading, researching, speaking, thinking and writing systematically.

During the first half of the seminar, we will read, contemplate, and discuss some of the best, most interesting new scholarship on various specialized topics related to Chinese political economy and political sociology. In the second half we will work together on research papers on a topic of interest to you, which should connect with the question of China’s transition to capitalism but need not be related to the particular issues we will have studied. In our final weeks, you will present to the seminar early drafts of your research papers, to be circulated in advance. You will also read classmates’ drafts and contribute to discussions that will help all of us learn about the subject matter of the various papers, while also providing suggestions to each author about ways to develop the research paper in progress. As a member of the seminar, I will present some of my own work in progress as well. At the end of the semester, you will submit finished seminar papers revised on the basis of class discussion and my comments.

Our seminar requires a strategy of active study, thinking and interchange. In addition to the individual and collegial work on papers, two other aspects of the course are designed to promote your engagement.

**BLOGGING** is essential to Politics 313.

§ During the first half of the semester, to encourage reflective reading, help you retain what you have read, and help me calibrate what we do in class, once each week I expect you to write on Blackboard a short response to questions I will have posed in advance about the works we are confronting. You’re also welcome to comment there at any time on what others in the class have written. Start a debate! You may also use the blog to raise questions on which you would like help.

§ I use the blogs to promote your learning, not to evaluate it. I want you to think and write your blogs freely and creatively, and to take risks. Therefore I do not grade them. But because I view them as very important for your learning, I do factor heavily into your final grade simply whether you have done them seriously and regularly. If you do 6 of them, you’ve got an “A” for 20% of the course. (See page 4 below.)

§ Blogs are due by 3:00 PM each Tuesday. The deadline is firm — indeed, I close the blog to new entries at that time (though the blogs remain visible) — because that’s when I need them as part of my preparation for class, and they are crucial to my doing so. Moreover, the blogs are a process, not a product; the whole point is to help you learn by doing them week-in, week-out, not at the end of the term in order to meet a requirement.

§ Crucial: Each afternoon before class, take a few moments to log in to the blog to read what everyone has written. That’ll help produce a lively, probing discussion.

**DISCUSSIONS:** Please prepare to participate in our discussions, which are the lifeblood of our seminar. This means not just reviewing the reading and your notes on it, but also, to repeat, taking some time each Tuesday afternoon during the first half of the semester to read your classmates’ blogs for that week.
I will evaluate your work in Politics 313 according to the following weightings:

- Weekly blog comments (February 6-March 13) 20%
- Quality (not quantity) of participation in class 20%
- Paper preparation (March 27-April 17) 20%
- Paper 40%

**PLEASE TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THESE PROPORTIONS.** They reflect my conviction that the week-to-week process of participating in the course through reading, thinking and contributing to everyone else’s learning in discussion is as important to your learning as the paper you will write. In the past students who assumed that the paper was their only responsibility for the course were surprised at the end of the semester. 😞

Please consult the schematic chronology (page 7) and, if you are not a student of Chinese, the guide to the rudiments of Chinese pronunciation (page 9). The latter will help you to discharge your responsibility as advanced students of China to pronounce Chinese words and names properly — a responsibility that broadcast media regularly shirk.

You should keep up with the news from China. There are many possibilities.

- **Western journalism:**

- **State Organs**
  - Central Committee’s Qiushi Journal (good place to read about post-Plenum work): [http://english.qstheory.cn/](http://english.qstheory.cn/)
  - Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST): [http://www.most.gov.cn/eng/](http://www.most.gov.cn/eng/)
  - State Oceanic Administration (Chinese only, but anybody looking at maritime issues needs to at least read a Google translation): [http://www.soa.gov.cn/](http://www.soa.gov.cn/)

- **Chinese Government Think Tanks**
  - Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS): [http://english.cas.cn/](http://english.cas.cn/)
  - China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR): [http://www.cicir.ac.cn/english/](http://www.cicir.ac.cn/english/)

- **Chinese State Media**
  - Global Times: [http://www.globaltimes.cn/index.html](http://www.globaltimes.cn/index.html)

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1 Thanks to Jason Weinberg, ’04, and a veteran of our course, for invaluable help compiling this list.
• **Private Chinese Media**
  - South China Morning Post (has a paywall, but available through OBIS): [http://www.scmp.com/frontpage/international](http://www.scmp.com/frontpage/international)

• **English language blogs, websites, and reports**
  - ChinaScope: [http://chinascope.org/main/index.php](http://chinascope.org/main/index.php) Excellent translations of a wide range of key Chinese sources. The authors have excellent taste, and this is a good first stop for news items.
  - Global Voices: [http://globalvoicesonline.org/-/world/east-asia/china/](http://globalvoicesonline.org/-/world/east-asia/china/) Global Voices translates social media, so this is a good place to go for understanding what Chinese people are talking about through those platforms.
  - Sinocism: Really excellent news compendium with terrific analysis.
  - GreatFire: [https://en.greatfire.org/](https://en.greatfire.org/) Online censorship reports and tracking data. Best place to find out what is being censored through the Great Firewall.
  - South Sea Conversations: [http://southseaconversations.wordpress.com/](http://southseaconversations.wordpress.com/) Written by an Australian PhD student who spent a lot of time in Beijing and had very good access to sources on national security and maritime issues.
  - The Diplomat: [http://thediplomat.com/](http://thediplomat.com/) The Diplomat has exploded to be one of the best blogs on Asia Pacific regional issues. There isn't much domestic China content, but this is a good place to get perspectives on China’s position in the region.
  - China Media Project: [http://cmp.hku.hk/](http://cmp.hku.hk/) Run out of the University of Hong Kong, it offers an excellent primer on Chinese political discourse.
  - China Dialogue: [https://www.chinadialogue.net/](https://www.chinadialogue.net/) Good bilingual source for opinions on environmental issues.
  - Project 2049 Institute: [http://project2049.net/publications.html](http://project2049.net/publications.html) Helpful reports with information unavailable elsewhere in English language, particularly on the PLA.

Newspapers and cyberspace can provide timely information and rough and ready analysis, but we also need old-fashioned research monographs to plumb the depths. Each year Americans spend five times as much on dog food as on college books. Politics 313 is doing its part to help us get priorities right. The following books are available for purchase at the Oberlin Bookstore:

  - Blecher, Marc, *China Against the Tides*, (3rd edition [Nb. *Do not get an earlier edition*])
  - Ang Yuen Yuen, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*
  - Chan, Anita, *Chinese Workers in Comparative Perspective*
  - Shepard, Wade, *Ghost Cities of China*
  - Shi Lihong, *Choosing Daughters*
  - Tomba, Luigi, *The Government Next Door*
  - Strunk, William, and E. B. White, *Elements of Style*
Schedule of Classes, Topics and Assignments

February 6: Overview
Marc Blecher, *China Against the Tides* (third edition ONLY), preface to the third edition, introduction, and chapters 2-7.

February 13: Macro Political Economy
Ang Yuen Yuen, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*

February 20: Urban China I: Local Government
Tombara, Luigi, *The Government Next Door*

February 27: Urban China II: Ghost Cities
Shepard, Wade, *Ghost Cities of China*

March 6: Urban China III
Chan, Anita, *Chinese Workers in Comparative Perspective*

March 13: Rural China and Gender
Shi Lihong, *Choosing Daughters*

**SPRING BREAK**

March 27: Individual meetings to discuss research proposals (due that morning) in lieu of class

April 3: Individual meetings to discuss bibliographies and research progress progress reports (due that morning) in lieu of class

April 10: Individual meetings to discuss detailed outlines (due that morning) in lieu of class

April 17: Individual meetings to discuss drafts (due that morning) in lieu of class

April 24 and May 1 and 8 (first half): Class presentations of research paper drafts

May 8 (second half): Conclusion
Marc Blecher, *China Against the Tides*, chapter 9.

**MAY 20, 11:00 AM: PAPERS DUE**
## Schematic Chronology of Chinese Politics Since 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Deng in charge at Third Plenum; “democracy wall”; Carter-Hua Communique (US-PRC relations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>“Rightists” exonerated; rural reforms extend; Vietnam invasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>“Gang of Four” tried; some communes become townships; Zhao Ziyang Premier</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Rural incomes up, amid urban shortages; Hu Yaobang replaces Hua as Party Chair</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>US defense weapons to Taiwan, but US-China agreement on fewer future sales</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Spiritual Pollution Campaign stirs doubts in Communist Party, but campaign ends soon</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Industrial reforms announced; Hong Kong accord</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Old cadres retired at autumn congress; Gorbachev heads USSR</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Students protest delay of political reforms, but Communist Party is slow to accommodate them.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Dismissal of Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang; movement against bourgeois liberalization</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Abortive price reform; inflation; beginning of economic austerity</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Broad popular protests followed by repression and martial law; rise of hard-line leadership</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Hard-liners in power</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Consolidation of post-1989 leadership; economic austerity</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Economic austerity ends; debate on appropriate pace of growth</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Some releases from prison of 1989 protesters; economic overheating; rural discontent erupts</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>High inflation; continuing expressions of discontent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Corruption a major issue; death of Chen Yun; economic soft landing; Taiwan Straits heat up</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Economy stabilizes; Taiwan Straits hot; US-China relations difficult</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Death of Deng Xiaoping; return of Hong Kong; Jiang Zemin consolidates the country’s leadership at the 15th Party Congress, and then visits US</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>At the National People’s Congress, Premier Li Peng is the first top Chinese leader in history to vacate his position in accordance with the Constitution; President Clinton visits China; hard-liners rise at end of the year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>China tense in face of political demonstrations by workers and Falungong spiritual practitioners; US bombs Chinese embassy in Belgrade, provoking popular patriotic outrage and state-approved popular demonstrations; Politics 313 tries once again to grasp Chinese politics and political economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Hard-liners remain in control, keeping political atmosphere repressive</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>US-China relations tense due to collision or military aircraft; China joins WTO</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>In a smooth transition, Hu Jintao succeeds Jiang Zemin as Party General Secretary; massive labor protest in northeast; China joins WTO</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Hu consolidates power, appoints Wen Jiabao as Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Jiang Zemin resigns Military Commission chair, marking full transition to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Anti-Japanese protests; major chemical spill exposes political and policy weakness; Bush visits; economy continues to grow</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006-7</td>
<td>Continuing economic growth and political authoritarianism; new labor laws passed</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>China hosts the Olympics</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Broad political stability amid slowed economic growth and key anniversaries; massive ethnic riot in Xinjiang</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Resurgent economic growth; strikes win wage increases</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Worsening inflation; major rail crash highlights problems of high-speed development</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Major political blowout around Bo Xilai and the “Chongqing model” in the run-up to a major, decennial change of the top leadership</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang promote a strongly market Leninist agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Anti-corruption campaign targets many top élites. Pollution so bad that it’s starting to drive foreigners and some Chinese out of the country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Deepened hardline politics, with tough restrictions and crackdowns on NGOs and intellectual work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>China commits to Paris Climate Change measures; Xi consolidates power amidst ongoing political hard line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>19th Party Congress cements an unusually powerful role for Xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Politics 313 once again strives to make sense of all this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Guide To Chinese Pronunciation and Romanization

As a student of Chinese politics, it’s your responsibility to pronounce Chinese words correctly. There are three major systems of romanization used in the general literature. The first can be called the “post office system”, though it is totally unsystematic. It is mainly used for place names, such as Peking, Canton, and Amoy.

The other two are Wade-Giles, which was commonly used through the 1970s, and pinyin, which is the official system of the People’s Republic, and has now almost completely replaced Wade-Giles. You will have to discern which one your source is using by inspection. (Our readings use pinyin.) The pinyin system is distinguishable by any of the following: x, q, z, zh, r, g, d, b, ong. By contrast, the Wade-Giles system contains apostrophes and hyphens.

Once you have deduced which system a text uses, you apply a few rules. The main general rule is that practically all words you see, except family names, contain two syllables. Sound them as containing two syllables, even if the letters suggest three or more to you. A few system-specific rules are noted below. The left side of each equation is the romanization, as you might see it on a page; the right is a usual and approximate English equivalent sound.

**PINYIN**

\[\begin{align*}
    x = sy & \quad z = dz \\
    zh = j & \quad c = ts \\
    ong = ung & \quad ian = ien \\
    ui = way \\
\end{align*}\]

- i is variable: "-ee" after most initials; "-r" after ch, r, sh, zh; or a deep "-uh" or no sound after c, s, & z.

**WADE-GILES**

When not followed by apostrophes: k = g p = b t = d ts = dz ch = j. When followed by apostrophes, these all have English sounds.

Also: j = r ih = r ui = way yu = yo yü = yü hs = sy