

**Leiden University**  
**Department of Political Science**

**Political Reform in East Asia**  
**Fall 2007**

**Time and Day: Tuesdays and Fridays 9-11 am**  
**5A37 / 5B04**

Daniela Stockmann

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This course examines political reform in mainland China and Taiwan from a comparative perspective. Although there is a strong focus on contemporary politics, we will also spend considerable time and energy on understanding the previous century of change and upheaval of greater China, including the decline of the last imperial dynasty, the rise of the Nationalist and Communist party, and their respective rule over the mainland and Taiwan before the 1980s. Students do not need to have any previous knowledge about the PRC or the ROC.

The course is divided into three sections. The first section covers the period from the end of the last imperial dynasty to the end of the 1980s. The second section examines the last twenty years of reform in mainland China, looking at both how the reforms began and how they were sustained. We will consider changes in policy, in institutions, and in the evolution of the political rules of the game. A focus will be the political and social adaptations to economic reform. Finally, in the third section, we will examine the pattern of democratization in Taiwan, including the similarities and differences to the reform process on the mainland. Because of Taiwan's unique international status we will also discuss PRC-ROC relations and how the question of (re-)unification with the mainland affects domestic politics in Taiwan.

The primary goal of the course is to introduce students to the major themes, debates, and puzzles in the study of political reform and democratization in East Asia. The second is to allow students to grow familiar with some of the methodological challenges of studying these political systems (through evaluation and critique of the text). The course is designed around engaged and lively debate on the issues; therefore, student participation is absolutely necessary.

**Books and Materials:**

The following books should be purchased. The remaining readings are available electronically. Most readings have been uploaded on Blackboard / course documents.

Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004.

Cheng, Pei-kai and Michael Lestz with Jonathan Spence. *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

**Exam:** The exam will be held on November 23 during class time. It will cover the first part of the class: China’s political history from the end of the Qing dynasty to the end of the 1980s. (25 %)

**Written Assignments:** Written assignments include two short analytical essays (5-7 double-spaced pages) on the readings in class. Students will have some degree of choice as to which weeks they want to write on, however, the first essay must cover readings on mainland China (Sessions 9 to 12), the second readings on Taiwan (Sessions 13 to 15). Essays must be turned in before the class meeting. (50%)

**Discussion questions and participation:** Students are also asked to prepare **one** question about the readings before each session. This question should be posted on the discussion board on Blackboard on the day before class.

Generally speaking the instructor will begin the class with a lecture, followed by an open discussion. During the open discussion, students are asked to react to each other’s discussion questions submitted before each session. During this period of the class the instructor will act more as moderator. Discussion can of course focus on general themes of that week, specific critiques of the substantive arguments of the authors, and finally comment and analysis of the research designs employed in different readings.

The entire discussion and participation grade will be based on the quality of the discussion questions and participation in class (25%).

**Attendance:** Regular attendance is required. Students are asked to contact the instructor by email or phone if they will miss a class. More than one missed absence will affect the final grade unless an agreement is reached with the instructor.

**Meetings:**

DATE	TOPIC
<i>Part I: The Pre-History of Political Reform in China and Taiwan:</i>	
Tuesday, October 30	The Legacies of Imperial China
Friday, November 2	The Republican Revolution
Tuesday, November 6	The Rise of Communism and the Fall of the KMT
Friday, November 9	Consolidation, Campaigns, and New Modes of Control
Tuesday, November 13	The Mao Era and the Cultural Revolution
Friday, November 16	Taiwan under KMT Rule
Tuesday, November 20	Reforming China and Taiwan
Friday, November 23	<i>Exam</i>
<i>Part II: Political Reform in the PRC:</i>	
Tuesday, November 27	Political Structure and Policy Process
Friday, November 30	Central-Local Relations

Tuesday, December 4	Political Participation and Protest
Friday, December 7	State and Society
<i>Part III: Political Reform in Taiwan:</i>	
Tuesday, December 11	Democratizing Taiwan
Friday, December 14	Political Structure and Parties
Tuesday, December 18	Cross-Strait Relations and Nationalism
<i>Final Discussion:</i>	
Friday, December 21	Political Reform in East Asia

## **PART I: THE “PRE-HISTORY” OF REFORM CHINA”**

### **Session One Readings: The Legacies of Imperial China**

No reading assignments. Please begin reading for next week.

### **Session Two Readings: The Republican Revolution**

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 1.
- Jonathan Spence, “The Rule of Yuan Shikai,” *The Search for Modern China*. New York: Norton, 1990. pp. 281-299.
- Thompson, Roger, “China's First Local Elections,” *History Today*, 47:7 (July 1997): 49-55.

#### *Primary Sources:*

- The Restoration of 1917, from Puyi’s Memoir, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 220-226.
- Three Soldiers (Accounts of three warlords in the years following the 1911 Revolution), *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 227-232.

### **Session Three Readings: The Rise of Communism and the Fall of the KMT**

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 2.
- Jonathan Spence, Chapter 13 “A Road is Made” and Chapter 15, “Experiments in Government,” *The Search for Modern China*. New York: Norton, 1990.

#### *Primary Sources:*

- Lu Xun, *The True Story of Ah-Q*. Chinese University Press, 2002.
- “On Qing Female Chastity,” *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 233-238.
- Reactions to the May Thirtieth Incident, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 257-262.
- The Rape of Nanjing, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 324-330.

#### **Session Four Readings: Consolidation, Campaigns, and New Modes of Control**

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapters 3 and 4 (until p. 109).

##### *Primary Sources on Consolidation:*

- Mao Zedong, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 351-357.
- Dai Qing, *Wang Shiwei and "Wild Lilies": Rectification and Purges in the Chinese Communist Party, 1942-1944*, excerpts.

##### *Primary sources on the Great Leap Forward:*

- Jung Chang, Chapter 12 "Capable Women Can Make a Meal without Food" – Famine, *Wild Swans*. New York: Anchor, 1991.
- "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Ourselves," September 6, 1963, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 413-416.

#### **Session Five Readings: The Maoist Era and the Cultural Revolution**

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 4, pp. 109-122.
- Anita Chan, Stanley Rosen, and Jonathan Unger, "Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou," *China Quarterly* 83 (September 1980): 397-444.
- Lynn White III, "The Cultural Revolution as the Unintended Result of Administrative Policies," in *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution*, edited by William Joseph, Christine Wong, David Zweig, pp. 83-104.

##### *Primary Sources:*

- Mao Zedong, "Bombard the Headquarters!" and other documents from the Cultural Revolution, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 424-432.
- B. Michael Frolic, "A Foot of Mud and a Pile of Shit," *Mao's People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- B. Michael Frolic, "My Neighborhood," *Mao's People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.

#### **Session Six Readings: Taiwan under KMT Rule**

- Steven Philips, "Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948," in *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, chapter 10.
- Peter Chen-main Wang, "A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," in *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, chapter 11.

##### *Substitution for Primary Sources:*

- Bruce Dickson, "The Lesson of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-53," *The China Quarterly* 133 (1993), pp. 56-84.
- Jeremy E. Taylor, "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929-1975," *The China Quarterly* 185 (2006), pp. 96-110.

### **Session Seven Readings: Reforming China and Taiwan**

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 5.
- Murray A. Rubinstein, “Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Eras of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, 1971-1994, in *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, chapter 11.

#### *Primary Sources:*

- Communique of the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. *Beijing Review* 21:52.
- Deng Xiaoping, “Emancipate the Mind, Seek the Truth from Facts,” *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 447-451.
- Chiang Ching-kuo, Announcement of Martial Law to be Lifted, *Washington Post*, October 8, 1986.

## **PART II: POLITICAL REFORM IN MAINLAND CHINA**

### **Session Nine Readings: Political Structure and Policy Processes**

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapters 6 and 7.
- Susan Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 55-129.

#### *Recommended:*

- Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, chapters 1-3.
- Kenneth Lieberthal, “The Fragmented Authoritarianism Model and its Limitations,” in *Bureaucracy Politics and Decision-Making in Post-Mao China*, edited by Kenneth Lieberthal and David Lampton. Oxford: The University of California Press, 1992, pp. 1-30.
- Michel Oksenberg, “China’s Political System: Challenges of the Twenty-First Century,” *The China Journal*, January 2001.

### **Session Ten Readings: Central-Local Relations**

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 8.
- Gabriela Montinola, Yingyi Qian, and Barry R. Weingast, “Federalism, Chinese-Style,” *World Politics*, 48:1, pp. 50-81.
- Dorothy Solinger, “Despite Decentralization: Disadvantage, Dependence, and Ongoing Central Power in the Inland: the Case of Wuhan,” *The China Quarterly* (March 1996): 1-34.

#### *Recommended*

- Barry Naughton, “Introduction: China’s Economic Reform in Comparative Perspective,” *Growing out of the Plan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 3-25.
- Richard Baum and Alexei Shevchenko, “The State of the State,” in *The Paradox of China’s Post-Mao Reforms*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 333-360.
- Mary E. Gallagher, “Reform and Openness: Why Chinese Economic Reforms

have Delayed Democracy,” *World Politics* (April 2002).

### **Session Eleven Readings: Political Participation and Protest**

- Tony Saich, *Governance and Politics of China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, chapter 7.
- Melanie Manion, “The Electoral Connection in the Chinese Countryside,” *American Political Science Review*,” 90:4 (December 1996): 736-748.
- Joseph Fewsmith, "Assessing Social Stability on the Eve of the 17th Party Congress" *China Leadership Monitor* No. 20.

#### *Recommended:*

- Kevin O’Brien and Lianjiang Li, “Accommodating Democracy in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Elections in China,” *The China Quarterly* 162 (June 2000): 465-489.
- Jean C. Oi and Scott Rozelle. “Elections and Power: The Locus of Decisionmaking in Chinese Villages,” *The China Quarterly* 162 (June 2000): 513-539.
- Minxin Pei, Rights and Resistance, in Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Change, Conflict, and Resistance*. New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 23-46.
- C.K. Lee, “Pathways of Labour Insurgency,” in Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Change, Conflict, and Resistance*. New York: Routledge, 2004, pp.71-92.
- Marc J. Blecher, “Hegemony and Workers’ Politics in China,” *China Quarterly* 170 (June 2002).

### **Session Twelve Readings: The State and Society**

- Tony Saich, “Negotiating the State: The Development of Social Organizations in China,” *The China Quarterly* (March 2000), pp. 124-143
- Dingxin Zhao, “The State, Movement Communication, and the Construction of Public Opinion,” *The Power of Tiananmen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, pp. 297-330.

#### *Recommended:*

- Elizabeth Perry, “Trends in the Study of Chinese Politics: State-Society Relations,” *The China Quarterly* (Sept 1994), pp. 704-713.
- Heath Chamberlain, “Civil Society with Chinese Characteristics,” *The China Journal*, 39 (January 1998), pp. 69-81.
- Xiaoyang Wang, “The Post-Communist Personality” The Spectre of China’s Capitalist Market Reforms,” *The China Journal*, 47 (January 2002), pp. 1-17.
- Tianjian Shi, "Cultural Values and Democracy in the People's Republic of China," *China Quarterly* 162 (2000): 540-559.
- Wenfang Tang, *Public Opinion and Political Change in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Lily L. Tsai, “Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China,” *American Political Science Review*, 101 (May 2007), pp. 355-372.

### **PART III: POLITICAL REFORM IN TAIWAN**

### **Session Thirteen Readings: Democratizing Taiwan**

- Tun-Jen Cheng, "Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist Regime in Taiwan," *World Politics*, 41 (July 1989), pp. 471-499.
- Juergen Domes, "The 13<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the Kuomintang: Towards Political Competition?," *The China Quarterly* 118 (1989), pp. 345-359.
- Fu Hu, "The Electoral Mechanism in Political Change in Taiwan," in *In the Shadow of China: Political Developments in Taiwan since 1949*, edited by Steve Tsang. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993, pp. 134-168.

#### *Recommended:*

- Hung-Mao Tien and Yun-han Chu, "Building Democracy in Taiwan," *The China Quarterly* 148 (December 1996), pp. 1141-1170.
- Chao Linda and Ramon Myers, "How Elections Promoted Democracy in Taiwan Under Martial Law," in *Elections and Democracy in Greater China*, edited by Larry Diamond and Ramon Myers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 23-45.
- Jih-wen Lin, "Democratization under One Party Dominance: Explaining Taiwan's Paradoxical Transition," *Issues & Studies* 35 (2000), no. 6:1-28.
- Thomas Gold, "Taiwan Society at the Fin de Siecle," *China Quarterly* 148 (December 1996), pp. 1091-1114.

### **Session Fourteen: CANCELED**

### **Session Fifteen Readings: Political Structure and Parties**

- Hung-mao Tien and Tun-jen Cheng, "Crafting Democratic Institutions in Taiwan," *The China Journal*, 37 (January 1997), pp. 1-27.
- Gary Cox and Emerson Niu, "Seat Bonuses under the Single Non-Transferable Vote for Large Parties: Evidence from Japan and Taiwan," *Comparative Politics*, 26 (January 1994), pp. 221-236.
- Dafydd Fell, "Measurement of Party Position and Party Competition in Taiwan," *Issues & Studies* 40: 3/4 (September/December 2004), pp. 101-136.

#### *Recommended:*

- Yun-han Chu, "Taiwan's Unique Challenges," *Journal of Democracy*, vol.7, no., 3, July 1996, pp.69-82.
- Shelley Rigger, "The Democratic Progressive Party in 2000: Obstacles and Opportunities," *The China Quarterly* 168 (December 2001), pp. 944-959.
- Moody, Peter. "Recovering the Mainland: The Change in Direction of the KMT since 2000." *Paper presented at APSA* (2002).
- John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh, "Whither the Kuomintang?" *The China Quarterly* 168 (December 2001), pp. 930-943.
- Rigger, Shelley. 2001. "The Education of Chen Shui-bian: Taiwan's Experience of Divided Government." *Journal of Contemporary China* 11:33, pp. 613-24.
- Dafydd Fell, *Party Politics in Taiwan: Party Change and the Democratic Evolution of Taiwan, 1991-2004*. London: Routledge, 2005.

### **Session Sixteen Readings: Cross-Strait Relations and Nationalism**

- Ying-jeou Ma, "Policy Towards The Chinese Mainland: Taipei's View," In *In the Shadow of China: Political Developments in Taiwan since 1949*, edited by Steve Tsang. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993, pp. 193-211.
- Thomas B. Gold, "Taiwan's Quest for Identity in the Shadow of China," in *In the Shadow of China: Political Developments in Taiwan since 1949*, edited by Steve Tsang. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993, pp. 169-192.
- Phil Deans, "Contending Nationalism and the Diaoyutai/Senkaku Dispute," *Security Dialogue* 31(March 2000), pp. 119-131.

#### *Recommended:*

- Steven M. Goldstein and Randall Schriver, "An Uncertain Relationship: The United States, Taiwan and the Taiwan Relations Act," *The China Quarterly* 165 (March 2001), pp. 147-172.
- Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000," In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, edited by David M. Lampton. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 289-336.
- Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Cheng-yi Lin, "The Rise of China and Taiwan's Response: The Anti- Secession Law as a Case Study," *Issues & Studies* 43:1, pp. 159-188.
- John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh and Emerson M.S. Niou, "Measuring Taiwanese Public Opinion on Taiwanese Independence," *The China Quarterly* 181 (March 2005), pp. 158-168.
- T.Y. Wang, "Cross Strait Exchanges and National Security: A Survey of Public Opinions in Taiwan," *Paper presented at APSA* (2003).
- Yun-han Chu and Jih-wen Lin, "Political Development in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity," *The China Quarterly* (2001), pp.
- Wu Nai-the. "National Identity and Democratic Consolidation." Paper available at <http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/cgots>